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EDITORIAL

21 YEARS OF THE UNITED NATIONS

CONCEIVED IN lofty idealism—"We the Peoples of the United Nations determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, and to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom. . . "—the United Nations (U.N.) officially came into existence on October 24, 1945, when the Charter was ratified by its original 51 *members*. Now the membership has increased to over 130 (October 1966 figures).

For a new nation, membership of the U.N. is an international status symbol; to be a "non-member" is not only to be isolated in an increasingly interdependent world, but also to be excluded from the drama, and the pomp and pageantry of this world body. In addition, membership enables countries to be introduced to the intricate diplomacy of this complex world, and also enables individual member countries in the innumerable, interminable, and sometimes boring conferences and meetings, to "sense" the political attitudes of fellow-members to world problems. If only for this latter reason, inscrutable Communist China must be admitted to this world body.

In terms of publicity and headline "hitting", the really *crucial institutions* appear to be the Security Council, the General Assembly and the Trusteeship Council. The past twenty-one years have seen the independence of many Asian and African nations which quickly seize the opportunity to become U.N. members, to announce not only nationhood to the world, but also to dramatize issues they feel strongly about. Over the years too, the members of the world body have polarised into three main groups with *vaguely* predictable attitudes on international problems—the Western powers, the Communist, and the "non-committed" or "neutral" nations. While, in practice, these groups do not exactly and always behave in a manner which would be expected from their vaguely predictable attitudes, for analytical neatness it is useful to see U.N. membership in terms of these groups.

Incidentally, this polarization of U.N. membership has posed problems for the world body, so unremembering of the fraternal atmosphere in which the world body was born, at a time when the pre-eminent position of the Western nations was a marked feature of the international society of states. To Western Powers—as exemplified by the speech of Lord Home when he was Britain's Foreign Secretary—the neutral nations exercise an authority in the world

body which is justified by their numerical strength but is out of all proportion to their wealth, strategic importance and military strength. The Western Powers—despite all protestations to the contrary—find this an unfortunate development; consequently there is a thinly veiled attempt on their part—especially by France—to settle all their disputes outside the framework of the U.N. To Communist nations, the U.N. is dominated by the "capitalists and imperialists"; they must therefore not shoulder any financial debts incurred by the world body. Even though the Communists have not publicly shown any misgivings about the numerical strength of the neutral nations, careful study shows that they are not too happy about either this development or the sympathetic disposition of most of the new nations to the Western Powers. To the neutral nations, the "veto power" of the Great Powers, the Great Powers' immense diplomatic prestige, and the neutral nations' relative poverty and inexperience are constant sources of irritation and frustration in their attempt to count in the counsels of the world body.

At this present stage of its evolution then, all the various groups at the U.N. find the world body unsatisfactory and full of disadvantages. But having given weight to these disadvantages there appears to be a lot—hardly publicised—to be put in the balance of advantage. The U.N. was formed primarily to "maintain international peace and security, and to that end: to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace. . . " (Ch.I, Article I of the Charter of the U.N.). The world body has been reasonably successful in the pursuit of this primary aim: twice in two decades—January 1948 and February 1965—the U.N. has been instrumental in helping to avert the threat to international peace posed by the dispute between India and Pakistan over Kashmir; since December 1963, a United Nations peacekeeping force in Cyprus has prevented the recurrence of large-scale fighting between Greek and Turkish Cypriots. In the days that followed independence in the Congo in June 1960, the U.N. helped the Congolese Government to restore and maintain the political independence and the territorial integrity of the country. In West New Guinea (West Irian), the Netherlands-Indonesia Agreement, in the signing of which the U.N. was instrumental, made it possible to transfer West Irian's administration to Indonesia in 1963. The U.N. from its early days has been concerned with stopping acts of aggression in the Middle East: through U.N. efforts, the fighting between the Arab states and Isreal was halted in 1948; a U.N. Emergency Force helped to preserve peace at the time of the Suez Crisis; Korea has from the beginning also engaged the attention of the U.N.

Equally admirable is the useful work being done by the Special Agencies of The U.N.—UNESCO, FAO, UNICEF, ILO, WHO, the World Bank, etc.—to raise levels of nutrition, standards of living, literacy and to alleviate unnecessary human suffering. Of these less publicised U.N. Agencies, the U.N. High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) needs special mention, not because "Refugees" is the theme of this year's U.N. anniversary, but because it is the one agency which provides international protection to persons who have left their countries of origin or habitual residence due to political disturbances—thanks to reckless and ambitious politicians. The most urgent refugee problems to-day are in Africa, where as a correspondent discusses in this issue, there are about 700,000 refugees, mostly in East, Central and Southern Africa. The UNHCR is doing a great humanitarian job for which it needs every encouragement, since refugees are a people whose dignity and human worth appear to be in serious jeopardy, and who can neither look forward to a steady regular income nor plan the future on any predictable basis. It is here that the UNHCR comes in handy, as a body that provides emergency food rations, clothing and shelter in the short run; and also as a long term policy, in co-operation with host governments, seeks to provide these uprooted people with land and agricultural implements.

The U.N. is man's last hope for peace; it is a great human institution and must have its weaknesses, but it is to its everlasting credit that even though every nation finds it unsatisfactory, the alternative to it does not appear immediately obvious. Even though U.N. debates and conferences may be all "sound and fury", it has to be noted that they, incidentally, help to form a healthy world opinion; moreover, the frequent meetings of peoples of different political persuasions, races and cultures constitute an immense education in international understanding and harmony.

Politics

CHIEFS AND NATIONAL POLITICS (2)

Chiefs and Social Change

It may be useful for someone to make a study of the role of chiefs in the national politics of Ghana. Naturally, one would not wish to prejudice the conclusions of such a study; but it is just possible that the whole movement of chiefs

into more and more prominence in national politics has been a movement in the wrong direction; it is possible that we have now come to the dead end of that road, and that it is time we began to search for a new direction for our chiefs if they are to assume a truly useful role in the national life of this country while retaining their dignity and integrity, as well as their traditional position as the embodiment of those vital intangibles which their people still cherish in their culture.

To talk like this is not to be sentimental: in fact it is being hard-headed enough to recognize that there are certain things our chiefs can do better than anyone else can, and there are certain other things they cannot do well because they are not fitted for them. Nor is it closing one's eyes to the fact that with the many social changes taking place in our country now the functions of the chief will also undergo some change. The question is, what kind of change? Change that reduces an office of dignity and religious significance to one of grovelling subservience to petty political and economic ends? For, if we examine motives carefully, we may find that the main reason why chiefs have wanted to be in a Legislative Assembly is a desire for prestige, personal power, and economic advantage. I can best state this complex of motives in a kind of soliloquy by an imaginary chief:

> *"The white Commissioner and the Big white Governor like me, because they see that I can help them to rule my people indirectly. This means I can look forward to going to the Big Council in Accra. Very good, because it will make me more important than Nana Munkuo of Oguaa Apemanim; and it will bring me allowances too. My people will also like it, because my prestige with the white Commissioner will reflect well on them; nothing impresses them more than the white man's friendship. And of course, all this means that I can literally do what I like with my people, for which of them will dare to want me destooled with the Big White Governor on my side ?"*

So our chief gets his prestige, his personal power, and his wealth. It does not matter much to him that half the business that goes on in the Big Council, in English, is above his head; nor does it occur to him that his seat in the Big Council has, in fact, become a wedge driven by the colonial government between him and his people; or, if you want to be blunt, that he has become a stooge of the British government. Meantime he is setting the pace for that brand of thinking which associates membership of the Big Council with being an enlightened and successful chief. And meantime those chiefs who cannot get on to the Big Council can console themselves with membership of the smaller provincial councils, where they get their allowances and where they begin to feel the security of their numbers in the face of the perennial skirmishes between bad chiefs and their vigilant people. But the opportunity of serving the colonial ruler is always there, and through such service—who knows?—one might graduate to greater security with prestige, power and economic advantage on the Big Council. And all the time chiefs are becoming more and more alienated from their people!

An over-simplified picture? Perhaps. But we have seen the result of this movement: there came a time when chiefs openly defied their people, openly turned over dissenters to the security machine of the ousted party, openly heaped their age-old titles on the leader of that party and vied with one another to acknowledge him in their Councils which, despite their new and elevated name, were no more than helpless political tools created to bolster the rule of the one party. This brings us to February 1966. Since then the beaches have been over-crowded: there is hardly any room for commoners to do *their* somersault!

Chiefs and Modern Government

What next? One would like to concede the Odeefuo's point that "there is a good number of Chiefs who can understand and criticise a budget speech . . . (and) that many of the Chiefs in Ghana are more educated and experienced and can do better than most of the Ministers in the old regime". But how does one arrive at such a concession ? In the first place, must we use the performance of the ministers of the old regime as our criterion for devoted public service or probity in public life? Or when we talk of experience and education, what evidence have we that the Odeefuo's candidates do merit the confidence he will have us place in them? Can we close our eyes to the many cases of interminable litigation, dispute and intrigue that have marked 'natural rule' over the past 50 years or so in this country? Where can we look for even the semblance of a stable tradition of sound rule in any of our chiefdoms? There is a lot to be deduced from the struggle of local authorities to restrict chiefs as much as possible to presiding, or other nominal roles, in local government, and to operate largely through committees. Incidentally, if our chiefs are going to claim so much education and experience in political affairs, it may help us if the Ministry of Local Government published a kind of Biographical Directory of Chiefs, covering the lives of all stool holders since about 1900, with details of back-ground, education, occupation prior to election, and achievement since enstoolment, etc. Such a document would be an invaluable guide to who is who on our stools.

To come back to the percentage of seats our chiefs want in the Upper House, is it reasonable that we should be asked to surrender 66 out of

every 100 seats to the Houses of Chiefs? The combined membership of the Houses of Chiefs is about 250! This is how simple our chiefs' request is!

When Ebow Daniel writes in the *Legon Observer* of 19 August that government to-day is becoming so complex that it is increasingly becoming a business for experts, Mr. O. K. Agyeman asks him in his letter already quoted to tell us if by that Ebow Daniel implies that he wants "Plato's democracy of rule by philosophers"—whatever that is. I do not want to hold brief for experts—God knows we have enough 'experts' buzzing around—but the real point is that chiefship has not yet shown itself to be an adequate school for the kind of rigorous discipline, breadth and independence of outlook, knowledgeableness and integrity which any progressive nation of the twentieth century has a right to expect of the members of its Upper House of Legislature. I like to think that the political and economic experience we have passed through these last ten years in Ghana will make us doubly determined to exercise this right. And, by the way, Mr. O. K. Agyeman's idea that "the Constitution is the property of all" strikes me as dangerously explosive. Property indeed!. This is the kind of outlook that destroys the best of Constitutions and reduces civil liberties to saleable commodities. I wonder for how much Mr. Agyeman will be prepared to sell his portion of the Constitution?

Future Role of Chiefs

Does all this mean that chiefs have no useful place in public life? Far from it. They do have a place in local government, where one hopes that their presence and advice are valued by their people. I have already referred to the tendency of local authorities to operate through committees, thereby reducing the chief's power and, happily, thereby removing any temptation for him to become personally involved in aspects of local government which are becoming increasingly irreconcilable with his religious, customary or other social functions. But there is still plenty of room for chiefs to render noble service in their localities. Any chief who has the ability and the will can, with the help of his elders, be a really invaluable source of information and knowledge about customary law and practice, local history and traditions; he can achieve for himself the lasting love and respect of his people through an impartial, fatherly, intelligent interest in their welfare and progress, without necessarily exercising personal sway in law-making or politics. And it is important to point this out because, surprisingly, there are many chiefs who know very little about the history and customs and traditions of their own people. Pathetic, you would say? Yet it is in the understanding and knowledge of these things that we must look for the beginnings of sound, wise natural rule. It is not too late for our chiefs to repair the damage that their reputation has suffered these past few decades. There are at least two things that the people of Ghana can do in this respect. First, the Houses of Chiefs may be abolished. Second, we may persuade the Central Government to restore to the stools as much land, property or interest in property as will enable the stool occupants to live and function in comfort and dignity without hankering after petty allowances and financial advantages from any source.

What happens to the chief who scores the distinction of nomination (by the Head of State) to the Upper House after a distinguished career of service or rule? One hopes that his people will be given the final choice to say whether or not *they* would like their chief to go roaming the corridors of national power. If they do feel strongly that such a distinction might, in fact, undermine the basic functions of chiefship in their area, then there the matter should rest. Otherwise the chief may have to abdicate and take his chance like any other citizen. This is what chiefs must be compelled to do anyway if they want to go into any House as *politicians*.

But we have been talking all along as if this nation wanted an Upper House. Do we really need one?

(THE following article was set in small type in error. Our apologies—Editor)

WORDS AND POLITICIANS

by

Robert E. Dowse

IT IS a truism, but one bearing repetition, that words are important; through them we arrange, structure and filter our experience of the world and with them we place ourselves in the world. Words, to a very considerable extent determine what we think. He who determines the use of a word is a long way along the road to determining the way we think and what we think.

