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EDITORIAL

ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION IN WEST AFRICA

THE WEST AFRICAN sub-regional Conference on Economic Co-operation held in Accra, from 27 April to 4 May 1967, is a significant landmark in the economic and political development of Africa, although, like most events which contribute to real welfare and progress in Africa, it was overshadowed by political events—in this case the abortive coup and its aftermath.

At this Conference eleven West African governments signed Articles of Association—originally drafted at Niamey last October—which will provide the legal framework for a West African Economic Community. The aim of the community is "to promote through the economic co-operation of the member states a co-ordinated and equitable development of their economies, especially in industry, agriculture, transport and communications, trade and payments, manpower, energy and natural resources;..." (Article I).

Undoubtedly, the aim is laudable, for there is a strong case for a West African Common Market. Most West African economies have industries producing industrial products for small markets, because not only are most West African countries small in population, but also effective demand for industrial products is inadequate: on the average, excluding Nigeria, each country has a population of about 3.5 million. By forming an Economic Community the industrial products of each country can find a larger market. But the industrial products from developed countries will be competing with our industrial products to our disadvantage in this larger market, unless we decide as a matter of policy to impose heavy duties on manufactured goods from developed countries.

The West African Economic Community will, furthermore, greatly encourage the free movement of resources, people and ideas in this sub-region of Africa. In all these efforts the emphasis should rightly be put on transport, for a transport infrastructure is very important for economic development. Moreover, the Community will prevent the unnecessary competition in West Africa to set up rival industries; it will also prevent duplication and at the same time promote economies in the use of resources and encourage specialization.

Politically, the West African Economic Conference was revolutionary. All the participating countries, no doubt, tacitly accepted that regional economic co-operation could facilitate regional political integration. Such a functional approach to the political unification of Africa would have been unthinkable about two years ago when the radical pan-Africanists branded all regional approaches to African unity as "neo-colonialist" and "imperialist". This apparently unnoticed and unpublicised political assumption of the

Conference certainly makes the wilder and less realistic cause for immediate political unification of Africa clearly anachronistic. The tide of African history has changed, and the tide seems to be in favour of those who believe in the regionalist, functionalist approach to African Unity.

However, the community now exists on paper; to make it a reality a number of economic and political hurdles have to be cleared. Politically, it is not clear as to who will decide where investments and industries will be sited. Will it be the Community Interim Council, the Community Secretariat or the member governments? The experience of other regional economic groupings like the East African Common Services shows that this can be a thorny problem. But if the member governments show enough goodwill on all sides we may be able to clear this political hurdle.

There is the further problem of member states' involvement in other economic groupings like the European Common Market and the Commonwealth. Article III makes it possible for members "to belong to or join other systems of economic co-operation", on condition that such members inform the Community of their membership and of any provisions which have a bearing on the Community's Articles of Association. It is here that the West African Economic Community will face some of its trickiest problems. Countries like the Ivory Coast are associated members of the European Common Market, and, on the evidence, seem to be happy with their relationship with the European Community. Even though some French-speaking African countries—especially Niger—are not happy with the aid which is flowing from Europe to their countries; for as long as it is wise to contemplate, raw materials and processed raw materials will find markets only in Europe and America. Since most African countries are raw materials producing countries they may be disposed to attach more importance to their links with Europe than to their links with the West African Economic Community. It has, however, to be remembered that getting a ready market in Europe does not necessarily mean that we have this access on the best possible terms. To get the best possible terms it seems the Community should work out a common policy for all the member states, so that we can confront Europe as a united body. If this is not done, and Article III is allowed to stand, the proposed West African Community will have, at best, a marginal significance for most of the member states.

Finally, it is obvious that the establishment of the Community has policy implications for member states. For Ghana the policy implications

relate to the Economic Committee of the N.L.C. The Government of Ghana needs a clear policy in relation to the West African Community. But it seems the Economic Committee has not even drawn up an economic policy for the country. All efforts have lopsidedly been put on renegotiating debts. Perhaps this is not surprising, for the Economic Committee does not have an economic planner on it. It is composed of a statistician, a banker, an accountant and professional civil servants. By the nature of their profession they are ill-suited to take decisions which may have political undertones. But this is precisely what the N.L.C. has to do if the economy is to be moving fast enough. It is in our view, therefore, imperative that distinguished Ghanaian economists should be added to the Economic Committee or an Economic Advisory Council of economic experts should be set up immediately.

The establishment of the West African Community is an admirable, tentative step we have taken towards the economic and eventual regional political integration of West Africa. By the nature of the problems it poses for member states, it may be found necessary to break those of our links which do not work to our advantage—such as the European Economic Community and the Commonwealth.

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L.S.N.A. Communication

THE LEGISLATURE

By

Our Political Correspondent

WERE IT possible to have all the qualified voters of Ghana gather together every now and again to legislate and air their ideas on national affairs it would perhaps be wise to prefer such an arrangement to having a legislature of elected representatives who will, on the evidence of the recent past, almost certainly be conspirators against the national interest rather than the promoters of it. Alas! not even in the mini-states of Africa is it remotely possible to practise primary democracy; nor is primary democracy itself without problems of its own. We are, therefore, condemned to live with elected representatives at least for the foreseeable future. What type of legislature, then, should we have? Should we have a bicameral or unicameral legislature? Should the legislature be elected on the basis of a restricted franchise? Should it be an omni-competent legislature or should its powers be limited, that is, should the legislature be sovereign or not?

Bi-cameralism and Uni-cameralism

In the dialogue between the bi-cameralists and the uni-cameralists more heat than light has been generated. The usual trick in debate of painting your side all white and your opponent's all black has been constantly employed: the virtues of bicameral legislatures have been sharply contrasted with the defects of unicameral legislatures and vice versa, depending on one's standpoint. That, it will be readily agreed, is not the best way of arriving at truth or sanity. It is much better to contrast both the virtues and defects of one against those of the other.

The arguments in favour of bicameralism can be briefly stated. Second chambers serve to check hasty legislation, in that their mere existence enforces a period of delay during which second thoughts may be given to acts of the lower chambers. That is why they are usually given explicit powers of delay which can be exercised within a definite period. Close to this is the power of revision. Even where it is not clear that the lower house has been hasty there is more often than not the purely technical problem of revision. Party strife is the life-blood of the lower house, hence debates there tend to concentrate overwhelmingly on basic principles at the expense of the shape of bills and to the woe of the parliamentary draftsman. It is in the upper house, free from party strife, that some worthwhile attention

can be given to this not unimportant aspect of legislation. As a result also of the prevalence of party strife, the lower chamber is usually unsuited to, or unwilling to embark on, those calm, objective, dispassionate, informed, wide-ranging debates, especially on non-controversial and technical matters, which sometimes have an unusually educative value. This is peculiarly the province of the upper chamber. There is also an argument in favour of bicameralism which has seldom been heard in the actual debate but which is nevertheless a very strong one: no legislature, however well-constituted or august, must be made to think that it has only itself and no one else to consult, for this breeds the habits of despotism.

