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EDITORIAL

A CHANGE IN NAME AND EMPHASIS

THE ORIGINAL organization which founded and has been publishing the *Legon Observer* was called the "Legon Committee on National Reconstruction". A glance at our masthead today will tell the reader that this name—one year old on March 1st—is now changed to the "Legon Society on National Affairs" ("L.S.N.A.").

We hope those among our many readers who have thought of the matter or, better still, have raised the question with us in private conversation, will feel satisfied with the change. The new name is designed to clarify the nature of our self-commitment, and simultaneously to broaden the base of our organization and expand the scope of our thought as well as our activities. Both the terms "Committee" and "Reconstruction" have outlived their original purpose and become unnecessarily restrictive. Indeed from the very beginning they were instrumental in suggesting to outsiders connections we neither had nor desired, and claims to which we were never attached or even attracted.

The ex-Legon Committee, now the Legon Society, celebrates its first anniversary of existence this week. We were founded exactly five days after the Coup, on March 1st, 1966. A little more than four months later, on July 8th, we launched our own mouthpiece, the *Observer*, whose first anniversary we shall therefore be celebrating, in turn, four months hence.

The main purpose and justification underlying our formation twelve months ago still hold valid for us today, namely the single-minded application of ourselves to the problems of our country, and the sharing of what constructive thoughts we may form on these problems with the N.L.C. and all its successor Governments, and our fellow-citizens. But at the time of the coup these problems could rightly be described as problems strictly of reconstruction, having regard to the prodigious rebuilding job there was to be done on what had been left to us by Nkrumah and his wrecking-crew. One cannot, however, pursue negative ideals indefinitely, so the then Committee decided to stop ourselves sounding as if we were going to continue for ever trying to repair Nkrumah! At the same time we thought of the term "National Affairs" for that part of the new name, as being both more flexible and more comprehensive.

With the organization's anniversary and the change in our name we have also made a perspective review of our functions, and have renewed our determination to offer

THE change of name from the Legon Committee on National Reconstruction to the Legon Society on National Affairs does not in any way affect any previous contractual obligations entered into by us. All such legal contracts are still valid.

maximum service to the country in the areas of our interest or competence, and to the limit of our ability. In particular, we aim to examine more systematically, and present our views upon, certain broad subjects such as education and agriculture, two areas in which administrative policy and practical schemes of operation don't always coalesce with happy results. There are other matters, such as economic planning, fiscal policy, and social service, on which there can never be too much thinking or study on the part of all concerned, whether they be government, academic, professional, or private persons. From time to time therefore we expect to be able to present not only our views on these problems but also some systematic formulations which may, we should humbly hope, contribute to their solution.

We have invited participation in all these endeavours from members of the wider public outside our own circles, outside the Universities of Ghana, and even outside the country itself. We hereby renew the invitation and will repeat it from time to time in these columns. We admit being immensely cheered by the many expressions of appreciation of our efforts which reach us through various channels, but should feel even happier if we received more contributions to our columns, in the form of articles and letters on topical matters.

The only kind of journalistic vitalism guaranteeing the survival of the Fourth Estate itself is that in which there is a ceaseless dialogue between those who write and those who read. And the readers—is it really necessary to add?—contribute most to the survival of a journal like this one when every now and then they exchange roles and become the writers. Editors and journalists would be the first to admit that the real writers, of appeal and sophistication, exist in their numbers quite outside the circles of editors and journalists so described—whether professional or, like us, amateur.

We invite our readers again to come forward and be our writers as well. We also ask that they communicate with us, in any case, on all other matters of importance to our survival and continued service: whether it be to quarrel with our editorial views or to complain about the non-arrival of their subscription copies of the *Observer*. Meanwhile, we wish them all our own special "Happy New Year"—with us!

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L.S.N.A. Communication

FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS (II)

By

Our Political Correspondent

FOR THE purpose of maintaining our freedom it is not sufficient only that fundamental rights should be written into the Constitution. Fundamental rights need to be protected, to be girded with cast-iron defences.

It is necessary to stress at the beginning that ultimately it is for the citizens, led by that active minority of politically conscious and public-spirited people on whose leadership all political fights are firmly based, to fight for their rights and challenge every bit of encroachment that would violate those rights. This, however, properly viewed, does not devalue constitutional devices that safeguard these rights, for constitutional devices, in normal peaceful times, are perhaps the most important weapons for defending the rights of the citizen. Two of these devices are absolutely essential.

Constitutional Devices

First, fundamental rights should be entrenched. In the second communication on "Political Parties and the Electoral System" (*Legon Observer*, Vol. II, No. 3) the concept of entrenchment was explained. The explanation may be repeated here because of its importance. The provision governing fundamental rights should not be capable of easy change either by the Government or by Parliament. There should be a special and difficult method of changing these provisions, and this method should itself be written into the Constitution and entrenched. Also, the provisions must be capable of enforcement by the courts of law set up under the Constitution, and the position of these courts should of course be specially protected.

The second constitutional device flows out of the first: the position of the Courts should be specially safeguarded, with the aim of making them as independent as possible not only of the executive and the legislature but also of groups and over-powerful and corrupt individuals. To achieve this the usual methods are still at hand. Judges should hold their posts until retiring age or during good behaviour.

True, judges are also human beings and are, consequently, not entirely free from all human failings. Everything should be done to reduce these failings in judges to a minimum. An important element in the method of doing this is for the judges not to be appointed by the executive or even by the executive and the legislature acting together. They

should be appointed by a Judicial Service Commission, which should be free from interference by either the executive or the legislature. It is here proposed that the Commission should comprise the Chief Justice, the Senior Judge of the Supreme Court, the Senior Judge of the High Court, the Attorney-General, the President of the Bar Association, the Chairman of the Public Service Commission, and one prominent citizen not a lawyer. Needless to say, the Judicial Service Commission should be entrenched in the Constitution.

—Removal of a Judge—

In addition to the power of appointment, the Commission should be responsible for the promotion and discipline of members of the Judiciary. The salaries of judges should be charged on the Consolidated Fund, so that the executive is deprived of the opportunity of using its power over the purse to influence the conduct of judges. Should it become regrettably necessary for Parliament to remove a judge, this should be done only on specific grounds of misconduct, incompetence, or infirmity of body or mind. And that should be done only after the Judicial Service Commission has reported in favour of removal. It is also necessary that the judge should be given an opportunity to answer charges preferred against him before the Judicial Service Commission acting as a judicial body.

It has been suggested that the Judiciary should be independent not only of the executive and the legislature but also of groups and over-powerful and corrupt individuals. This is why it is essential that judges should be adequately paid. The idea that is abroad in the Ghana Civil Service that no Ghanaian in the public service should be paid a salary higher than that of a Principal Secretary or the Head of the Civil Service should be killed; it is held only in the interest of a handful of high Civil Servants, and is flatly incompatible with the national interest.

A Judge of the Supreme Court should be paid considerably higher than a Principal Secretary, and the salary of the Chief Justice should be much higher than that of the Head of the Civil Service. Without this it is difficult to attract lawyers of the right calibre to the bench. Once a fairly good salary has been granted to the judges it is to be hoped that the Judicial Service Commission, with its august membership, would be able to attract the right type of lawyer to the bench. It is also to be hoped that with such a good salary and such security judges would not fall victim to temptations placed in their way by groups and over-powerful individuals.

Africa

SIERRA LEONE: EXPLOSIONS OF A CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS

By

K. A. B. Jones-Quartey

THE EXPLOSIVE potential of the political atmosphere in Freetown has been de-fused for the time being, at least, and the energy in the charge diffused over the whole country in the form of "election fever". For Sierra Leone goes to the polls to elect 66 "ordinary" members to a new legislature on March 17; and four days later this principal poll is to be followed by a smaller-scale performance in which the Paramount Chiefs will elect 12 of their own number to represent as many districts. The die will have been cast, by March 21st at the latest.

The importance to Sierra Leone of this election is perhaps matched only by the potential violence of the explosions it has probably warded off. For this is the election which will convert the country into a republic—or else set back Sir Albert Margai and his Sierra Leone People's Party and throw the question of the country's constitutional status back into the political ring. Against Sir Albert and his majority party are ranged Mr. Siaka Stevens and his smaller but growing A.P.C. (All Peoples Congress). The odds are against a political upset which would see Albert Margai and the S.L.P.P. ousted, but on the other hand they would seem to favour also a return of the Opposition into the House of Representatives with a much bigger representation of Sir Albert's enemies.

The Prime Minister's political enemies have been multiplying in number, without a doubt, and most of them blame their rising hostility on Sir Albert himself. His now abandoned attempt to establish a one-party state modelled on Kwame Nkrumah's Ghana both alarmed and infuriated them. Widespread evidence of official corruption did not sweeten their temper. The P.M.'s handling of key appointments, as well as the distribution of political largesse in general, offended their conception of justice and of rights. By the time Sir Albert was ready to introduce his Republican Constitution, in December 1966, the tensions between him and the non-S.L.P.P. elements had reached explosion point; the explosion actually came soon after the Constitution was rushed through its three readings and passed into law at one sitting, on Wednesday, 25 January, 1967. It came in the form of an alleged attempted military coup, announced officially on the national radio by the Prime Minister himself.