Thus it is that most modern, or 'modernising' dictators, and, indeed, most modern politicians, show a strong propensity to misuse them, to coin new ones and, in extreme cases, to invent a new vocabulary of political discourse. It is, as Kruschev was wont to exclaim, no accident that the intellectual father of the modern totalitarians, Plato, spent his whole life giving words meanings that impelled his pupils towards the idea of a 'benevolent' dictatorship, Equally it is not surprising that the representative totalitarian dictator of modern literature, Big Brother in George Orwell's **1984**, had his own language—Newspeak. And one thinks of the interest with which that other dictator, unfortunately no figment of an authors' imagination, Stalin, attended to the problems of linguistics. Consider also the apparent inability of Adolf Eichmann, at his trial in Israel, to appreciate the reality behind his verbal pseudo-world of 'final solution', 'Jewish problem' and 'administrative questions'.

Ghanaians cannot be unaware that under the late regime of Kwame Nkrumah something of the same sort of thing

was happening. Words were on the way to becoming reality substitutes. For example, as early as 1961 it was claimed that as the state was for the workers and the workers were for the state it followed that in Ghana there could be no opposition between the interests of the one and those of the other. Or again consider the word 'exploitation' in President Nkrumah's volume *Neo-Colonialism*. It plays a central role in the initial analytical chapter yet it receives no sort of definition, remaining empty of content; the reader supplies the content according to his own predilections. Equally interesting and similarly undefined, were other words in the President's political vocabulary with which I have no space to deal.

Today we are witnessing in Ghana a similar loose use of at least one word—'Communism'. In a number of conversations I have been told that President Nkrumah was a communist, student essays declare him to be one and more than once one has heard over the radio that the ex-President was a communist. He was not, except in the sense that he regarded community property as his own !. That is, an Alice in Wonderland communist: what's yours is mine and what's my own is mine.

Communism, or for that matter socialism, does not, of course have a basic true 'meaning'. One is at liberty to use words how one will, and that we all know in what sense the word is being used not much harm is done. But I suspect that this is not the way the word is employed in Ghana, or, indeed, many other places. It is employed simply as a term of abuse.

Communism = "Nasty", Nkrumah was a communist, therefore Nkrumah was "Nasty". Students of *Consciencism* might like to study the resemblance between this form of reasoning and that contained in 'Set Theoretical Terms'!

He employed some of the rhetoric of communism—dialectic, self-criticism, etc.—but little of the rhetoric was translated into action, except possibly in foreign affairs. There were no wholesale purges of party and population (although there were threats). Terror was not a **central** institution of government, although it was rather inefficiently employed. There were independent, if harassed, institutions in Ghana: witness the University. The economy of Ghana was by no means state controlled and certainly not as controlled as those of Britain, West Germany and the Scandinavian countries—none of which are communist states. Neither armed forces nor police were controlled as they would be in a communist state ! When did the army of a communist state effect a coup d'etat ? Finally, it is worth remembering that, to take a phrase of Ofosu Appiah, the chains in Russia were not of gold but of a stronger and less malleable metal, forged by Stalin—the 'man of iron'.

Further, the rhetoric of Marxism—with various additions, de Chardin, Papal encyclinals, Mahomet, etc.—is common to Africa and, indeed, much of the Third World. Nkrumah was, quite simply, a rather inefficient dictator employing the verbiage of Marx, together with a few marxists, in order to cover up what was going on in Ghana in something like the same way Mussolini used fascism. But the differences between Mussolini's Italy and Nazi Germany were enormous—almost as great as the differences between Nkrumah's Ghana and Stalin's Russia.

To use the same work to describe both Stalin and Nkrumah is, then, to blunt our appreciation of what **actually** happened in Ghana when the late President was in the saddle. In fact, we possess in many respects more detailed knowledge of Ghana than we do of Russia, and we can I believe, detect a large number of similarities between developments in Russia and those in Ghana. But those resemblances sprang from the structural—functional needs of rapid and forced expropriations rather than from any ideological marxist inspired set of ideas. Such expropriation can hardly be quite naked; hence the fig leaf of communalism and latterly marxism. However, the expropriations sprang from the 'need' for funds—for whatever purpose (1)—and not from communism or indeed, any other 'isms'.

If Nkrumah was a communist, one would have expected, to see some evidence beyond the protestations of Sloan Cox, *et al*, that he was. Amongst the evidence one would expect at **least** the following:

(i) Total control of institutional sub-systems—armed forces, police, churches, etc.—via a system of *permanent purge*.

(ii) Terror erected into a permanent style of rule, pending the political re-socialisation of the *population*.

(iii) Effective control and bureaucratisation of the ruling party and the periodic purging of 'unreliable' elements.

(iv) Continuous efforts to destroy familiar solidarity through inter-generation conflict.

What we would not expect to find is a jig-saw puzzle of mutually reinforcing and protecting jobs, bribes, malpractices, nepotism and sexual partners which combined to make the Ghanaian political elite almost impregnable even to "Osagyefo". Nkrumah was a part of this network; Stalin controlled, Nkrumah threatened but was never able to act in such a manner as to bring the C.P.P. to heel. The difference between control and a threat to control is the difference between Nkrumaism and Communism.

Administration

PLANNING OUR CITIES

by

Yaw Asante

(City Planning Officer, Kumasi)

IN ANY community, land is required for many uses such as roads, houses, parks, schools, shops, industries, offices, and so on. Without delving into many definitions, planning may be said to seek to allocate the available land judiciously among the various competing uses in such a way that, as far as possible, the community as a whole will be satisfied. To achieve this purpose, Development Plans are prepared to incorporate the various uses in accordance with requirements prevailing at the time and in the foreseeable future. It indicates the lines along which development should proceed and this development is implemented in stages according to when the need arises and when funds are available so as to avoid haphazard development with its associated evils of traffic problems, housing problems, waste of money on acquisitions, etc.

Also, to achieve the proposals in the Development Plan there must be a check on the use of resources so that any development will be in accordance with the proposals in the Development Plan, as far as practicable. This check is called "Development Control". Without proper Development Control the Development Plan would remain only a mere paper without any real results. Thus, for example, somebody wishing to build a house can only build it on land zoned for residential purposes, as shown in the Development Plan, and not on land zoned for some other purposes.

Need for Public Education

The preparation of a Development Plan is not an easy task. It involves a lot of detailed survey data on which the various proposals in the Development Plan are based, and thus involves not only the Planner but also professionals like Engineers, Surveyors, Architects, Sociologists, Lawyers. The joint result of their work is the Development Plan which is based on certain

minimum standards produced by expert knowledge. Implementation of this Development Plan poses practical problems because there is a great need for public education on the necessity and use of a Development Plan. While the public are happy to see good roads, nice buildings, and parks, they fail to see how an open land, (i.e. an open space) should not be built on. It is time, therefore, for Planners and the Planning Authorities to start a campaign, through the Radio, Television and Public Lectures, to explain to the public what planning is.

The Detail Plan

This is a plan, drawn in accordance with the broad Development Plan, showing plot sizes, disposition of houses, etc. The earlier Planners in the country have tried and are still trying their best to do a good job, in spite of staff and financial difficulties. But there is a serious drawback in the preparation of DETAIL layout plans which must be *tackled immediately*. This is lack of stipulated STANDARDS OF PROVISIONS of the various uses required in layout plans. Thus it is not unusual to find that in some existing layout plans the provision made for open spaces, schools or shops, is inadequate. The preparation of such plans should be based on present and future population sizes, as far as statistics can forecast, and their needs for the various uses in a particular planning area. The disadvantages of lack of specified standards can be seen in the following examples:—

(*a*) *Open Spaces*. "Open Space" is a broad term embracing Public Playing Fields, Children's Playing Fields, Public Parks, Private Playing Fields, small Incidental Gardens and Nature Reserves. For instance, Kumasi earned for itself the name "Garden City" because of its many open spaces which were evenly distributed over the whole City. But now, the City can no longer boast of such spaces, for it is now practically a conglomeration of only buildings, as if the City has never known planning. Its many open spaces have either been turned into Petrol-Filling Stations or Residential Plots. Consequently there are no sizable public playing fields, no children's playing grounds; and school playing fields are inadequate. The position of public parks is not so bad except that these are naturally provided on marshy grounds and in valleys which will cost a fortune to develop.

A survey of open spaces (excluding Nature Reserves) in August 1965 showed the following appalling results: existing open spaces are about 0.5 acres per 1,000 population, Sanitary Areas amount to only 0.4 acres per 1,000 population, making a total of 0.9 acres per 1,000 population. The survey covered the urban area of 9 square miles with population of 180,700 (1960 population census). Strictly speaking, Sanitary Areas are not open spaces, but they have been included because parts are used for play where they are large enough. The result shows the disappointing position of open spaces in the City, as compared with 2 acres (and upwards) per 1,000 population in some *old towns* or cities abroad. What makes it more lamentable is that this is a tropical town where a greater part of our time is spent out-doors while some towns in cold countries where more time is spent in-doors than out-doors have more open spaces. There is a serious shortage of open spaces in the City and any Redevelopment Scheme must provide for adequate open spaces both in amount and in distribution.

(*b*) Another problem which needs immediate solution is provision of small SHOPS in residential areas. In many of the layouts for residential areas, like the Ridge, Nhiaso and the Asukwa Residential Areas in Kumasi, no provision whatsoever, apart from the traditional market and lorry park which strictly is the neighbourhood shopping centre, has been made for small "corner" shops to sell day to day needs. Consequently, residents are forced to travel long distances to buy a tin of milk or a ball of kenkey, a commodity which should be available within walking distance from all homes. **The government housing estates, developed by the government itself, are no exception. The Kwadaso Estate and Suntreso Estates in Kumasi are all devoid of such shops.**

In view of the total absence of these important facilities it is suggested that existing layouts of residential areas, including layouts of government housing estates, must be amended to make provision for well distributed shopping areas and other facilities like adult's and children's playing fields. BUT ON WHAT BASIS SHOULD THESE BE PROVIDED? Having regard to the foregoing, there is an urgent need *now* for specified *minimum standards* which will form the basis on which the various uses required in a layout plan should be provided. Such a standard can be based on the population e.g. so much per 1,000 people. The adoption of minimum standards has the advantages of (*a*) forming a useful guide on the acreage and amount required for a particular use both now and in the foreseeable future, and (*b*) saving the nation's time and money in having to change one use to another in future. For example, if sufficient school sites are not provided now, other buildings may have to be pulled down in future to make way for

schools in the proper places. In London, for instance, the shortage of open spaces has necessitated the pulling down of derelict houses and turning them into open spaces. Being a young nation, all this trouble can be avoided by tackling the problem right now. The Authorities concerned with Town Planning must therefore start to work and produce a national code of *minimum specified standards of provision of uses and facilities* in layout plans just as we have in the case of Model Building Bye-Laws. The Standard will be a national guide only specifying the *absolute* minimum requirements and may be increased according to local circumstances. Also to ensure that all the necessary facilities are provided in layout plans, the provision of certain types of uses or facilities will have to be "mandatory" in any layout plan e.g. open spaces, schools and shops, all *based* on the stipulated standards.

To be concluded.

Special Communication

THE *Legon Observer* recently received the article serialized below, "The Flying Dutchmen of Africa", by Miss Morre Bossman,with the following letter attached:

Accra.
7th October, 1966.

The Editor,
The *Legon Observer*,
Legon.

Dear Sir,

I wonder if it will be possible to use the good offices of your paper to launch a society to aid refugees.

Tentatively called " Society of the Hospices " its aims will be primarily to provide foster homes, temporary or permanent, for refugee children; and also to offer hospitality to travellers in the cause of pan-Africanism.

It is important that there should be some form of association with the Liberation Committee of the O.A.U.; and it is hoped there will be eventual recognition by the U.N. Agencies.

Activities will include programmes for fund-rasing, and establishing a network of homes prepared to offer hospitality which may or may not be paid for.

Could you please insert a notice for all those interested to write to the Provisional Organizer, Society of the Hospices, care of the *Legon Observer*. Depending on the response, a meeting will be called to form a constitution etc.

I hope this little scheme of mine will be acceptable to you.

Yours sincerely,
Morre Bossman (Miss)

We recommend the outlined scheme for study, and respectfully request all enquiries about it to be addressed to:

The Provisional Organizer,
Society of the Hospices,
c/o The Legon Observer,
LEGON

Please mark the envelope, "Not for publication".

—Editor

THE FLYING DUTCHMEN OF AFRICA(I)

by

Morre Bossman

WITH THE OAU summit meeting just ahead of us in November, the question of African refugees, featured indeed as an important item on the agenda, will no doubt soon be a hot point of general discussion again. The refugee problem in Africa has reached such gigantic proportions as to be a cause of major concern to the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity, as well as the individual African states directly involved. In August the sub-committee on Refugees of the Liberation Committee of the O.A.U. prepared a draft resolution to be submitted to the Heads of State for adoption. (Last year the same procedure was followed, but owing to the unfavourable atmosphere during that period the matter was neglected). The resolution is aimed at finding a solution to the problem of refugees, in the words of the committee chairman ". . . that respects the principles of Human Rights, but which faces the realities of Africa today". The significance of this statement cannot be overlooked.

Number of Refugees

Coinciding with that meeting, and for two weeks or so after, the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees was making a tour of East and Central African countries for a first-hand assessment of the latest developments of this increasingly complex problem. Later in his report, the High Commissioner (who is responsible for the whole world situation) stated that African refugees, currently numbering some 700,000 (!) present the gravest problem to his office. Most of them are living under the most appalling conditions with starvation and disease a constant threat. He listed as the conditions leading to their plight, firstly tribal animosities and political instability within the independent African states; and secondly oppression of the African in the Portuguese colonies, S. Africa, S.W. Africa, and Rhodesia. He added that until and unless these conditions are resolved the problem of the African refugee will remain with us, and ever acute. Dramatically, recent events in Nigeria are leading to the same tragic consequences.

