

The Legon Observer

Fortnightly Organ of the Legon Committee on National Reconstruction

Vol. II No. 2

20 Jan—2 Feb 1967

Price 15 Pesewas

IN THIS ISSUE

EDITORIAL	1
Combating Subversion— The Intellectuals	
E.C.N.R. COMMUNICATION	3
The Party and the Electoral System (I) Political Correspondent	
POLITICS	6
Chieftaincy in Crisis S. O. Gyandoh Jr.	
OBSERVER NOTEBOOK	8
The Expediting Committee The Press, the Police and the Public Trade Fair Preparations The T.V. Tax Courtesy Calls Nkrumah Indicted Foreign Currency The Lessons of History	
LETTERS	14
The Pendulum of Change Discrimination in our own Country? Ghana and the New Cedi Economic Development and the training of Scientists Made in Ghana goods (2) Campaigning for better Service in Ghana Ghana Air Force Accidents Scrap for Metal Works Traffic at the Liberation Circle Population and Planning	
RELIGION	17
Belief in God—Further Replies (1) D. J. Macqueen (2) A. Gematuxo	
BOOK REVIEW	19
A man of the People (Chinua Achebe) B. S. Kwakwa	
NEWS SUMMARY	20
OBSERVER NOTICES	23

EDITORIAL

COMBATING SUBVERSION

THERE ARE signs of increasing fear of subversion. First, there was the reward for the capture of Nkrumah and his associates, dead or alive. This was followed by two decrees, one requiring notification of communication with Nkrumah and all persons in exile with him in Guinea, the other prohibiting Ghanaians from harbouring "strangers" and requiring hotel proprietors to collect specified data concerning their guests. Now the NLC has declared its intention to amend the Armed Forces Act in order to establish military tribunals which would try certain categories of subversive offences committed by non-military personnel. Conviction for any of these will carry a maximum sentence of death by a firing squad, and a minimum of not less than 25 years imprisonment with hard labour.

The statement embodying this declaration of intention specifies a number of acts allegedly committed by a small minority of the former supporters of the C.P.P., which in the opinion of the N.L.C. have called for the drastic steps it proposes to take. In addition to these, certain facts published in an article in the *Daily Graphic* of January 9, 1967, can give cause for fear that subversive activities are on the increase. Even in the absence of these occurrences it is not difficult to understand that, until the establishment of peaceful processes of change, malcontents such as those affected by the economic reorganisation and especially the C.P.P. will be tempted to express their opposition in violent and subversive ways.

In the light of these facts there is reason for the N.L.C. to be particularly vigilant. It is not easy to dismiss the widespread belief that the equivocal attitude of the N.L.C. with regard to the just punishment for those C.P.P. elements guilty of crimes and other acts of fraud against the population has encouraged the present boldness and effrontery of the said guilty ones. Many of those who fleeced the population and perpetrated all kinds of crimes now parade the streets freely and throw great parties, sometimes for important people in the new order.

While drastic action in the early days of the coup might have been justified, the argument in favour of the measures now proposed by the N.L.C. is not immediately clear. Setting up special courts in a democratic society in time of peace is unfortunate and undesirable, and especially here in the light of the overriding importance of the nation's commitment to democracy. It is possible for such courts to degenerate into instruments of arbitrariness either under the pressure of events or in the hands of less scrupulous leaders. We all now know what a farce Nkrumah's special criminal court was.

THE LEGON OBSERVER

announces the appointment
of

TOMMARK ADVERTISING AGENCY

as Advertising Representatives

P. O. Box 992, Tel. 66209 Accra.

The acts referred to in the statement of the N.L.C. are amply covered by existing criminal legislation. The term "subversion" comprises a number of acts against the security of the state. These acts have hitherto been subject to the jurisdiction of the ordinary courts. We earnestly appeal for a change to be given our reorganised courts to handle these crimes. It is more difficult to run a democratic country than any other; and to meet every emergency with extraordinary measures of an anti-democratic colouration is to deprive the democratic institutions in this country of the opportunity to thrive.

We are not unaware that in certain circumstances, for example, when there is an armed uprising endangering the security of the state, the need may arise for a declaration of a state of emergency and the suspension of certain democratic guarantees to the extent commensurate with the danger faced. We are not in possession of the full facts, but if the N.L.C. believes that such a situation now exists which warrants the establishment of military tribunals, then we suggest certain guarantees to reassure the public.

Firstly, if a further category of subversive crimes should be created, the crimes should be clearly defined and the creation shown to be necessary. *Secondly*, suspects should be informed as soon as reasonable of the crimes of which they stand accused. *Thirdly*, the standards of criminal procedure obtaining in the ordinary courts should be observed in the military courts. *Fourthly*, suspects should have the right to be represented by counsel and should benefit from the existing laws concerning *habeas corpus*. *Fifthly*, the military tribunals should contain an equal number of civilian and military lawyers and judges. *Lastly*, there should be a right of appeal to the Court of Appeal.

We believe that the problem now posed can be dealt with by apprehending those C.P.P. elements concerned and swiftly bringing them to justice before the ordinary courts. We believe that the problem can be further contained by strengthening the security service and the security laws if necessary; by dealing firmly with criminal elements who now roam the streets and who are useful instruments of subversion; by hastening economic programmes designed to absorb surplus labour; and by hastening the return to civilian rule, since extra-constitutional means of changing governments more easily suggest themselves in circumstances where there are no peaceful processes of change. *Finally*, the government need not wait for the commissions to complete their work before seizing ill-gotten gains and bringing to trial

those against whom evidence of crimes committed while in office already exists, or is found while the commissions are still sitting.

THE INTELLECTUALS

THE QUESTION is often asked where all the intellectuals and academics, who nowadays "criticize", were during the fifteen years of Nkrumah's rule. The idea behind this jibe is that the intellectuals and academics maintained a cowardly silence during those fifteen years and, therefore, should not now exercise the right to comment freely and publicly on important public issues, a right that has been restored to Ghanaians by the coup.

It is true that intellectuals and academics did much less than they should have done in fighting corruption, inefficiency and dictatorship, though it is not amiss to point out that they did quite well in this respect until the Preventive Detention Act, which was enforced with such efficiency, even with zeal sometimes, by the forces of law and order, was brought in to muzzle them. Intellectuals and academics, unfortunately, have the same faults as their fellow Ghanaians: love of material things, power and prestige. Nkrumah exploited these with astuteness.

We do not think, however, that the conspiracy of silence of which the intellectuals and academics (and not they alone!) were guilty should be held up for emulation. They should rather be ashamed of it and vow never again to shirk the responsibility of commenting freely and publicly on issues that affect the welfare of the country. This responsibility is placed squarely on their shoulders by their education, especially when it is remembered that most of them have been educated at public expense. It is incumbent upon them to serve their less fortunate brothers and sisters by bringing their instructed judgement to bear on public issues. It is doing a disservice to the country to argue that because the intellectuals failed to do their duty yesterday they should, in spite of the consequences of that failure, repeat their mistake today and tomorrow. That would be too costly.

It is, however, probable that this indictment has been pushed too far. It cannot so soon be forgotten that the Party press was full of attacks and insults against the intellectuals and academics. No one who followed the politics of Ghana in the last fifteen years can claim to forget so soon the fate of Legon, in particular, under the late unlamented regime: the unending newspaper and platform attacks; the dismissal and deportation in 1961 and 1964 respectively of Professors and Lecturers; the closing down of the University in 1964 to prevent protest by the students against the farcical referendum; the detention of Professors

and students; the unbelievable demonstration of the "masses", led by Party thugs and ruffians, against the University in early 1964; and more. All these were not done because of the love of the Party for the intellectuals and academics; nor because they meekly and cowardly towed the Party line. Surely, human memory cannot be that short!

L.C.N.R. Communication

THE PARTY AND THE ELECTORAL SYSTEM (I)

By

Our Political Correspondent

IT IS agreed by all Ghanaians—apart from those in an insignificant minority who may still at heart be totalitarians—that our new Constitution must be democratic. The new Constitution must ensure, as far as possible by means of rules that can be enforced in the regular Courts of law, that the government of the country must be based on the consent of the governed. No government that is not based upon the consent of the governed can be properly called democratic, no matter what other characteristics it may possess; and one of the most important elements of democratic government is that the government must be freely elected.

There is nothing obscure about the meaning of free elections. Yet a lot of ink and time have been expended, by those who would subvert democracy, in attempts to give strange, bewildering interpretations of this essentially simple concept. The reason for this is simple: without twisting the meaning of this concept the anti-democrats cannot persuade anybody to believe that their despotic and autocratic regimes are legitimate. *A free election is one in which the electors have the unhindered right and the opportunity to choose one candidate rather than another.* Since elementary common sense itself clearly shows that there can be no choice where there is no alternative, a free election may more fundamentally be defined as *one in which there are real alternatives from which the electors can, without hindrance, choose.* This is the reason why all anti-democratic governments, whether they are Fascists, Nazis, Falangists, Nkrumaists, Communists or Maoists, always ensure that electors do not have real alternatives at elections.

How, then, can we ensure that at future elections we shall have a meaningful choice between real alternatives? How, in other words, can the new Constitution provide free elections? To answer this question is to look into the party and electoral

system, for it is through this system that free elections can either be ensured or denied.

It goes without saying that there must be no one-party system. The Constitution must make it impossible for anyone legally to impose a one-party system again on the country. A single-party system, created by authority and enforced by authority, such as we have known in this country and other African countries, makes impossible the provision of real alternatives at elections and, consequently, deprives the electorate of the power of meaningful choice of government.

It is natural, but incautious, to assume that once the one-party system has been outlawed there are no more problems involved in the party system. Unfortunately there are a host of problems connected with the two- or multi-party system that may result from the outlawing of the one-party system which need tackling. The first problem is that of preventing the resurrection of the old parties to add their animosities to the problems of tomorrow. It will be useful, therefore, to prohibit the use of the names of any of the old parties. The new parties should not even bear names whose abbreviations are identical with or bear close resemblance to those of the old parties. For example, a name like the Common Peoples' Party (C.P.P.) should not be permitted because its abbreviation is identical with the old C.P.P. (Convention Peoples' Party). Whether this rule should be in the Constitution or the electoral law is open to debate.

The second problem is that of sectional parties. Experience shows that there are certain bases for political parties which are completely incompatible with democracy and, indeed, undermine the stability of the state. These are race, colour, religion and sex. When political parties are based on any of these, violent passions are released and a great premium is put on irrationality. Democracy and the stability of the state are thereby put in great danger. In newly independent African states there is another factor which is perhaps more dangerous than any of these: the ethnic factor. The ethnic factor is a fact of life in every modern African state. Because the social forces that have been gradually undermining the strength of tribalism or ethnocentrism have not had time to work themselves out fully, tribes or ethnic groups are still very conscious of those things that separate them from others. This feeling easily lends itself to political exploitation by the unscrupulous and the power-hungry for narrow ends. For this reason parties based on tribes or those with separatist aims should be outlawed. It is necessary that the constitution should provide for this and also provide for judicial determination

of the question whether a party is based on race, colour, religion, sex or tribe, lest the government of the day should twist an ordinary law to outlaw parties opposed to it.