West Africa has since commented that a coup in Sierra Leone had in fact been speculated upon for so long in the country that the announcement of an aborted one took the citizens by surprise! And, almost expectedly, some of Sir Albert's established foes promptly dismissed the news as a calculated hoax designed to justify inevitable repressive measures. But the actual arrest and detention, pending trial, of eight army men—including the second highest officer, Colonel Bangura—gave an air of authenticity to the incident and pause to the scepticism of Sir Albert's opponents.

How far this headlong progress of tensions into explosions would have led the factions in January-February it is perhaps profitless to speculate. For the time being a halt has been called: first by the arrest of the alleged army plotters, secondly by the challenge which a test of strength at an election offers to all parties. Certain additional factors also render the opportunity of a democratic settlement even more prospective. These include the Prime Minister's announcement of his final abandonment of the one-party idea—though by then this had become largely irrelevant as an issue and was merely a political tactic; and the rejection of violence by the Leader of the Opposition (on the Prime Minister's invitation), for himself and his party.

The March 17-21 elections will not be just the normal polling for a new House, as has been remarked earlier. They are, first of all, to be fought on the issue of a major constitutional change: in status, sovereignty, and type of state. Secondly, the new House to be constituted by the decision of the polls will be the arbiter—by a second, two-thirds majority vote on the new Constitution, whether Sierra Leone is to become a republic immediately or to postpone the act to a later day. This is why the approaching general election is an historic exercise, whose outcome will be awaited with the greatest interest by many, both in and out of Sierra Leone. Meanwhile, there are a few observations to be made on other important features of the scene there. One of these is the problem of trained manpower for the field of economic development.

In its current form, that fashionable modern phenomenon, the "brain drain", has hit Sierra Leone too, and hard. But as a matter of fact the phenomenon is far from being new to this particular country. During much of the 19th century and the first third of the 20th, it was Sierra Leone that supplied the rest of English-speaking West Africa with most of the latter's educated and trained manpower. The supply ranged from medical doctors, religious leaders, and judicial

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Sierra Leone could afford it then. Her public and private services were small, her precedental educational system was generous in the provision of such manpower for home as well as for foreign needs. But, later, the economic advantages of Ghana and Nigeria enabled these countries to produce their own educated intelligentsia and to close the educational gap between them and their formerly privileged sister-in-development. Eventually these economic factors started to push Sierra Leone backward and to make her progressively unable to cope with the challenges of modernization, especially between the '30s and the '50s. However, she kept on producing her quota of brilliant men and women. Only, the place came progressively to hold little attraction for some of these, and, like their counterparts from Ghana and Nigeria, they started to seek and to find unoccupied places on the world's employment stage. There, with equally able fellow-African contemporaries, they have been displaying their talents to their own advantage, primarily, but secondarily to the enhanced reputation of their African home countries.

Unfortunately for Sierra Leone, the loss to its brains pool involves above all the one area of national life where she can least afford such losses today, namely the economy. Trained and highly qualified native economists are certainly not roaming the streets of West Africa today in search of work, and in Sierra Leone they are fewer still per 500,000 head of population. Yet three at least of her best and most experienced economists are out of the country and can be presumed to be lost to her strategy of economic planning.

First there is Professor Noah Cox-George, ex-Fourah Bay College, ex-Nsukka, then ex-Fourah Bay again, and now with E.C.A. at Addis Ababa. Next there is Godfrey Lardner, perhaps not wholly Sierra Leonean by origin and attachment but surely available to that country. He is ex-Nigerian Civil Service, is now on secondment (or release) to Addis Ababa also, and is almost painfully brilliant. Thirdly we have Dr. David Carney, a former Economic Adviser to the Government of Sierra Leone, who now teaches economics in America, mostly, and writes poetry in between. At a time when the Sierra Leone economy, in its agricultural, commercial, and manpower sectors particularly, needs most in planning and re-planning, these three men—and perhaps one or two others I don't know about—ought to be in Freetown and not in Addis Ababa or anywhere else. At least Cox-George and David Carney should be working

now with the few men still on the spot, on the many economic problems of their nativelyland.

As for the self-splitting political leadership of Sierra Leone, we can only hope that its one redeeming feature: the non-tribal nature of its composition at the apices, will not prove in due course to have been mere marriages of convenience, dissolvable with malice and violence once the convenience has been achieved. The strength of these alliances at the top will be seriously tested in the next few weeks both at the polls and afterwards. And many students of the sociology of Sierra Leonean politics will watch with keen analytical interest the performance and behaviour of the various ethnic elements, during the coming period of crucial events.

There are at least two schools of thought on this question of ethnic interests and factors in Sierra Leone. One holds that in spite of their whines and complaints the Krios of Freetown are actually ruling the country again: witness Gershon Collier, Berthan Macauley, the Nelson-Williamsses, Sir Samuel Bankole Jones (President of the Court of Appeal), most of the top civil servants, and many others. The second school agrees with this catalogue of political power, but insists that most of the Krio politicians cooperating with Sir Albert Margai are in the game for what they can get—what they are actually getting—out of it by way of power and perquisites.

This school of thought further holds that the majority of the older generations of Krios are both disaffected with and frustrated at the current trends, believing themselves better qualified to serve the country as well as unjustly treated in the distribution of political and social advantages. Yet that these classes, augmented by many younger people, would consider it unrealistic to expect a restoration to them of political and social dominance; would therefore not want to cut off their collective nose to spite their face, merely on account of their eclipse; and would ask for no more than justice for themselves and their posterity.

(Concluded)

This article had gone to the press well before the news of the disturbances in the Kono district of Sierra Leone, and the declaration of a state of emergency by the Prime Minister on 2nd March, 1967.

—Ed.

The Economy

PROBLEMS IN IMPORT LICENSING

By

Kwaku Manu

THE FIRST quarter Import Licences for Agricultural Commodities have been issued as published in the Commercial and Industrial Bulletin No.60

The total allocation for rice is ₵1,849,000 for which the largest share of ₵800,000 went to the Ghana National Trading Corporation. The remaining ₵1,049,000 was distributed among 115 other importers; individual licences ranging from ₵60,000 for big companies like U.A.C. to ₵1,000 to such names as Danawi & Sons and Essando Brothers & Sons in Kumasi.

These licences mean, in effect, that the licencees are authorised to arrange for the importation of rice and that the Government of Ghana, through its Central Bank will make Foreign Exchange available to cover the cost and freight of the particular commodity specified.

There are several aspects to the way the allocation has been split up. This article is not going into the reasons why, but will attempt to show how such a system is costing the country as much as 15% to 20% of the licence allocation in foreign exchange, being differences paid expatriate agencies in the form of commissions and service charges to our importers. This is due to the fact that most of them do not have the suppliers credit necessary to procure the goods. They invariably have to turn to expatriate firms, which resort to various financial manipulations to inflate the home delivered price of the products imported.

Only a few Export Companies of good reputation and means abroad will handle any order for say rice to a value as small as, ₵40,000. Their margins of profit on these commodities are, in most cases, so small that it will actually result in a loss to handle such an order.

Instead, other middlemen come into play. They buy the commodities and try to take advantage of our present financial position to make huge profits for themselves.

A case in point is a Ghanaian importer who went to an Expatriate Company with contracts abroad, to arrange for a purchase of ₵5,000 of rice. The estimated C. & F. value given to the Ghanaian importer should have resulted in 670 bags of rice, each weighing 100 lbs. Another quotation given by a native Ghanaian Agent resulted in 695 bags of the same quality of rice. This shows a net loss of 25 bags, or the cost of it in foreign exchange.

Another example is a quotation of \$128.00 for 100 lbs. of tobacco given by the same expatriate company, as compared to a quotation of \$100.00 by the Ghanaian Agent. Out of the total allocation ₵2,756,643 for that type of tobacco, in 1965, it is fair to assume that the expatriate company handled about ₵1,500,000, judging from the number of importers who are known to have used this company's services.

At this rate there was a net loss of at least \$300,000 in foreign exchange to Ghana. This represents over 25% of the total value of licences handled by that particular expatriate company.

Consumer Prices

What this means is that our foreign exchange allocation is buying less for the Ghanaian consumer. This is reflected in the unit cost of these commodities to the consumer. From the figures given above, it is clear that the cost of tobacco alone can be cut by $\frac{1}{3}$ and the saving passed on to the consumer. This practice has affected almost all the licences issued in the country and we may stand to pay an excess of ₵25,000,000 in 1967 out of the almost ₵250,000,000 allocated for imports.

The P.L. 480 Programme

Nor is this the only problem in the trade business. There have been dissatisfaction and complaint of one sort or another in the way the last P.L. 480 programme was handled. It is a fact that a job which could have been well handled by a Ghanaian company was signed over to an American company which was not known in the commodity market. There has been a cloud as to how that company came to be selected in the first place, and the way in which tenders were sent out is open to suspicion. There were some tenders which were sent out and were expected to be closed within 48 hours. The reason given was that the items specified in the bid were badly needed in Ghana.