Against these the defects of bicameralism may also be put briefly. It is first and foremost wasteful, especially in the marginal economies of developing countries; the time, money and human resources that are expended on second chambers are out of proportion to any good they may do. Second chambers, secondly, are inherently unjust because they are necessarily weighted in favour of the conservative forces within society: if this were not so, not even a semblance of validity could be imparted to their very *raison d'être*. As a necessary result of their inevitably conservative nature second chambers, thirdly, are a drag, a painful drag on progressive legislation.

Political Advantages of Unicameralism

The virtues and defects of bicameralism stated, it is relatively simple to indicate those of unicameralism, for they can be stated by a process of reverse deduction. Unicameralism is relatively more economic in terms of time, money and human resources; it is just, because it does not start by giving special advantages to any classes or forces within society; and it is speedy, for it puts a premium on prompt action. On the other hand, it may be held that where there is only one legislative house party strife is likely to throttle the national interest, that in the heat of the moment disastrous decisions may be taken and that the invaluable experience of well-qualified people may be missed, as also will be the support of social forces which are the inevitable pillars of stability in every Society.

The L.S.N.A. is of the firm opinion that the constitution-makers must give the country a unicameral legislature. There is no way of demonstrating conclusively that either bicameralism or unicameralism is better; the choice is always predicated on one's prejudices and values. We can, therefore, at best, indicate our reasons for preferring a unicameral legislature for the country. We have stated again and again that the overriding

problem of the country is rapid economic development coupled with social justice and the maintenance of liberty. To carve a special place, at the most crucial points, for the forces of conservatism is to defeat this purpose, for conservative interests are not easily harmonized with the objectives we so fervently cherish. To say this is not to argue that a bicameral legislature has no advantages, but we believe that there are other ways of realizing those advantages without entrenching and institutionalizing the obstructive forces of conservatism. Special provisions for enforcing delay can be written into the constitution; in particular, the barbarous method of legislating under certificates of urgency, dear to the heart of the rogue dictator, should be outlawed. Freedom of the press and assembly should enable informed opinion outside the legislature to be heard. A special committee of the legislature, working in conjunction with the parliamentary draftsmen, can always be set up to revise bills with an eye on improving their technical shape etc.

Limitations on Parliament

There are certain points which the power of Parliament should be checked because without such checks our freedom will always be in danger. Thus, the Speaker, once elected by Parliament, should be independent. If a Parliamentarian, he should give up his seat and should remain the Speaker until death or retirement or resignation or removal but, in the last case, it should be the result of a specific vote of no confidence on stated grounds. His salary should, of course, be charged on the Consolidated Fund. Similarly, the legislature should be capable of removing a judge of the High or Supreme Court only on specific charges of misconduct, or inefficiency or infirmity of mind or body and that only after a judicial body has reported in favour of removal. The legislature should not have a free hand in amending the Constitution; it should be limited in a manner we shall deal with in a later communication. Lastly, the legislature's powers in periods of emergency should be carefully circumscribed—but under no circumstances should it have the power to declare an emergency or renew it for a period exceeding six months at a time.

Sovereignty of Parliament?

The maintenance of liberty is too important to be left to a bicameral legislature. Bicameralism or no bicameralism, it is imperative, if we are going to preserve our liberty, to bury the concept of parliamentary sovereignty. It is difficult to understand why in face of the record of modern legislatures (not only in Africa) people should

still speak in terms of the sovereignty of Parliament. It is particularly unfortunate that such a barbarous and destructive concept should not only have originated from Britain but also should still be disseminated throughout the world through the study of the British Constitution and of English Law. The idea that Parliament has such an amplitude of power as to be able to do anything except, in the words of de Lohme, "change a man into a woman or a woman into a man" and that, therefore, every Act of Parliament is *per se* legally valid is a stupid idea that should not be countenanced by the Constitution-makers for any reason whatever.

Voting

The fundamental importance that is attached to the vote has been explained in a previous communication; this explanation need not be repeated here. Here it is sufficient to state that all people of twenty-one years and above and possessing the usual qualifications should have the legal right to take part in voting the unicameral legislature. It is also recommended that voting should be on the basis of first-part-the-port system in single-member constituencies. That is, the country should be divided into Constituencies, each constituency should be represented by one parliamentarian and in an election the person who has the highest number of votes should be considered elected. This is a fair *via media* between the method, found in some West African countries, of turning the whole country into one constituency and the method of proportional representation. The former completely disfranchises minority groups and institutionalizes monolithic one-party systems; the latter unduly encourages splinter groups. Proportional representation, in particular, should be watched. It has a formidable attractive power because it appears to be fair to all shades of opinion. In the multi-tribal states of Africa, however, it is certain to lead to a host of tribal-ethnic parties and that, Arthur Lewis' argument notwithstanding, is something to be avoided. Nothing is more destructive of nation-building than tribal-ethnic parties: the lesson of Nigeria and Congo-Kinshasa, not to mention others, is too clear to be ignored.

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The Economy

FOUNDATIONS OF ECONOMIC POLICY:

(1) THE STATE ENTERPRISES

By

G. Kportufe Agama

WHEN THE National Liberation Council took over the administration, the number of enterprises being financed from Ghanaian tax revenue stood at 66. Of this number 54 enterprises are wholly owned by the State. These all-state enterprises range, in terms of product, from the Ghana Film Industry Corporation, a secure sinecure, to an enterprising set-up like the Paints Corporation. The remaining 12 enterprises are owned jointly by government and private investors, the proportion of government ownership ranging from 10 per cent in Kumasi Brewery Limited to 94 per cent in Ghana Bottling Company. Total investment of public money in the 66 enterprises up to date amounts to over N200 million of which about four million new cedis was invested in joint enterprises.

The majority of these enterprises were established after 1960, and the expenditure of such a large amount of money in less than six years has serious financial and economic implications for the country. The fixed capital of most of the state enterprises was provided by foreign lenders through the medium of the now famous—or infamous—suppliers' credits. The agreements covering these credits have two main characteristics. First, the debt repayment period is invariably shorter than the time required to construct a project thus financed and bring it to a normal state of production. In other words, the repayment period is too short to enable debts to be retired with profits, if any, accruing from the operation of these enterprises.