Thirdly, the problem of party flags and symbols. It is not only race, religion, tribe and colour which rouse and inflame dangerous passions. Parties themselves have specialized in manipulating emotionally charged symbols, such as party flags, badges, uniforms, cloths, etc. In the history of political parties, both here and elsewhere, the manipulation of these symbols has proved most potent. The symbols have been used in such a way as to drive reason and rationality out of politics; they have been turned into objects of worship and used to provoke opponents. Yet it can hardly be maintained that these symbols play any essential role in promoting the democratic system, apart from whipping up the enthusiasm, or fanaticism of party supporters. It cannot therefore be held an attack on democracy if symbols were abolished altogether in the party competition. Unfortunately, because the great mass of the electorate are illiterate, it is imperative that some symbols should be permitted to help them make intelligent choices. Such symbols should not therefore be permitted to parties, but to individual candidates and with the sole aim of aiding the electorate to make intelligent choices. That is to say, party symbols should be disallowed, but individual symbols permitted, such symbols being only *electoral* symbols.

At the time of nomination of candidates symbols should be allocated to the candidates in the various Constituencies. Thus a party cannot have the same symbols throughout the country. Only the photographs of the candidates in a Constituency should be permitted in that particular constituency; the photographs of that breed of humanity who have universally failed Africa by proclaiming themselves indispensable, the party leader, should not be permitted except in his own Constituency. Nor should electoral symbols give the impression of sectionalism or bear a close resemblance to the symbols of the old parties, which, as already argued, should not be resurrected.

The fourth problem in connexion with the party system is—to use a hackneyed expression dear to the hearts of the totalitarians of the left—“inner party democracy”. Parties which are themselves governed on undemocratic lines cannot be trusted to operate a democratic political system. The constitution should ensure that the parties themselves are as far as possible run on democratic lines. The constitutions of parties should, at the very least, ensure regular and annual election of officers. To this end all parties should

deposit their Constitutions with an independent Electoral Commission, which should have the responsibility of ensuring that they are respected. The independent Electoral Commission should also scrutinize the expenditures of political parties to help ensure that parties are not the tools of foreign or sinister interests or that they are not run with funds stolen from public coffers.

This discussion presupposes that the party system will be permitted under the new constitution. There is an informed body of opinion in the country today which, disgusted with the excesses of the past, argues that parties should be outlawed altogether. Your correspondent cannot, with respect, share their view. Apart from the limitations noted above there should be no further restrictions on the formation of parties. The scale of modern societies is such that elections without parties are likely to degenerate into a mere struggle for power, a scramble for places of profit and prestige unrelated to the national or general welfare. When elections come round the multitude of problems facing the country is likely to throw the electorate into confusion, not to talk of the added confusion due to the multitude of solutions offered. There must be a selection of problems and solutions; and these must be arranged in ways that offer meaningful alternatives to the electorate. As with candidates so with issues; a free election must present the electorate with meaningful alternatives from which they can choose. Without this an election is likely to result in a mass of representatives unrelated to one another, struggling for the spoils of office. This state of affairs, as the history of the Third and Fourth Republics of France clearly demonstrates, is likely to discredit democracy rather than promote it. It is not at all an accident that parties have invariably risen with the grant of representative institutions in all modern states. Walter Bagehot, the great writer on the English constitution, was no doubt right when he maintained, exactly one hundred years ago, that party organisation is the vital principle of representative government.

ADVERTISE IN THE LEGON OBSERVER

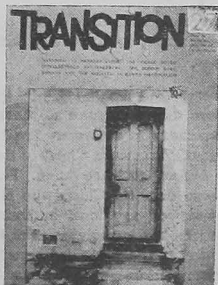
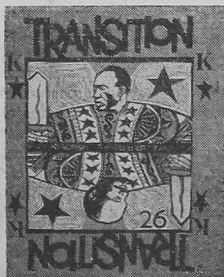
- * Your customers read the LEGON OBSERVER
- * You get quick results
- * You get more business

At last! Transition is in town

From this month Africa's leading magazine is available at all better news outlets in Ghana.

As an Introductory gift all Ghanaian readers will receive free with number 27 a reprint of Ali Mazrui's "Nkrumah-the Leninist Czar."

Order your
copies
now from
Simpsons
if not
available
at your
bookshop.



Transition sells at 30 pesewas or 2/6 in Ghana

Politics

CHIEFTAINCY IN CRISIS

By

S. O. Gyandoh, Jr.

READERS of the nation's dailies have doubtless been struck by the near-explosive reactions sparked off by the recent Chieftaincy (Amendment) Decree (N.L.C.D. 112). From all eight Regions of the country, petitions from aggrieved Chiefs have flooded the office of the Chieftaincy Secretariat. Among the general public, questions are being asked about the imposition of unwanted Chiefs; about the removal of Chiefs constitutionally entooled prior to the promulgation of the decree; about the wisdom or otherwise of retaining the existing regional Houses of Chiefs; and, about the problems created by the compulsory transfer of the allegiance of Chiefs demoted by the decree. Perhaps the most dramatic and significant of these reactions is the voluntary abdication of eight wing Chiefs of Mampong in Ashanti, in protest against what they consider to be an imposition upon them of an unwanted Chief.

Against the background of this confused and somewhat bizarre state of affairs, it is reported that all Paramount Chiefs in the country are to be paraded in their palanquins at the forthcoming international trade fair to be held in Accra. As the *fontofrom* drums beat amid the display of pomp and pageantry to be expected, how many of these palanquin-borne Chiefs can be truthfully said to have been democratically chosen by their people, in the face of the many pending petitions and the many questions being asked?

It would thus appear that the time is ripe for some serious examination of the major issues raised by N.L.C.D. 112 with a view to creating a suitable climate that will facilitate the national search for answers that is clearly called for. To do this, we must, as a first step, know what the decree says.

The Chieftaincy Amendment Decree

First, the decree demotes all those Chiefs who were, "contrary to customary law", elevated to the status of Paramount Chiefs to the status they enjoyed before such elevation. Further, those among such demoted Chiefs who held the office of President of any local authority lose such Presidency from the commencement of the decree. The 'stools' and 'skins' thus affected are specified in the first schedule to the decree. *Second*, the decree commands that Chiefs demoted as above should revert to their former allegiance. That is to say, after the commencement of the decree, all

the demoted Chiefs must owe allegiance to the traditional Council to which they were subject immediately before their wrongful elevation. *Third*, recognition is withdrawn from Chiefs specified in the second schedule to the decree, and the affected Chiefs are prohibited, on pain of penal sanctions, from exercising the functions of a Chief. *Fourth*, all living Chiefs who were the immediate predecessors of the Chiefs from whom recognition is now withdrawn are reinstated as the recognized Chiefs in their respective areas.

Some consequences of the Decree are forbodingly startling. The decree makes sense only if it is assumed that all the Chiefs mentioned in the second schedule (withdrawal of recognition) were, "contrary to customary law", imposed on their people. If it can be shown that a Chief from whom recognition is now withdrawn, was freely chosen by his people in accordance with customary law, and recognized thereafter by the former regime, then the implementation of N.L.C.D. 112 vis-a-vis that Chief constitutes a clear miscarriage of justice and presents a real dilemma to his people. This must be the rationale behind allowing aggrieved Chiefs to petition to the Chieftaincy Secretariat. For, if it is agreed that not all the Chiefs who were recognized by the old regime were imposed on their people, then clearly every Chief from whom recognition is withdrawn by N.L.C.D. 112 should be given a fair opportunity to petition the Secretariat.

Yet, it would seem that aggrieved Chiefs have not been given as fair an opportunity as might be expected for ventilating their grievances. The decree's date of *Gazette* notification was the 5th of December, 1966, and the closing date for sending in petitions was fixed at 31st December, 1966. That means that aggrieved parties were given less than a month—and that includes the Christmas holiday period—within which to brief lawyers to prepare their petitions for presentation to the Chieftaincy Secretariat. More fundamentally, the flood of petitions that has poured into the office of the Secretariat suggests that the basic presumption underlying the withdrawal of recognition was perhaps too easily rebuttable to be a valid basis for legislative action.

The situation created by the demotion of Chiefs (nearly 200 of them) presents an even gloomier picture. If the Chiefs concerned had merely been demoted without more, the result would be simply a matter of embarrassment or mild confusion. But, the decree goes on further, as noted, to command the demoted Chiefs to revert to their former allegiance. This raises some imponderable questions to which answers must be found, and pretty soon too. For example, the demoted Chiefs

of Brong-Ahafo Region, who owed allegiance, before their "wrongful" elevation, to Chiefs in Ashanti Region, now revert to their allegiance to these Ashanti Chiefs. Yet, they still remain within the geographical jurisdiction of the Brong-Ahafo Regional House of Chiefs. Thus, we have a situation in which Chiefs still within the Brong-Ahafo Region owe allegiance to Chiefs in another Region, namely, the Ashanti Region. As if the situation thus created were not confusing enough, some are pleading for the independent existence of the Brong-Ahafo Region, created in 1958, while others are demanding that the Region should once more become a part of Ashanti. It would seem, then, that the Chieftaincy (Amendment) Decree, far from settling the Brong-Ahafo problem, has revived and posed it in a more serious form. In seeking a solution to this problem, the paramount consideration should be how best to serve the interests of the Chiefs and people of the areas concerned. Thus, it must not be forgotten that the Brongs have traditionally claimed independence from the Ashantis while many Ahafoes have long considered themselves an integral part of the Ashantis.

When the eight wing Chiefs of Mampong teng voluntarily abdicated, the motive force behind their protest move was that the Chief under whom they were to serve, as commanded by N.L.C.D.112, was unacceptable to them, and that they would rather serve his predecessor, removed by that decree. In other words, the wing Chiefs took a moral stand which neither flouted constituted authority nor offended their deep-seated sense of social justice. Their position, incidentally, contrasts with that of the Asantehene, who simply reasoned that to refuse to accept the person designated as Chief of Mampong teng by decree would be to flout the authority of the National Liberation Council.

Fundamental Problem Facing Chieftaincy: Recognition by Central Government?

This brings me to what I consider to be the fundamental issue that must be settled if Chieftaincy is to survive as a meaningful institution in this country, namely, the basis of the legitimacy of Chieftaincy. I firmly believe that the future of Chieftaincy in this country will continue to be shaky and uncertain, flamboyant assurances to the contrary by central government personnel notwithstanding, so long as the statutory definition of a Chief continues to insist on central government recognition. Only a moron can fail to see that this system of recognition, first introduced by the British colonial government for reasons which have long ceased to exist, and continued, not surprisingly, by all successive governments

to date, is one that lends itself easily to abuse. Indeed N.L.C.D.112 is meant to correct the abuses of the recognition system by the erstwhile government. Yet, the decree itself is of the same genus, vis-a-vis this concept of government recognition, as previous enactments on Chieftaincy, and, indeed, the decree is to be "construed as one with the Chieftaincy Act, 1961 (Act 81)." The crucial question is this: can this country afford the potential intrigues embedded in this game of changing chairs, or must we strive to place the institution of Chieftaincy, once and for all, on a firm footing by eliminating from the criteria for legitimacy the concept of discretionary recognition? I personally cannot see that we have much choice in the matter if there is general agreement that Chieftaincy must be preserved as an institution and that the dignity of Chiefs must be maintained.

This, of course, is not to argue that there must be no government interference with the institution of Chieftaincy. Those familiar with the many protracting litigations about stool lands in many parts of the country will readily agree that central governmental control of the alienation of, and other dealings in, stool lands is essential. Other unsavoury practices of some Chiefs, such as granting invaluable concessions for the exploitation of land to foreigners in return for insulting consideration, must clearly be controlled by the central government. Generally, then, the central government must have a say in Chieftaincy matters with a view to the co-ordination and promotion of general community goal values. But, it must be emphasized that the use of central governmental authority to support the authority of a Chief is dysfunctional to the institution of Chieftaincy itself, and must, therefore, be done away with.