There are significant complexities in the situation, however, just as the causes leading to them are complex. Generally speaking the masses of refugees in all these areas—Uganda, Sudan, the Eastern Congo, Burundi, Ruanda, Tanzania, and nearer home, Senegal, and latterly Nigeria—the refugees in these areas, in their tens of thousands, are mostly of peasant stock, and hapless in so far as they are victims of circumstances not of their

own making. Mostly they ask nothing more than to be left alone in their traditional areas pursuing their means of livelihood; they are inarticulate and unawakened to politics, and the physical dangers they faced constituted the main causes of their misfortune. Similarly the solution to their problems are, at least initially, straightforward—first, catering for their physical needs, shelter, food, medicine; and later, providing for resettlement as circumstances and their preferences permit. Even so, existing provisions to supply these are altogether inadequate and cannot be taken for granted especially as new situations develop constantly.

Agencies Helping the Refugees

The U.N. High Commission for Refugees, in co-operation with other agencies of the U.N. together with other international and charitable organizations such as The International Red Cross, Oxfam, and some Scandinavian societies, is the main instrument; and that body depends for funds on allocations made out of the U.N. budget. Unilateral contributions are also expected as emergencies arise, but they are not obligatory, while another source of funds is voluntary contributions from world wide charitable institutions. The service of trained personnel, in either a voluntary or professional capacity, is crucial, since people are needed to organize and dispense the aid to these refugees. In this connection, charities in the metropolitan countries have set a fine example with long records of selfless and devoted help both in cash and in kind. If the African countries cannot match them, it may be argued that economic conditions in newly developing nations simply do not permit this kind of charity; whether they can do more from the individual personal points of view is a hypothetical question, and open to debate. In the meantime the responsibility is shouldered by the individual governments involved and the U.N.H.C.R.

However, that all African countries are awake to the problem is without doubt; this is reflected in the creation by the O.A.U. of the Liberation Committee and its sub-committees. Until November when the reports are published we are not certain of the range of their activities, their future programmes, or the degree of their successes. For the purposes of our discussion however it is significant that their approach as yet is 'high-level'—dealing with fundamentals and questions of policy such as defining the status of refugees and creating the machinery for dealing with them—as distinct from the directly practical aspects of the problem. More importantly the question of liberation occupies the major part of their schedules. While the Arbitration services of the Organization in settling disputes between national or tribal factions have gone some way towards resolving animosities and should continue to play an even more vital role.

Two Types of Refugees

This is not all there is to the situation, however, for the swarming, teeming hapless type is not the only kind of African refugee. There is another type popularly known as the Freedom Fighter and he has achieved much more notoriety for himself. Usually a more articulate type he is consciously concerned with altering the status of his country, rightly (as in getting rid of Ian Smith, Vorster and the Portuguese) or wrongly (as in subverting independent sister states). He may be a national of either of these two groups of African states; even so he may again be one of two types—the active, campaigning leader type, or the more passive supporter-follower type. These are the people who present a different type of problem altogether both by virtue of the goals they have set themselves and the way of life they are forced to follow.

The Flying Dutchman: Whence his Salvation?

And what has all this got to do with Flying Dutchmen? one may ask. The legend of the Flying Dutchman is an ancient one about the

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man who, having committed some folly or other, was then cursed to go on roving the seas forever, from centruy to century, in storm or calm, never to be relieved even by death until he met the woman who was prepared to sacrifice herself in dying for him for some purely unselfish reason. This "salvation by love" is a favourite theme of many Nordic and Aryan legends—and part of the Christian theology too, far that matter. There is no need to point out the parallels between the tragic figure of the Dutchman and the tragedy of these Africans—for the purposes of our discussion the S. and S.W. Africans etc.—forced to flee their homelands and fated to roam distant lands in search of the means of their salvation—the opportunity to live as human beings in their own countries. The "salvation" in this case is to come from those of us who are ready to understand, to sympathise and to help—in that order. Certainly it is not a pleasant or even an easy situation, but one would expect that fellow-Africans would be the first in readiness to help; yet I have very often been quite dismayed by the harsh reaction which many people seem to have against this group of refugees.

In the metropolitan countries it is understandable since the cynicism may be a form of defensive barrier against a basically guilty mind. Here, among fellow-Africans, it is more than tragic. In the countries of Europe and America where vested interests produce a cynicism against the Freedom Fighter, it is understandable. Here in Africa it is pain.

To be concluded.

Observer Notebook

Debate on Decrees 92 and 93

NO DOUBT it would have caused great surprise if the public reception of Decrees Nos. 92 and 93 had been uniformly one thing or the other: acceptance or alarm. As it is, some have said, "welcome!" and others, "Away with them!" This is human. This we should expect.

Members of the independent Legon Committee on National Re-construction, and of the Editorial Committee of the *Legon Observer*, are difinitely among those who bid no welcome to these Decrees against rumour. And our reasons for this stand have been stated in no half-hearted terms. Moreover, we have tried to base our arguments on the established laws of cause and effect, on effects of causes which form the very context of the present dialogue, of the present conditions of our existence.

The protagonists of the Decrees, on the other hand, have not succeeded in making a good case for the introduction of a law which *can never* stop rumours but may well increase them, or worse still, increase their viciousness by making them even more secretive. The protagonists have not shown that the law as it existed, and the legal apparatus we have so recently strengthened, were together inadequate to protect the state and the people from the deleterious effects of rumour. They have not until now been able to *disprove* that this law strikes at the roots of our civil liberties once more; or to *prove* that inimical laws can be made to operate like beatitudes instead, given the purity of heart of those who make them, those who presently have no other ends in view than the "security of the state".

A policeman in the *Ghanaian Times* of 19th October said "if we are with free conscience in our undertakings" we should have no fear of Decree No. 92; that the Police do not detain people when there is no suspicion of crime being committed or being about to be committed; that if our magistrates and judges are honest there should be no fear in any quarters regarding the decrees; that with "Nkrumah and his henchmen" seeking the failure of our revolution, "anything can happen", for which reason we need this law to prevent anything happening;. . . .

The *Evening News* of Friday, 21st October, to our profound surprise and sorrow, came out editorially to support the decrees, declaring with bravery and immense conviction that mere "high-falutin", "rhetorical" criticism of these measures is not enough; that we need something more practical than that to achieve the aims of the new order.

Most significant of all, our new Attorney-General, the distinguished lawyer who was one of the victims of the late *lamented* Preventive Detention Act, has added the weight of his official support to Decrees Nos. 92 and 93. He has said among other things that within the rule of law which he, with others, is pledged to re-establish and sustain in Ghana, these decrees would be held strictly to the limitations of their specific purpose and no more.

So let it be—with the self-confidence of the policeman, the bravery of the *Evening News*, and the good intentions of Mr. Victor Owusu. The question is, does the rule of law really stand in this much need of faith, hope, and charity?

Blessing in Disguise?

THE SOURCE of Nkrumah's terror and awe and naked power was the P.D.A. This was the instrument by which he liquidated the Opposition, and suppressed our freedom, and muzzled the entire population. It was the instrument of his arbitrary rule. The automatic death of the P.D.A. was the greatest gain of the coup, and when its formal removal from the statute book was announced some six months after the coup, it was not hailed because it was no longer news. Never again would any such law appear on our Statute Books, or so we thought. We had the right to think so, not only because of the liberal pronouncements and actions of the N.L.C. itself, but also because of the nature of the people we knew were advising the N.L.C. on some of their decisions—in particular, the Political Committee. Nearly all the members were victims of Nkrumah's arbitrary rule: some were detained; some had to flee the country or face certain death in detention; all of them always risked being detained. So that all of them could be considered to be anti-Nkrumaist in outlook, that is to say, liberal. That goes as much for the former U.P. members as for the former C.P.P. members, like Mr. Bentum who, though a Minister in Nkrumah's Government, apparently worked, from within, for Nkrumah's overthrow. Thus we hoped that unless the security of the people of this state was clearly threatened, the P.D.A. or anything like it would never come back. But now it is back—in N.L.C. Decrees 92 and 93.

Of course, members of the Committee work under an oath of secrecy, so that the public can never learn what the Committee has been asked by the N.L.C. to discuss, or in fact what the views of the individual members are. It is possible, and quite reasonable, for the public to believe that both the N.L.C. and the Political Committee are convinced that these decrees are good for us. Unfortunately, the benefits of these Decrees are not clear to us. The whole thing is positively confusing, because it appears to wish to set aside the "rule of law" and suspend the exercise of the freedoms we thought we had regained. The contention, made by some people, that these laws have always been on the statute book, is not as helpful or clever as the protagonists of these Decrees think. If that were so, there would be no need for the Decrees. What has happened, which happily is not denied by anybody, is that Decrees 92 and 93 are worse than the original laws which were amended. We do not doubt the sincerity and patriotism of the N.L.C., but we believe that it would not do them harm to point out the benefits or advantages of the decrees to the entire public; for, as Machiavelli puts it:

> If we consider now what is easy and what difficult to to persuade a people to, we may make this distinction: either what you wish to persuade them to represents at first sight gain or loss, or it seems brave or cowardly. And if you propose to them anything that upon its face seems profitable and courageous, though there be really a loss concealed under it which may involve the ruin of the republic, the multitude will ever be most easily persuaded to it. **But if the measure proposed seems doubtful and likely to cause loss, then it will be difficult to persuade the people to it, even though the benefit and welfare of the republic were concealed under it.**

The fallen C.P.P. must be feeling vindicated, for these decrees may be interpreted by them as admission of the necessity of harsh methods sometimes, and therefore a justification of their own rule of terror. They must be laughing, while those of us who were liberated from them are once again helpless and unhappy.

But it would have been strange indeed if Ghanaians had not, as usual, seen some humour in the situation. A local wit recalled the story of Charles II, when that king was restored to his throne. To restore peace and tranquillity to his kingdom, Charles requested Parliament to pass an Act of Indemnity and Oblivion. The idea, obviously, was to pardon even his bitterest enemies —bury the hatchet, so to speak. During the debate in Parliament, one of the king's old friends, in anguish and dismay, remarked, with characteristic English humour, that the Act guaranteed "Indemnity for the King's enemies, Oblivion for his friends."

U Thant and Africa

IN AN Introduction to his Annual Report to the 21st Session of the General Assembly, U Thant, the Secretary-General of the U.N., is reported to have said, "I cannot conceal my distress at some of the happenings in Africa during the last 12 months . . . several African countries, including Ghana . . . have experienced upheavals and changes in government. They have created a sense of instability . . . and have produced a set-back to African Unity".

Unless quoted out of context, this observation shows a superficial appreciation of the political forces at work in Africa. Now, to take the "sense of instability" referred to by the Secretary-General, the coups, far from causing instability, are rather revealing the sources of instabilty in Africa. The pre-coup sources of instability included political systems based on *personal rule*. In Africa, political leaders have not helped to evolve a political system based on impersonal rules and

political procedures. Instead, African leaders—from Banda to Nasser—base their political systems on the *indispensability* of their *persons*. As soon as you remove them the political systems collapse. The coups have accomplished one thing: that is, to have given us an opportunity to try to evolve political systems based on impersonal procedures and rules. It is such a system which will enable us to make political leaders marginal to the stability of our societies: remove a Kennedy and a Johnson emerges without a bloodshed; remove a Krushchev and a Kosygin takes his place without violence.

Regarding African Unity, what has to be remarked is that the movement for African Unity—from 1900—has been a phased one; from 1900-1945, it was a protest movement against racial discrimination; from 1945 onwards, the emphasis was on the political independence of individual Colonial territories, with the French African variant of cultural nationalism, which placed emphasis on the "Africanness" of Africans. The third phase ought to have sought to explore the areas of common ground of individual African nations—in telecommunications, education, industry, trade and agriculture.

Indeed, the O.A.U. Charter signed in Addis Ababa in 1963, reflects this phase, for there is no document on "African Unity" remarkable for its "compromising" character. Again it was a recognition of this fact which made President Nyerere say in Cairo in 1964 that Nkrumah might be praised someday by Africans for being a prophet, but the time for his kind of African Unity *is not now*. African Unity is desirable, but a hard recognition of the problems in its way is necessary. To close one's eyes to these problems is to use "African Unity" *only* as an insincere political catchword, a political emotion and a peroration.

Pan-Africanism and African Unity

NKRUMAH'S LEGACY to Ghana includes not only economic mismanagement, inefficiency and lack of realism, but also ideas which were only vaguely understood.

Nkrumah was fond—as is typical of people with moderate mental endowments—of plagiarising an idea or doctrine, concealing its source, and bandying it about as his own original invention. What is worse, he hardly gave his own ideas any clear meaning. One such idea is the idea of "African Unity". To Nkrumah, Africa must be politically united—which means that the whole continent of Africa must have one Continental Union Government. Desirable enough, but how? This question Nkrumah answered by closing his eyes to some of the obstacles in the way of his conception of African unity.