One particular tender was dated June 17th and closed on June 24th, while it takes about three days for the tender to go through the mail to interested parties. There was the probability that the tender notices might not have been mailed on the 17th of June. It is also reasonable to expect that it might take yet some few days to shop around for a good price in a highly complex market. In the light of events, it is reasonable to conclude that a decision had been reached as to who should win the bid and that the announcement was only to put on record that tender notices had been sent out.

We also hear of a case in which the Ghana consumer received the wrong type of soya bean

oil, simply because the agent we paid to do the job, did not know much about the differences in soya bean oils. There was yet another case where the wrong kind of rice was shipped to Ghana.

Solution

The Ghana importer's primary interest should be the availability of the right commodities at competitive prices here in the country. To some it is a headache to have to go around to find where to buy the commodity and, that done, to find the company which will grant a 180-day supplier's credit to enable him bring in the goods.

What we should do is to set up a national Agency with the means to buy the goods in large enough volumes, so as to circumvent middlemen. The best price for agricultural commodities can be obtained from exporters, who will not handle small quantities, say less than 500 tons of rice on an order. The distribution could take place at the port of entry where importers should be allocated their share. Such an Agency should be a Ghanaian National Agency with the expert knowledge of the import trade and the necessary financing to handle such a project.

Two problems are resolved at once. By consolidation, we take advantage of volume buying, and save on shipment.

Secondly, we solve the problem of hoarding by regulating shipments to be followed by efficient local distribution of the imported commodities.

Observer Notebook

Interview with Brigadier Ocran—A Correction

THE Q and A from the bottom of page vii to the top of page viii (Vol. II, No. 4) should read as follows:—

Q: Do you think the Armed Forces should be given a special position in the Constitution?

A: I believe a soldier should be a soldier, and the Army should be purely military, and not partly political . . .

The Liberators and the Revolution.

WE TRUST that our readers have found the time to reflect on the content of the interviews with some of the members of the NLC which we published in a special supplement in our last issue. We trust, further, that the discussions that have undoubtedly begun on the basis of the views of our leaders on certain issues of the revolution will not be short-lived. More importantly, we hope that the exchange of views and ideas will not be limited to literate friends; we urge the reading public to use the press to share their views and debate their ideas. For we hold that such an exercise is indispensable to the success of the revolution.

We do not intend that the comment that we

promised on the interviews should take the form of a critique on the interviews. That would be a rather limited objective, and, in any case, the interviews speak for themselves. Rather, we would suggest that the best approach would be to regard the interviews as a basis for discussion; as an opportunity to examine and clarify our thoughts about what has been popularly called our "glorious revolution"; as an opportunity for a genuine and critical effort to discover the essence of the revolution and define the tasks and challenges of this critical period. For, as we pause to take stock of the past year and congratulate ourselves, unless we also map out clearly our course into the future, we shall have lost a golden chance to consolidate our liberation.

Let us ask a few questions in order to indicate what is meant here. What are we now doing is to attempt to "clear the mess" and lay a solid foundation for good, honest government, which alone will give this nation and its citizens the maximum scope for progress. This is the task that faces this country in this interim period. How should we regulate the pace of this revolution? What are the problems in the way of this task? How do we mould ourselves and our attitudes in order to do this? Are our institutions, especially the public institutions on which the government depends, adequate to their tasks? What reorganization do they need in order to function properly and efficiently?

How are we going to educate our people politically in order to ensure good government and enlightened participation in public affairs in the future? What is the role of the press and other communication media in this exercise, and how best can they fulfil this role? How are we going to transform and modernize our economy in such a way as to ensure, at a reasonable cost and sacrifice, a decent and rising standard of living? What should be our educational policy?

We cannot exhaust the issues here and now. But we hope that every citizen will address himself to these problems; for the success of the revolution does not depend on the N.L.C. alone: it depends critically on the maximum effort of each and every one of us, especially the educated ones. If we fail to do our duty by our country now, we shall need many liberations in future.

Sanity at ECA session

THE EIGHTH session of the Economic Commission for Africa which lasted for two weeks in February, 1967 in Lagos could be regarded as a turning point in the planning of economic development in Africa. In spite of the large number of delegates (estimated at 600) and the usual

insinuations from the French-speaking Africans that too many of the posts at the ECA are still filled by English-speaking Africans, the Lagos talks were characterised by objective and sound approaches to the economic problems of Africa. Strong emphasis was put on economic development on a regional basis—a very welcome approach which is miles away from Nkrumah's ill-conceived and suicidal attempts to solve every African problem on a continental basis.

To be sure the ECA Secretariat has hitherto encouraged the formation of regional institutions to deal with trade, transportation, energy, monetary union etc. in North, East, Central and West Africa. Even though only a modest achievement has so far been made in getting most of the organizations off ground, it is remarkable that no delegate opposed the concept of regional economic planning. As a matter of fact many delegations such as Nigeria's led by Mr. A. A. Ayida (the current Chairman) and Ghana's led by Mr. E. M. Debrah, our Ambassador to Ethiopia, were convinced that regional co-operation should be pursued more vigorously than ever. Mr. Debrah went as far as to suggest a sort of Marshall Aid Plan for regional co-operation, particularly West Africa's, to become meaningful—and this suggestion in a way indicates the urgency with which some African countries view the whole question of planning on a regional basis. What is more important here is sanity even in the show of such enthusiasm.

With regard to West Africa the various countries are likely to derive important economic and social benefits from regional co-operation. The market would be tremendously expanded for our products (both agricultural and manufactured) and services; the competition among the business firms would be such as to favour the West African consumer e.g. electricity from Ghana's Akosombo dam is likely to cost less for Togolese and Dahomean households; our limited human and natural resources would also be more efficiently utilized; the frequent social intercourse would lead to better understanding among the peoples of West Africa. The ECA has given and is giving the leadership in regional economic development. Let us hope that the various West African governments will henceforth throw their full weight behind the achievement of such a sound objective.

News From Foreign Papers

RADIO GHANA and TV are getting into the habit of reading (favourable) comments in foreign papers in Ghana as serious news worth bringing

to their listeners and viewers. This practice shows an irritating inferiority complex in our news collectors and agents. It shows a desire for recognition and praise that cannot be commended. If this is what our monitoring facilities are being used for, then the tax-payer is being changed short. Why can't we learn from other people? How many times have we heard the B.B.C. or V.O.A. quote a Ghanaian paper for any favourable comment on Britain or America? Fancy being fed on comments from a British paper like *The People!*

Order of Precedence or of Priority?

THE RECENT publication of the so-called "Order of Precedence" shows how utterly impossible it is for protocol officers to have a clear sense of proportion, or a true appreciation of what is important and what is not. It shows also how pathetically innocent they are of the unimportance of their dinner jackets. At a time like this, when we ought to be constantly and actively engaged in seeking solutions to our real and gigantic problems; when farmers, fishermen and other workers are breaking their backs toiling for the nation, how can an educated man find the time to draw up an order of precedence to ceremonies and social functions, and feel no shame in getting it published? How can educated men rate ceremonies so high at this time?

O.K.; we admit that even in revolutionary times such as this, social functions and ceremonies cannot be abolished. But should we be so concerned about privilege and status that we use up valuable space in the Gazette and other places to "educate" everybody on this?

The order of merit too is as ridiculous as the idea itself, and is not worth examining at all, not least of all because most of us will never merit an invitation into this rare group of privileged elites.

The detail, we repeat, is not worth looking at, except that one cannot help chuckling at the desire of the pompous, socially ambitious protocol officer to dispense precious handshakes and beatific smiles to self-conscious V.I.P.s, under the glare of TV cameras! One also cannot help being amused at the clear impression that emerges that the person(s) who drew this list knew more about the personalities than their posts. (And what genius thought about all those retired people?)

What is happening to our spirit of revolution? Are cocktails so important? Where are they in our order of priorities? Or is this our own "cultural" revolution? What is happening to Ghanaians?

Let the unclassified rest contented that they are left alone to work properly for Ghana, unspoiled by social snobbishness.

Letters

British Justice and Kwesi Armah

SIR—I have read with interest the letter by P. W. C. Maxwell which appeared in Vol. II, No. 3 of the *Observer*.

As an expatriate I have no right, neither is it my desire, to meddle in the affairs of my host country. However, since this particular letter touches upon my own country, it is legitimate for me to make a comment.

Your writer, as an Englishman, ought to know that British law and justice is, fortunately, not dictated by transitory personalities, however exalted, nor impasioned by revolution.

Now that the hue and cry has abated, British law has caught up with Kwesi Armah—which any sane person knew it eventually would. He will be tried without influence or pressures from any source; probably go to prison, and eventually be deported.

Meantime I advocate that your writer forget his petition and be consoled rather by what I have said and what he must know to be true. As some philosophical mammy truck owner might very soon colourfully paint on his truck—"Ah... Kwesi Armah!?"

**Manciple's Organization,
Legon.**

Peter C. G. Berale.

SIR—I was amused to read the letter of Mr. P. W. C. Maxwell over the Kwesi Armah affair in your Vol. II, No. 3 issue. Even if his action in protesting to the British Home Secretary and the British High Commissioner in Ghana is bold and courageous, need it have been made known?