In place of the system of recognition, administrative agencies could, with profit, be set up to deal with matters relating to the abuse of the office of a Chief by incautious or irresponsible Chiefs. The creation of the Chieftaincy Secretariat is a step in the right direction, but is hopelessly inadequate as a substitute for the Minister's discretion in the matter of recognition. Experience has shown that law, in the specific sense of legislative directives, is severely limited as a means of social control. More flexible procedures, such as conciliation, arbitration and informal quasi-judicial proceedings, have been discovered to achieve a nearer approximation to optimal social justice than the strict implementation of rigid legislative norms. In our bid for good governance—and this includes government by Chiefs—we must not set too much store on the efficacy, in terms of the promotion of social justice, of legislation. The problems of

Chieftaincy are a technical matter which should, ideally, be entrusted to high-powered, expert bodies spread throughout the main regional centres of the country to facilitate easy access and expeditious handling of the problems that arise. The staffing of these bodies should be such that at least a majority of the members are intimately familiar with local customs. Central governmental interference should be limited as indicated earlier in this article.

Observer Notebook

The Expediting Committee

THE EXPEDITING Committee set up last year by the N.L.C. held a Press Conference on the 13th of January to explain the nature of its functions and to invite co-operation from the public. The amiable manner of its members as shown at the Press Conference is commended. A committee of that nature cannot contain rude and overbearing officers who will alienate rather than cultivate the public whom they are supposed to serve.

The Expediting Committee is the first serious effort made in this country in the direction of creating institutions to check undesirable conduct on the part of public officers and the N.L.C. is to be congratulated for that. This country has for too long been deafened by empty words—exhortations to Ghanaians to rise to new heights in honesty, fairness, courtesy and hard work. There are daily strictures from many public officers, high and low, and a courtesy campaign of sorts is now in progress. In the past we had dawn and dusk broadcasts.

Apart from the fact that these exhortations often ring hollow because they emanate from men who cannot by any stroke of the imagination be said to believing examples of what they preach, they are based on an inexcusable misconception of human nature and are therefore often unrealistic. Few people are likely to live up to good moral standards only because they have been preached to. Two thousand years of Christianity seems to have done little to change mankind. The very ills decried everyday continue unabated. To combat these ills one has to begin to realise that given the existing conditions such ills will continue. What needs to be done therefore is to create institutions which can effectively check them. Exhortation is never enough.

There is an even greater reason why we must move from exhortations to positive actions. The conception of government most people have derives from their contact with public officers. Rude and insulting or overbearing officers create the impression of an oppressive government.

Delay or refusal in attending to their needs makes governments appear alien and the fewer the contacts they have with them the better. Bribery and corruption completely undermine whatever confidence there is left in governments. It is not often realised what great damage is done by undesirable public officers to the standing of a government. No government, however noble its intentions, can mean much to the people unless it can react to them in much the same way as a shrewd businessman does to his customers. Water turns an ugly brown because of shortage of alum and no one bothers to warn the public; electricity or water is turned off because of breakdowns or insufficiency of supply without any warning to the public. Public officers freely accept bribes and often demand them: to perform their duties they have to be tipped and one is lucky if they do indeed want to perform their duties. More often than not you feel unwelcome and they will find ways of sending you away however great your need and whatever the cost to you before you ultimately get served. If they don't send you away you may have to wait for a secretary to finish her long telephone call or love letter to a boy friend before you are seen to. To complain is only to invite victimization. These and other ills breed apathy and the fall of a government can hardly cause a ripple. The people have nothing to lose.

The Expediting Committee is the Ghanaian version of the Ombudsman, a citizen's watchdog against the oppressiveness and indifference of public officers. In the light of the ills facing the Ghanaian Society—official obstructivism, victimization, favouritism, incompetence, maladministration, negligence and dereliction of duty, bribery and corruption, and abuse or misuse of power, all these at their worst, one regrets shortcomings in the establishment of the Expediting Committee.

Without in any way impugning the integrity of the members of the Committee one would have expected that the composition and terms of reference would be such as to ensure total independence of the Executive. But at least three members of the Committee are attached to the government in one way or another. Furthermore, the Committee is hardly answerable to the public. There are no requirements for periodic reports not to mention the fact that by the terms of the decree setting it up it cannot recommend disciplinary measures or changes in administrative procedures. These are left to the discretion of the Secretary to the N.L.C. who may only take such remedial action as may be taken in respect of a public officer. The powers of investigation given

to the Committee are ill-defined. Can it, for example, subpoena persons and documents ?

The terms of reference of the Committee do not make it clear that it has the power to deal with complaints of corruption which is the worst ill facing this society unless "other shortcomings" referred to in the decree can be interpreted to include corruption. Important as this question is, it should have been clearly spelt out. On the other hand the Committee is clearly charged with ensuring the execution of N.L.C. decrees, which raises the question as to which master the Committee is likely to serve better—the public or the government ? An institution which is far from being free from social ills is entirely outside the jurisdiction of the Committee, i.e., the judiciary. Does one imagine that the reorganisation of the Courts will mean the end of corruption, for example, or is the omission to be explained in terms of the protection of self-interest by those who had a hand in drafting the decree ? Does that also perhaps explain the exclusion of state Attorneys from the jurisdiction of the Committee ?

These and other shortcomings raise doubts about how effective the Expediting Committee can be. Nevertheless, it is a good start and the public should try to patronise it. It is hoped that it will be strengthened in the future.

It is housed in Block D.8 behind the Passport Offices near the Black Star Square. All communications should be addressed to the Member/Secretary, Office of Expediting Committee, Private Mail Bag, Ministry Branch Post Office, Accra.

The Press, the Police and the Public

MR. HARLEY'S press release of 6-12-66 gives much food for thought. The announcement that "a combined force of Army and Police personnel has been introduced to counter bribery and corruption in all public services and wherever the twin evils may exist", is most welcome. It is an admission that the authorities have at last recognized that all is not well with the Police Service, and are willing to take unusual measures (such as the establishment of a *combined force of Army and Police personnel*) to combat a disease that would otherwise surely destroy such an important arm of the law. In view of this, it is very strange that Mr. Harley took such a strong exception to the concern on the same problem shown by sections of the press. (See page 20)

"To mount a general campaign against the Police Service" would not be in the nation's interest; and the press knows this. But clearly it

is a considerable exaggeration to claim that anybody is mounting such a campaign simply because somebody has articulated what has been exercising the public mind, and what we now know has been exercising Mr. Harley's own mind. We can understand Mr. Harley's personal irritation when the reprehensible conduct of *some* officers is generalized into a criticism of the entire Service; but it is unfair to back this personal feeling with the full weight of Authority and let it issue in warnings to the press. The statement that "he will not tolerate any attempt to undermine public confidence in the Police Service" is likely to cause dismay among many. The return of the resolution and determination not to *tolerate* even fair comment (because it is irritating) takes us back to 1965, for it implies a denial of all the freedoms that Mr. Harley himself helped to restore to us. But quite apart from indicating a saddening slip back to the old days, it could weaken the public's appreciation of the setting up of the combined Military/Police Anti-Corruption committee.

There is need to do a lot of critical re-appraisal of most institutions in this country. The accusation that there is an "attempt to undermine public confidence in the Police Service" can only be based on the brave and complacent assumption that there is such a reserve of public confidence to undermine. There is a lot of sympathy and goodwill for our police, but like most other institutions which were neglected, or harassed and misused, the Service has developed involuntary and structural shortcomings. The duties and functions of the Service should be critically re-examined in order to reorganize it for improved performance. In some areas and for some functions, there are not enough policemen; and in many functions the police are poorly equipped. Some stations and posts have no cars; some have poor telephones and hopelessly inadequate means of communication; and some, or most, are poorly housed. We cannot exhaust the problems of the Service, but it is important to realize that they can impair efficiency; and this is a legitimate matter for public concern.

We would like to suggest a rapid expansion of continuing educational opportunities for at least the lower ranks in the Service; better legal training for at least those who prosecute in court; and a genuine attempt to strengthen the public relations of the Service, so as to improve the understanding of the general public about the police, and generate their confidence in the Service. In such an exercise, the press can help, but pressmen must have the assurance that their analyses, views and opinions will be considered objectively, and not misconstrued as unpatriotism.

Trade Fair Preparations

THE FORTHCOMING Trade Fair promises to be a success. Let us hope that it will attract foreign investment and find customers interested in our products. In the light of these hopes, it is desirable that everything possible should be done to ensure the comfort of our foreign visitors.

One thing that comes to one's mind is the taxi service. Many of our foreign visitors will depend considerably on it and it is important that taxi drivers be courteous and honest. In the absence of meters the temptation to charge exorbitant fares may prove too attractive for many a taxi driver to resist. Already taxi drivers charge the exorbitant fare of ₵0.50 from the Airport to the Continental Hotel, and on top of that insist on taking more than one passenger at a time. If Ghanaians are victims of such fares what will happen to the foreign visitor? Come February and this fare may get even higher.

It is important that the opportunity be now seized to deal with this whole problem of taxi fares. Exhortations for honesty and fairness are not enough. If it is impracticable to require meters on taxis (they may be fiddled with anyway); there are other ways of ensuring fairness. The authorities responsible for regulating taxi fares can, for example, make a chart indicating the appropriate fare between any two areas of Accra. This can be done very easily and all taxi drivers required to display one. A passenger entering a taxi can determine the fare himself if he knows where he is and where he is going to. Taxi fares in this country are some of the highest in the world and it is high time something was done about them.

Another matter which appears to have received the attention of the Government is how to attract many foreign visitors to the Fair. It is reported that the Government intends to fly chartered aircraft between Europe and Accra during the Trade Fair. We hope that we will not end up subsidising businessmen who can afford their own fares, and that the Government has good reasons for believing that the scheme is justifiable either because a good number of visitors are expected to take advantage of it or because of the long-term economic prospects. The Government should be mindful of the fact that it has not as yet been able to attract as much foreign investment as it expected from the measures it has taken to rectify past errors. The little foreign currency we have should be used wisely.

The T.V. Tax

LAST JULY, a tax of ₵12.00 per year was announced in the Government's budget statement. If protests did not follow the announcement of this tax, it wasn't because T.V. owners agreed

they hadn't already paid enough tax for their new set (average price, including purchase tax and sales tax, over £100, whereas in Nigeria it is about £60); or because they thought it was nice to throw away £5 a year indefinitely; or even because they were used to, or loved the idea of being taxed more and more every budget day. There was no protest because there was no effective means of registering it. The operation of this tax, however, calls for at least two comments: *first*, the fixing of the calendar year (January to December) for the tax of ₵12.00 payable any time between those two months is unfair, *secondly*, there is gross inefficiency in the collection of the tax that is most inconvenient to the consumer.