Debt Management and State Enterprises

Secondly, as the bulk of these debts was contracted in foreign exchange, repayment worsened the balance of payments position of the country severely, especially as no additional foreign exchange was forthcoming from other sectors of the economy. The debt renegotiations of the past many months have succeeded in alleviating the pressures of these two implications by postponing repayment of a substantial proportion of our debts. In this respect, it is imperative that the policies for managing our external debt and the state enterprises be considered together very closely and not in isolation as appears to be the situation at present. This need should be obvious for one good reason. As the products of most of these new enterprises are intended to sub-

stitute for imported goods, their expected appearance on the Ghanaian market has been used to justify protective duties imposed on imported competing products even when plans for domestic production have scarcely left the drawing board.

Objectives of State Enterprises

These implications bring us to the objectives of state enterprises. Although the idea of state enterprises is fairly widespread among Ghanaians, the objectives of state enterprises have hardly been a subject of intelligent public discussion in Ghana. Indeed, until recently, government economic managers have exerted little effort in the past to keep useful account of the activities of these enterprises, and, accordingly, they have been unable to detect the close link between our indebtedness to foreign suppliers and the activities of the enterprises which become the beneficiaries of these supplies. But they have drawn considerable attention to the ills of these enterprises *ad nauseam*. To the fundamental question what each of these enterprises was set up to achieve, they have given the easy and ready answer, namely, profits.

The fact of the matter is that the question is not so easy and that the usually proffered answer is a misleading bit of truth. Given the state of our economy, the condition of our politics, and the method of financing these enterprises, it is possible to identify five possible objectives any or a combination of which a state enterprise may be set up to promote. These are first, profitability, that is excess of earnings over outlays, secondly, capacity to create jobs, thirdly, capacity to provide foreign exchange, fourthly, the ability to contribute to the government's control of the economy, and fifthly, the capacity to dazzle, that is to say, to edify, in the eloquent words of Sir Arthur Lewis, "the glory of architects and their supporting politicians", the sort of thing that is put up, so to speak, just for show. These and possibly many more are respectable objectives.

What we in Ghana have failed to do with our state enterprises is to identify these objectives, state them clearly and, for each state enterprise, rank them in an order of priority. In the absence of this being done an intelligent assessment of our state enterprises has been, and is, difficult. For, it does not really make much sense for one to criticise the Ghana Airways or Black Star Line for losing money when it can say confidently that it was set up primarily to carry the flag, however wretched the flag; and when, in fact, one cannot point to any clause in the instrument of its establishment that it has any obligation to make money.

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Structure and Performance

We now turn to examine the structure and performance of existing state enterprises. A few of the state enterprises were set up originally under the umbrella of the Industrial Development Corporation and the Agricultural Development Corporation. With the dissolution of these Corporations in 1962, the state enterprises were more or less on their own with some vague attachments to all kinds of Ministries. There has been only one clear relationship, which is, that the project execution of new enterprises lies with the Ministry of Industries.

The establishment of the State Enterprises Secretariat (S.E.S.) in 1964 indicated an attempt to formulate a clear structure for these enterprises. The Secretariat was intended for exercising general supervision over these enterprises, for ensuring "efficient and profitable" operation of these enterprises, and for catering for government's interest in joint enterprises.

By the end of 1966 all the dozen joint enterprises came under the S.E.S., but only 22 of the 54 all-state enterprises were directly under the Secretariat. The majority of them were assigned to various Ministries, six of which were still under construction and therefore with the Ministry of Industries. It is difficult to determine from the lists of enterprises assigned the criteria used to assign these enterprises to various supervising authorities. One general impression is that even those enterprises specifically assigned to the S.E.S. find ways and means of relieving themselves of S.E.S. supervision so that the purpose of the S.E.S. is being frustrated.

If we use profitability to judge the performance of the state enterprises, we find that for the period 1962-65 all but one of the joint enterprises were consistent profit makers. The only exception, the Ghana Bottling Company, has been a consistent money loser. Of 19 all-state enterprises under the S.E.S., for which figures are available, nine have been losing money consistently, five have changed from initial losses to sustained profits, and five have been consistent profit earners. If we use employment as a criterion of performance we find that 20 all-state enterprises employed a total labour force of 6,155 at the end of 1965 including 96 managers, 12 engineers and 25 accountants. It is worth noting that one enterprise, the Tyre Service Corporation, employed 50 workers for whom it had 31 managers and 11 accountants! Admittedly, these figures do not speak well of the performance of many enterprises, but it must be borne in mind that the figures obtained so far cannot be the sole indicator of the profitability or job-creation capacity of these enterprises.

They cover too short a period of time and an infant stage at that.

Muddled Thinking in State Enterprises

Indeed, most of the enterprises have suffered from genuine initial handicaps. These include the lack of clarity in their stated objectives, their muddled relationship with government, careless orientation to business, inadequate complementary resources of raw materials, working capital (overdrafts for working capital stood well over N¢50 million at the end of 1965) and expertise, perverse government policy with respect to import duties and sales taxes, and finally, sheer ineptitude and corruption.

It may be necessary to classify all the state enterprises to accord with specified objectives. We suggest that four objectives can be reasonably pursued within the context of state enterprise, namely, profitability, job creation, acquisition of control, and innovation. As we are in need—rather desperately—of a sensible policy on existing state enterprises, we must do the following. First, take each enterprise and consider if a *prima facie* case can be made for it to pursue any of these as a primary objective, subject to a specified limitation on the loss of money it must be allowed to sustain indefinitely. Those that cannot be thus classified must be sold or run down to extinction.

Suggested Remedial Steps

Secondly, each state enterprise must be provided with sufficient working capital; for profit-oriented industries, this must be provided at market rates of interest. For the others, even though working capital requirements may be subsidised, a market rate of interest should be used for accounting purposes to estimate the cost of borrowing to the enterprise. This will tend to increase cost-consciousness among managers who currently put into practice the queer notion that allocations to them from the government do not form part of the costs of running their enterprises. Thirdly, wage rates, must be set to differentiate between profit-oriented enterprises, where bonus incentives must operate, subject to specified limitations, and other enterprises not primarily oriented towards profit. Fourthly, the government must review its present commodity tax policy which appears to be geared towards accounting (government revenue) rather than economic considerations. Fifthly, and finally, the State Enterprises Secretariat—an unimaginative name—should be turned into a holding company with general supervisory powers over finance for which it must be responsible to the government. The details of management and operation should be left to each individual state enterprise.