Looked at dispassionately, Mr. Roy Jenkins' decision can claim some justification. It may even have been influenced by certain events in Ghana. In any case the speed with which the British Government has instituted criminal proceedings against Armah shows the *bona fides* of that Government.

I hope it is not Mr. Maxwell's desire to get free publicity unnecessarily?

History Dept., Legon

C. N. Wadia

B. Hughes and Salary Increase

SIR—In a letter to the *Observer* (Vol. II, No. 1), one Mr. B. Hughes, in a spirit of moral indignation, complained that "...the Senior Staff of the University of Ghana, those one would expect to be most conspicuous in their example, are among the first workers in Ghana to be awarded a pay rise". I gather that in awarding the pay rise the University of Ghana made it quite clear that if any senior member chose not to accept the salary increase—presumably because accepting it would be morally indefensible—he could remain on the old scale.

On the logic of his arguments, one would have expected Mr. Hughes—a lecturer in Zoology—to either choose to remain on the old scale or if he chose to accept the new scale to give the difference to the National Trust Fund. To my utter surprise, Mr. Hughes has wholeheartedly accepted the new salary scale with the same enthusiasm as those who were less hypocritical about the salary increase. Moral indignation on the part of Mr. Hughes indeed!

I believe it is about time some British expatriates stopped making political and moral clowns of them-

selves in Ghana. Post-coup Ghana is not to see the Hodgkins, the Pat Sloans, the Bings and the Marshments replaced with the Hugheses. Modesty, honesty and integrity are at least expected in expatriates who believe they understand the problems of Ghana better than Ghanaians.

Legon.

P. T. Yiadu.

The New Cedi

SIR—In spite of all that the authorities of the Bank of Ghana have said in defence of the New Cedi, I still do not see the need for the change. For one thing, I cannot see the advantage a 10/- Cedi has over an 8/4 Cedi.

I should have thought that the removal of Nkrumah's effigy from the coins and notes and the change of design on the notes should have been enough to remind us that Nkrumah is no more. But no, the 8/4 Cedi still has, as it were, some "Nkrumah" in it, so it must be changed. Hence, the 10/- Cedi—but, why not a £1 Cedi? Perhaps, this is the Bank's contribution to the national crusade to obliterate the image of the ousted President from the Ghanaian scene. If so, then I say it is unfortunately ineffective for, to name only one example, "Job 600" (even if we deprecate its effect on our economy) still stands as a gigantic monument to his memory.

One effect of the change which I fear the authorities did not take seriously is the adjustments we must needs make to our figures in the accounting books. The question of re-educating Ghanaians especially the village folk on the new currency is too obvious to need repetition. The half pesewa which follows from the introduction of the New Cedi is a most inconvenient and (decidedly) a most undesirable addition to our coinage. All this exercise takes its due toll on our already depleted exchequer.

I would like to ask: by what criterion was it decided that Ghanaians preferred a 10/- Cedi to an 8/4 one? Was it by the newspaper opinions and articles, or by the symposium that was held on the Subject, or was it by the majority vote of the Board of Directors of the Bank of Ghana?

The foregoing looks like crying over spilt milk which is, in fact, what it is. But, I must confess, I find it hard to laugh or rejoice when my milk is spilled, especially when somebody else has done the spilling. Therefore this letter, while not hoping to achieve a reversal of the decision to change the value of the Cedi, is intended to place on record another Ghanaian's disappointment over the New Cedi.

Takoradi.

Emma. K. Sarpey.

White Paper and Apaloo Commission

SIR—Mr. Kwame Apegyei in his letter on the Government's White Paper on the report of the Apaloo Commission (*Legon Observer* February 3, 1967) stated that the White Paper "whitewashed Gbedemah, Botsio and Krobo Edeusei over the Parkinson Howard Group affair."

The statement in the fourth paragraph of that letter explains the fears of the writer as expressed by the rhetorical question in paragraph three. But my answer is a big NO to that question. Mr. Justice Apaloo knows "what is legally admissible evidence." But as human beings the three Commissioners are fallible. No intelligent layman reading that part of the report

relating to this affair can be impressed by the unjust conclusion arrived at.

The Commissioners ought to have argued the way the Government White Paper did in the interest of justice and fairness, since the evidence was obscure. When asked Mr. Granville could not mention the persons or parties who allegedly represented the company in paying the money. He could not state how much was paid to each of the men. He did not witness the paying ceremony; nor could he produce any document to prove the allegation against the men.

The whole idea of monies being "donated" to the C.P.P. by contractors whether voluntarily or on extortion was unpleasant. This unpleasantness must naturally make anybody, including those against whom the allegation was made, "uncomfortable." In order to avoid conclusions the Commission should at least have acted upon Mr. Krobo Edusei's request for "Parkinson Howard himself or Sir John Howard to come and say that he gave me money". But the Commission did nothing about this challenge.

House No. F.631/2, Accra.

Kojo Loggo

Book Review

THE PRESS IN AFRICA COMMUNICATIONS PAST AND PRESENT

By Rosalyn Ainslie

(Published by Victor Gollancz Ltd., 1966)

Review by

K. A. B. Jones-Quartey

THE "INTRODUCTION" to this book tells us both on whose side the author operates and why Victor Gollancz are the publishers:

... The general poverty of media and consequent dependence on foreign sources of news and feature material... raise problems not simply of the quantity of information available to the people of Africa: but of its quality. If a task of mass media is to help create a new national pride and sense of continental identity, is the blatantly white-racialist French cartoon *Tintin* correct television fare for African children? If a task is to educate the people in the policies of their own governments, to teach them to see the world and themselves from an African standpoint, can African newspapers afford to continue to depend on foreign sources for practically all their international (including inter-African) news?

A little later on the author tells how "the Stanleyville landings [Congo-Leo, Nov. 1964] and the horrors that accompanied them had provoked in the Western Press a wave of what can only be described, in some cases at least, as racial hysteria." Miss Ainslie then goes on to show how the Western Press inflated into huge balloons

the atrocities of the black Congolese rebels against white missionaries and others, at the same time scrupulously suppressing all news of white atrocities and "the more grotesque aspects" of the "rescue" mission of the South African mercenaries.

Naturally, such heresy—such traitor-stuff—from a white author can be tolerated only by publishers like Gollancz (whose founder-owner, the controversialist Sir Victor, died only a few weeks ago). Miss Ainslie, author of *The Press in Africa*, in fact disqualified herself out of most Western publishing houses in every possible way even before writing this book: was born to white South African parents in Cape Town, but worked for rebel Ronald Seagal's *Africa South* at one time; worked on an Algerian weekly, *Revolutions Africaine*, at another; is married to a Ceylonese architect; now lives in London as a voluntary exile from *Apartheid*; and, finally, espouses African causes.

Miss Ainslie sets out to survey the entire continent of Africa, historically and contemporaneously, in its establishment and use of the mass media. This is of course an over-ambitious task which, if it ever comes to be done properly, will require many volumes. Fortunately, Miss Ainslie had no intentions of fooling herself or anyone else with her title or its scope. The book is not a "thorough survey of its subject", she says, and adds that she is not even an "expert" on the subject of the African Press. Well, all this doesn't matter anyway, for, transcendent in the author's mind and intention was the urgency of showing that in this area, too, Africa's fate was in the hands of others, not in her own. The analogy is needless to say—compares with economic situation, in which the "heights" are occupied by all but the grip is getting tighter every day.

This is the real message of *T* all the history, all the facts only go to prove or at least confirm. The message is that the "news" of newspapers in African Africa, Rhodesia, and possibly the world from London, Paris, Johannesburg, and TV programmes "must be bought" in London, New York; that in Africa, all signals go out from non-African Africa. All these mass media rely, in one way or other, on the services of foreign ownership, for the news and the build-up of the feature programmes. Moreover, about four particular countries, world news coverage in most of

four are of course the United States, Britain, France, and Russia, with America alone claiming from 26 to 49 per cent of the news coverage in 39 capital-city newspapers surveyed on the continent in 1961.

That is the message. The figures—those far more important than the ones above—are given in units of service (radio and TV sets, newspapers) per 100 of population (Unesco report for 1962):-

	Africa	Europe
Newspapers:	1.2 per 100	23
Radio sets:	2.3 " "	20.6
TV sets:	.07 " "	7.4

Against these heartbreaking figures Unesco, Miss Ainslie reminds us, has suggested immediate target aims of 10 newspapers, five radio receivers, and two television sets per 100 of population for the continent, on the average—a modest ambition nevertheless tortured by hopelessness. This is all by way of introducing a problem of really cruel dimensions. The story itself of the development of mass media services in Africa and their present condition, is told in the rest of Miss Ainslie's 250 pages.