He seems to have carried others with him in his utopian schemes: One Mr. D.A. Nii-Aponsah, in an article—"Ghana and the O.A.U.", *Ghanaian Times*, Oct. 22, 1966—raps those, including Dr. Busia, who lean in favour of a 'Search for African Unity. . . on a realistic basis'. "Now", he continues, "shall we ask what is the realistic basis. This can only be treated subjectively and one man's opinion might be as good as the other . . . The question of African Unity must be tackled with all seriousness". To say the least, this is a most confused analysis of a rather complex situation. Be this as it may, it would be refreshing for once to try to identify some of those problems facing the protagonists of African Unity which are anything but subjective.

1. In Sudan, Southern Sudanese and Northern Sudanese do not find it easy to live with each other. They are tragically cutting each others' throats.
2. In Nigeria, Ibos and Hausas cannot live together in peace and are chopping off each others' heads.
3. President Nasser does not get on well with President Bourguiba: an understatement, I believe.
4. Dr. Kamuzu Banda has refused to support any Afro-Asian resolution to topple the racist regimes of Southern Rhodesia and South Africa. For his part, the regimes make his economy viable and to help to topple them is to dig his own political grave.
5. To French-speaking Africans—Paris, rather than Accra, Niamey, Djibouti or Congo-Kinshasa, is the spiritual home. Should history be re-enacted?
6. Prior to two weeks ago when a radio-telephone link was installed between Upper Volta and Ghana, it was easier to reach Ouagadougou from Accra by "phone" through London and Paris.
7. The economies of African countries, let alone their relative stages of growth, are more dependent on Europe than on each other.
8. There are incessant border clashes in Somalia, Ethiopia, Kenya and Morocco.

If these are not objective facts to even the hard-boiled subjectivist, then objectivity has no meaning. Unless Africans are prepared to "realistically" appraise the "African situation", then only the Don Quixotes of the Nkrumaist variety can achieve African unity, and God bless them.

Letters

VALCO and the VRA — A Reply

SIR, — Permit me to make a few corrections in an observation upon the article which appeared in the 30th September issue of your journal under the caption "Valco and the Volta River Project" by a legal correspondent.

First of all the Volta River Authority did not sign the Master Agreement as stated in the article. The Agreement is directly between the Government and Valco, and the Authority is not a signatory in any capacity. Secondly, the World Bank did not make a loan to Valco. The loan to the company was made by the United States government through the Export Import Bank of Washington. These are elementary facts which could have been ascertained from the Speech delivered to the National Assembly on January 20, 1962, and the accompanying statement issued by the Government both of which are public documents and explain the agreements even to the layman's understanding.

The writer shows a mere passing acquaintance with the agreements which quite obviously is insufficient to base a legal discussion upon. The total estimate of reliefs granted to the company under the Pioneer Industries and Companies' Act is $32 million (about £11½ million) made up of $12 million share capital of the company and $20 million advance payments by the shareholders in respect of smelting charges. This amount is only one quarter of the initial capital cost of the smelter.

Among the factors listed by the writer as influencing the establishment of an alumina plant in Ghana is the availability of qualified personnel to man the plant, and the impression is created that Valco is neither obliged nor anxious to train and employ Ghanaian personnel. There is actually a provision in the Agreement to employ and train Ghanaians to the greatest extent feasible, and judging by the number of Ghanaian managerial personnel already employed by Valco as well as by its constant advertisement of available places for technical personnel in the local papers, this impression is quite false. The expatriate personnel already engaged by the company come from all over the world and not just from the United States; and it is common knowledge that such personnel are so expensive to hire that any businessman would naturally prefer cheaper personnel here to the extent that they are available.

In the same context the writer states that "the fixing of a low power price for 30 years deprives Ghana of a major means of insisting on the early establishment of an alumina plant". On the same premise the opposite conclusion is equally tenable. The price 0.25d/Kwh described by the writer as about the lowest in the world compares favourably with prices paid elsewhere by the industry. As for the charge that this price is "a little more than the cost price" of power to the Authority, it is in fact higher than the Authority's cost by a third at the initial stages when a large proportion of the power output is wasted for lack of buyers; and this proportion will steadily increase as the cost price per unit decreases, with increasing consumption, so, for instance, that by 1970, it will be double the production cost. Another inducement in the agreement is the obligation the company has to increase its smelting charges from the agreed 56 per cent to 60 per cent of the market price of aluminium after ten years of operation unless it starts using Ghana bauxite by then.

It is worth noting that the company has reserved the right to take up bauxite concessions in excess of the statutory limits, and consultants are already working at the site of one of the deposits to assess their extent.

There is also the statement that "production costs are greatly reduced by a concentration of the three stages of production in one geographical area". The truth, however, is that transportation costs barely feature in the production of aluminium and there are hardly any cases in the world in which this concentration obtains. If there were any substantial advantage to be gained by such concentration, the writer would not be the first to open the industry's eyes to that gain.

The writer generally gives the impression that Valco took undue advantage of our weak bargaining position. He only needs to be reminded that negotiations which dragged on from 1951 with other companies broke down completely by 1958, and it was only by the personal intervention of President Eisenhower that the Project came to life again. It will be remembered that by 1956 the estimated cost of the integrated project including exploitation of bauxite had risen to over £300 million, and the object of the Kaiser reassessment was to prune it down to a manageable size. The idea of divided responsibilities was Kaiser's, thanks to whom the Government's share of the burden was reduced to what it could bear, and with immediate benefit of the power to the country as a whole instead of to the smelter alone as under the original scheme. The entire smelter is being built by Valco because the Government could not afford the funds to participate in it.

Since the writer appears interested in uncovering which investors have mulcted Ghana in the past, he will do well to apply his energies also to the other and many agreements which were entered into at the time. That, I am sure, will compel him to do credit to the Master Agreement. There is a certain amount of confusion in the writer's mind between foreign aid and foreign investment. The smelter certainly is not foreign aid; but assuming that it were, it amply satisfies the first leg of the test postulated in the last paragraph of the article. For among the complex of documents is one setting up a trust fund into which Valco will pay half of its net profits to be applied for the educational and social benefit of the people of Ghana. It is unfortunate that a lawyer should proceed on the kind of vacuous generalizations and unverified data commonly associated with some other profession I will refrain from naming to denigrate institutions and individuals who have striven genuinely and against considerable odds to bring the project to realization. The President of Kaiser Industries came heavily under fire in his own country for having anything to do with the Project at all; and so did President Kennedy while he doggedly pressed for the provision of loans by his government both for the smelter and for the power project. It must be remembered too that the World Bank has a stake of some £16.7 million in the power plant, and even if the people of Ghana were daft, it would not have sat by to see that amount sunk into the Project without first ensuring adequate protection for it and thereby for its own interest in recovering its investment; and goodness knows how much trouble that bank and the other lenders went to in that behalf.

Counsel, Volta River Authority, *E. A. K. Akuoko*
Accra.

Ghana Airways — A Reply

SIR, — We have read with misgivings and disappointment certain articles which have recently appeared in your paper the *Legon Observer*. We refer to the distorted and inaccurate statements which appeared on pages 1, 12 and 13 of Vol. I No. 7 issued on Friday, 30th September, 1966. These articles could have adverse effects on the image of our Corporation and we think that for your education and also for the information of your readers you should publish the facts as they really are in your next issue.

There subjects were considered in the above-mentioned publication, viz:

1. The termination of the appointments of our USSR-trained staff
2. The sale of items on board our aircraft
3. The engagement of expatriate staff;

and these will be considered in turn.

1. The 78 Ghanaians trained in the USSR

The problem of our Ghanaian staff trained in the USSR has been with us since 1963. The scheme for the training of Ghanaians as pilots and engineers on our Russian aircraft was initiated in February, 1961 and this was based on a total fleet of nine aircraft consisting of eight Ilyushin aircraft and one AN.12 Cargo aircraft. Due to low utilisation, however, this fleet was reduced to four Ilyushin aircraft in July, 1963. This reduction in the fleet automatically affected the number of staff needed to operate them, and the Corporation began to consider how to deal with the problem.

This led to prolonged negotiations between the Corporation, the Ghana Embassy in Moscow and the Ghana Air Force resulting in the transfer of six of our trainees to the Ghana Air Force by July, 1965.

Further in December, 1965, a Joint Selection Board was held by Ghana Airways and the Ghana Air Force to determine the number of staff both Russian and Ghanaian who should be transferred to the Ghana Air Force in order

to reduce the burden of redundancy on the National Airline. The number finally selected included 19 Ghanaians and five Russians. The actual transfer would have taken place this year.

After the glorious revolution of February, 1966, the National Liberation Council decided that all four IL.18 aircraft should be returned to Moscow together with the Russian personnel. With this event our Ghanaian personnel serving on the IL.18 aircraft became redundant because we had sufficient personnel working on the other types of aircraft in our fleet. It is therefore unreasonable to expect the airline to keep persons whose retention will only drain unnecessarily our limited resources.

In May, 1966, the National Liberation Council, conscious of the problems of Ghana Airways invited a United Nations expert to examine and to report on the affairs of the National Airline. In his report, Mr. Awad stated:—" The Operations Department . . . uses some 628 staff many of whom are completely unemployed even before the return of the IL.18 . . . there are 42 Ilyushin engineers completely idle as they have not the qualifications and necessary licences to enable them to be employed on the type of aircraft presently operated by the Corporation ".

The question of licences brings us to an important point which requires clarification. It has been argued that Russian licences are not recognised in Ghana merely because Russia is not a member of the International Civil Aviation Organisation (ICAO). In fact it is specifically laid down in the Regulations of ICAO that for one ICAO member state to recognise licences issued by another ICAO member state, the state according recognition must satisfy itself among other things, that:

(*a*) there exists an agreement of licence reciprocity between the two states;
(*b*) the two states must have agreed upon the standard and basis upon which licences are issued;
(*c*) the standards agreed are not lower than those stipulated by ICAO;
(*d*) the two states are friendly; and that
(*e*) a certain minimum standard of training and experience has been reached by the personnel.

It follows from the above that as far as a non-ICAO member is concerned there is nothing to go by. Unlike their counterparts who trained in the United Kingdom, it has been difficult for the Ghana Airways personnel trained in the USSR to secure the required licences because Russian standards are not known. All the personnel involved received only diplomas based upon syllabi which mean nothing because the standards upon which they are based are unknown. Besides, the Russian School which issued the diplomas was also the licensing authority. This obviously, is a rather questionable procedure since the licensing authority cannot constitute itself into a prosecutor, a jury and a judge. The fact is that all USSR-trained aviation personnel receive " licences " after their training. The Ghanaians who went over for training received only " diplomas ". If their training had been sufficiently high to justify the award of licences, why then did they receive only diplomas ?

It is also necessary to report that since the return of our USSR-trained staff to Ghana, several attempts have been made by the Corporation to get them to go through certain examinations in order to secure their licences. This is our normal procedure. In all cases, they have refused to co-operate. It is not surprising therefore that the licences which the Director of Civil Aviation had to issue to them under pressure from the office of the ex-President was withdrawn after the glorious revolution.

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We would like to stress that even if the Soviet-trained personnel had the basic qualification, viz—the aviation licence—it would be difficult to retain them because the size of our fleet has been considerably reduced. Ghana Airways like every other public Corporation should conduct its affairs on sound commercial lines and cannot afford to overload itself with expensive but unproductive labour.

2. The Cedi and sale of items on board our aircraft

Your publication also refers to " Ghana Airways rejecting the cedi on its international flights ", and " the disappointing display of lack of patriotism by the Airways ".

Here again it is considered that if an attempt had been made by your staff to ascertain the reasons a lot of misunderstanding would have been avoided.

We know that the cedi is legal tender in Ghana for the payment of any amount; the fact, however, is that certain items which are available on our aircraft for sale to passengers are not produced in this country and hence to replace the stocks of these items, foreign currency has to be used. Under the present conditions, it is the duty of every Corporation to help the Government in finding enough foreign currency to finance all imports and we feel that one way in which we can do this is to insist that passengers do not pay for such items with the cedi. This has been and is still the practice in many other airlines.

If we had not taken this step, we would have been faced with the alternative of not providing the service at all. This alternative of course would not have been in the interest of our customers.

This line of action is considered justifiable because whenever Ghanaians travel abroad they obtain from the bank, a sum of about £5 in sterling in addition to a limited amount in travellers' cheques. We expect the passenger to pay for whatever item he wants with a part of this amount of £5 and we consider that such payments can provide substantial amounts with which to replenish out stocks of the items which the passengers themselves want.

The action taken by the Airline does not emerge from any lack of respect for our own currency; it rather stems from an endeavour to ensure that those interested in certain items sold on the aircraft help the Airline to make further purchases. It should not be forgotten that this is an interim measure only.

3. The retention of expatriate staff

The Airline business involves the use of very expensive equipment and highly skilled operating staff. The rate of development requires the adoption of new techniques and procedures and hence re-training of staff especially the crews. Besides, competition with other Airlines is so keen that no Airline can afford to fall below certain well-defined standards.

Ghana Airways which was established in 1958 is still a young airline and although a number of Ghanaians have qualified for certain posts there is a lot to cover on the technical side. One mistake in the technical field can affect the prestige of the airline and hence everything must be done to ensure that such mistakes do not occur.

As explained earlier on, there exists at present in the Operations Department a sufficient number of staff, taking into account our future requirements. The programme of training our Ghanaian staff continues and with time, we hope to achieve all that the public expects from us. After all, Rome was not built in a day.