These things may be difficult to do but they are not impossible. We have spent nearly a year in putting our debts on a somewhat rational basis, but the state enterprises, the physical embodiments of these debts, have been lying largely idle for more than a year with no sign of a policy emerging. We have not even been able to sell a single one of them completely yet. Unless we follow the steps outlined above, and do so early, we cannot sensibly expect to meet our debt obligations when they begin to fall due in 1969, nor can we expect to derive much benefit from our membership in the West African Economic Community. For we would not be ready to exploit fully the opportunities we have helped to create.

THE FUTURE OF THE MINERALS INDUSTRY IN GHANA

By

L. A. K. Quarshie

THE MINERAL resources of any country form the back-bone of the industrialization of that country. Therefore, it is important that the greatest attention should be paid to the mineral wealth of the country at all times.

Geologists classify the mineral wealth of the country into two main categories, namely: (1) the mineral prospects of the country and (2) the proven mineral reserves of the country. The mineral prospects of the country constitute the possible economic minerals that have been located by a rapid reconnaissance geological mapping of the country. The geological maps that are compiled during the reconnaissance phase of the survey indicate the geological structure of the country and the localities where minerals are supposed to be found. These preliminary maps do not necessarily tell the actual quantity of mineral reserves that are immediately available for mining. A reconnaissance map of this nature is considered as a land-register of all the geological observations in the areas concerned. These maps become guides to further detailed exploration work.

The second phase of minerals prospecting involves a very detailed mapping programme. All minerals that were located during the reconnaissance survey are prospected very closely by drilling to establish actual reserves available. The proven reserves then form the basis for feasibility studies. In Ghana, most of the mineral reserves that were proved by detailed exploration provided the basis for the establishment of the present mining companies in the country.

Russians and Geological Surveys

The Geological Survey of Ghana completed the reconnaissance phase of mapping of this

country in 1959, and the geological map was published in 1961 which showed the various localities where minerals of possible economic value were located. During the reconnaissance survey the Geological Survey Department discovered manganese, bauxite, diamond and many of the gold fields which are now being exploited in Ghana. In addition, a general hydrological survey of the rivers was conducted, and sources of potential hydro-electric power located.

The next phase of the geological work in Ghana was to find those minerals which did not easily reveal themselves on the surface. This work required much more specialized techniques and expensive equipment. The geological Survey, in 1961, began a detailed mapping programme of the whole country on a scale of 1 inch to about 1 mile. When the deposed government awarded a contract to the Soviet Union to render "technical assistance" in geological work, the terms of that contract did not take into consideration the fact that the reconnaissance survey of the country had already been completed by the Geological Survey of Ghana. It is hard to believe that the Ghana Government got value for the huge amount of money that was spent on this project. Since this mistake has already been committed, we should not waste any more time in apportioning blame; rather we should ensure that these blunders are not repeated.

Seven Year Development Plan

IT IS, however, important to know that the Seven-Year Development Plan which was drawn for the mining industries by Ghanaian experts equally had a lot of shortcomings. In chapter 3 of the plan it was hoped to increase the output of the leading minerals during the plan period as follows:

	% Increase 1969
Gold	16.4
Manganese	50.9
Bauxite	39.9
Diamond	50.3

The plan did not indicate how these increases could be achieved in seven years. However, the targets would not have been reached since no feasibility studies were conducted in 1962 by the Geological Survey, as the Director claimed in his letter to the *Daily Graphic* recently. Most of the figures which formed the basis for the targets in the Seven-Year Development Plan could be described as fictitious, for, even in 1967, the Geological Survey would find it very difficult to produce reliable figures to support their claims of 1962.

At present, there are very few non-marginal or economic mines in the country. Unfortunately,

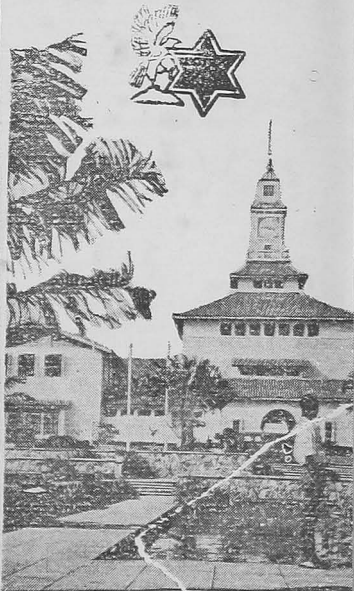
these economic mines do not have any long-term programme of detailed mineral prospecting to increase their ore reserves. For example, the Ashanti Goldfields Corporation has less than twenty years to go on their concession at Obuasi. It is therefore doubtful whether the Ashanti Goldfields Corporation has any long-term plan beyond the twenty-year period. It is suggested that the Government should take immediate steps to re-negotiate a new agreement with the Ashanti Goldfields Corporation which will grant them a new concession agreement beyond the twenty-year period in order to encourage the company to invest in long-term exploration for more ore reserves in the country; otherwise, the country will find herself in the same situation as in 1961, when the Government was compelled to buy the five gold mines which were virtually depleted of ore reserves at the time of the purchase.

Old Regime and the Mines

It might be mentioned in passing that if one studies the average stock market value of the five Gold Mines, three months before their purchase, it could be estimated that the Nkrumah Government paid about £1½ million too much for the mines. The present Government might investigate this allegation. It is also suggested that the Government should review the country's mineral concession laws and bring them up to modern standards for the mutual benefit of the contracting parties. Wherever possible, the Government should encourage private participation in the mineral industries of the country. The writer recalls that about five years ago, the Ashanti Goldfields Corporation asked for permission to prospect for certain minerals in the Winneba district. This proposal was turned down because at that time it was felt that the State Mining Corporation would be able to conduct this mineral exploration. Since the State Mining Corporation has not been able to carry out mineral exploration in the Winneba district, it is suggested that the Government consider re-opening negotiations with the Ashanti Goldfields Corporation. Also in 1962, the Consolidated African Selection Trust (C.A.S.T.) suggested that the State Diamond Corporation should participate in a joint exploration of the concession area previously owned by the Holland Syndicate. Since records show that the State Mining Corporation has been unable to mine diamonds from this concession in economic quantities, it will be advisable to re-consider this request from C.A.S.T.

It is understood that the African Manganese Corporation has very few areas of proven manganese reserves to mine at Nsuta in the Western Region. However, it is known that there is a large

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deposit of manganese carbonate in the mines of the Company. It is possible to use this manganese carbonate as a source of manganese ore provided some consideration would be given to the use of hydro-electric power for up-grading and for smelting the ore. The Government could open up negotiations with the African Manganese Company on this project. With the establishment of the VALCO Smelter at Tema, the Government should consider, as a matter of urgency, the possibility of utilizing the bauxite deposits in Ghana for the production of alumina for the Smelter at Tema. Since the project in itself is very expensive, it will be advisable to encourage private participation in this venture.