We do not know who actually decided that the year for which the tax is payable should fall within January 1 and December 31; but it is clear that it is for administrative convenience. That way, anybody who has a set must pay his annual tax at the same time (or for the same period), and not, as with the renewal of driving licences, at different times. But the indiscriminate application of this rule of convenience can be unfair to many T.V. buyers. For, if you buy your set as late as December 24 or 27 or 31, you must pay your tax of ₵12.00 for the current year (e.g. 1966), for the period up to midnight December 31, after which you must pay ₵12.00 for the *new* year (1967). We would like to suggest the adoption of the procedure used by the M.T.U. for motor licences. There, motor licences can be bought by the quarter (within the calendar year, January to December); and if you buy a car in May, you don't pay for the first quarter, which is already gone; you buy a licence for the remaining three quarters of the year, a quarter at a time if you so wish. The adaptation desirable here is that for the T.V., a person who buys a set in the first quarter (January to March) should pay for the whole year (₵12.00); but he who buys his set in the second quarter pays for the *rest of the year* (₵9.00) at once, and not a quarter at a time; and so on. This is only fair, since he would not have used the set to receive programmes when he hadn't bought it.

The *second* problem is the collection of the tax. The practice now is this: if you want to buy a set, you pay for it in the shop, collect the receipt with the serial number of the set, and take it to the Broadcasting Revenue Office (Ministries) and pay your tax there, after which you return to the shop and collect your set. If you go to the Revenue Office about noon, you will not be served: the officer in charge is about to go for his lunch, so you must come back at 2.00 p.m. If you go there after 3.00 p.m. you cannot pay your tax, for

the accounts must be "closed" in time for 4.30 p.m.; so you must "come tomorrow." Inconvenient enough for people living in the city, but most discouraging for those who have travelled to buy a set. And yet the solution is very simple: the first tax, that is, the tax on the new set, could be easily collected *at the shop*, by the distributing or trading company, for the government. The subsequent annual tax would, of course, be paid in the normal way.

Courtesy Calls

THE FREQUENCY with which one reads about courtesy calls on the N.L.C. seems to suggest either that foreign visitors are getting more courteous than before or that we are getting more visitors or that our leaders arouse curiosity. Whatever the reason, every Tom, Dick and Harry who visits the country wishes to pay the N.L.C. a courtesy call; he may be a Professor from a foreign University over here to collect data for a new edition of his book, or a businessman anxious for an opening here, or the representative of an international professional non-governmental association visiting his colleagues. If he is an M.P. from Ruritania, or a roving journalist, so much the better.

It is not that one resents courtesy or does not appreciate the goodwill, if any, that such contacts create. It is just that one has a nagging worry about protocol and would not like to think of the Castle as a place of entertainment. Even if the Head of State has a discretion to decide whom he wants to see, it cannot be an arbitrary one. Apart from the importance of the contact man who arranges the call, the importance or status of the visitor and the purpose of his visit are some of the other factors which require attention. Besides, wouldn't a courteous or polite rejection of a proposed courtesy call on grounds of pressure of work sometimes indicate that one is indeed busy?

If the use of public funds often necessary at such times is thought unimportant, at least the Ghanaian public are not unconcerned about the dignity of the high offices of state. Next time a Ghanaian is in London for a conference or a sight-seeing tour, let him try to pay a courtesy call on the Queen or her Prime Minister!

Nkrumah Indicted

THE REPORT of the Apaloo Commission is a serious indictment of a man who held the highest office of state for many years. Nkrumah stands indicted not only for corruption, extortion and misappropriation of funds, but for bad faith for not living up to his own professions.

Subject to some reservations, one can accept the findings and recommendations of the Commission. For example, it is not immediately clear why Mr. Tachie-Menson and Major Debrah should be treated differently from those whose "gifts" came from the C.P.P. The funds involved in one case as in the other are a mixture of ill-gotten gains and legitimate earnings. Three major recommendations have been made by the Commission. Basing itself on the view that much of Nkrumah's properties came from commissions collected on contracts by him and his associates "as agents and fiduciaries of the people of this country", it asks the government to take them over. The same reason underlies a second recommendation relating to the recovery of "gifts" made from the Contingency Fund, the C.P.P. treasury, Nadeco and a special account owned by Nkrumah. The third major recommendation requires Nkrumah and his Cabinet Ministers to refund £1 million being the amount by which they inflated the assets of Leventis which was purchased by the government in 1962.

The recommendations of the Commission are generally accepted by the government although its intention is not clear in respect of all of them, e.g., certain lands owned by Nkrumah. Furthermore, it does not accept the opinion of the Commission as to the ownership of certain properties, such as the house given to Nkrumah by the King of Morocco. Unlike the Commission, the government regards the house as belonging to the people of Ghana. Again, contrary to the recommendations of the Commission, the government intends to pass a decree "to clothe all sums adjudged by the Commission to be due to the public from various individuals with the full force and effect of judgment debts of the High Court from which no appeals lie requiring only execution for their recovery in the event of failure to pay up within a specified time."

In addition to these steps the government has referred the proceedings of the Commission to the Attorney-General's Department for scrutiny and study with a view to instituting criminal proceedings. Criminal or even civil proceedings will come up against technical difficulties, particularly in cases where beneficiaries received "gifts" in honesty. These cases are further complicated by the fact that uses to which the Contingency Fund could be put cannot authoritatively be determined. It is even difficult to regard all of Nkrumah's actions as criminal.

These difficulties probably explain why the government does not intend to let the recovery of ill-gotten gains depend upon litigation. In recovering ill-gotten gains from persons in public

service, legal technicalities should not stand in the way of political judgments of the type made by the government. In such matters, the problem is essentially one of morality. The public expects a standard of incorruptibility and unsusceptibility to corruption from those concerned higher than is embodied in the criminal laws.

What is to be learnt from this for the future? The findings of the Commission invite serious consideration of the following suggestions: In the first place, ways should be found to make politics less lucrative. This will help attract people more dedicated to the nation than to themselves. Secondly, appropriate procedures must be established to regulate the award of contracts and to ensure that agreements entered into on behalf of the state are in the public interest. This means a bigger role for the Planning Commission in a future constitution. Thirdly, party accounts must be subject to public scrutiny. Fourthly, any future Contingency Fund which may be created must not be placed under the arbitrary

control of one person. Lastly but not least, the receipt of certain types of gifts by persons in the public service should be either regulated or preferably prohibited.

Foreign Currency

FOR A country in need of foreign exchange, we often display a slipshod, nonchalant attitude to its acquisition that is not only amazing, but also utterly shocking and criminal. The discipline we impose on ordinary citizens of Ghana who want to travel outside (they are allowed only £20), and sometimes even on so-called V.I.P.s, and on remittances to relatives overseas, is completely neutralized by the ridiculously inefficient and anti-nationalistic manner in which foreign currency is exchanged for cedis at the air-port, the harbours and other points of entry.

It is not unknown, even today, for currency declaration papers to run out. This means that until new supplies can be brought to the appropriate post (e.g. the Accra Airport), travellers into

ALLIED INDUSTRIES & ALLIED CONSTRUCTION AND CONSULTING BUREAU

- * Suppliers of Good Quality Cement Blocks of all sizes, Fencing Poles, etc.
- * General Building Contractors, including Demolition Works, Building of Bridges & Culverts.
- * Transportation & Removals
- * Plumbing & Sewerage
- * Sand, Stone, Gravel Contractors
- * Site Clearing, etc.
- * Hiring of Traxcavators and Tippers
- * Suppliers of Sawn Timber

Direct all your Problems to us for Prompt, Reliable and Efficient Service

BRANCH OFFICES:

HEAD OFFICE:

Off Lake Road
P. O. Box 890,
KUMASI.
Office Tel. 2495
or 3453 Ext. 4
Workshop Tel. 4155

ACCRA OFFICE:

Lartebiokorshie
Off Link Road,
P. O. Box 1160,
Accra.

TAKORADI OFFICE:

Sekondi Road,
Shell Junction,
P. O. Box 183,
Takoradi.
Tel. 3450

Ghana cannot declare how much foreign currency they are carrying on them into the country.

It is also not a secret that many bank employees carry enough cedis on them to work in order to conduct the exchange of currency to their own benefit. An examination of the records of currency collection in recent months would reveal significant differences that could only be attributed to the relative honesty and dedication (or lack thereof) which this exchange is done.

Such malpractices have diverted a large amount of foreign currency from the national bank, that is, away from the national treasury, into private pockets and the black market.

We appeal to the Ministry of Finance and the N.L.C. to tighten things up at the ports and other points of entry. The procedure followed in exchanging foreign money for local currency should be strictly followed. The banks at the airport should work harder and show more honesty. As the Trade Fair is about to begin, this is a matter of urgency, unless we wish to acquiesce in the diversion of foreign currency into the private pockets of bank clerks, hotel servants, traders (Ghanaian, Lebanese, etc.), and the unseen black marketeer.

The Lessons of History

We make no apology for making these extended quotations from history. Readers will observe that the first one is a repetition from vol. 1 no. 3 (August 5, 1966).

To preserve the newly recovered liberty in Rome, it was necessary that the sons of Brutus should have been executed.

THE severity of Brutus was not only useful, but necessary for the maintenance of that liberty in Rome which he had restored to her; and certainly it is one of the rarest examples within the memory of man for a father not only to sit in judgement and condemn his own sons, but actually to be present at their execution. Every student of ancient history well knows that any change of government, be it from a republic to a tyranny, or from a tyranny to a republic, must necessarily be followed by some terrible punishment of the enemies of the existing state of things. And whosoever makes himself tyrant of a state and does not kill Brutus, or who ever restores liberty to a state and does not immolate his sons, will not maintain himself in his position long. Pietro Soderini believed that he would be able by patience and gentleness to overcome the determination of the new sons of Brutus to return to another form of government; in this, however, he greatly deceived himself. And although his natural sagacity recognized the necessity of destroying them and although the quality and ambition of his adversaries afforded him the opportunity, yet he had not the courage to do it. For he thought, and several times acknowledged it to his friends, that boldly to strike down his adversaries and all opposition would oblige him to assume extraordinary authority, and even legally to destroy civil equality; and that, even if he should

not afterwards use his power tyrannically, this cause would alarm the masses. This respect for the laws was most praiseworthy and wise on the part of Soderini. Still one should never allow an evil to run on out of respect for the law, especially when the law itself might easily be destroyed by the evil; and he should have borne in mind, that as his acts and motive would have to be judged by the result, ... everybody would have attested that what he had done was for the good of his country, and not for the advancement of any ambitious purposes of his own. ... But Soderini was the dupe of his opinions, not knowing that malignity is neither effaced by time, nor placated by gifts. So that by failing to imitate Brutus he lost at the same time his country, his state, and his reputation.