Because of the paucity of existing information on this vast subject, the author understandably felt inspired—she must have done—to do the whole damn thing, or bust! Well, within the qualifications observed by herself she makes a very good job of it. Above all she succeeds in analysing the basic problems and difficulties confronting the African owners and manipulators of mass media, treating with humour and sensitivity the internal weaknesses she sees in these establishments. The weaknesses: public unacceptance in the African sector of median proprietorship, lack of education and rudeness of approach, absence of continuity—these are the main phenomena. What is crippling is the disadvantages which show up in Ghana, those one sees a-avis its foreign counterparts in their example of finance, technology, and in Ghana to be awarded is forbidding. In awarding the pay rise the technical stranglehold quite clear that if any salary increase is accepted the salary would, even with large gestures on the old scale, the strangleholders themselves

I hope it is these establishments. The weaknesses: public unacceptance in the African sector of median proprietorship, lack of education and rudeness of approach, absence of continuity—these are the main phenomena. What is crippling is the disadvantages which show up in Ghana, those one sees a-avis its foreign counterparts in their example of finance, technology, and in Ghana to be awarded is forbidding. In awarding the pay rise the technical stranglehold quite clear that if any salary increase is accepted the salary would, even with large gestures on the old scale, the strangleholders themselves

On the logic of expected Mr. Hughes, too, Miss Ainslie is not without choice to remain on (repretive) weakness or two of tional Trust Fund. Tance, J. H. Brew started his has wholeheartedly accoe Coast not in 1880 but in the same enthusiasm as appears of his *Gold Coast Times* about the salary increase fully printed, African-owned part of Mr. Hughes. Again, Charles Bannerman, I believe it is at J. Again, Charles Bannerman, stopped making rceded those of Brew by almost

one generation, but on a primitive scale, started his paper, the *Accra Herald*, in 1857, not '58. Thus the *Herald* preceded Abeokuta's *Iwe Irohin* (this word, incidentally, is spelt "Ihorin" wherever it appears in this book) not by one but by two years. Also, it is misleading to say that Azikiwe tried out his ideas in his new *African Morning Post* "in collaboration with . . . I.T.A: Wallace Johnson . . ." These two men were complementary contemporaries *ad hoc*, if you like, in the then Gold Coast, not collaborators in Miss Ainslie's sense . . .

Experts on other sections of the African Press may also discover a few mistakes of this nature in the book. Neither they nor I can do anything, however, to diminish the value of this most helpful work, so penetrating, expert—in spite of Miss Ainslie's modest disclaimer—and sympathetic.

WHAT IS ON IN GHANA

(Published by Reindorf Public Relations Services)

Review

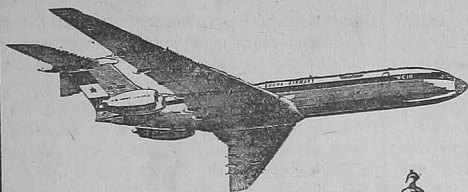
By

A. N. Hakim

ONE OF the bright recent periodical publications to appear in Accra's newsstands is the timely "What is on in Ghana"—a monthly, published by the Reindorf Public Relations Services and edited by the versatile Betty Bossman. Indeed this is a badly needed innovation and could prove very valuable to the tourist, the businessman and the man of leisure for it includes, among other things, basic information on travel, shopping, entertainment, hotels, dining and other social and cultural notes and events for each month.

The magazine has an attractive presentation and format, but unfortunately presents a mixture of information that lacks categorization, completeness and criticism.

For one thing the stranger to the Ghana scene may find the places very difficult to follow. Modest outline maps of the city and the country that could appear in one of the pages would be very helpful. This would guide the reader through codes for the location of each place mentioned. Another would be to let the reader know as to what to expect from each place mentioned. There is no classification of shops, restaurants, hotels, pubs, and night clubs according to price range, quality or class of clientele. For instance under "restaurants", there is a wide variance between the "Spread Eagle" restaurant and the "Maharaja", and under "hotels", between the "Star" and the "Sea View", but the guides fail to indicate to the reader as to approximately what to expect from each place. This type of magazine would



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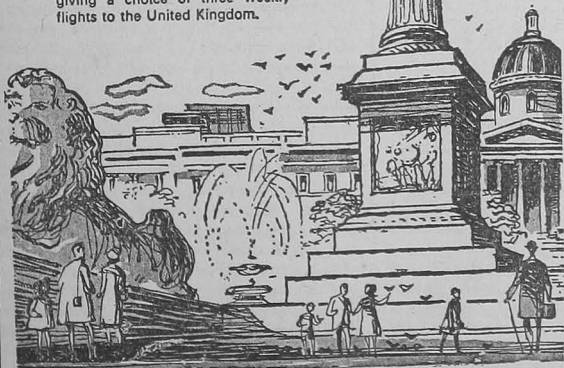
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soon have to make a choice between pleasing the consumers or the advertisers. A bit of criticism as to such items as quality of food and service would indeed serve to bring up badly needed tourist industry standards in the country, but criticism in this magazine is nearly all lacking. Basic information is also incomplete. For instance, one would expect the "Chevalier" and the "Mandarin", two new high class restaurants in the city to be listed, but they are not. Similarly, under flight information one is surprised to see Ghana and Nigeria Airways' flights scheduled not listed among the schedules of the other international airlines. Also there is no mention of places of interest such as zoos, botanical gardens and no mention of cinemas.

Of special merit is the feature "Traditional Aspects" which is indeed highly informative to the newcomer and the tourist for such events as traditional festivals, but again one would like to know where these places are and how to get there.

The most serious defect of the magazine seems to be the lateness. The magazine has been irregular and exceedingly late (as long as one month) in appearing and unfortunately only in very few newsstands.

One can hope that all the above defects are growing pains and that the magazine will mature into an extremely useful guide for social, cultural and touristic events and places for the country. It is indeed commendable that it has been started in the first place.

Commentary

THE TRADE FAIR AND GHANA'S PROSPECTS FOR TRADE & INVESTMENTS

By

A. N. Hakam

MUCH HAS already been said about the contribution of the 1967 Trade Fair to Ghana's economy. The net gain in foreign exchange has been estimated at £2.5 million. There has been an increase in short term employment; there is a gain in prestige for the country. But, most important of all, the Fair was expected to make substantial new trade and investments in the country.

It is precisely the last aspect, trade and investment, that we proceed to examine here and which certainly must have been the primary reason why this new government decided to go ahead with the Fair in the first place.

Certainly, had there not been a change in government the tone of the Fair would have been considerably different. There would have been

more "revolutionary countries" represented, more political speeches, more fanfare and exhibitionism such as was shown at the Accra OAU Summit Conference of 1965, but the effect on trade and investments would likely have been negligible.

Does the picture change now? Certainly the atmosphere has changed. Ideologies aside, the fact that Ghana had taken essential steps to remedy her economy by curbing spending, for example, has done a great deal to restore confidence in the economic realism of the country in the eyes of her principal trading and investment partners—both from the West and the East (and to say that Eastern Block countries interests in Ghana are any less business-minded than Western countries is not supported by the evidence of their multiplicity of fine articles exhibited at the Trade Fair).

Does all this mean that there would be more favourable trade and payments to Ghana? Not necessarily, especially with regard to increased trade. For one thing the Trade Fair is not likely to increase Ghana's exports by any significant amount. The exports of primary commodities which at present constitute more than 90 per cent of Ghana's exports (i.e. cocoa, timber, diamonds, bauxite and manganese) are largely determined by the quantities of these goods that Ghana can produce in a given year and the prevailing world prices. The Trade Fair is not likely to affect significantly the total world demand for these commodities, and thus, their world prices. On the other hand the export of Ghana's manufactured products has only dim prospects at present. Although the variety of the products that are produced in Ghana and often their quality is quite impressive, the prices seem to be quite high for most items and thus would not enable these products to be competitive in the world market.

From a brief survey conducted by this author at the Trade Fair, it was found for instance that:

- (a) They are mostly small scale, thus seldom enjoy economies of large scale production;
- (b) their cost of production is generally high, since, in most cases, a considerable portion of their raw materials and other components have to be imported;
- (c) availability of the raw materials and other components is uncertain, since the imported portion depends on the availability of foreign exchange allocation (and many firms have suggested that their inability to expand was caused directly by their inability in the past to

obtain the desired import licences). Moreover, the domestic portion of the material and component is also unevenly supplied, which is largely attributable to the misdirected agricultural and mineral policies of the past;

- (d) The same common phenomena that characterize young industries in other developing countries also prevail here; namely, shortage of capital, low productivity of labour due to insufficient availability of skilled and managerial manpower and lack of experience and know-how in marketing products for exports.

Perhaps a far better benefit would result from the import side where Ghanaians could be appointed agents for a far wider range of products and where likely that Ghanaian consumers could benefit from reduced and more competitive prices than those offered by the major trading houses in Ghana. The difficulty on the import side is again foreign exchange which practically limits imports to producers' goods and some very basic essential consumer products.

What about foreign investments? These are directly related to Ghana's balance of trade picture and Ghana's present indebtedness. For, foreigners would view their ability to freely convert and move their capital dividends profits to wherever they wish as a most essential condition for their ventures and the present Ghanaian balance of payments picture does not allow that. For instance, the rate of profit on investments is reported to be far higher in Ghana than in Nigeria, but inability to repatriate profits is a tremendous deterrent to new ventures as well as to previous investors who would be reluctant to reinvest. Furthermore, foreign investors would like to assume that once production starts they would be able to import freely the raw material and other components that are necessary in their production process which so far has been difficult.