Oil Prospecting

It is estimated that some of the oil companies now operating in Nigeria spent as much as £80 million in exploration before oil was finally discovered in economic quantities in Nigeria. Owing to the present financial crisis facing Ghana, it would be wise for the Government to re-consider the oil exploration programme at Atiave near Keta. It is understood that the Rumanian Government has been given the contract to explore for oil in Ghana, and the Ghana Government is bearing the cost of these expensive exploration programmes. Millions of pounds may be spent before a single drop of oil is found, because as it is known in the oil industry, "only the drill can find the oil". Oil pools being found today are, in general, smaller and deeper than those discovered more than twenty-five years ago, in spite of improved scientific exploration techniques. Only one out of nine wells drilled in an unproved area is successful, and only one in fifty-three of such discoveries is in commercial quantities. The Government of Ghana may easily find herself spending millions of pounds and still not find enough oil to justify the expenditure. It is therefore suggested that the Government should immediately invite private tenders to explore for oil in Ghana.

Iron and Steel Industry

Iron well to abandon the idea of Ghana would do based on iron deposits establishing steel factories. There are countries at Shiene or on scrap metal. Gabon in West like Liberia, Sierra Leone and grade iron Africa which are producing very high ore for the international market. For example, the Bong Mining Company of Liberia is now producing three million metric tons of iron ore per annum. The iron content of this ore is above 69% and the proved ore reserve of this Mining Company alone is approximately three hundred million metric tons. The total Liberian production in 1965 was about 15 million tons compared to

13 million tons in 1964, and this figure is expected to rise to 17 million tons this year. In Gabon, the Mekambo Company will be producing at the rate of 5 million tons annually by 1972 which will later be extended to 10 million tons a year. The iron content of this ore is also above 69%.

There is no iron deposit discovered in Ghana which has iron content above 45%. Also the biggest proved reserve of this low grade ore is 100 million tons at Shiene. The Pudo iron deposit which was proposed for a steel plant at Gambaga by the Director of Geological Survey during the Seven-Year Development Plan, it is understood, contains between four to six million tons of proved reserve. According to the most recent bulletin of the Geological Survey "Bulletin No. 42", the analysis of this deposit does not indicate that the Pudo iron could be classified as an ore of economic grade. In fact, it is not even classified under iron deposits by the Survey. It is therefore unfortunate that the Director of the Survey gave the impression that a steel plant could be established at Gambaga based on a low grade ore of six million tons. When one considers that the LAMCO Imports Company of Liberia is shipping between 8 and 9 million tons of iron ore annually, the Ghana Project looks very ridiculous. The factory at Tema should give a very serious consideration to importing iron ore from neighbouring West African countries rather than base their operations on the low grade deposits in Ghana.

Record in Ghana's Department of Geological Survey

The record of the Geological Survey of Ghana for the past seven years has been very discouraging. In an attempt to do everything at the same time, the department has tended to stretch its resources and capabilities. Thus, the apparently vigorous efforts of the department to improve the mineral reserves of the country has resulted in stagnation. Mineral valuation as undertaken by the Geological Survey does not properly belong to the department. This work could be carried out more efficiently by private companies.

Mineral Processing Laboratory

The recent decision of the Government to establish a mineral processing laboratory in the mines department at Takoradi is a step in the right direction, but the correct siting for this laboratory should be at Tarkwa. In many industrialised countries the mines departments, apart from supervising and issuing licences to mining companies, are also responsible for conducting METALLURGICAL research on ore-extraction problems in the mines. It is therefore, that with the establishment of a mineral

processing laboratory, the department would rapidly expand its facilities to conduct beneficiation studies on the low grade ore deposits in the country. It is expected, also, that the Geological Survey and the Mines Department will be able to co-ordinate their work to avoid unnecessary competition and waste.

The Director and Geology Graduates

The turn-over of professional men in the department has been very alarming, and it is suggested that investigation should be conducted to find out the reasons of this appalling situation. For example, it is known that many Ghanaian Geologists, for one reason or another, have had to leave the department. Many expatriates also have left because they find it very difficult to work under the present conditions in the department. The result of this resignation is that the department has not been able to operate at maximum efficiency for a long time.

As has already been said, progress in the mineral industry very much depends on "adequate supply of suitably educated and trained manpower". Geology as a profession is either unknown or unpopular to many Ghanaians. It is hoped therefore that the present Government and any government in future would give serious and immediate consideration to the training of people in the mineral industry. Geology as a subject may be introduced into the General Science curriculum of Secondary Schools, so as to give students the opportunity to acquaint themselves with the subject. There should be close co-operation between the Geology Department of the University of Ghana, the Tarkwa School of Mines, the Geological Survey Department and the Mines Department in the training of manpower.

It is known that many Ghanaian geologists have found it very unpleasant after graduating to work in the Geological Survey Department of Ghana. They leave the department because they are very dissatisfied with the way the present Director is running the affairs of the department.

WHEN TO CHANGE THE OIL

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Observer Notebook

The Nigerian Crisis

EVER SINCE the 1951 Constitution, Nigeria has gone through a number of constitutional crises; but the current one is certainly the most acute. Though some Nigerian intellectuals have endeavoured to prove that federalism was imposed on the country by the British, yet, this indeed is not borne out by the facts. The important fact is that the Nigerian society is in itself federal. The measure of unity that still exists is directly dependent upon the fact that the country's constitution has been made to reflect this social reality. However, with the establishment of a federal authority and common territorial boundaries, the framework within which elements of cohesion could be developed, was provided. Freedom of movement, both of men and of resources, provided avenues for national and social integration. It appears now that this freedom is rapidly diminishing especially in regard to the relationship between the East and the North. The former shaky political alliance between the East and the North has finally broken down on this fundamental conflict between North and South.

What appeared after July last year to be a direct confrontation between the East and the Federation, now tends to indicate a resurgence of the former "cold war" between the South (Western, Mid-Western and Eastern Regions) and the North. Nothing proves this more clearly than the fact that some eminent men from the South have not only shown an anxiety in coming to terms with the East, but also a readiness (partly explained by the presence of Northern troops in the West) to sympathise with the Eastern standpoint. The North's fear of economic and social domination by the South and the South's equal apprehension of political domination by the North are now gradually being revived. In the North there is still the need to pacify the middle-belt area which has intermittently and yet persistently shown signs of uneasiness in its incorporation with the other parts of the North.