—(From Machiavelli's *Discourses* Ch. 3)
"Tyrant" means a ruler; "Sons" means followers

— Editor

A Prince cannot live securely in a state so long as those live whom he has deprived of it

THE assassination of Tarquinius Priscus by the sons of Ancus, and the death of Servius Tullus caused by Tarquinius Superbus, prove how difficult and dangerous it is to deprive any one of a kingdom and leave him his life, even though you try to conciliate him by benefits. We see how Tarquinius Priscus was deceived by the seemingly lawful possession of the sovereignty of Rome, which had been bestowed upon him by the people and confirmed by the Senate. He could not believe that resentment would so master the sons of Ancus that they would not be satisfied to submit to him, to whom all Rome yielded obedience. Servius Tullus in like manner deceived himself in supposing that he could win the sons of Tarquin with benefits. Thus the first may serve as a warning to all princes that they will never be safe so long as those live whom they have deprived of their possessions; and as to the second, it should remind every potentate that old injuries can never be cancelled by new benefits, and the less so when the benefits are small in proportion to the injury inflicted. Certainly Servius Tullus showed little sagacity when he supposed that the sons of Tarquin would remain content to be the sons-in-law of him whose kings they felt themselves entitled to be. And this desire to reign is so powerful that it not only dominates the minds of those born with the expectation of a throne, but also that of those who have no such expectations. This was well illustrated by the wife of Tarquin the younger, daughter of Servius, who, urged on by this mad desire, regardless of all filial piety, stirred up her husband to deprive her father of his life and kingdom; so much more did she value being a queen than being the daughter of a king. If, then, Tarquinius Priscus and Servius Tullus lost the kingdom from not knowing how to assure themselves of those whose thrones they had usurped, Tarquinius Superbus lost it by a disregard of the laws established by his predecessors, as we shall show ... (*Ibid.* ch. 4)

It is now realized that, even though well-intentioned, the policy of (ill-timed) releases, the grant of unlimited freedom (including overseas travel), and the incessant appeals for reconciliation have constituted a political misjudgement. But we would like to appeal that a swift application of corrective action, including confiscation of property and prosecutions before the courts, will more likely preserve the values of democracy we want to build.

Letters

The Pendulum of Change

SIR—Recent happenings must alert us to be on the lookout for too violent a swing of the pendulum of change. Some extremes of reaction are dangerous, as I shall show.

A good deal of sound judgment has gone into the appointment of members of commissions and committees, and to the appointment of individuals to posts. Well may meritocracy have dawned on this land! Not only this, but also the thinking which has been going on in the laying of a foundation for a sound social and economic future for the country. Those in policy-making positions are to be congratulated on these salutary developments.

Encouraging as such manifestations are, there are some events which are disturbing in extreme. For the health of our nation, the attention of the ruling elite must be drawn to them.

One of the developments which must be kept within bounds is the reaction which has been dictating certain policies. Reaction against the former regime in the matter of ideology has led to untoward public zeal for religion and religious propaganda.

Whilst what a person believes cannot be separated from what he does, public people must watch out lest they foist their personal beliefs on others who have as much right to their beliefs. Talk of "freedom of belief" must imply that there is room for people who hold contrary beliefs.

Most modern states have debated the question of whether or not tax-supported institutions should sponsor sectarian beliefs and establishments. For example, should tax money be used to finance sectarian, church schools? As you well know, church schools are set up as a means of fostering the doctrine of the sect which sponsors the schools. Should a catholic member's tax be used to pay for the indoctrination of a protestant, and vice versa? What about those who pay taxes who belong to neither?

No, you create an explosive if you plunge a nation's policies into religion. So far, this country has been free of religious strife. The surest way of introducing religious wars is to dip the nation's hands into religion. Let religion remain a private and personal affair. To do otherwise is to court danger of enormous proportions.

There is indeed grave danger in the general principle that just because a certain policy or practice was promoted during the period of the previous regime, therefore all such things must be wrong. In certain cases, it was not the ideas as such which were wrong. It was the execution, or the purposes to which they were put, which were wrong.

For example, a few of the state enterprises which were set up were essential for the health of the economy. If they had not been set up, no private concern would have thought of establishing them for a long time in the future, if ever at all. We do know that some of these enterprises failed to yield profits because they were badly planned, or badly managed, or inadequately financed.

Take the public school system, for example. The idea of expanding school opportunity to all school-going children in the nation, or of making the lower levels of education free and compulsory, or of freeing schools from private or sectarian vested interests, and centralizing popular and universal education—these are not things of which we can properly be ashamed. Now, standards have fallen in our national educational system, the cause is not necessarily because missionary control has given way to central control. If it is not, and we rush to return the schools to our "missions" we may later find that the problem has not been solved after all. The reason may well be due to the lack of proper planning which should have gone into the school expansion programme. It may well be due to the manner in which teaching staff, funds and equipment, buildings and administrative cadre did not rise along with the expansion scheme.

In solving the problem of fallen standards, therefore, we need to identify the real causes of the problem. Our actions must issue from careful analysis and debate, not from hysteria. Otherwise we are in danger of losing the excellent lead which we have given since the coup.

There is abundant evidence of honesty of purpose in our present leaders. There is evidence of enthusiasm to put things right. But certain changes must follow popular debate, or else await a change-over to representative government.

A Citizen.

(Name and address supplied—Ed.)

Discrimination In Our Own Country?

SIR—It was with surprise and disgust that I read the following advertisement in the issue of a national daily for the 4th January, 1967—WANTED BRITISH OR AMERICAN LADY FOR EXECUTIVE SECRETARY TO GENERAL MANAGER, AMERICAN HOTEL COMPANY.

Surely this seems hardly the type of advertisement one would expect a Government-owned newspaper in Ghana to accept for publication. The advertisement is clearly discriminatory against Ghanaian nationals, and Africans in general.

No doubt this is what comes of permitting an American Hotel Company to enter the Hotel Industry in Ghana.

The Manager of an American Hotel Company accustomed to practising discrimination in the U.S.A. and elsewhere on grounds of race, colour and nationality forgets that he is not in the U.S.A. but in Ghana, and proceeds to impose those very same obnoxious discriminatory practices on Ghanaians.

An Executive Secretary to the General Manager must be either a British or American lady with no stated qualifications such as one would normally expect, e.g. Diploma in Business Administration etc. Our British or American lady need only have "Poise, good personality and proven experience." Little wonder, for it is hardly to be expected that one would find a British or American lady with the Diploma in Business Administration sitting in Ghana waiting to be called to be executive secretary to an American Hotel Company.

Of course, the Ghanaian lady with all the qualifications in the world for the job would never do—so

reasons our manager. This, unfortunately, is the unequivocal conclusion one is forced to arrive at.

However, when it comes to employing the hewers of wood and drawers of water for the same hotel our manager calls for "Ghanaian Girls" who must have G.C.E. or equivalent with Credit in English Language. (See issues of "Daily Graphic" and "Ghanaian Times" of Thursday 5th January, 1967).

Obnoxious as all this is there may be worse things in store for this country if foreigners doing business in Ghana are not restrained in their discriminatory practices.

Subtle devices and excuses may be employed by managements to exclude Ghanaians who may well find themselves in the embarrassing and lamentable situation of being told, and in their own country at that, that the hotel is full while the European who requests a room shortly afterwards is given a number of rooms to choose from.

Yet later, certain Africans may be excluded entirely from entering the hotel, while those who are permitted entry may find it extremely difficult to engage the attention or obtain the services of the stewards who are far too busy attending to the European clientele to concern themselves with the orders of their own fellow Africans.

The people of Ghana suffered many long years before they overthrew the yoke of European colonialism; are we now to invite Uncle Sam to impose his brand of colonialism with all its attendant discriminatory practices?

Accra

J. L. Zwennes.

"Ghana and the New Cedi"

SIR—The Governor of the Bank of Ghana and a few other outspoken citizens have been able to convince the N.L.C. and a section of the public that we need a new currency. So on the 24th of February, 1967—the fourth day after the Banks have closed their doors to the public to decide what to do with Nkrumah's head—a new set of coins and notes will be issued to the country. This will be the third set of coins and notes to be issued in eight years.

Any person who happens to be both stamps and coins collector will realize that Ghana is one of the countries—if not the only one—which issues stamps and coins for every occasion. How much money is lost through these issues is anybody's guess.

Kwame Nkrumah put his effigy on our currency to remind us that he was the "boss" of Ghana. After the fall of Nkrumah, naturally nobody would like to be reminded of him, so off goes his effigy. The absence of any effigy on the new currency should have been enough to differentiate it from the old one. But then the authorities have decided to add the word "New" to make the difference more distinct. This was unnecessary, since the new currency is to remain in circulation for ever, in comparison with the eighteen months (19 July, 1965—23 February, 1967) duration of the old cedi. (With apprehension, the Civilian Government might decide to celebrate the change-over with a new issue.)

The authorities should consider changing the denominations of the coins to be put into circulation. A decimal currency like ours, WITH ONE HUNDRED

SMALL UNITS MAKING THE MAJOR UNIT, in accordance with mathematical principles, should consist of coins of the following values 1p, 5p, 10p. and 50 p. The denominations of ½p, 2½p are apologies of this type of decimalization. The only purpose these coins serve is to remind us of the fact that 2½ Ghanaian pesewas make 3 British pennies, a legacy of our colonial heritage.

Tesano

E. D. Kemevor

Economic Development and the Training of Scientists

SIR—The recent discussion of science education in your journal, and also in the *Ghanaian Times* failed to shed any light whatever on the central issue.

The real weakness in science education in Ghana is, I submit, that the idea of science as a career has not yet caught on sufficiently. Despite endless statements, exhortations and conference reports on the importance of science in developing countries, only a fraction of the school-leavers qualified to enter the Faculty of Science actually do so. There are, for example, very many openings for graduate scientists in such fields as the chemical and pharmaceutical industries, mineral and oil survey, and in pure and applied biological research, especially concerned with the new Lake Volta. Many other important posts exist, in addition to the valuable, though unfortunately often despised job of teaching in secondary schools and training colleges. But our Universities do not seem to realize that it is their duty to provide the men to fill these posts.

Ghana's future development is dependent in large measure on science for the proper harnessing of her resources. But meanwhile the world scientific revolution proceeds at an ever-increasing rate. Merely to maintain the present position of gross imbalance between her development and that of the scientifically advanced countries, Ghana would need far more science graduates than she has at present. Any hope of lessening the gap requires a major effort in constructive planning and action.

Legon

K. Alan Longman

Made in Ghana goods

SIR—It's rather unfortunate that the quality of goods made in Ghana has always left much to be desired. As a step towards rectifying this situation, Mr. Oppong-Wadee in good faith in Vol. 1 No. 13 of the *Legon Observer* suggests that the government set up an institution which would test and mark these goods before they are put on the market. This would obviously cater for the consumer's interests, and give the manufacturers something other than profits to think of.

However, one wonders whether this laudable suggestion can be implemented successfully for the following reasons: In the first place, we cannot rule out the tendency of people appointed to state institutions to misappropriate the money made available for administration.

Secondly, the officers will seek or receive bribes from the manufacturers in order to write favourable reports about commodities. Also since most industries are state-owned at the moment, it is unlikely that the reports of the state-testing body will be unbiased. Thus the purpose for its establishment will be defeated.

What I would suggest is that no such body be established. The solution would evolve in an atmosphere of free competition. To compete favourably with foreign manufacturers, local ones will have to improve the quality of their goods; and I am sure that Ghanaians faced with a choice between Kantamanto and Gordon's Dry Gin, both of similar quality, will be patriotic enough to buy the former. There should be a genuine desire to love one's country as one's personal property.

Legon

C. C. Taylor Blankson.

SIR—Opening a textile mill recently at Tema the Deputy Commissioner of Police and member of the NLC, Mr. B. A. Yakubu, made yet another passionate appeal to Ghanaians to appreciate and buy "made-in-here" products. Such a move, he explained, would reduce considerably the volume of imports and, at the same time, improve the country's precarious foreign exchange position.

The exhortation is no doubt well-intentioned, but it would also be well to ask ourselves why Ghanaians shun locally-produced goods. The hard fact is that some locally-manufactured commodities are so shabby, so poor in quality and so high-priced that their patronage cannot depend solely on patriotic considerations.

At this time when most of our industries are struggling to make the grade, what should engage the attention of officials of the Ministry of Industries is the establishment of Quality Control Board or Standards Institute, the approval of which **must** be sought by every manufacturer before flooding the market with his products. In thinking of profits, a manufacturer must be made to think of the quality of his products as well.