However, in spite of these obstacles, the prospective picture for investments is not so black as it would appear. Ghana has a growing good infrastructure, an urban market with relatively high per capita income compared to other African countries (three times that of Nigeria). Besides, large international corporations, fortunately, take a long term view of the prospects of their investments and may conclude that Ghana can overcome her present difficulties.

Moreover, some small investors, notably resident establishments in Ghana, are already show-

ing signs of optimism by announcing here and there various plans for expansion of industry in this country. Therefore, the Fair may likely give a bright and favourable image of a country attempting to correct previous unsound economic policies and thus lead to changes which would make the country favourable and hospitable to foreign investors.

Finally, the enthusiasm generated by speeches, seminars and government assurances however, be followed up by continued concrete remedial steps and an active investment promotion programme.

THE CHOICE OF FREEDOM

By

John Kwadu

IF EVER you were faced with a choice between living in oppression but only given the option to partake of the oppressor's assumed bounty, and freedom from oppression, what would be your decision? Or if you were asked to choose between these two alternatives: to be a slave and depend upon the benevolence of your master, and to be a free man, what would be your answer?

I would choose to be a free man. I think your choice would be the same, wouldn't it?

When I look back on 24 February, 1966 and reflect, I see this that by the action and gallantry of her sons in the Forces, Ghana made a similar choice that day. She chose to be free. She chose freedom in order that she could open a new chapter in the history of her life.

How far that choice has affected me personally is my main consideration here.

It is my admission that I am enjoying Ghana's chosen freedom. I am free to think independently, I am free to express my thoughts and views orally and in print without fear or favour. (What I am doing now is an expression of that freedom). My opinion about something may be contrary to your own. But what matters is that I am free to hold an opinion and I am equally free to express it in good faith. You too are free to hold, speak or write yours.

Besides being free to . . . I am also free from. . . I am thinking of freedom from want in particular. I am not implying that I have everything I want or need, since to be in that position will depend upon my ability and means to acquire those wants. I am thinking in terms of whether or not those things I want are available if I have the means to buy them.

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the state will make these consumer products available on the market. Add to it that I expect also to have the freedom to choose between evaporated and condensed milk. And my chosen brand of milk will no doubt refresh me better.

It is equally refreshing to be given the freedom not to hero-worship, if I don't see the need to. As far as I am concerned, He who must be worshipped and praised always (for He is blameless) is God. Yet if you don't believe in God you are not bound to worship and praise Him.

I am a human being. Consequently, I am fallible. I am therefore subject to criticism. In other words, I expect my actions to be approved or disapproved of. To be spared the tedium of worshipping my fellow human-being therefore is a great relief and an addition to the stature of my personal freedom.

But independence of worship or speech is dependent upon the absence of fear. I am specifically referring to freedom from fear. Imagine living in fear of something or somebody. As long as that fear exists you cease to be yourself. In other words, you are denied independence and self respect. Your attitudes and actions are conditioned by the fear of that person or thing.

Contrast this dreadful mental or moral environment with a condition in which you are free from fear. There is an atmosphere for self conviction. There is also an atmosphere for self confidence and self determination. You act without fear. In short, you are able to behave like an independent human being.

These considerations have centred on the importance of one fundamental thing—freedom. Freedom to speak and speak out too; freedom to criticize; freedom from worshipping a human being; freedom from fear...

I wish we would always choose freedom!

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Religion

THE DILEMMA OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS IN AFRICA

By

J. M. Assimeng

HISTORY, many authorities would now admit, seems to be divided into various phases, though whether the development of social institutions follows the life cycle of "gestation, growth, and decay", will presumably depend on one's view of the forces which hold the world together. The school of thought which sees man as having fallen from grace, is as potent and appealing as the side which holds to the Idea of Progress.

This article is not about the broad issue of history as such. What it sets out to explore are the sociological bases of the various changes which a particular aspect of historical process has undergone. This process is "Christian Evangelization," and the platform on which its drama has been played is the missionary territory of Africa.

Religious Imperialism?

The assertion that Christian missionaries came to Africa principally as the spiritual cover for imperialist and capitalist expansion on the continent is obviously an exaggeration, though as an ideology it had its own explanatory function; an assertion of this nature fails to take into account the multifarious differences of the denominations, the differential in their evangelical motivation, or the variability in the character of their personnel. That some missionaries were known to have actively paved the way for the signing of various "treaties" which led to colonization in some countries, is granted. But there is the fact, also, that, in many cases, these treaty-signing pioneer missionaries may have thought of colonization as merely a means of obtaining the cultural opportunity for spreading the gospel. Ideas, of course, usually have their roots in historical circumstances; it is no wonder, then that the struggle against foreign domination saw European missionary endeavours as dubiously motivated. In the East, Central, and South Africa where missionary-convert relationships fell short of the Africans' expectation, this struggle for independence has usually adopted religious undertones. Apart from a few areas on the continent, Africa is now virtually politically independent. Yet the Christian missionaries are still here, and apparently much more welcomed now. Why?

It seems to me that this is an indication that Christian missions had a much more enduring, if a very initially uncertain, duty to perform. Earlier Catholic missiology began with the belief that Jesus's command for world-wide conversion was being carried out. By the fifteenth century, a shift in position becomes discernible, and one sees the Catholic aim principally as an attempt to combat "Protestant heresy," especially the forestalling of this "heresy" in "heathen" areas. How far the Catholic Curia consciously desired to recoup its losses by breaking new grounds in untouched territories is open to question, though the almost-military seriousness with which the Society of Jesus tackled its job shows how urgent missionary work had become as a strategy of world spiritual domination by the Vatican. This immediate post-Reformation period of missionary work has very little interest to students of social change in Africa, if for the fact that the impact

of Christianity on Africans during that period was very insignificant.

Evangelical Awakening

The student of missiology and its relationship with African social change will do well to begin with the history of the Evangelical Awakening in Britain and other parts of Europe. John Wesley's revival, in particular, had shown the popular opposition against rigid sacerdotalism and what amounted to a monopoly over the right to declare the gospel. The Arminian position, too, had paved the way for the belief that grace was possible, not through the institutional church, but through man's own personal and free relationship with his Creator. If man had a right to experience the Ultimate without the intervention of institutional trappings—an issue over which many tortures had taken place in medieval church history—then the obvious sequel was that each individual had a right and an obligation to openly propagate unto others his experience of this Essence.

The obsessive return to the Holy Writ, and especially to the Book of Daniel, raised up once again, the question of the relationship between biblical chronology and human salvation. Were the scientific, technological, industrial and cultural achievements of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to be taken as indices of the kind of golden age the Scriptures had spoken of? Augustinian expositions had set a seal to the position that, with the emergence of the Church from a position of a minority, persecuted body to that of a major religious force, the Kingdom of God had already been realized. By the nineteenth century, the freedom to see the golden age in different terms had been guaranteed. What happened? What really happened was the emergence of the belief that Christ was coming back—the Second Advent—and that before His arrival, the gospel had to be preached throughout all the corners of the earth. Biblical arithmetic had been taken much more seriously, and the various “dispensations” and “dragons” acquired new and serious meaning and significance. Some of the “searching Bible students” were so bold as to provide specific dates on which the Lord was supposed to be coming.

The Acts of the Apostles tell us something of the various processes of reactions to unfulfilled prophecies: that is, the attempt of the earlier church leaders to get as many people as possible to “believe” in the nearness of the Kingdom of God. A few of the followers of Christ may have quit the group as they waited in vain for what was thought to be imminent. What is certain, though, is the missiological twist which was invented to explain why the Kingdom had not come. While Bible scholars still debate the authorship of many of the Epistles, the sociologist discovers at least one important fact: that, whoever wrote the Epistles was not devoid of the knowledge of how to obtain order and discipline, and yet continue to maintain popular enthusiasm, in a collective movement animated by values of a precarious kind. In the nineteenth century, too, missionary labour was given a scriptural authorization. In particular, Pentecostals and other movements saw a divine commission that the gospel should be presented to the Africans “in their own languages.” All these led to one theme: the realization that the Lord would not come unless the crucial gospel message had reached all mankind. And so the haste, denominational competition, and in many cases the sacrifice of comfort and life, to evangelize Africa!

Clash of Ideas

The original belief of Christian missionaries was that if the “heathen” heard of the soul-saving message, and the blessings which the Kingdom of God would offer, there would be no difficulty in his repenting from his sins and accepting Christ as his Saviour. Anthropological researches had then not sufficiently established that the African had a religion of his own; a religion which though without theology or written dogmas, was a major determinant of various areas of his social organization. When this knowledge was made known, Christian missionaries, then too serious with matters of the Spirit, were very slow to recognize and accept. (As recently as 1955, Prof. K. A. Busia, a Ghanaian sociologist, and himself a Christian leader, had to remind his country's Christian Council to “come to grips with traditional beliefs and practices, and with the world view that these beliefs and practices imply.”)