While it would be presumptuous for an outsider to provide solutions for Nigeria, it appears to most that the solution lies in equalising political power at the federal level. This calls for the creation of another region (the much talked about middle-belt region) to serve as a buffer between the present South and the future North, while maintaining a loose federation, not confederation. The North may retort that it needs political power to redress the social and economic balance; but it must be borne in mind that the survival of

Nigeria transcends the importance of present power. It is only hoped that starting with such a loose federation with political power equalised, Nigeria will eventually follow the natural evolution of most federal states by imperceptibly and yet realistically strengthening the hand of the federal government. But in the final analysis, the solution lies with Nigerians themselves.

Prof. Reddaway and the Economic Committee

IT IS really heartening that Prof. W. B. Reddaway a Cambridge economist, has been appointed one of the advisers to the Ghana Government on economic affairs. Prof. Reddaway is welcome; he comes from a University with an enviable tradition of sound economics—a tradition which goes back to such famous people as Marshall, Pigou and Keynes. Secondly, Prof. Reddaway has written a brilliant tome on the Indian economy. This means he is conversant with the economy of what is now fashionably called the developing world, or what the French aptly call the *Tiers Monde*—the Third World.

The Economic Committee may be doing a good job, but some freshness is needed in tackling our economic problems. The ideas of some of the members of the Economic Committee have become stale; moreover most of them have for too long been advising on economic matters, and not always with happy results. If only for this reason we need some freshness of approach. It is hoped the Economic Committee will not make the work of Prof. Reddaway difficult. Indeed, he must be given all necessary help; for, the national interest, at least, demands that.

"Volunteers to America" and the Ministry of Education

IT IS about time we approached some of our national problems with clarity of thought. Clarity of thought is most needed, especially, in education. However, it is unfortunately in education that one sees the most inconsistent and bizarre policies being pursued.

On the 25 April 1967, the Principal Secretary of the Ministry of Education sent a circular to all Heads of Secondary Schools and Training Colleges asking them to interest the teachers on their staff in a United States Government Pilot Programme, called "Volunteers to America Programme". This Programme is, according to the circular, supposed to be "a counterpart to the United States Peace Corps". "Under this programme, Ghanaians who have special knowledge in African History, Geography, Music and Art, will be recruited as volunteers to teach in secondary

schools for a period of two years". These volunteers are expected, in case the Programme is approved by the N.L.C., to begin their tour of the United States by July, 1967. The volunteers will be paid a living allowance by the local school community to which they will be attached. The allowance, it is hoped, will be at a level to allow the volunteers to maintain themselves modestly. It is, however, not clear as to whether the Ghanaian volunteers will be on leave of absence with pay!

The N.L.C. has set up an Education Review Committee, whose report we are still awaiting. Even though the report is not yet out, to all those who have had anything at all to do with education it is quite obvious that the greatest problem facing education in this country is the acute shortage of qualified Ghanaian teachers in the secondary schools and training colleges. The problem is so acute that our educationists have been touring Western nations to recruit teachers for our secondary schools and training colleges. It is mostly as a result of such tours coupled with Ghana Government efforts that we have Peace Corps (American) and V.S.O. (British) young teachers—mostly between 21 years and 24 years—teaching in schools and colleges in remote areas of the country.

To say the least, it is absurd that, at this time when we are in a dire need of teachers at all levels, we should be sponsoring a project which is most likely to drain the best teachers we have in our schools and colleges. We must remember that America would not go in for second rate teachers. America may be launching this project from the best of motives, but can we afford such an exchange? If we are imitating the Peace Corps and the V.S.O., then we have to remember that America and Britain have teachers, and enough to spare. Moreover, British and American teachers sacrifice a lot in coming to Africa—high cost of living in Africa, uprootedness, the need on their part to learn the African way of life before teaching well, the need for the countries sending the teachers to "top up" the salaries of their volunteers. Every effort must be made to ensure that Ghanaians teach Ghanaians. Expatriates have done their best. It is about time the Ministry of Education were told to do some reflecting imitation. On patriotic grounds, and in the name of sanity, the N.L.C. should reject this programme.

State Electronics Products Corporation

FOLLOWING OUR note on the State Electronics Products Corporation (L.O. II, 7; 31/3/67), we have received communications in which some readers believe that our facts about the S.E.P.C.

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SALARY SCALE: £1,360 x 60 — £1,780 x 90 — £2,320; £2,400 per annum. (non-taxable inducement allowance of £240 per annum for expatriates).

Appointment normally four or six years in the first instance but a shorter period of secondment will be considered.

Further particulars and forms of application should be obtained from the Assistant Registrar, University of Ghana Office, 15 Gordon Square, London, W.C.1, or the Registrar, University of Ghana, P.O. Box 25, Legon, Accra, Ghana, with whom applications (six copies) should be lodged not later than 30th May, 1967

are wrong and our assessment of it therefore misleading. One very important reader, in a letter (not meant for publication), has urged us to check our source; for, says he, his information is that far from making profits as we believe, the S.E.P.C. is in fact making losses at such an alarming rate that the Government have been negotiating with the Pan Electric Company, a well-known private foreign concern, to take it over. The entry in the *Legon Observer* is therefore seen as part of a campaign by some unnamed person(s) to foil this take-over.

We have checked our original sources again, and have talked to officials of the State Enterprises Secretariat and the Ministries of Economic Affairs, Trade, and Finance, and are satisfied that our information is correct: the S.E.P.C. is a profit-making state enterprise, and has a promising future. For example, the *Government Report on the Administration and Operation of State Enterprises under the Work Schedule of the State Enterprises Secretariat for the Period 1964-65* states, on page 38: "The Corporation (i.e. the S.E.P.C.) which began operation in September 1964 made a total profit of £44,651 by the end of December 1965. Although the accounts for 1966 are not ready for auditing it is expected that the results will be better". This is the consensus of all the officials interviewed. How the contrary view came to be held by any knowledgeable or responsible person is a mystery.

We have reason to believe that there is a concerted and active campaign calculated to denigrate and discredit the S.E.P.C. in order to persuade our Government to sell it. For, the electronics industry everywhere is a very profitable one, the demand for its products being almost insatiable: nearly every home uses its products in the form of transistor radios, telephones, batteries, or the like; nearly every industry uses some electronic products or electrical appliances; and the government and its organs (such as the Police, the Telecommunications departments, and the Military Forces) consume large quantities of electronic products. It is obvious then that whoever controls this industry is guaranteed large profits, besides being in a very strategic position. Now, it appears that some private foreign business

interests would like to enter this industry, and have submitted proposals to the Government to this effect. The apparent plan is to take over or gain control of the existing state electronics industry which is already doing well, and thus gain a strong, monopolistic position in the industry, or, failing that, to alter its sources of supply to its favour. Whether this campaign against the S.E.P.C. is by these interests or their agents is not clear, but it would appear that some interested parties are not sparing any effort to manipulate influence in their favour, and simultaneously to malign and threaten dire consequences to public servants connected with the project who are known to be opposed to the take-over bids.