The essence of the matter lies with the quality, durability and price-competitiveness of locally-manufactured commodities, and not patriotic appeals to consumers.

Accra

K. A. Sasu.

Campaigning for better service in Ghana

SIR—With reference to the article by E. A. Kwapong on "Campaigning for better service in Ghana" (published in your edition of December 23), I should like to place on record the experience of a friend of mine when trying to renew her driving-licence recently. On her first attempt (December 16), she was informed at the Licensing Office that "the books" were not there, and therefore she could not renew her Licence that morning. On her second attempt (December 29), she was informed that "the books are closed", and that she would have to wait till the New Year before she could renew her licence. On her third attempt (January 3), she was told that the officer in question had not yet arrived, and that it was not known when he would be coming. Thus she has still not been able to renew the licence, although it is by now out-of-date.

Since she needs to drive in order to do her job properly, my friend is now in an invidious position: either she obeys the law and ceases to drive (thereby failing to fulfil her position efficiently and thus failing in her contract with the Ghana Government); or else, in continuing her work, she is compelled to drive on an

expired licence (thus, in fact, forced by the police to break the law). May one hope that, in the new Ghana, inefficiency of this nature will not be allowed to go unquestioned?

Wesley Girls High School,
Cape Coast.

S. Bromley

Ghana Air Force Accidents

SIR—Just over a year ago our Air Force was equipped with seven Italian-built Mecchi Jet Fighter bomber aircrafts, and thirteen Ghanaian pilots were trained in Italy to man them. Within this short period three of these aircrafts have crashed with the loss of five pilots. The last accident occurred on the 27th of December 1966 when the aircraft was reported to have dived into the sea near Lome with its two pilots on board.

The Air Force now has four of these planes and eight pilots remaining and, at the rate of extinction, one may wonder if there would be anything left of the Ghana Air Force fighter-bomber squadron by the end of 1967.

What is causing these air crashes? Beyond attributing them vaguely to "loss of control" no specific causes have been found because the unfortunate pilots have not lived to tell their story. The nature of the recent accident raises certain points that must engage the urgent attention of the Ministry of Defence. The aircraft was believed to be flying in formation with another one and all seemed to go well when suddenly, from a height of about five thousand feet, it started to lose altitude and then dived into the sea. The questions that immediately crop up in one's mind are:—

- (1) Could there be some production defects that may be causing these accidents?
- (2) Are the aircrafts properly maintained?
- (3) Are the pilots adequately trained? If the answer is "yes" why has it not been possible for them, in any of the three crashes, to save their lives by using the ejection mechanism? At least, in the last accident, there was ample opportunity for ejection—or perhaps did the ejection mechanism fail them?

In spite of the recent accident, the Ghana Air Force is still flying the remaining Mecchi jets without a pause although one would have thought that the rest of these planes should have immediately been grounded until a thorough investigation has disclosed the cause of the crashes. I do not applaud this "do-and-die" attitude of the Air Force because it is wasteful of valuable men and equipment. If expert study reveals defects in this aircraft we may have a good chance of saving men and money by returning the rest to the manufacturers as we did the Russian "Ilyushin" transport planes.

One thing that is certain is that the loss of nearly 50 per cent of the Ghana Air Force's fighter-bomber squadron in just over one year, without a war, but on such peaceful missions as border inspections, calls for an investigation by experts and it is hoped that the Military Authorities are doing this.

Accra.

M. F. Owusu

Scrap for Metal Works

SIR—We use a lot of insect sprays—Shelltox, BOP, Raid, Pif-paf, and what have you. Could our Steel-Works use the empty cans? In the last six months, I have saved 48.

Chorkor, Accra.

L. Quartey

Traffic at the Liberation Circle

SIR—The overhead bridge which was so loudly publicised as the final solution to the problem of traffic congestion at the Liberation Circle has come only to demonstrate once again, our love for non-functional, fancy, imposing public structures. Someone must have seen beautiful pictures of such bridges in a magazine from Europe or America, and decided that Ghana too must have overhead bridges. And so for over two years, we waited for this bridge which was going to solve all our problems. But now traffic-jams are still with us at the Circle; so what shall we do? Traffic can be diverted from the Circle in two easy road-building programmes: one at the Circle itself, and the other a little further away.

At the Circle itself, we need to build short diversionary roads, or "slip-bys", for vehicles which do not have to use the Circle. For example, a motorist coming from Ringway Hotel and wishing to go on to the Boundary Road need not go through the Circle: a short diversionary slip-by from a point after the overhead bridge to the Boundary Road would enable him to avoid the Circle. Similarly, motorists coming from Boundary Road to Liberty Avenue could use a short slip-by from the Boundary Road passing by the Barclay's Bank. Traffic flowing from Liberty Avenue to Kaneshie could be diverted on to a slip-by starting some 50 yards from the Circle and joining the Ring Road near the Odaw bridge; and traffic from Kaneshie to Lagos Town (or the Nsawam Road) could be diverted on to a road from the Odaw bridge to a point

near the "Orion", possibly using part of the "Orion" parking space. Finally, a road could be built from opposite the "Orion", across the open space near the Lido, to join the Ring Road at the base of the overhead bridge. (Incidentally, the road from Accra New Town passing by the Tip-Toe night club and the late Dr. Danquah's residence, could be continued to the Ring Road near the base of the overhead bridge, with profit). All these diversionary roads are short and can be built at a very low cost. They are sure to be the traffic de-congestant that we have been waiting for.

The second road programme I would suggest is further away from the Circle but none the less effective for that. The first item is the road from the Kaneshie Circle, passing by the Graphic buildings, to Liberty Avenue, which has been under construction for four years. This road is sure to ease traffic at the Circle considerably, since vehicles going west (towards Weija) from say the T.U.C. and Ambassador area would not have to pass through the Circle. The second item is a road from Guinea Press, between the Distilleries and Fan Milk, to the Nsawam Road near the Caprice; and finally, a continuation of the "Asylum-Down" Road to the Ring Road would carry a lot of traffic at present going through the Circle. These roads too will not be so expensive to build, and could be included in the labour-intensive road projects being planned for the country.

I trust that at least the Labour Redeployment Commissioner will consider these suggestions.

Adabraka, Accra.

K. Mensah

MANAGEMENT CONSULTANTS

Announcement to Investors in
Agriculture, Commerce and Industry

LET US HELP YOU SOLVE
YOUR BUSINESS PROBLEMS

For

- * Feasibility Studies
- * Improvements in Productivity
- * Marketing Research
- * Locating Customers in Ghana and Foreign Markets
- * Custom-designed Sales Training
- * Cost Analysis

Contact

E. A. KWAPONG ASSOCIATES
(Management Consultants)

P.O. Box 1621, Accra

Phone 77661

Population and Planning

SIR—It is fashionable these days to talk about economic reconstruction of the new Ghana. Emphasis is rightly put on economic planning because it is upon this that the future well-being of the population of Ghana depends. But planners should take the factor of population growth into account since too rapid a population growth will nullify the benefits to be gained from planning. The Economic, Education, Agricultural and Medical Committees should discuss the expected increase in population in relation to their various plans. It is hoped that when the Committees' reports are published, the need for a National Family Planning Programme will be stressed.

The need for such an organisation should be clear even to the Orthodox Catholic as well as Subin Valley politicians of the old era who preached that it was an imperialist trick to be asked to control the population growth in Ghana. Of course, there was never any mention of how the extra population was to be fed.

Mampong Akwapim.

Dr. D. A. Ampofo

Religion

BELIEF IN GOD—FURTHER REPLIES

By (1) D. J. Macqueen

MR. THROWER'S challenging essay (L.O., vol. I No. 13, 23/12/66) has raised several issues of crucial importance to all those who are concerned with and care about the shape of things to come in the new Ghana.

After reading and re-reading Dr. Konotey-Ahulu's comments upon this article (6 January, 1967, pp. 10-13), I am left with the melancholy conviction that within the compass of three pages, his sole success consists in having misunderstood, if not evaded, nearly all the questions put by Mr. Thrower.

First: with due respect to Dr. Konotey-Ahulu, Mr. Thrower has nowhere stated or implied that Christianity is a philosophy. What he did do was to ask whether—given that the question: does God exist? has meaning within a philosophical context—it falls within the competence of the civil authorities to legislate an answer to such a question.

Second: Mr. Thrower's use of the word 'saint' was clearly meant to apply only to 'world-denying religions' as he defined them. Unless, therefore, Dr. Konotey-Ahulu classifies what he is pleased to call Biblical Christianity among these, (in which case he has indeed let the cat out of the bag), his references to **Romans, Corinthians and Ephesians** are otiose.

Third: again, with all deference to Dr. Konotey-Ahulu (p. 10 of his reply), Mr. Thrower has nowhere stated or implied that 'the sole or primary aim of the Christian message is to produce moral people.' On the contrary, he questions and criticises the assumption, common in many circles, that a necessary connexion exists between theism and morality on the one hand, and atheism and immorality on the other (p. 8). Once more the 'caricature' attributed to Mr. Thrower turns out to be a chimera—the product, that is to say, of Dr. Konotey-Ahulu's apparent inability or capricious refusal to interpret correctly a passage of clear and unambiguous prose.

Passing over many more seeming irrelevancies in Dr. Konotey-Ahulu's reply, I could have wished him to develop at greater length his tardy admission (p. 11) that 'there are true, genuine, intellectual obstacles to accepting theism...' If these had been clearly stated and discussed at the outset, the ensuing critique might, I humbly suggest, have gained greatly in clarity, coherence and cogency.

In conclusion, may I refer, from personal observation, to the phenomenon of 'religious conversion'? In describing his own spiritual rebirth, Dr. Konotey-Ahulu makes it clear that his was 'no psychological case' and that he experienced 'no acute stress'.

I wish to make it equally clear that I have quite recently witnessed two such alleged 'conversions' in which every symptom of brainwashing, acute stress and psychological conflict appeared present. In the first instance, one young man who was 'saved' on a Friday from the unbelief of atheistic humanism, declared on Saturday that he spoke by the power and in the name of the Holy Ghost, and on Sunday affirmed that he was the Holy Ghost. To the best of my knowledge, he is still under restraint in an appropriate institution (and I do not mean a revivalist camp). The second instance is more distressing still, inasmuch as the person concerned retains, albeit to a limited extent, the use of his reason. However, on the advice of some so-called 'Bible Christians', he abandoned a not unpromising academic career in religious studies to become an itinerant evangelist and a pedlar of penny tracts. None of the latter incidentally, has far proved to be a bargain even at the wholesale price.

It is in view of the above considerations, and with particular reference to my concluding paragraph, that I must reluctantly reply in the negative to the question: is a revival of religion in Ghana necessarily a good thing?

By (II) A. Gematuxo

SINCE RELIGIOUS faith is impervious to reason, all forms of argument—rational or emotional—can only spoil the religious soup! (Spiced metaphors are often mixed!)

But, because the **Legon Observer** looks all questions squarely in the eye, the dialogue which Reverend Peter Barker has opened in response to the article by the "plain" James Thrower cannot be dismissed on grounds of the above-stated premise.