In my opinion, it is too much to have expected the earlier missionaries to be sociologists as well. In this regard, it must be recalled that the Jesuits, whose moral philosophy of cultural relativity enabled them to be somewhat accommodating, were accused by the conservative Orders of the Catholic Church of compromising the purity of the Christian gospel. One will, then, have to understand the predicament of the earlier Christian missionary, who was obviously imbued with evangelical zeal to save souls for his Master, but who was unaware of the practical contingencies involved in the achievement of success in such a venture.

Problems of language and communication; opposition of traditional leaders to the evangelization of their subjects; the persistence of cultural activities such as drumming and dancing which meant that the Christian convert had to be kept in an isolated community; hostility of witch doctors and fetish priests whose grip on their people had been endangered—it is no use enumerating these and the many other difficulties which the missionaries had to endure. One thing was, however, clear: making a “frontal” attack on African customs and traditions did not prove as easy as it had been expected. When this lack of success was realized, the missionaries, as Nigeria's Achebe admirably describes in his novel *Things Fall Apart*, turned to indirect approaches. This is what gave rise to the establishment of schools. With these schools went hospitals which, no doubt, were meant to show the superiority of European civilization and the Word of God over African magic and traditional healing formulae.

The initial expectation was that pupils who entered missionary schools would, on graduation, help to spread the gospel they had themselves imbibed. Apart from very few instances, this was not the case in practice. But unfortunately for the missionaries the knowledge gained, albeit from spiritual institutions, was immediately utilized for secular purposes. In West Africa, the mosquito problem dictated that the church leadership be indigenized very quickly as soon as capable men became available. The situation in, say, the settler Rhodesias, was entirely the opposite. Thus, while Nigeria's Samuel A. Crowther became Bishop of the Niger Delta by 1864, in the Rhodesias African Christians were, until recently, given sacraments in separate churches from those of Europeans!

Period of Conservation

If the above phase of evangelization can be regarded as the first period of gospel sowing, the second phase

may be termed the period of conservation. The struggle in this phase has been one of the churches trying to maintain their hold on the followers they have obtained, and to deepen the level of their converts' spirituality.

Factors in this phase have been much more involved. On the one hand, there has been an increase in the number of denominations in which new religious movements, indigenous and foreign, have challenged the established churches for adherents. Operating within the context and spirit of nationalism, Africans have wondered why a new orientation to their culture, of which religion is a crucial component, should not be made. The independent African churches have questioned the anthropological and theological meaning of the church: is polygamy bad from the point of view of mid-nineteenth century Victorian morality, or sinful on theological grounds? Are tongue-speaking and spiritual healing abhorrent to liberal, formalized and respectable Christianity, or are they no longer needed for genuine biblical reasons? Is witchcraft mere primitive illusion, or is it an issue the Church of Christ should, and is expected to, grapple with? And so the arguments go on, as indigenous movements such as the Church of the Lord (Aladura), in West Africa, and Alice Lenshina's Lumpa sect in Central Africa succeed in challenging the established churches for followers, while defying orthodox techniques of conversion.

(To be concluded)

Sport

The Recent Commonwealth Featherweight Title Fight—A Correction

THE LAST paragraph of this article (Page 30, Vol. II, No. 4) should read as follows:—

Finally, Floyd has lost the fight. He was foolish the way he approached the contest—having to lose so much weight in so short a time and fighting in his usual slow way. But in refusing to continue after the 12th round, he showed greater wisdom, realism, and even sportsmanship than those who are taunting him with Miyaa (or Nyaa?), i.e. 'I am not going'. Let only the foolish and unsympathetic go on doing this—like Moscow-trained Ajax Bukana, who aspires to be a clown, and practices his vulgar art under C.O.S. patronage in the Accra Stadium. Football fans who echo his signals with Miyaa should ask themselves whether they are any better than this quack.

THE FOOTBALL SLUMP (I)

By

Our Sports Correspondent

IT IS A paradox that after the coup which overthrew authoritarianism at the C.O.S., football in Ghana, instead of flourishing, should have slumped. It is also an irony that the slump should have been so rapid and complete after the removal of the one man who, everybody thought, was in the way of the real and steady progress

of sport in Ghana—Mr. Ohene-Djan. The truth, however, is that the signs of decline, like those of the chaos in our economy, were evident long before the coup; and the present crisis would have come whether there had been a coup or not, whether Mr. Ohene-Djan had been sacked or not. What we must do now is to isolate the fundamental causes of the stagnation and seek solutions to them.

It will be convenient first to examine the problems facing football at the club level, and then consider what problems are faced at the national level. Three major problems face football clubs in the country today: (a) lack of coaching, training and management facilities; (b) finance; and (c) economic insecurity facing individual players. At the national level, the major problems are: organization, administration and, again finance.

Problems Facing Football Clubs —Coaching

One of the greatest problems facing clubs is the absence of coaches. This problem is not generally recognized, but is a crucial factor in our bid to raise the standard of performance in football. There is not a single club in Ghana with its own coach. True, there are one or two clubs, like Kotoko, who have in the past enjoyed the services of first-class coaches; but at the moment there are no coaches of professional standard capable of handling clubs at an "international" class.

Our attitude to coaching, and coaches, clearly shows that the importance of the role and function of a coach is not fully appreciated. It was only in a senseless exhibition of nationalism that Ohene-Djan decided to terminate the services of the greatest coach Ghana has ever known, Mr. Ember, after he had raised the standard of Ghana football to an internationally respectable level. The replacement of Mr. Ember with Mr. Gyamfi was to satisfy this nationalist temper. Mr. Gyamfi, however, is not a trained coach. He was, in his day, a great footballer, an artist of no mean order; but he is not a "scientist" of the game, and has never enjoyed the confidence of our national players or sports officers as a "professional" coach. His successes have been based only on the standard to which Ember raised Ghana football; and it was only a matter of time when this would fall.

Some clubs depend on part-time "coaches", people who love the game but know little of the modern science of it, or how to impart their knowledge. Some clubs even elect some of their own players as "player-coaches", as the defunct

Republikan Club did with Aggrey-Fynn. Aggrey-Fynn was a very fine and intelligent player, but he could never, by any stretch of the imagination, be imagined to be a coach on account of his playing skill alone; and the club did itself a great deal of harm by failing to recognize this. Of course, some clubs have no "coaches" of any type at all. At best they only share the part-time services of that small number of Ghanaian footballers who were sent overseas for courses in coaching in 1958/60, and who returned to be attached to whole Regions as coaches. These "coaches" are too few, knew little more than the club players themselves, and have failed to be effective. Only Ben Kwofie, who among the group, is the only coach to have returned overseas since 1961 for a short refresher course, can be said to be a serious coach in the country now.

It is strongly suggested that the problem of full-time professional coaches for football clubs be tackled NOW as a matter of urgency. The Government must take immediate steps to arrange a scheme of "technical assistance" with the better footballing nations, like Brazil or any of the friendly European nations, whereby professional coaches would be sent to Ghana to be attached to at least the better clubs here for periods of 2 years at a time. In the meantime, a number of capable Ghanaians, carefully selected, should be sent to these countries to undertake complete professional courses in coaching. After about 8 years, we should have enough of our own coaches. The returns will be worth the investment if the programme is properly planned and controlled.

Training and Management Facilities

Facilities for training are woefully lacking throughout the country. Until its dissolution, the favoured Republikans Club was the only club which enjoyed the proper facilities needed for training a club at the Accra Stadium. All other clubs had to use very poor fields for practice and training. Most clubs use school parks as their training ground, or clear their own grounds for the purpose. Invariably these fields are not properly surfaced or maintained and they never have any health facilities attached.

What we need are stadia in the major centres with training grounds, running tracks, gymnasias, and health facilities. Ideally, clubs should build their own facilities. But apart from Kotoko, no club is likely to be able to raise enough funds on its own to do this. Thus, the Government, with a vested interest in the sporting status of the nation, should actively seek a solution to this problem. It could build these stadia and hand them over to a

quasi-public body to run them independently; or it could create a National Sports Facilities Board to tackle this problem, first for football and then for the other sports, in that order. Such a body could have representatives from appropriate Ministries and departments (such as Works and Housing, Social Welfare, Health, Local Government and Lands), the C.O.S. and the Clubs Associations.

Football clubs in this country also lack able club and team managers and executives capable of running the clubs efficiently, or of using the clubs' funds wisely, or of actively seeking the interests of players. The constant quarrels between players and club executives is a result of a lack of mutual confidence. This is an internal matter for clubs themselves. It is enough here to point out to the clubs that discipline among players and executives is essential for the strength of their clubs.

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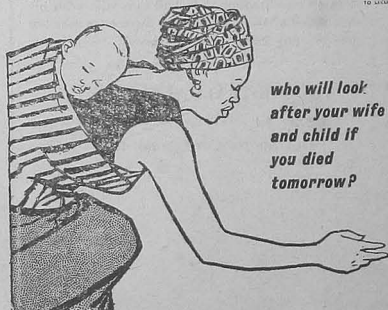
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who will look
after your wife
and child if
you died
tomorrow?