To the best of our knowledge, the S.E.P.C. is not included in the 19 or so state enterprises which are either to be sold to private enterprise or to be run jointly by the State and private enterprise. This must be either because it has proved profitable—for which there is evidence—and the state believes it can continue to run it at a profit, or because, for strategic or other reasons, the Government believes it ought to be retained in the state sector. Whatever the reason(s), the S.E.P.C. was established as a basis for a national electronics industry. That objective still holds. And, according to official (i.e. Government) sources, the S.E.P.C. has so far had a good record and shows much promise. There are no evident compelling reasons why we should wash our hands off an enterprise of such strategic importance which is not losing money—an enterprise which, on the contrary, is performing so well, and whose programme can save the country so much in foreign currency.

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Letters

The Editor welcomes correspondence but reserves the right to use extracts as space allows. Letters should not exceed 400 words (i.e. one page quarto), and should be type-written, double-spaced, and submitted in duplicate, including the original. All letters should be exclusive to the LEGON OBSERVER

The Counter-Coup Attempt

SIR—Prior to the abortive coup of April 17 we had every reason to believe the impenetrability of our security system—thanks largely to numerous official claims that everything was well under control. However, the sad episode of April 17, culminating in the tragic death of Lt.-Gen. Kotoka, has cast a shadow of doubt over the efficiency of the nation's security arrangements.

Several questions spring to the mind when we ponder over the abortive coup: How on earth can a handful of soldiers be allowed to capture with such ease an army headquarters and murder the head of the Armed Forces himself? What explanation have the senior army officers stationed in the capital got to offer for their inability to resist the insurgents or their delay in doing so? Is this to be construed as a sign of ineptitude or an appalling display of cowardice?

While the nation impatiently awaits convincing answers to these puzzling questions, the N.L.C. must vigorously reappraise our security and defence network. At the moment the prestige of the Army seems badly damaged, and only an impartial investigation into the counter-coup and swift and stiff punishment to all those involved, no matter what their position, will somehow restore it.

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K. A. Sasu

The Crime Wave, the Drowsy Cops, and Public Safety

SIR—Our Policemen are in the picture again and this time it is about an ammunition dump, situated at no other place than the James Town Police Station, being raided by thieves during the night. The thieves made off with various deadly weapons unnoticed—in fact the whole show was not discovered till the following morning (April 24th).

If defenceless citizens and foreigners realize that thieves can break in anywhere including Police Stations, steal ammunitions, and go unnoticed, how can they feel safe?

It will not be strange, in the present situation where the crime wave is at its peak, to answer a knock in the middle of the night and find yourself face-to-face with a Ghanaian desperado with a fully-loaded pistol in hand, grinning menacingly into your face.

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James Don Croffie

The Debate on the Return to Civilian Rule

SIR—The Ghanaian Times editorial of April 5, 1967, calls Dr. Busia mad and foolish for the views he holds on the return to civilian rule. It further gives the impression that Dr. Busia is a "utopian politician" who

has lost the right to express his views on political issues in his native country because he "ran away from the wrath of Nkrumah".

This is rather unfortunate because it constitutes a high-handed denial of the freedom the N.L.C. has restored to this country. By all means, let us disagree when necessary; but let us not heap abuses and insults on those we disagree with. Insults do not make our own arguments any stronger: they only go to discredit individuals beyond repair in the minds of the illiterate majority. Nkrumah used this tactics in wrecking his political opponents. It is high time Ghanaian journalists put a stop to this despicable practice. I myself disagree with Dr. Busia on his view on the timing of the return to civilian rule; but I do not consider that I have the licence to call him mad, foolish and utopian on that account.

It is also annoying to hear of people talking about others having run away "from the wrath of Nkrumah" because it sounds as if those who remained behind were able to contain the excesses of the fallen "Messiah".

P.O. Box 441,
Sekondi.

T. O. A. Onifade

SIR—The Ghanaian Times editorial of April 10, 1967 under the flamboyant title, "The Times and Dr. Busia", is interesting for its presumptuousness. While it was relieving to find that the editor had gained the good sense to apologize for his unwarranted attacks on Dr. Busia, it was equally surprising that in the same breath he arbitrarily decided to end the debate on the issue of civilian rule, just when people were getting ready to reply to the editorials of April 3rd and 5th.

People's views on issues often tend to be coloured by their own prejudices and biases; and opinions are bound to differ on Busia's views. But it is puzzling that the Times editor, who ought to possess some training in journalistic etiquette, should choose such crude, reprehensible language to express his disagreement, and fail to discuss this important public issue in the detached, sober and objective manner that the public should expect from an experienced journalist like that editor. Indeed, one gets the impression that the editor had long been waiting for just this opportunity to unburden himself of some deep grudge he has always nursed against Dr. Busia. Otherwise, why state so irrelevantly that he ran away "from the wrath of Kwame Nkrumah", when, in fact, he only left Ghana when Ghanaians (including the editor), bewitched by the demagogue, Kwame Nkrumah, had already turned deaf ears to Busia, Danquah and others? And is Dr. Busia a "mad, foolish dangerous politician... desperate for power" simply because he has come back to Ghana?

Akufo Hall
University of Ghana
Legon.

Harun B. Yusif

Uncontrolled Pricing

SIR—Traders now control the market so much that they have now become quite haphazard and careless about the price tags they stick to the goods in the shops, just so long as the prices they display are high.

Two weeks ago I was studying the prices of tape recorders with a view to buying one. I saw 2 Grundig tape recorders at U.T.C., model TK 120. The two were exactly the same in all respects—which is what you

would expect if they are the same model—except the price: one was NC161.15, the other NC208.15 The sales staff were sure it was not a mistake, and yet they could not explain the difference. No doubt by now they have selected the higher price for standardization.

Accra New Town.

E. Attaku

Higher Salaries for Members of the Judiciary

SIR—Your political correspondent writing on "Fundamental Rights" in the *Legon Observer* (3 March 1967) advocated, inter alia, that "a Judge of the Supreme Court should be paid considerably higher than a Principal Secretary, and that the salary of the Chief Justice should be much higher than that of the Head of the Civil Service". Your correspondent implies that, given these higher salaries, corruption will automatically be stamped out in the judiciary in Ghana.