Thank you for your co-operation.

Acting Press and Public Relations Officer, *E. L. Vanderpuye*
Ghana Airways,
Accra.

Science in the University of Ghana — A Rejoinder

SIR,—May I make the following comments on Prof. Torto's letter in reply to my article on "Science in the University of Ghana":—

1. There was a serious omission in the typescript which I noticed too late. It was of the words " upper second class ". The sentences complained of should read " only seven (7) obtained upper second class honours" [Vol. I No. 7, p.8, 2nd column, line 6], and " none obtained an upper second class honours " [p.10, 1st col., 2nd para., last line]. The emphasis is on the quality of graduates produced, and the reader is asked to judge whether it is proper to pay such men more than good honours Arts graduates.

2. Let Prof. Torto take the average from his own statistics and tell the public if the Arts did not have better successes. If he had been keen on logic he could have stated the real factor which led to the ending of the intermediate courses in Science.

3. Prof. Torto must be told that the scheme of Special Relationship with London University did not compel the University College to adopt **all** the entry requirements of London. The lowering of the entry requirements could not have begun in the University College in 1956, since, until 1960, the Gold Coast Schools took the Cambridge Higher School Certificate which was not a **single** subject certificate examination. No student could get a certificate on two subjects. The change to the G.C.E. 'A' level made the lowering of standards possible; and Prof. Torto was on the Interim Council which introduced the new rule about which I have complained.

4. The new and higher two-subject general science degree had the effect of reducing the number of graduates who had taken mathematics or a physical science subject for a degree. But it is in these that our students are most deficient.

5. The relevant portion of the statement which follows the statistics is " there were **more qualified** science students for university work in 1963 than there were Arts students " [p.10]. This does not mean that more science students entered the University of Ghana for Science degrees. All it says is that any science student who was accepted had to have at least TWO 'A'level **passes** in school subjects. If he had a D or E it would be in one subject and it would not be a pass at 'A' level. The same could not be said of the Arts students who could enter with a pass in Art and British Constitution.

6. If " there is no direct relation between the numbers of special degree graduates and the number of passes in four separate 'A' level subjects", why do the regulations for entry to the Special degree courses in Chemistry demand passes at 'A' level?

7. A Noble Laureate in Physics — Not a Kwame Nkrumah Professor—was shocked when on a visit to this country he was presented with the passes in Chemistry at the Special degree. He wanted to know how we could staff the Chemical laboratories. I find myself in good company.

8. A teaching assistantship in a U.S. university is no achievement. This is what most graduate students do in the big universities where the professors are too busy to have time for undergraduates.

9. No British University **started** post graduate courses with third class honours general degree students. Can Prof. Torto tell us whether his M.Sc. Candidates could pass ALL the papers set for the B.Sc. Special after they had graduated as M.Sc.? And is that why the Ph.D. in Chemistry will take five years after the M.Sc.?

Accra *L. H. Ofosu Appiah*

Diplomacy and Integrity

SIR, — Some people take delight in attacking others. These attacks can be said to be anything but sensible. This is because the attacks are based on premises of emotion and envy. These two elements cannot be said to be things to rely on for constructive and objective criticism.

Mr. Alex Quaison-Sackey has been accused by a A. R. C. von Fleischer of being a henchman of Nkrumah, an opportunist and a careerist who is prepared to do anything for power and wealth. (The *Legon Observer* Vol. I No. 8). These are truly harsh words, but one only need cast a cursory glance at Mr. Quaison-Sackey's life to see how false and wicked these charges are, and also to see that Mr. Fleischer is being carried away by a zeal that far outstrips his reason.

Punctuating his 42 years of existence are footprints of his academic brilliance: from the Winneba Methodist School, through Mfantsipim and Achimota to Oxford in 1952. His election to the august position as President of the United Nations 19th General Assembly in 1964 was well deserved. It would interest Fleischer to know that numerous delegates stay for many years in this Assembly shrouded in total obscurity, and leave it unnoticed.

Mr. Quaison-Sackey would not need to write his memoir to justify himself before mankind. Those who would care to know, know his worth.

Incidentally, Mr. Quaison-Sackey did not go about the country with a Pioneer scarf around his neck, profusely praising Nkrumah. Please Fleischer, get a copy of his talk about " Nkrumah—The Man " which he gave in 1962 at Legon and see if you would not have said the same thing about " Nkrumah—The Man ", after reading Nkrumah's Autobiography. You don't need to have a personal association with one before you will be able to write about him. By the way, Nkrumah was an actor and a proficient one at that. He deluded many including perhaps von Fleischer. Only Fleischer would not care to admit it. Also Mr. Quaison-Sackey has not said Nkrumah is a bad man. He said Nkrumah has a stubborn streak in him, which is true.

No amount of character-assassination can destroy Mr. Quaison-Sackey's image.

Winneba. *Koo Taylor*

A Plea for Leniency

SIR, — In protective custody now are certain members of the now defunct Ghana Independence Sporting Club (Indece) whose players were handsomely paid as (Ambrose-Yankey's) Security Officers. I believe that these boys were merely victims of circumstances, such as the fat salaries enjoyed by Security Officers, protection under Ambrose Yankey at all times (as, for example, when they broke the law), the opportunities for professional training, and the glamour that surrounded a Club which by reason of its connection with Ambrose Yankey came under Flagstaff House.

I am prepared to accept, having been an eye-witness of several incidents myself, that by the behaviour of some Indece members the Club was unpopular in Sekondi-Takoradi, and it was indeed sad to watch a match involving Indece. When Ambrose himself happened to be around, conditions were even more distasteful and I can understand why the twin city was so incensed against Indece.

But I contend that from the circumstances of their membership, those now in protective custody do not constitute any real danger to Ghana at this time. *Secondly*, I cannot see how a footballer who accepted to be called a Security Officer in order to earn a good salary and play football anytime he liked could be more dangerous than a Minister, a member of Parliament or a die-hard party functionary, some of which people have long been released from protective custody. For, considered seriously, it looks as if all Ministers, parliamentarians and party functionaries of the Nkrumah regime were Security Officers in addition to their official duties, since they were also committed to protecting the regime from being toppled.

Lastly, while certain members of the disbanded club such as Crentsil, Felix Yeboah, Koomson, Antwi, George Appiah, Aikins, Barnieh Jnr, continue to be held in custody in Sekondi, others like Botwe and Tetteh (Brong-Ahafo United) Martey and Yankey (Kumasi Great Ashantis) and Mintah (Accra Great Olympics) have been playing actively in the National Football League.

It is necessary to mention here that Antwi, Felix Yeboah, and Koomson were arrested only when they came with Obuasi Adansiman to play against Wise at Gyandu but were, until then, playing freely at other league centres. The direct result of this is that other players, for fear of arrest, have stayed out whenever their Clubs had a match in Sekondi. The question agitating my mind now is this: are the players free to play anywhere but Sekondi, or are the authorities unaware that those still playing also used to be called Security Officers ?

The authorities must make it possible for those not already arrested to move about freely and play anywhere without fear of arrest. All told, I have a strong feeling—and I hope this is shared by most people—that after over seven months in custody, members of the dissolved Independence Sporting Club have learnt their lesson.

In the light of the foregoing, I humbly and earnestly appeal to the National Liberation Council to consider releasing the boys to enable them find better employment than as Security Officers employed to play football.

Takoradi. *Papa Maake*

The Old Regime

SIR,— In his letter on Mr. Gbedemah's press conference (vol.1, No.6), Mr. Bronyah condemns the *Legon Observer* "associating yourself, in many of your past issues, with the assumption that all bad things in Ghana were the work of Nkrumah and the C.P.P. 'Nothing good done,'" he says, "Pooh!".

It might occur to Mr. Bronyah that there are two sides to everything. We know now, thanks to February 24, that Nkrumah and the C.P.P. plunged the country into a debt of over £400m.! We now know how the Contingency Fund and the cost, inflation of government orders and contracts went to fill the pockets of the C.P.P. We know of the alleged golden bars, the Central Agency for the collection of Bribes and Commissions, or, simply, NADECO. We know too much; so that when we draw up the balance sheet, Nkrumah and the C.P.P. have nothing to their credit.

The result of Nkrumah's rape of the Ghana economy is being felt by all of us, including Mr. Bronyah. Even the ex-party activists and the Vanguard (whatever that may mean), those die-hard Nkrumaists, have admitted this.

One may then ask, what type of C.P.P. fanatic is Mr. Bronyah? Pooh!

Accra *Sam Atiku.*

SIR,—Nkrumah is gone, gone forever. And I am sure we are not going to achieve anything by enumerating his failings. I am sick of Nkrumah did this, and the old regime did that. Even if Nkrumah did all those things single-handed (which I doubt, because each one of us helped him one way or another), isn't it time we stopped talking and started doing, earnestly, the things he ought to have done ?

We should, all of us—teachers, intellectuals, soldiers, farmers, etc.—put our noses to the grindstone and do all in our power to make Ghana a better place than what it used to be. People in responsible positions should remember that Ghana's success or failure depends partly, if not wholly, on their advice and guidance. They should put Ghana first in whatever they do, and not think of ways and means in which they can use their positions to earn wealth and fame.

If we have to criticise the old regime at all, we should make it a point not to lay ourselves open to criticism by doing some of the things which we preach against.

Let us show, not tell, the world that we can do better without Nkrumah.

Accra *H. Kale*

Are Idioms Idioms?

SIR,— In your editorial of September 30th, I was rather amused to find the metaphor "British-trained crew were always the blue-eyed boys" which suggests that Ghana Airways were not only unjust but also colour-blind! It is doubtless a tribute to the greatness of English literature that we adopt it without adapting it, even where the result is somewhat ludicrous. A choir of black people singing the anthem 'Wash me and I shall be whiter than the snow' often provokes a smile, however beautifully they sing.

But how to correct this? An Englishman making a speech in Accra remarked in reference to an unpopular character "He's not as white as he's painted!" and another retorted "It's no use trying to blackwash him!" Again, everybody laughed. Light and darkness is all very well for right and wrong, good and bad; but white and black is, in present circumstances, unfortunate. Perhaps the safest course is to avoid these ambiguous metaphors, however well understood?

Peki *Barbara Aquah.*

Editor's Note:—

Miss Aquah must have an enviable collection of the contradictory uses of idioms in colour. It is entirely possible that after more practice with the dialectical method, she will finally understand these paradoxes.

Notice on Construction Site

SIR,—If you approach the road leading to the overhead bridge from the direction of the Mental Hospital, you will see written on a board, SLOW WORKERS AHEAD. This sign-board has been there for months. I do not know if we are being informed that the workers are slow, but I think it is about time the construction of that road was completed.

Accra *M. Kotchoo*

Reviews

AFRICAN UNIVERSITIES AND WESTERN TRADITION

by Sir Eric Ashby

(*Oxford University Press*, 1964; *Price* ₵1.26)

Review by

L. H. Ofosu Appiah

THIS BOOK contains the Godkin Lectures delivered in 1964 at Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, by Sir Eric Ashby, Master of Clare College, Cambridge England.

Sir Eric discusses the European concept of a university and shows how it has been exported to Ghana and Nigeria. His first chapter, entitled "The European Tradition Exported", comments on the way in which the various colonial powers transported their types of universities into their colonies and regarded them as best suited to the colonials. The British, he maintains, were very sure that their type of university education was what Africans and Asians must have in order to progress. He terms this attitude "cultural nationalism." He goes on to examine critically the British universities, their constitutions, their standards, and their social function. Then he gives an interesting account of the history of the attempt by some educated Africans in the 19th and early 20th centuries to get the British to establish a University in West Africa.

His account of the crusade led by Horton, Blyden, and Casley Hayford is interesting. These men had different ideas about the type of universities they wanted for Africans. Horton wanted a European type university with no changes, and his crusade met with some success with the founding of Fourah Bay College in 1876. Blyden wanted to get a University free from the "despotic Europeanising influences which had warped and crushed the negro mind". But strangely enough he felt that this could be achieved by the study of the Greek and Latin classics to the exclusion of a study of modern Western civilisation. He thought, rather erroneously, that the Greek and Latin classics could give the Africans "nourishment" without "race poison". He also wanted "African languages, songs and oral traditions and a form of Christianity adapted to the African people" to be studied. Casley Hayford was a Gold Coast nationalist and wanted a university in which the Gold Coast would play a predominant part. Teaching would be in the vernacular. His university would be a centre of "national conservancy and evolution," but would be linked with overseas universities in Japan, England, Germany, and America." Blyden and Casley Hayford were the forerunners of African cultural nationalism in university education.

The British government, we learn, paid little attention to these demands. Sir Eric's three reasons for this reluctance on the part of the British are: Firstly, African public opinion did not support the idea. "Horton, Blyden and Hayford were ahead of their times." Secondly, British policy relegated education to missionaries and colonial governments; and the missionaries were too busy saving souls to have time for higher education, while the colonial governments were too poor to afford universities. And thirdly, the view was held by officials in London and the colonies that universities could be started only on a firm foundation of good secondary schools—a view proved false by the founding of Oxford and Cambridge in the Middle Ages. Sir Eric's first point may be dismissed by reminding him that until recently no country had started universities in response to public opinion. The second point may be countered by accepting the fact that the British did not enter upon the colonial adventure for altruistic reasons. So they could not, at the beginning of the venture, lay the foundations for their overthrow.