Finance

Money is a perennial source of worry to most clubs. The most important source of revenue is the share of the gate. Under the old Administration, gross gate collection used to be distributed as follows: 25 per cent went to the Government as entertainment tax; after the C.O.S. had deducted its expenses of the match, it then took 45 per cent of the net, and gave the rest, i.e. 55 per cent of the net, to the two competing clubs! The position has improved for the clubs only slightly now: the C.O.S. has reduced its share to 30 per cent of the net (i.e. less its expenses) and raised the share of the two participating clubs to 70 per cent. The actual amount going to the clubs is really not enough to pay for their running expenses and permit expansion and growth. Clearly, both the C.O.S. and the Government will have to reduce their share of the proceeds in order to put more money into the hands of the clubs.

There is yet another way in which the Government can help clubs tremendously: it should consider lowering, or even abolishing, the taxes on sports equipment—they are too expensive now.

Economic Problems of Players

One of the major disruptions of this year's league is the unemployment problem. Many players were working for organizations that were compelled, by the necessities of the economic reconstruction programme, to lay off many workers. As they left their home towns in search of jobs elsewhere, it was natural that the sporting activities of their clubs should be affected.

This problem of providing economic security for the players takes us to the fundamental issue of amateurism versus professionalism, which was raised in an article by Mr. McClelland (L.O. 1, 12; 9/12/66). Professional footballers earn their living by the sport, and therefore devote all their time to it. (This is why they are able to attain such great proficiency). Economic insecurity is no more of a problem here than in other jobs, and on the whole is much less, as the players are able to earn a great deal of money in a short time. This can assure their future, or at least they can take out insurance policies against fatal injuries etc. Ghana should begin to think of professionalism in football.

We cannot, of course, wait until professional football is established in Ghana before we provide some economic assurance and security to our league footballers; and, in any case, there will always be amateur footballers and sportsmen in Ghana. Therefore something ought to be done

immediately. For example, the clubs and their Association(s) could work out a scheme of unemployment benefits for players. They could also take out insurance policies for them, in order to ensure against the kind of mishap that has befallen the immortal Baba Yara. In order to do all this the Football Clubs should have more money. For a start, therefore, their share of the gate should be raised. This is possible if the Government reduces the entertainment tax for sports, and the C.O.S. reduces further its share of the net gate receipts.

These, then, are some of the fundamental problems that our clubs face in football. In order to revive the league and the game generally, we must also examine the problems facing the game at the national level. This we shall do in our second and final instalment.

Poem

THE SPENT SCARE

It was like days in years past
with years piled high at the fore
when ribald cheer
would jeer
at the tender years I left behind
the accounts of which were closed
And the odour of youth was strong in the nose
like the wet fishy smell of the waves
going and coming through crab-clustered crags
And strolling
lolling
sprawling limbs
of the lion-chested on the sands
at the shore
were sure
that laughter
sky's blue
rustling palms
and all were theirs for the asking
And when supple limbs of counterparts
in wood-festooned lands
up country
with effrontery
would canter up and limber down the mountain slopes
without so much as a gasp at the winds they drew
and without a flutter of doubt in the future
When wood-song of chirps and coos and flutes
was song indeed
And gliding fins
upbraiding
swam up-stream against the current
over rocks and stones that littered the stream's bed
Rock-and-sand-and-pebbled floor
below the running transparency
reflecting flowing landscapes
burning like mirage
That's when the noon-sun
descending
guided youthful steps towards home

through fields of grass
and over rivulets

But soon
the sound of clattering hoofs
as of an almighty boar
approached
and most every one
with panic
knuckled under
grovelling

Then
when all was said and done
and said and done was rather soon
dusting elbows
knees and hair
the youth found out
that after all
the scare must soon be spent
as spent it was

Post Coup - 1966

Geornbeeyi Adali-Mortty

News Summary

26/2/67

First Anniversary of the Coup

THE biggest event of the past week was the celebration of the first anniversary of the coup. The celebration covered four days, starting on Thursday, 23 February with torchlight processions, bonfires, traditional drumming and dancing.

On Friday, the Liberation Day, the army officers who led the revolution, made radio broadcasts to the nation in the order in which they did their broadcasts on the day of the coup—first Colonel (then Major) Afrifa, followed by Major-General (then Colonel) Kotoka. Later in the morning there was a parade of the Armed Forces and the Police at the Black Star Square. Then Lt.-General Ankrah read a speech to the public, in which he announced the promotion by the N.L.C. of Major-General Kotoka to the rank of Lieutenant-General and Brigadier A. K. Ocran to Major-General.

In the evening Lt.-General Ankrah made a radio/T.V. broadcast to the nation in which he announced an increase of 5/- to a bag of cocoa (to £2/10/-). The following were among the other major points of his speech.

- (a) the first batch of state corporations would soon be sold to the private sector;
- (b) orderly progress towards democratic civilian rule was proceeding apace;
- (c) the Legal Committee was revising the Statute Book in order to remove from it all laws found to be against the interest of the nation;
- (d) the establishment of the military tribunal was not meant to interfere with the functions or jurisdiction of the judiciary; it was to ensure the conditions in which the rule of law could operate;
- (e) the N.L.C. was granting an amnesty to convicted prisoners as follows:
 - (i) the sentences of prisoners convicted of murder, whose appeals had failed, were to be commuted to life imprisonment;
 - (ii) life sentences were to be commuted to ten years with effect from the date of conviction;
 - (iii) persons sentenced before 24 February 1966 to three years or more were to be granted a year's remis-

sion of sentence.

- (f) fifty persons were to be released from protective custody.

The New Cedi

A NEW currency based on one cedi equivalent to 10/- was introduced on 23 February 1967. The original purpose of introducing the new currency was to remove Nkrumah's effigy; but, in addition, the value was changed in order, according to Bank of Ghana authorities, to facilitate trade and accounting. The old cedis and pesewas are to be withdrawn over three months, but the C50 and C100 notes are convertible to the new currency only at the banks.

Nkrumah's Subversive Activities

MR. HARTLEY, N.L.C. Minister of Information, read an extended statement on Nkrumah's subversive activities in Ghana at a press conference on 23 February 1967. The "socialist" countries were accused of helping him to try to return to Ghana. In particular Russia and China were alleged to have helped Nkrumah with substantial cash advances, and Cuba was alleged to be helping with training subversive agents. Pictures of a foreign trawler (intercepted by the Navy and Air Force) carrying arms were shown; and samples of explosives seized on agents were exhibited.

Ghana-Bulgaria Trade Agreement

THE Governments of Ghana and Bulgaria have signed a protocol agreement on the exchange of goods for this year. Under the agreement, Ghana will import from Bulgaria tomato puree and other canned fruits, vegetables, textiles, pharmaceuticals and machinery. Bulgaria will also import from Ghana cocoa beans and cocoa butter, timber and raw coffee.

Legal Profession (Amendment) Decree 1967

AN N.L.C. decree which amends the Legal Profession Act of 1960 has been published. A Ghanaian citizen who qualifies outside Ghana—in the U.K. or any other country whose law is based on the same principles (Roman Law)—can now be enrolled as a practicing lawyer in Ghana without having to undergo any further courses or sit for any further examinations in Ghana, provided only that he satisfies the General Legal Council that he is of good character, and pays an enrolment fee of NC50.

Pay Increase

DAILY-RATED and salaried employees of the private-owned Metal Mines in Ghana are to get a pay increase of 1/- a day. According to a joint statement of the management and the Workers' Union, this is to meet the increased cost of living. The workers in return promised to raise efficiency and productivity and reduce absenteeism.

Use of Trade Fair Site

GHANAIAI traders and commercial houses are being consulted on the idea of converting the fair site into a super-market.

S. Atu-Mensah Sentenced

S. ATU-MENSAH, a former District Organiser of the disbanded Ghana Young Pioneer Movement has been sentenced to three years' imprisonment with hard labour at the Cape Coast Circuit Court for publishing defamatory documents against the N.L.C. Atu-Mensah pleaded not guilty.

Observer Notices

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THE *Legon Observer* is a forum for public discussion of views on issues of national importance. All interesting and stimulating contributions are welcome; but intending contributors should observe the following rules:

(a) All correspondence must be supplied with the real name and full address of the writer, even if these are not meant for publication. Addresses with only the post office box number, or only the zone of the city, are incomplete (e.g. P. O. Box 41, Accra; or Adabraka, Accra). House number or street name, or business office, should be added wherever possible, in order if necessary, to enable us to contact the contributor in person. Letters with incomplete addresses shall not be published.

(b) Contributions intended for publication must as far as possible be type-written, double-spaced, and submitted in duplicate, including the original. It is our policy not to publish an article or letter already published elsewhere, unless we have special reasons for doing so. Contributions must therefore be EXCLUSIVE to the *Legon Observer*.

(c) Articles should not be more than 1,000 words (i.e. 3 or 4 pages quarto); and letters should not exceed 400 words (one page quarto), except in special cases. The Editor reserves the right to shorten contributions for reasons of space.

(d) Whatever the viewpoint expressed, contributions must be written in sober, temperate language.

We trust our correspondents will co-operate with us in these matters.

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