Public Propagation of Faith

We should never forget that Ghana is not—repeat, not—a christian nation. Christianity is a minority religion, and a marginal, skin-deep one only at that! We have no state church, and no state religion, thank goodness! It follows that state organs must not be used to propagate any of the brands: christianity or islam or indigenous. For, if it was wrong to spread the Marxian doctrine through any of the state information and communication media, it is impermissible to vend church doctrine or church following through them today, since these media are supported by the taxes of a large number of non-believers among others. If propagation of the gospel continues to be made on tax-supported TV and Radio, soon the non-religious, who have as much right as any to be heard, will be up in arms, and will insist on having their say. As a strictly personal opinion, I hold it as a matter of faith that public advertisement of salvation by vested interests of religion is downright indecent and unworthy. This is not to say that sectarian religious units should not within their several confines propagate their brand of religion. Only, they should not assume that their separate brands are universally applicable to the whole of our society.

Where, as is happening in Ghana today, the sale of that brand of religion known as "Christianity" is being openly conducted by public men and women, then I say, the good Lord deliver us! Might not personal example and deeds have served better than words of publicity? Is it not that religion is a very personal affair between the believer and his deity? And can faith be told? But, let's get back to Mr. Thrower and Reverend Barker.

Religion and morality

I wonder whether because I am so daft my understanding of the burden of Mr. Thrower's article is so different from that of the Reverend Mr. Barker. My lay understanding of the question posed in Mr. Thrower's article—"should We All Believe In God?"—is: Is the morality of a believer superior to that of an unbeliever? Are christian standards and practice of morality, for example, higher than those of non-believers?

Taking a census of the relation between religious belief and moral behaviour as a pre-condition to belief in God has not been urged by Mr. Thrower, as Reverend Barker seems to think; nor is it necessary. The

conduct of national affairs on the part of secular nations can with advantage be contrasted with the management of national affairs by the religion-based Irish and Latin countries. One can arrive at some shrewd conclusions without waiting for an empirical determination.

Mr. Thrower is too down to earth to suggest a prior opinion poll to religious commitment. Like him some of us are first-hand witnesses of the behaviour of those who are doing the most shouting about religion. The uncommitted citizens of Ghana live as neighbours to church-going christians, and the uncommitted are not fooled. Nor is God mocked, however noisily the protagonists of religious ideologies preach!

The questions posed by Mr. Thrower are particularly topical in post-coup Ghana. The stuffy assumption that if every citizen went to church then Ghana would be saved does need puncturing. One would have expected that a rejoinder to the article in question would address itself to this central argument of the original article. It is regrettable that Reverend Peter Barker has failed to do justice to himself and to the subject.

Theistic belief may well guide moral behaviour; but, and this was the point raised by Mr. Thrower, there are other determinants of morality; that is, if at all the determinants of moral conduct can be dissected. I would rank home influence and the influence of an educational institution above all comers. My own basis of ethical behaviour was laid by my home and my village social unit. But, this is clearly a matter of personal opinion and experience.

Why can't people be honest in stating the claims for religion? People believe because it pays them to believe. If religion meets the search for security, and if it satisfies a deep-seated yearning in the individual in question, a good enough justification for religion has been made. In my views, this is the crux of the matter. And this, in my opinion, is the mission of all the prophets.

However this may be, I would not deny it to professional purveyors of religion if their faith—which is a blinding flash—and their means of livelihood led them to claim that a christian's conduct is guided by the question: "Will Christ approve?" Whether in fact this claim is substantiable or not is the question which is at issue. How many professing christians submit their springs of action to the dictates of the "divine" law-giver? That question seems to be of little consequence to Reverend Barker. Rather, we are dragged down the abyss by the highly subjective and intensely emotional words like "good" and "right". As you know, once such words begin to be hurled at you, it is a notice that the argument be closed.

Use SANTEX Always

You can be sure

If it's

SANTEX

Book Review

A MAN OF THE PEOPLE

By

Chinua Achebe

Heinemann: London C2.16

A Review by B. S. Kwakwa, Legon

"A MAN of the People", Chinua Achebe's latest novel, is a brilliant attack on the degenerate politics of an unnamed African country. Chief the Honourable M.A. Nanga, an ex-teacher and now Minister of Culture, is, in the eyes of the people, "the most approachable politician in the country" and a veritable "man of the people". We see him at the beginning of the novel face to face with Odili Sumalu, an ex-pupil of his, now a young teacher just graduated from the University. And the novel is mainly the story of the confrontation between these two characters, Nanga and Sumalu.

Chief Nanga meets Odili at a big welcome party organised in his village in his honour. In his spacious manner he invites him to his luxurious residence in the city. At the beginning of the visit relations between the two men are cordial, but this cordiality suddenly turns into bitterness and hatred when Odili sees himself humiliated as his girl friend is wrenched brutally from him by Nanga. From now on Odili finds himself irreconcilably in a camp opposed to Chief Nanga. He drifts into the society of his university associate, Max, and joins a new leftist political party being formed. And when the Government is made to resign shortly afterwards, he finds himself the opposing candidate in Chief Nanga's constituency.

The electioneering campaign that follows is a sorry tale of thuggery and intimidation, of lies and hypocrisy, of bribery and corruption. In the end Odili, just recovering from a beating he has had from Nanga's followers, realises that Chief Nanga is elected unopposed, because his nomination paper was intercepted and never reached the returning officer. But he has his revenge nonetheless. The thugs used by Nanga and his associates throughout the country in the foul campaign have now grown so uncontrolled that the Army has had to stage a coup to bring safety and peace to the distracted country. Nanga and his colleagues are imprisoned. And Odili marries Nanga's intended "parlour" wife.

Chief Nanga is vain and susceptible to flattery, hypocritical, sycophantic, selfish and corrupt and given excessively to debauchery. He is a true representative of the newly rich, corrupt politicians of the country, bloated as he is with ill-gotten wealth. The only other Minister we see something substantial of is Chief Koko, Minister for Overseas Training, a balloon of a man, "a fat, jovial man wearing an enormous home-knitted red and yellow sweater", who cuts a ludicrous figure as he wails wringing his hands when he drinks home-made coffee which appears to have so strange a taste that he suspects it is poisoned.

Achebe's portraits are brilliantly done. A casual suggestion here, an ironic twist of a phrase there, all done with an economy and a sureness of touch only a master is capable of, and gradually we see the brutish picture of a Nanga unmistakably taking shape. Nanga indulges in almost all the vices flesh is heir to. But

he is really the embodiment of the vices of the people. For in their adoration of politicians such as Nanga, in their pitiable resignation to the worst they suffer the people partake of the guilt of the Nangas of the country. In more senses than one Chief the Honourable M. A. Nanga is a man of the people.

But there are significant differences. Odili gets shocked into maturity by Nanga's action. And after that his attitude towards women changes. And one of the happiest strokes in the story is his patient parlour wife. Edna herself, young, beautiful and innocent instantly appears out of place in Nanga's company. "I feel," says Odili, "I feel she deserves to be somebody's first wife—not an old man's mistress." These two, Odili and Edna, have more redeeming qualities than any other characters in the book. No wonder they get married in the end.

The book is written in fluent prose:

"The heat and anger had now largely evaporated leaving the cold fact that another man had wrenched my girl-friend from my hand and led her to bed under my very eyes, and I had done nothing about it—could do nothing. And why? Because the man was a minister bloated by the flatulence of ill-gotten wealth, living in a big mansion built with public money, riding in a cadillac and watched over by a one-eyed hired thug. And as though that were not enough, he had had the obscene effrontery to say he thought I was too tired! A man of fifty with a son in the secondary school and a wife whose dress gets caught between the buttocks thought I was tired!"

Fluent, vigorous prose but not bawdy. And through it all run the sarcasm, the humour that the reader finds almost irresistible.

By any standards, "A Man of the People" is a brilliant book. Of course some touches are not so successful. We find it hard to realise why Odili for example suddenly decides to attend Chief Nanga's campaigning rally. It appears completely out of character. But such lapses are few and when they occur so much good use is made of them that nothing appears to be lost. I recommend this as a gripping brilliant novel which those interested in the African political scene should read.

News Summary

(By Courtesy of the Ghana Broadcasting Corporation)

8 January, 1967

Textile Factory

THE Textile Factory of the State Textile Manufacturing Corporation at Tema was officially opened yesterday. The construction of the factory which cost over three million pounds started in 1963 under an agreement signed between Ghana and a French Textile Manufacturing Company. The yearly output of the factory is 19 million yards of grey cloth and about 15 million yards of finished printed cloth. The factory at present has 700 employees and is expected soon to grow to a little over a thousand. The factory which started a trial production about a year ago has been able to supply the local market with African prints at the rate of about 320 thousand yards a month.

Legal scrutiny of government commercial agreements

THE commercial branch of the Attorney General's Department is to scrutinize contracts and agreements, involving the government or any agency of the government. An official of the Attorney General's Department said in Accra that the commercial branch has been assigned the responsibility of discussing and drafting the terms for all contracts and agreements to be entered into by any state enterprise.

Aid to Stranded Ghanaians

GHANAIAAN citizens who become stranded in foreign countries will be repatriated by the Government. According to the annual estimates of the Ministry of External Affairs published in Accra, the NLC has set aside five thousand cedis to Ghanaian Missions abroad to meet the costs of passage of stranded Ghanaian citizens. The grant will also meet other expenses such as maintenance and accommodation till the persons concerned are finally brought home.

Nigerian Leaders hold talks in Ghana

A TWO-DAY meeting of the Supreme Military Council of Nigeria was held at Peduase Lodge near Accra during the week. A final communique issued at the end of the talks, which was attended by the Head of the Federal Military Government and all the Regional Military Governors, said the Council reached agreement on all subjects. The Council also reached agreement on the re-organisation, administration and control of the army, appointments and promotions to the senior ranks in the Armed Forces, the police, diplomatic and consular services as well as appointment to super-scale posts in the Federal Civil Service and the equivalent posts in the Federal Statutory Corporation. The entire members of the Supreme Military Council expressed profound regret for the bloodshed which engulfed the country in the past year and avowed to do all in their power to ensure that there was no recurrence of the unhappy situation. They also placed on record their profound appreciation and gratitude for the constructive initiative and assistance rendered by the Chairman of the National Liberation Council, the Government and the people of Ghana.

PRESS RELEASE:

Police and Army to counter bribery and corruption

THE Inspector-General of Police wishes it to be known that a combined force of Army and Police personnel has been introduced to counter bribery and corruption in all public services and wherever the twin evils exist. Investigations are being conducted in a number of cases and already some are pending before the courts and it will be improper to comment on them.

But it is absolutely unfair to mount a general campaign against the Police Service which is undertaking an arduous task of stamping out lawlessness, hooliganism and robbery in the country.

While the Inspector-General of Police on the one hand undertakes to weed the Service of any traces of corruption and other impropriety that may exist he will not tolerate any attempt to undermine public confidence in the Police Service. It is the duty of the public particularly the press on the other hand to help and co-operate with the Police in executing their duties. The public and the press have also a duty to communicate

with Police Headquarters the conduct of any public officer who engages or encourages corrupt practices. But such allegations must be substantiated.

It is no use making wild allegations which tend to bring the Police Service into disrepute or ridicule. Such a behaviour has its own consequences. The Police Service accepts constructive criticisms but it is mean, debasing and unpatriotic to abuse the new won freedom of the press to the extent of using it to alienate the public against the Police Service. It is to be hoped that this new era will bring to all those who mould public opinion a greater sense of responsibility.