But a move was made after the First World War to get the Colonial Office to declare its policy on education. An advisory committee was set up and in 1925 its pronouncement was published as a White Paper. It ran as follows: "Education should be adapted to the mentality, aptitudes, occupations and traditions of the various peoples, conserving as far as possible all sound and healthy elements in the fabric of their social life." There was a lull after this until James Currie published a report in 1933 pleading for universities in Africa. The Colonial Office endorsed the report and sent it to the various colonial governments for study. The Governors in the East and West African

territories were not keen on implementing the report. "The governor of the Gold Coast was satisfied that existing facilities were adequate, and feared that a sudden increase in facilities for higher education would lead to an overproduction of graduates." Then came the Second World War and the appointment of the Asquith and Elliot Commissions, the first to enquire into the general question of higher education in the colonies, and the second to make recommendations on higher education in West Africa. Their reports were accepted by the British Government in 1945. Sir Eric might have pointed out that the White Paper on the Elliot Report accepted the Minority report which recommended only one university for West Africa. There was to be no university in the Gold Coast.

"The Asquith Report" he says, "was Britain's blueprint for the export of universities to her people overseas. In the eyes of those who have used the blueprint over the last twenty years it has become more than a mere statement of government policy: it has been elevated to the dignity of a doctrine." He does not like the British way of assuming that British universities are the best type for British colonials to imitate. He wished the Commission had considered "whether the university systems to be found in Minneapolis or Manila or Tokyo might be more appropriate." This is an idealistic view-point, no doubt meant to please African nationalists. But in the historical context it must be asserted that the imperial policy was to have only "made in Britain" stuff. All the secondary schools were based on that assumption, and you cannot introduce a new notion without adjusting the concept of secondary schools to fit into the new scheme. The teachers and administrators of these universities should be familiar with the running of the system. In spite of idealism, the majority will be British and will be conversant with the British way of running universities. To achieve that ideal would delay the founding of universities, and so what was chosen, *in the absence of any scheme outlined by African nationalists themselves*, was the best in the circumstances.

The second lecture is entitled "Balance Sheet for Universities in West Africa." It deals with the two university colleges of the Gold Coast and Nigeria. He criticises these institutions for their slavish adherence to their British models in constitution, entry requirements, and curricula. He shows how the Councils were under the influence of British appointees, and how the Senate and Academic Boards were dominated by Professors who were British. These two features, he points out, made it impossible for the institutions to reflect the views of the countries which established them.

Although the points he makes are all true there is another side to this whole question which has never been brought out by any of the critics. Even though the Councils had to rely on what the academic men told them, there was no clause in the laws establishing them which states that "the African lay members of the Council shall accept without questioning all the views expressed by the academic men and expatriates on the internal affairs of the universities." Why did the African members not become more inquisitive? If they had insisted on being given the background of all appointees, it would have been easy to check the stalling of Africanisation in the colleges. If they had wanted African academics to have more say in the running of the institutions, they could have forced the issue and amended the constitutions accordingly. But it was possible for the Principal of the University College of the Gold Coast to get the Council to agree to the publication of bye-laws which virtually abolished the Academic Board under the Ordinance. What would have happened if he had decided to abolish the Council? In this respect the lay members of the Council became too trusting, too mentally lazy to do their duties properly. To blame the British for taking them for a ride is to misunderstand their whole attitude to Africans—that in diplomacy there must be one rider and one ass, and the ass shall not be British!

On standards and curricula Sir Eric does not like the high entry requirements in Ghana and Nigeria. He might have told the Nigerians *that*, instead of recommending the expansion of sixth forms as Chairman of the Commission on higher education—the Ashby Commission. His argument that those who fail to gain admission into the universities in West Africa can enter American and Canadian universities will be valid if he agrees to abolish sixth forms in West Africa. For he must know that a Harvard graduate who enters Oxford as a Rhodes scholar is only excused preliminary examinations, and is therefore only a year ahead of a West African sixth former. The question of empty places could have been solved by having one institution which takes students at a lower level and trains them for general degree courses comparable to those in Canadian universities. But the attitude to such a College would be the same as that being shown to Nsukka. There is, in the African setting, some glamour attached to an inferior qualification if it comes from abroad!

The attacks on honours courses are the result of a confusion of ends and a mark of intellectual dishonesty. Honours couses, whether they be single subject or two subjects, are necessary for advanced work. *It is these courses which make it possible for West African graduates to finish their graduate Courses in the specified time in Britain and the United States even when they are not particularly brilliant.* General degrees in school subjects, as any English academic knows, require knowledge which is lower than what most students get in good sixth forms in Britain. One can see this point by comparing the syllabuses and papers for the scholarship examinations of the English examinations boards. Whatever the critics will say about the honours course, we need them in order to raise the standards in the schools. If a better general degree course is devised we shall still expect our best students to take honours degrees in order to reduce our dependence on foreign experts.

The criticism of curricula which do not include African languages and cultures should be addressed to the nationalist and not to the British. It is a fact that African languages were advanced more by the British in the Gold Coast than by Nkrumah in the period he was in power. The number of entries for Ghana languages at the School Certificate sank to an all time low by the time Sir Eric was lecturing. Nkrumah and some of the nationalists would not let their own children speak these languages. Why blame the Universities for not having courses for them? Who is going to teach those courses? One would like to know how many students in the M.A. courses at the Institute of African Studies in Ghana can write a thesis in a Ghanaian language? Another feature of the curricula worth watching especially in Ghana is the emphasis on things African to the exclusion of other interests. Nearly all our history lecturers are Africanists, and one wonders whether that is what is required in any history department. If Englishmen can become Africanists, why should a consistent effort not be made by Africans to have a variety of specialists? We seem to be going to the other extreme and must call a halt somewhere. His comments on the social function of a university are interesting. His view that bad degrees do not drive out good degrees is valid in a country with varied resources and many types of universities whose products are not given uniform treatment on the basis of the labels they have. *But in countries where a Ph.D. or an M.A. can immediately earn a professorship or headship of a department, we should be wary of adopting such advice.*

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The third chapter entitled "African Nationalism Confronts the University" deals with the relationship between the university, the public and politicians. The view of the nationalists was that he who paid the piper called the tune. The view of the universities was that only the piper knew how to play the tune. The question of standards has aroused some criticism, but it stems from the general desire to level down rather than to diversify the higher educational institutions. In countries where nationalists train their children abroad in "imperialist institutions", one must be sceptical of their sincerity in such matters, especially as it is the children of the "masses" who suffer from the evil results of their policies.

Africanisation in the universities was a thorny problem in the colonial and post-colonial days. There was a reluctance on the part of the British to employ or promote Africans, however competent they might be, but no such reluctance was shown when the candidates were British. This reluctance, I found, was based on the assumption that the African lecturer is not as mature as his British counterpart; and besides, he must serve as long an apprenticeship as he would serve in Britian. This type of humbug could have been checked if the lay members of the Councils had questioned the assumptions more persistently. They might have insisted from the outset that at least one member on the academic side of the Council should be an African above the rank of Assistant Lecturer. This would have prevented some of the clashes that occurred later. No doubt the expatriates would have chosen a "stooge", as they used to do for certain committees at Legon, but it would not always have worked out in that way.

The section on the Universities and the state deals with the major question of academic freedom: what sort of control should the state exercise over the universities? The problem would be easy to solve if academics were by all accounts more intellectually honest than politicians, and if the foreign academics did not wish for power in the universities in order to safeguard their interests. I must admit that if you go to work in a foreign country, and like it, and want to stay there, you must be made of a sterner stuff before you can willingly help to liquidate your own position. In spite of the clever tricks of the expatriate staff in Nigeria and Ghana, the answer to the problem is not that found by Nkrumah and Azikiwe. To wish to control universities is not a peculiar African characteristic. Sir Eric could have found enough parallels from the United States. And is it by mere coincidence that both Nkrumah and Azikiwe are products of American universities, where the states often control the (state) universities, and where Senator Fulbright was dismissed from his post as President of a University because his mother criticised a state official in her newspaper?

The dilemma in Africa is that, lacking our own competent men, we have to use foreigners. Both sides have their prejudices but the politicians, far from representing the African way of life, do not approve of the method of arguing a case. They believe in naked power; and when the foreigner calls our bluff we are helpless and have to go to them to beg for aid. It was not because Nigeria was a democracy that the Federal Government prevented Ibadan from going the way of Legon. It was because Balewa recognised a truth which Azikiwe and Nkrumah were too arrogant to see—that if you depend on people for the vital necessities of your life you must use your head more often than your heart—assuming that you have a head!

The problem of the type of person which the British pattern of a university produces is also touched upon. Sir Eric repeats the assertion of those who claim that American trained students are more down to earth because they take campus jobs. Since it is constantly asserted that the British type of university in West Africa trains an elite who will not work with their hands, the question is worth examining. Labour costs in the United States are so high that most of the higher educational institutions which are not wealthy use students on the campus. These students are generally those who need money. If the idea is to teach the "idle rich" how to work with their hands, then, unless the system were compulsory, any wealthy student can pass through College without doing campus jobs. Besides, some institutions do not offer jobs to foreigners.

In 1962 the Interim Council of the University of Ghana decided that the Halls should use students for all the menial tasks "in order to inculcate in them the dignity of labour." But the stewards were to be kept on the pay roll without doing any work! This was the Ghanaian solution under Nana Nketsia's Vice-Chancellorship. I informed the authorities that Africa was not short of labourers, but lacked educated men, so I would disobey the order! The scheme was dropped. Perhaps the critics would like to know that every student who has been in a Ghanaian secondary school has done menial work before entering the university. Not doing any more for three or four years does not turn them into aristocrats.

The comments in the summing up about African graduates are interesting. Any type of education in a predominantly illiterate society is bound to create a gap between the educated and the uneducated. But there is always confusion of thought when Western intellectuals talk and write about African tribal life. If the leaders who won independence for Ghana and Nigeria had been mostly honest men, the wretched conditions in African villages, especially in Ghana, could have been improved. There would have been good drinking water and better sanitation, and there would have been no virtue in a villager drinking ditch-water.

In trying to make things better for Africans, we must remember that universities in Africa are one of our answers to the challenge of modernisation. When therefore we dogmatise on the African content of the curriculum and are tempted to lean towards folkways and other romantic aspects of our societies, we must stop and reflect that our dances were there when our ancestors sold members of their race to Europeans to create a labour force and begin a "Negro problem". The dances will continue all over Africa where the negro used to be regarded as a "native problem". And I hazard a prediction that when some advanced white man pulls the nuclear trigger at some distant date, African villagers will still be dancing, and if they do not have Scientists to save from the fallout, perhaps their ancestors will!

"THE NEW PATRIOTS"

by

Sarif Easmon

(Performed by the Ghana Playhouse)

Review by

K. A. B. Jones-Quartey

RAYMOND SARIF Easmon is a brilliant Sierra Leonean who, if he had not chosen to be a medical doctor could have been almost anything else on an equally high level. As it is, he has for more than twenty years—he is only around 50 now—been even better known for his restless political and social provocativeness than for his medical practice, which is distinguished and successful enough by itself. (He was recently, as will be remembered, one of the central figures in the Sierra Leone treason case against the English journalist, Loshak).

And all the time, in addition, Easmon has cultivated the literary Muse too. His first play was *Dear Parent and Ogre*, which has been performed in Nigeria as well as in Sierra Leone. Another play, *Mate and Checkmate*, is not yet published; a novel, *The Votaress*, is expected out in March, 1967. *The New Patriots*, Easmon's latest major work to come before the public, has just had its first run in Accra, under the auspices of the Government Department of Art and Culture; the ending of the run is the occasion for this review.

The Play

The New Patriots draws its strength from and weaves its plot around three families and two parallel themes. Two of the families are of "Krio" composition and one of "Up-Country" origins, a "tribal" identity system which to the initiated promises internecine warfare even before the actors begin to scream "PREJUDICE!" at each other; the two parallel themes are those of material corruption in contemporary African politics and of love between the "tribes", plus a sub-theme on parent-child relations partly reminiscent of *Dear Parent and Ogre*.

The complex and manifold class-tribal inter-relationships among the three families, the almost innocent but still vile cynicism with which corruption both highlights and debases some of the points of contact in these relationships, and the fateful way in which love between the younger generations from both sides of the great divide intrudes upon the wayward inclinations of the older people—this tangled skein is handled with considerable skill by the author.

But *The New Patriots* is more comical than tragic, so we did not get palpitatingly hot against those who seemed so determined to rob the state just to enrich themselves. Instead of anger we felt like laughter at their despicable antics. Which is a pity, because Sarif Easmon is essentially an Angry Young Man, and a little more of some real boil-up from him would have done both him and his potentially responsive audience a lot of good. Even the "Sorrows of Satan", in the form of the disasters which befall our chief prototype of political corruption in the play "Up-Countryman" Fred Byeloh, are not a satisfying sop to our sense of outraged virtue.

However, outraged virtues there are in great numbers in the play itself (though these don't outrage the audience). For in the course of portraying the ways of romatic love among these representatives of a mixed, and mixed-up, society, Sarif Easmon uses the vocabulary and symbolism of sex with much uninhibition, almost with relish. Both parents and children romp through heated arguments over virginity lost or preserved, "good, old-fashioned" hymens, marital and pre-marital beds—the lot ! Yet it is all done in such forthright, matter-of-fact terms that not even the spinster aunts at the Arts Centre could be noticed reaching nervously for their fans, or offering sweets to their next-door neighbours as a diversionary tactic.

Parent-Child Relations

What did cause embarrassment—what always causes embarrassment in Africa—was the totally inept playing of Easmon's Western-style love scenes by these hardworking but inexperienced amateurs, for whom the producer later said some gracious words of exoneration and commendation, and to whom I shall return later.

No amount of commendation on grounds of amateurism, however, can excuse the author himself for his handling of the theme of parent-child relations, as portrayed between Byeloh and his daughter Mahmeh. Even for an African girl brought up in England, and even in the rebellious mid-twentieth century, it is almost impossible to discover in Africa the likes of Mahmeh, a daughter who would talk to her father in the words, the tone of voice, the utterly out-of-context belligerence and contempt in which she is made to talk to Fred Byeloh, her stage-father. And get away with it !

The hostility between these two is hardly even deep-seated, ancient, Freudian, or anything so fancy; it is almost purely accidental and *ad-hoc*. So, even if the violence of feeling on the girl's part is equal to the provocation which occasions it, this intensity should have been muted or only partly expressed, not hissed out in such a stream of raw abuse and with such unchecked impertinence. Fiery, full-blooded, ear-filling lines yes, but in the wrong mouth. **They are not true of Africa, even modern Africa,** and should be modified before the play sees many more performances. Otherwise Byeloh may one night forget where he is and slap his daughter right across the stage and into the audience —who would thereupon laugh and applaud even more.

With one or two exceptions Wilson can be said to have had good basic material to deal with in his choice of actors. Most of the players, both male and female, acted their part with fair relaxation and a good deal of poise. The speech patterns were mixed though, and few would deny that English—or French or Portuguese—as a **second** language in Africa suffers grievous bodily harm, in general. (The same can be said, of course, about French in the mouths of Englishmen and Fante as "she is spoke" by the relatively few Europeans who dare it.)

Drained of Meaning

Thus the characteristically American "Well, what d'you know !", for instance, becomes in West Africa less of an expression and more of a pronouncement: "... What-do-YOU-know"; and Efuah Annan as Mrs. Ellis in the Accra production of *The New Patriots* constantly intoned "My child", or "Mahmeh", or "John", at the end, say, of a sentence of appeal or endearment, with that heavy downward inflexion which drains the expression of all English meaning. This kind of fault is, naturally, absent from the speech patterns of those, like young Mamaa Akufo-Addo and Jacob Obetsebi-Lamptey, who happen to have learnt their second languages "at source". Here articulation is near perfect, though Miss Akufo-Addo on this occasion said her horrendous lines to her stage father so fast sometimes that she was largely incoherent in those passages.

Most of rest of the cast spoke their parts with clearness and sophistication, even when tripped up by those infernal idioms and colloquialisms, those tonal inflexions which demanded more, or less, then they ever actually got. Obetsebi Lamptey was particularly fine in the many magnificent passages with which the author provided him, as the angry young Permanent Secretary as well as the somewhat rakish lover and philanderer. He was often matched, in her best scenes, by Miss Akufo-Addo, who, incidentally, should in future stick to pure she-cat roles and leave coy maiden-hood or passionate love severely alone. Moreover she, and almost everybody else, could have benefitted from lots more of rehearsal time.

The "Chief Justice" (Zac Bentum), the two corrupt politicians (K. Turkson-Ocran and Wilson himself), the widow and her daughter (Efuah Annan and Rita Sam), and Kelfah (K. B. Osei-Bosomprah) all had the advantage of open spaces and good positioning for the delivery of their lines. Byeloh and the Chief Justice, as well as the widow, in particular made good use of these presents, in the main. Wilson can be credited with this and with the effective sets, but not with make-up, of which there was none. (The "C.J.", for one, could have used some—to make him look a bit older and more dignified.)

The chief fault of this play is its length. The first and third acts are over-stretched by nearly half, with the result that talk takes the place of new ideas in many places; the gravy drowns the meat. What should a producer—or director, as he is called in America—do in a case like this ? Answer: **He should cut** ! A producer should cut a long play down, especially so that he can then rehearse his cast more. Andoh Wilson could in this way produce even better results next time. He has done not too badly now, and previously too. We shall expect more.

Law

THE LAW AND CORRUPTION

by

Kwame Oduro

CORRUPTION is a deadly sin. It is a form of avarice. It kills objectivity, conceals the truth, favours the affluent but underserving, impairs efficiency and leads to frustration and instability. It has been the cause of many revolutions—Ghana's coup being our own living example.

So long as corruption continues to be a way of getting on in life in this country there will be no stability. Unless it is checked the 24th February coup will be the first of many coups in Ghana. The histories of Latin America and the Middle East, to cite but two of the areas of instability in the world to-day, are there for all of us to learn from.

Corruption pervades life in Ghana. It is to be found in high and low places; it is practised by public and judicial officers, professional men, school teachers, farmers, fishermen, businessmen, labourers and even by children. So prevalent is it that many consider it a natural way of getting a job or promotion or making money. In Ghana it is foolish, even unimaginable, to be honest. A person who refuses to allow his conduct to be influenced by bribes is indeed considered a wicked and heartless man.

Corruption exists in spite of all the laws that have been passed to deal with it. These laws will be found in the Criminal Code (Section

239-261); Public Property (Protection) and Corrupt Practices (Prevention) Act, 1962 (Act 121); and the now famous Corrupt Practices Act, 1964 (Act 230). These Acts deal with corruption by and of public officers. Corruption (or 'fraud' as the Criminal Code calls it) by and of agents is dealt with in Section 145 of the Criminal Code.

Every public officer or juror who commits corruption and any person who corrupts a public officer or juror is liable to imprisonment with hard labour of not more than twenty-five years. Similarly a person who accepts or gives a bribe to influence a public officer and any judicial officer or juror who gives a corrupt promise is liable to the same term of imprisonment. There are other provisions dealing with corruption, intimidation and impersonation in respect of elections.

Provisions of the Law

To state the law briefly:

(a) A public officer, juror or voter is guilty of corruption if in respect of his office or vote, he directly or indirectly agrees or offers to permit his conduct as such officer, juror or voter to be influenced by the gift, promise, or prospect of any valuable consideration to be received by him, or by any other person, from any person whomsoever; or

(b) A person is guilty of corrupting a public officer if he gives such a gift etc. to induce a public officer to act in the manner above.

(c) If after a public officer has done an act he accepts any valuable consideration on account of such act or if any person gives to such public officer any valuable consideration on account of such act, there is a presumption that he is guilty of corruption until the contrary is shown.

(d) Section 145 makes similar provision with regard to agents. This section covers not only civil servants and local authority employees but also persons in private employment.

(e) Similar to corruption are oppression and extortion by a public officer or juror. A public officer is guilty of oppression if he wilfully commits any excess or abuse of his authority to the injury of the public or of any person. A public officer is guilty of extortion if, under colour of his office, he demands or obtains from any person, any money or valuable consideration which he knows that he is not lawfully authorised to demand or obtain or at a time which he knows that he is not authorised to demand or obtain the same. "Under colour of office" means "on the pretext or pretence of, under the mask or alleged authority of" his office.

These two offences are also punishable by a maximum imprisonment of twenty-five years. There are offences relating to corrupt promises by a judicial officer or juror, of accepting money for the purpose of influencing a public officer; and corruption at public elections.

Act 121 is intended to punish persons who deliberately dissipate or cause grave damage to public property by knowingly entering into any unprofitable business transaction on behalf of the Republic, any State Enterprise, Statutory Corporation, Local Authority or registered Co-operative with any other person or otherwise deliberately dissipates or causes grave damage to public property or steals public property. Punishment for offences committed under the Act is not less than three years imprisonment.

Section 9 of Act 121 laid down procedure for investigation and punishment of corruption in relation to public property or office. This section was repealed and replaced by Act 230. Under Act 230 a person against whom adverse findings are made by a Commission of Enquiry appointed under the Act may be prosecuted by the Attorney-General in the Circuit Court or High Court. At his trial the accused should not be asked to plead nor is the prosecution required to lead evidence. The findings of the Commission constitute a *prima facie* evidence of the facts found, and the accused shall be called upon to show cause why he should not be sentenced according to law for the commission of the offence charged.

Witnesses and Commissions

If in showing cause why the accused states that he had no opportunity of cross-examining any witness upon whose evidence the Commission based its findings the Court may call such a witness for cross-examination by the accused in which case the Court and the Attorney-General may put further questions to the accused. Or if he states that the findings of the Commission are not supported by the evidence before it, the Court or the Attorney-General may in such a case call additional witnesses. In addition to the above, the Court may allow the accused to call any witness to give evidence on his behalf, and the Court and the Attorney-General may put questions to the additional witnesses called by the accused.

The adverse findings of a Commission appointed under the Act, in effect, amount to a conviction unless the accused can show the findings cannot be sustained. It is clear that a person who refuses to give evidence may forever lose the opportunity of clearing his name.

These laws are as stringent as one can imagine. On paper they should be as effective as any laws in checking corruption. Yet corruption goes on every day in all manner of places and under our noses. Why have these laws failed to deal effectively with corruption?

First, corrupt practices are committed in secrecy. The envelope left with a public officer, a secret telephone call, a sale of car at a ridiculously low price, a gift which appears to be innocent or a customary *aseda* (i.e. "thanks")—these are some instances of how people pass and receive bribes.

Corruption and Public Education

More often than not there are no witnesses to the transaction and no receipt or document is given for it. In such circumstances, it is very difficult and even impossible for the prosecutor to prove anything to the satisfaction of the court. Secondly, a person who obtains something with a bribe is not likely to report. He rather congratulates himself for his successful deal. He may not find anything wrong with it. Even where he is unsuccessful he is reluctant to report for fear he may be prosecuted for his conduct. Thirdly, those responsible for investigating and trying the case may themselves be corrupt. They too can be bribed to drop the charge or mess up the case. Fourthly, it appears the police has few specialists for dealing with cases of fraud or corruption. With corruption as rampant as it is, they can only deal with a fraction of corrupt practices.

What then should be done? Obviously there is need for a massive public education. The ordinary man should be made aware that corruption has had, and will continue to have, serious consequences for the country. The public has been horrified by the revelations before the various commissions; but, alas, how many are aware that in their own small ways they are as guilty of this wicked crime as Kwame Nkrumah and his henchmen!

Measures to Deal with Corruption

The National Liberation Council has taken some steps towards dealing with corruption by appointing Commissions of Enquiry and by re-organising the Judiciary. But these steps do no more than scratch the surface. The corrupt C.P.P. officials and judges represent no more than the tip—a small tip—of a huge and destructive ice-berg. The Commissions of Enquiry may only go to discredit the C.P.P. for ever. But the real problem of corruption will still remain unless something more is done. Some of the measures which can be taken must include a shaking-up of other institutions which have not been affected by the recent exercises. For example, there seems to be some uneasiness about the civil service; and there have always been some dismay with the police. Much of the annoying delays one encounters in the Civil Service is hardly due to the General Orders and other rules. These orders and rules are in fact meant to—and can—ensure an orderly, efficient and quick dispatch of civil service business. The delays are often due—apart from laziness—to corruption. A clerk or messenger may refuse to forward a document to the appropriate authority for action unless he is bribed to do so. A person in charge of a matter may refuse to take action on it unless he is given something.

The Future

In future, for example, every high official should be made to declare his assets annually. The Central Revenue Department, the Banks and other bodies should be put under obligation to supply further information on the assets of such officials. There should be set up a *special* Fraud Squad in the police. This body should be a high-powered one and consist of persons with specialist knowledge, and should be charged with the responsibility of finding out and prosecuting instances of corruption.

Corruption is a hard nut to crack. Before we can deal with it effectively we must know the causes, the methods used in giving and receiving bribes, and its possible effects on efficiency and administration of justice, and the maintenance of law and order.

It is suggested a committee consisting of sociologists, members of the armed forces, the police, and prominent members of the community should be set up now to make the necessary enquiry and recommend ways of countering this dangerous evil.

Miscellaneous

Interviewing an Expatriate

by

Daphne Hereward

A: What was the first thing you saw in Ghana and liked ? The Ivory Tower or the Red Light ?

B: Neither; it was a car with a two-letter number.

A: Just why did you like that ?

B: Because it showed that you don't have many cars, and I was back in the sane old days before my own country was bitten with motormania.

A: Don't you like motoring ?

B: Motoring is good and necessary sometimes; motormania is a disease with symptoms.

A: What are they ?

B: You can diagnose it when somebody says that it is the *slow drivers who cause the accidents, or that he would* love to knock down some pedestrians on pedestrian crossings, or that Guildford High Street should be demolished so that you could get to Winchester, or Winchester so that you could get to Salisbury, or Salisbury so that you could get to Land's End. Or when a healthy young student with a pair of legs thinks he has some sort of right to have a car at all. That Oxford streets were un-smellable with exhausts. Or when town-planners say "There will be so many cars by nineteen so-and-so; let us make a road through the park". They don't begin to think whether they want that number of cars or think of a way of stopping it.

A: But can you really stop it ?

B: In Moscow they build underground railways and the government doubles the price of cars.

A: But that would be trying to stop progress.