6th December, 1967

(Issued by the Ministry of Information)

15 January, 1967

Military Tribunals

THE Government of Ghana proposes to amend the Armed Forces Act to set up Military tribunals to try expeditiously certain categories of subversive offences committed by non-military personnel, conviction for any of which will carry a maximum sentence of death by a firing squad and a minimum of not less than 25 years with hard labour. An official statement issued in Accra says the Government has since the revolution of the 24th February, 1966, been and is still of the view, that as the revolution commanded the overwhelming support of the people of this country vengeance against the followers of the deposed President who aided and abetted him to ruin this country economically and to ride roughshod over the liberties of the citizens should be eschewed. Towards this end the Government deliberately adopted an attitude of mercy and reconciliation in their dealings with members of the banned C.P.P. some of whom deserved to have been summarily shot for the enormities of their crimes against the people of this country. Regrettably, a very small minority of the former supporters of the banned C.P.P. have taken the Government's humane attitude as weakness, and have been indulging in various acts of subversion and sabotage against the government and people of this country, including the holding of secret meetings to plan confusion and assassination, the dissemination of baseless and false rumours calculated to undermine the people's faith in the permanency of their newly-won freedom, the encouragement of unreasonable strikes and the smuggling of communications to and from Guinea. The statement said the Government is satisfied that the activities of these few are directed towards the imposition once more of the will of a minority with a totalitarian cast of mind on the majority of the citizens of Ghana who love freedom and justice so dearly. The Government would be failing in its duty if it permitted the activities of this minority to continue unchecked. The government would however like to re-affirm its unqualified belief in the rule of law and all the personal freedoms that go with it; equally its inflexible determination that no one person or group of persons shall ever again be permitted to deny these freedoms of our people.

Commission on Ghana Prisons

THE N.L.C. has appointed a four-man Commission to enquire into the conditions prevailing in Ghana Prisons, and in particular the accommodation, feeding, medical facilities, general conditions and treatment of prisoners. The Chairman of the Commission is Sir Edward Asafu-

Adjaye, Barrister-at-Law and former Ghana High Commissioner in London. Other members are: Mr. N. A. Cameron, a former Chief Adviser on Prisons to the Uganda Government, Mrs. D. B. Vanderpuije, National General Secretary of the Y.W.C.A., and Mr. W. G. M. Brandford, Secretary of the Christian Council of Ghana. The secretary is Mr. D. Acquah, Deputy Chief Social Welfare and Community Development Officer. The Commission will examine the regulations governing the treatment of prisoners of every description. It will also investigate the administration, organisation and financial structure of the prison service and enquire into any other matter concerning the administration of the Ghana Prisons which in the opinion of the Commission ought in the public interest to be enquired into. The Commission will report its findings to the N.L.C. making such recommendations to the Council as the Commission may think fit.

The proceedings of the Commission will be held in private.

Expediting Committee

THE EXPEDITING Committee of the N.L.C. has held a news conference in Accra. Giving the reason which led to the appointment of the Committee by the N.L.C., the Chairman, Mr. Tibo, said for some time the N.L.C. has shown an increasing concern about delays in the implementation of its directives and decisions by Ministries, Government Departments, Statutory Boards and Corporations. To expedite and improve effectiveness of action in this regard, the Council appointed two Warrant Officers from the Army, and their main functions were to pay occasional visits to Ministries, Departments, Corporations, State Enterprises and other Public Organisations to check progress of action taken or being taken on decisions or directives of the Council. Mr. Tibo said as the work of the N.L.C. gained momentum, the Council was flooded with a formidable array of complaints from the public. As there is no Parliament, he said, and therefore no "Question Time" for members of the public to make their complaints known through that medium, the Council felt it was high time a Committee was appointed to undertake the functions of an Ombudsman or a Parliamentary Commissioner to fill in this vacuum. About the duties of the Expediting Committee, Mr. Tibo said it will investigate complaints from members of the public who might be aggrieved by any mistakes, acts of negligence or other shortcomings committed by any public officer in the performance of his duties. The Committee will make frequent and unadvertised visits to public offices where members of the public are wont to call for service with a view to ensuring that their time is not wasted by public officers whose duty it is to give such service. One other duty of the Committee will be to receive and investigate complaints of victimisation within the public service from public officers, particularly of subordinate rank.

The Expediting Committee is temporarily housed in Block D.8 in the beach Ministerial area behind the Passport Office, close to Black Star Square.

Political Education

THE CENTRAL Region House of Chiefs has called on the N.L.C. to set up a political education committee to educate the people especially those in the rural areas on their civic responsibilities.

Constitutional Commission goes into the Regions
THE CONSTITUTIONAL Commission appointed by the N.L.C. to draft a future Constitution for Ghana is undertaking an extensive tour of the Regions to receive memoranda and oral representations from all sections of the community on the future Constitution for Ghana. A statement from the Secretariat of the Commission says for the purpose of this country-wide tour the Commission has broken up into three working groups to be headed by a Vice-Chairman. The first group which will be headed by Nene Azzu Mate Kole will tour Ashanti, Brong-Ahafo, Northern and Upper Regions. Its members are Mr. Victor Owusu, Mr. A. S. Y. Andoh, Mr. Adam Amandi, Mr. A. Karbo and Mr. D. J. Buahin. The second group will tour Greater Accra, Eastern and Volta Regions. It will be headed by Mr. K. Adumua-Bossman and it will be composed of Dr. F. K. Fiawoo, Mr. B. D. G. Folson, Mr. J. A. Braimah, Dr. E. V. C. de Graft-Johnson and Mr. W. E. A. Ofori-Atta. The third group which will be headed by Mr. M. K. Apaloo will comprise Mr. B. A. Bentum, Mr. Saki Scheck, Dr. Hilla Limann and Miss Akua Asaabea Ayisi. It will tour Central and Western Regions. The statement adds that there will be a joint secretary in attendance on each Working Group.

Ghana Branch of the International Commission of Jurists

MR. JUSTICE N. A. Ollenu, an Appeal Court Judge, has been elected Chairman of the Ghana Branch of the International Commission of Jurists at a meeting held in Accra. Sir Edward Asafo-Adjei a Barrister and one-time Ghana High Commissioner to the United Kingdom, was elected Vice-Chairman. Other officers elected are Mr. Joe Reindorf, a Barrister, Secretary, and Mr. K. Dua Sekyi, also a Barrister, Treasurer. Justice M. A. Charles, an Accra High Court Judge and Mr. E. N. Moore, an Accra Barrister, have also been elected to serve on the Executive Committee of the Commission.

Suspension of School

THE MINISTRY of Education announces that the Koforidua Girls' High School will not open as conditions there are still not satisfactory. The students are therefore to transfer to other schools.

Army Appointments

BRIGADIER A. K. Ocran, N.L.C. member responsible for the Ministries of Communications and Works and Housing has been appointed Chief of Staff at the Headquarters of the Ghana Armed Forces. A Ghana Armed Forces Bulletin issued in Accra says Brigadier A. A. Crabbe has resumed command of the First Infantry Brigade Group and the Southern Command of the Ghana Army. He takes over from Colonel A. A. Afrifa, who reverts to his post of Commanding Officer of the 2nd Battalion.

Academy Report

DR. K. A. BUSIA, Chairman of the Political Committee of the N.L.C. and member of the Committee of Experts appointed by the N.L.C. to examine and to advise on the future of the Ghana Academy of Sciences presented the Committee's report to Lt.-General J. A. Ankrah at the Castle, Osu. The Committee was under the chairmanship of Sir John Cockcroft of the Churchill College, Cambridge. Present at the presentation was Mr. J. W. K. Harley, Vice-Chairman of the N.L.C. Dr. Busia was accompanied by Mr. G. B. Boahene, Secretary to the Committee.

Watch
THIS SPACE
for an
IMPORTANT
ANNOUNCEMENT
in the
NEXT ISSUE.

LOOK OUT
FOR
TRANSITION
A
STIMULATING
AFRICAN
MAGAZINE.

Observer Notices

The Economic Bulletin

THE Editor wishes to express his regret to the editor of the *Economic Bulletin* for the reproduction of the article "On Assessing a Development Plan" by Arthur Lewis (L.O. I, 13) without his written consent.

THE "LEGON OBSERVER"

Organ of the Legon Committee on National Reconstruction

Published fortnightly

Editorial Committee

Chairman: K. A. B. Jones-Quartey
 Vice-Chairman: A. S. Y. Andoh
 Members: K. B. Dickson
 J. A. Dadson
 B. D. G. Folsom
 O. Y. Asamoah
 E. Yaw Twumasi
 K. Arhin
 E. A. Kwapong; Treasurer
 Editor: E. Yaw Twumasi

The Legon Committee on National Reconstruction is a private, non-official organisation of certain individuals at Legon. It is not a body of the University of Ghana. The "Legon Observer" is therefore not a journal of the University.

IT PAYS
 TO ADVERTISE
 IN THE
 LEGON OBSERVER

PUBLICATIONS IN THE LEGON OBSERVER

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

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

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

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

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

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

The views and opinions expressed in articles and letters published in the *Legon Observer* do not necessarily reflect those of the Editorial Committee of the L.C.N.R. The Committee accepts responsibility for the EDITORIAL and the OBSERVER NOTEBOOK, the L.C.N.R. COMMUNICATION and articles written by "Special Correspondents".

SUBSCRIPTION RATES—THE LEGON OBSERVER

	Surface				Air			
	6 months		1 year		6 months		1 year	
Currency	Sterl.	Dol.	Sterl.	Dol.	Sterl.	Dol.	Sterl.	Dol.
Ghana	23/-	\$3.00	45/-	\$5.67				
Africa	28/-	\$4.00	55/-	\$8.00	38/-	\$5.45	70/-	\$10.00
U.K.	28/-	\$4.00	55/-	\$8.00	64/-	\$9.15	120/-	\$17.15
Europe	30/-	\$4.30	60/-	\$8.60	84/-	\$12.00	160/-	\$23.00
U.S.	70/-	\$4.30	60/-	\$8.60	84/-	\$12.00	160/-	\$23.00
Canada	10/-	\$4.30	60/-	\$8.60	84/-	\$12.00	160/-	\$23.00

Minimum Subscription: 6 Months

These subscription rates are expressed in shillings and dollars to avoid confusion when the value of the cedi is changed from 8s. 4d. to 10s. Subscribers may convert the rates into cedis and pesewas as appropriate. When the value of the cedi is stabilized we shall make the necessary change for the benefit of our customers.



555

**Now Available in Ghana
at the Standard Price of
60p. for 20**



Get the taste of international success

The taste that is uniquely 555. The taste that State Express created for you by being that much more exclusive in the tobaccos they choose. Smokers of good taste will be pleased to know that 555s are now generally available in Ghana at the standard price of 60p. for twenty. Small price to pay for the taste of international success.

555 by State Express

THE KING SIZE FILTER CIGARETTE OF INTERNATIONAL SUCCESS



Printed by the Liberty Press Ltd., P.O. Box 1957, Accra, for the Legon Committee on National Reconstruction, Legon, Ghana. The University of Ghana and its Departments are in no way connected with the Legon Observer. Editorial correspondence (and subscriptions) should be addressed to The Editor, The Legon Observer, P. O. Box 11, Legon, Ghana; all other correspondence (advertising, distribution agency, or other commercial enquiries) should be addressed to The Legon Observer, Liberty Press Ltd., P. O. Box 1957, Accra, Telephone: 63666. Licence No. NP/GIS/388/083.