B: Why is a car more progressive than a bus ? It may be progress to invent a machine, and it may be progress to invent a nasty sort of Bomb, but it is very useful to know when not to use them.

A: But why do you dislike large numbers of cars ? Slaughter on the roads ?

B: Yes, but that's not all. There is the way they gobble up more and more farm-land turning the by-ways into

high-ways and then building enormous die-ways as well. In America they demolish whole villages for this. In England they demolish beautiful buildings in towns. They call it assisting the flow of traffic. That means letting the cars go faster.

A: Then why don't they say so ?

B: Somebody might tell them " Don't be absurd ". Then there is the colossal waste of money—twenty-two million on road-signs alone—and the horrid noise, and the filthy stench in the towns, and the way the children can't play in the streets and you can't walk out in the streets in the evening or dance in the square or have a Coup or do anything interesting. They won't spend much on beautiful things, they spend a horrid lot on making life hideous.

A: What do you think causes the disease ?

B: The victims don't realize that their sort of motoring is . . . a sport,—a blood-sport, like hunting, and it takes up a lot more room than football, and doesn't make anybody healthy.

A: And what do you suggest for a cure ?

B: *Can you find some other sport which would do instead ?*

A: I suggest playing the harmonium. The victim will find that he has a clutch, an accelerator, and a dash-board all complete.

(*Enter C.*)

C: Would you like to see the Dam thing at Akosombo ? I'll take you both. The Mercedes is just outside.

B: Yes, lovely !

A: Hypocrite !

(*Exeunt A, B, and C in the Mercedes*)

News Summary

(*By Courtesy of the Ghana Broadcasting Corporation*)

16*th October*, 1966

Ghana and Upper Volta Meet on Transport

AT A five-day meeting of experts representing Ghana and Upper Volta, it was decided to set up, jointly, a Ghana-Upper Volta Road Transport Commission, which " will regulate and harmonise commercial road transportation between Ghana and Upper Volta." The talks centred on trade and other means of strengthening the bonds of friendship between the two countries. Upper Volta was represented by Mr. Victor Kabore, Ghana by Mr. E. N. Omaboe, Chairman of the Economic Committee of the N.L.C.

NADECO Dissolved

THE NATIONAL Development Company Limited (NADECO) has been dissolved by a decree of the N.L.C.; all its assets and liabilities have been transferred to the state. The decree said all persons holding rights, assets or properties in the company should within twenty-one days from the 18th of October notify the Secretary to the N.L.C. or the nearest Police Station in writing, stating the nature and extent of such rights, etc. Anyone found guilty of false declaration in this connection would be guilty of an offence and would be liable, on conviction, to a fine not exceeding ₵5,000 or to a term of imprisonment not exceeding three years or both. The decree followed the report of the Azzu Crabbe Commission which was appointed by the N.L.C. in March this year to probe the affairs of the NADECO Ltd. The 52-page report recommended, among other things, that Kwame Nkrumah and twelve other persons should be prosecuted for their criminal involvement in the operation of the company.

Apaloo Commission Submits Report

THE APALOO Commission, appointed to enquire into the property and assets of the deposed President has presented its report to the N.L.C. The Commission sat for 62 days, heard 134 witnesses and examined 128 exhibits.

The Logistics Committee and Flour Distribution

THE LOGISTICS Committee of the N.L.C. has announced that it will launch in Accra a new scheme, beginning next month, by which flour will be distributed direct to bakers through the principal firms without passing through numerous middlemen.

Price Inspectorate Division Abolished

COL. AFRIFA, member of the N.L.C. in charge of the ministries of Finance, Economic Affairs, and Trade, announced in Accra that the Price Inspectorate Division of the Ministry of Trade had been abolished. The Police would be empowered by a decree to confiscate hoarded goods without compensation.

National Physical Development Plan

THE CHIEF Town Planning Officer, Mr. P. N. K. Turkson has announced that a national physical development plan to guide the annual phasing and budgeting of investment programme in the country will be published at the end of this month. He said the Department of Town Planning and Community Development is also revising the " Master Plan " of Accra to re-define the boundaries of the Accra-Tema area with a view to unifying the area.

Health Survey in the Volta Area

THE CURRENT Epidemiological Survey of the Volta River Settlement area shows that malaria fever is the most common disease in the area. The survey is being conducted for research purposes. The Senior Medical Officer in charge of it said seriously sick settlers would be offered medical treatment by the survey team. The two-month survey will cover the Kpandu and Kete-Krachi areas. Over 500 people have already undergone laboratory and medical examination.

The Future of Ghana's Atomic Reactor

THE BRITISH *atomic scientist, Sir John Cockroft, left* Accra yesterday by air for London after a six-day visit to Ghana at the invitation of the N.L.C. While in the country Sir John advised the Government on future plans for Ghana's atomic reactor at Kwabenya.

Abraham out of Protective Custody

PROFESSOR W. E. Abraham, former Pro-Vice Chancellor of the University of Ghana and former M.P. in the old regime has been released from protective custody.

Control of Prices Decree 23rd October, 1966

THE N.L.C. has published a new decree under which every police officer or member of the Security Service not below the rank of Inspector or an equivalent rank, has power to inspect goods on premises occupied for the purposes of a trade or business. Similar power is given every officer in the Armed Forces not below the rank of Sergeant in the Ghana Army and its equivalent in the Ghana Air Force and in the Ghana Navy. According to the decree known as the *Control of Prices Act, 1962 (Amendment No. 2)* Decree 1966, none of these officers being in uniform shall be required to produce any document relating to his appointment, and in the case of any such officer not being in uniform it shall be sufficient to produce upon request written evidence of his identity. The decree provides that maximum prices for the sale of goods shall be fixed. Where the Police and the Army have taken possession of any goods, the goods shall be sold at reasonable prices. In each case the proceeds of sale shall be forfeited to the Republic unless the person from whom the goods are taken possession of or any other person on behalf of whom he held the goods proves to the satisfaction of the Circuit Court upon application made by either or both of them to that Court within three months that the retention of the goods by them from whom they were taken was lawful. Any money forfeited to the Republic under the decree shall be paid to the Consolidated Fund.

Ghana and Upper Volta

A DIRECT telephone link has been opened between Ghana and Upper Volta. In a ten-minute inauguration conversation between the Chairman of the N.L.C. Lt.-General Ankrah, and President Sangoule Lamizana of Upper Volta, Lt.-General Ankrah said the inauguration of the telephone link is yet another significant achievement in the history of the two countries. The General said the two countries look forward to the future with confidence because of the removal of the difficulties which had formerly restricted close collaboration. President Lamizana, in his reply, said

Upper Volta attaches the greatest importance to the setting up of direct telecommunication links with other countries in Africa. He said the new link constitutes an essential step in the development of relations between Ghana and Upper Volta.

Contempt of (Annie Jiagge) Commission: Prosecutions

FOUR FORMER members of Parliament who refused to give evidence before the Annie Jiagge Commission appeared before an Accra High Court last Friday charged with contempt of Commission. They are K. S. Annan, Ebenezer Adam, J. A. Owusu Ansah and Grace Ayensu. They have all been charged under the Commission of Enquiry Act. The State was represented by the Director of Public Prosecutions, Mr. J. N. K. Taylor. Addressing the Court, Mr. Taylor pointed out that Section 7 of the Commission of Enquiry Act 250 makes it an offence if a witness refuses to answer questions put to him or her of which the Commission requires an answer legally. He reminded the Court that the conduct of the witnesses at the Commission amounted to contempt of Commission and that the persons are liable for prosecution. The Presiding Judge, Mr. Justice M. A. Charles remarked that if the contempt of Commission is proved he will deem it a serious matter, adding that the offence carries a penalty of a fine of one thousand two hundred cedis or five years imprisonment.

Mr. E. Afflah-Addo

EMMANUEL AFFLAH-ADDO, Principal Secretary, Ministry of Communications, was last Monday sentenced to five years imprisonment with hard labour by the Chief Justice, Mr. Justice Akuffo-Addo presiding over an Accra High Court. Afflah-Addo was found guilty of corruption by a public officer involving an amount of ₵2,400 or £1,000.

Inter-Continental Hotels Corporation

THE GOVERNMENT of Ghana has signed an agreement with the Inter-Continental Hotels Corporation of the United States covering the management of the Ambassador and Continental Hotels in Accra. Under the agreement the State Hotels Corporation and Inter-Continental Hotels Corporation will join in an improvement study programme for the two hotels. An official statement said the association of these hotels with Inter-Continental Corporation and its world-wide reservations and promotional system will significantly strengthen Ghana's efforts for the future expansion of commercial travel and tourism.

Maj-Gen. Kotoka in the U.S.

MAJOR-GENERAL E. K. Kotoka, General Officer Commanding the Ghana Armed Forces and Leader of the Ghana delegation to the current session of the U.N. General Assembly explained at a press conference some of the steps that have been taken to revive the economy and restore constitutional Government in Ghana. General Kotoka who is a member of the N.L.C. said the Council is a caretaker government and it does not plan to be the future government of Ghana. He said steps are being taken now to restore constitutional Government in the country. And all the N.L.C. is waiting for is to clean up the mess and draw up a constitution for the country. Asked if he plans to play a role in a properly constituted government, General Kotoka said he is a professional soldier and has no political ambitions. And it is not his intention to take part in a political government.

Driving on the Left

THE N.L.C. has announced that it does not propose to change over from the present rule of driving on the left-hand side of the roads in Ghana to the right. An official statement issued in Accra recalls that the previous regime had plans to change over from the present system of driving on the left-hand of the road to driving on the right-hand side. The statement says the N.L.C. has reviewed the proposal and has decided that in view of the huge expenditure it would entail and in view of the fact that no special advantage could be derived from such a change-over at present, the proposal should be shelved.

Boohene to Attend IATA Meeting

THE CHAIRMAN of the Ghana Airways Corporation, Mr. E. H. Boohene, left Accra by air today for London on the first stage of his journey to Mexico City where he will attend the 22nd annual general meeting of the International Air Transport Association.

About 300 delegates, mostly top airline executives, are expected to attend this meeting.

At this meeting, delegates will review reports of IATA's six standing committees (Executive, Financial, Legal, Medical, Technical and Traffic) which cover all aspects of international air transport.

The general meeting will also determine future policies, enact budget and elect officers and committee members.

Mr. Boohene, who was seen off by his adviser, Mr. M. A. Bagi, Mr. B. K. Mensah, a Director of the Ghana Airways Corporation and other senior officials, will be away for three weeks.

(By Courtesy of the Central Bureau of Statistics)

Ghana's Foreign Trade in August, 1966

PROVISIONAL figures released by the Central Bureau of Statistics indicate that Ghana imported ₵21.4 million and exported ₵9.5 million worth of goods in August, 1966. There was therefore a trade deficit of ₵11.9 million.

2. Corresponding figures for July were ₵21.8 million and ₵26.4 million respectively.

3. Total imports and exports from January to August were ₵202.5 million and ₵176.1 million whilst the comparative figures for the same period in 1965 were ₵227.4 million and ₵214.7 million respectively.

₵ million

	1965			1966*		
	Imports	*Exports*	*Balance of Trade*	*Imports*	*Exports*	*Balance of Trade*
July	31.8	19.9	– 11.9	21.8	26.4	4.6
August	38.7	28.4	– 10.3	21.4	9.5	– 11.9
January-August	227.4	214.7	– 12.7	202.5	176.1	– 26.4

***Provisional.**

Errata

OWING TO the difficult conditions in which the Legon Observer *is produced, it has regrettably not been possible to avoid accidental errors in our published material. While we express our regret for these errors, it is our hope that both contributors and readers will view this situation with some charity.*

In Vol. I, No. 8, two rather serious errors appear in Mr. Wiredu's article, "The Problem of Rumour":

(1) *Line* 11, *col.* 2 *of p.* 5 *should read:*

"In spite of the fact that the young countenance of that latest 'Osagyefo' Jnr. bore remarkable resemblance to that of the original 'Osagyefo' . . ."

and not

"In spite of the fact that the young latest 'Osagyefo' bore remarkable resemblance to that of the original 'Osagyefo' . . ."

(2) *Line* 16, *col.* 1 *of p.*7 *should read:*

"The chances are that rumours will increase. If these two decrees remain, the N.L.C. would thereby be seriously compromised."

and not

"The chances are that rumours will increase if these two decrees remain; the N.L.C. would thereby be seriously compromised."

Observer Notices

LOOKING AHEAD

Issues of National Reconstruction

What sort of a nation should we build ?

What kind of society do we want to live in ?

What do we mean when we talk of Ghana as a Welfare State ?

What kind of Constitution . . . ?

What are our Roots ?

What is our Heritage ?

Whither Ghana ?

These are some of the live issues that we shall be discussing in the *Legon Observer*. If you are interested in the New Ghana, read the *Legon Observer* regularly. Book your copies NOW !

Price of the " Legon Observer "

IT HAS come to our notice that certain newsvendors are selling the *Legon Observer* at more than the stated price. This is unauthorized. Under no circumstances should anybody pay more than the price stated on the front page. (This applies only to Ghana. Rates in foreign countries will be issued later).

As from Vol. I, No. 10, the price of the *Legon Observer* will be raised to 15 (fifteen) pesewas. The reason is that we now have 24 (twenty-four) pages instead of 12 (twelve) pages, the original size on which the price of 12 (twelve) pesewas was based.

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