Your argument is faulty on two points. First, it is a fallacy to think that higher incomes necessarily arrest the spread of bribery and corruption in society. Nkrumah's ministers received fantastic salaries and yet, as a group, they were the most corrupt people you could think of.

Secondly, if we accept, for the sake of argument, that higher salaries necessarily stamp out corruption then higher salaries should of necessity be paid to everybody in Ghana. For not only do we need to stamp out bribery and corruption within the judiciary we need to sweep it out of the entire fabric of the Ghanaian society.

If the judiciary in Ghana are poorly paid relative to other sections of the community then their salaries need to be adjusted: The important point that should be emphasized is that the work of the judiciary, like the work of medical doctors, nurses, teachers, etc., is essentially vocational. The discharge of official duties by people in these categories (i.e. the dispensing of justice in the case of the judiciary) should not, in my opinion, be made a function of their earnings.

This is not to argue that they should be made to live in pittance.

185, Hither Green Lane
London, S. E. 13, U.K.

S. K. O. Banin

Import Licensing and St. John's

SIR—I have noted with considerable dismay the reactions of certain of your readers, namely, Mr. A. B. B. Kofi, Ghana Ambassador to the United States, and Mr. Harry J. Smith, Jnr. President of *St. John International Inc.*, to a section of my article which appeared in your issue of March 3, 1967.

In the letters of these two gentlemen published in your issues of April 28 and April 14 respectively, purporting to belie my observations in the article referred to above, certain insinuations and aspersions were cast on my integrity and knowledge of the facts of the situation. These insinuations and aspersions I would ignore with the contempt they so amply deserve.

Ambassador Kofi raises seven points in his letter which I will deal with one by one.

(i) Ambassador Kofi takes objection to my view of the possible role which a Ghanaian company could have played in the PL. 480 Programme. I have studied the rules and regulations he referred to and I do not accept his interpretation of them.

(ii) The Ambassador challenges my assessment of the credentials of those chosen as agents to the Ghana Government in the Programme. I maintain that that

agent is not known on the American Commodity Market and this I stand by. The American company which the Ambassador wrote about, judging from the Ambassador's own letter, is no more than a shipping agent.

(iii) With regard to my observation as to the suspicion surrounding the selection of the agent referred to above, I neither need to defend nor re-assert my opinion in this matter. The Ambassador is entitled to his opinion.

(iv) As for the procedure adopted by the Ghana Embassy in relation to tenders, I do not know what the Ambassador and Mr. Smith mean by "normal commercial practice here", but let them know that it is not the normal practice anywhere to give 8 days notice (17th June to 24th June) for such tenders. There is documentary evidence for this.

(v) As regards the wrong type of soya beans sent to Ghana, it will be noted that I did not say Ambassador Kofi knew about it. His knowledge or ignorance of that fact is no concern of mine. I said I know of an instance when wrong soya beans were sent and I stand by that.

(vi) In relation to who pays the agent I do concede that the Ghana Government does not pay the agent directly, but the Ghana Government pays the shipping line which in turn pays commission to the agent of the Ghana Government.

(vii) With regard to the wrong type of rice which was sent to Ghana, since both the Ambassador and Mr. Smith do not dispute it I will restate my previous statement here.

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Film

NO TEARS FOR ANANSE

(Produced and Directed for the Ghana Film Industry Corporation by Sam Ayeetey)

Review By
Morre Bossman

IT WAS not surprising that our Ghanaian audiences thoroughly enjoyed this film—which only goes to support the notion that in order to serve its purpose of communication, all art must have its basis in the 'roots of the people'. Here was our own well-known irrepressible *Kweku Ananse*; and who should be playing the part but good old David Longdon, with other roles played by Lily Nketia, Middleton Mends, Ernest Abbeyquate—all with thoroughly familiar looks. It was good to see them capering about the screen; and whoever thought of bringing in the lugubrious Bob Cole must have been well aware of that extra effect of hilarity. The acting was on the whole not bad at all; the sequences were coherent; the photography was adequate. There was drumming and dancing (*Ananse's* funeral) and village crowds all with a thoroughly familiar look. The music of Kobina Nketia is by now well-known and loved; this and other sound effects were easily recognizable. Besides all this there is a reasonably justified sense of pride in this national accomplishment—the first all-Ghanaian full-length feature film.

The venture, however, deserves considerably more than this phlegmatic, 'domestic' approach, if, on the one hand, we are to improve upon the standards set by this effort; and, on the other, we are to utilize this peculiarly and uniquely Ghanaian 'commodity'—the *Anansesem*—to its fullest promise. The possibilities are open, both for ourselves, to preserve our cultural heritage, and also to exploit the undoubtable commercial potentialities.

As children many of us were thrilled to the cunning escapades of *Ananse*; but now how many of our children enjoy the same thrills in terms of opportunity and intensity? The aunties and grannies who spun out the stories, drawing them out in unending silken lengths with songs, riddles and crafty deviations no longer seem to have the same inclinations, the patience, nor the time for that matter. The appropriate background is gone: somehow *Ananse's* exploits do not sound quite the same in the expertly lit 'Estate' sitting room with its deep arm-chairs and soft carpets, the wireless in one corner and the T.V. in another as on a dampish veranda with flickering lights and

figures huddled on kitchen stools, shivering deliciously.

Yet the magic is still there; for fairy tales and folk tales are universal and eternal. What remains is the transplanting into our modern context where our children have thousands of other distractions and seem hardly able to sit at one spot long enough. This suggests the question of techniques and modern media which however bring their own difficulties. The African medium was always oral; moreover, it was our local languages which with their linguistic nuances, subtleties and rhythms were able to bring out the full potential of the tale in effects of joy, horror, tragedy, comedy, etc., making them graphic enough for the delicious shivers!

It is heartbreaking that all this is drastically reduced in translation from the vernaculars. How many *Ananse* stories having been written down, have not fallen flat on our ears? How many paintings and sculptures have not turned out shallow and inane? It would seem our lack of knowledge and familiarity with modern techniques contribute to the detriment of our efforts to translate or transpose. Where the metropolitan countries have had the advantage of having developed their own techniques and so been able to adapt them at different stages of their development for effective translation of their own myths and legends, we are at once fortunate and unfortunate in having the highly advanced techniques at our disposal but with the difficulties of their utilization both in terms of application and selection.

While making allowances for these difficulties, one cannot overlook the boring spalls due partly to implausibility in effect, and partly to inability to sound as funny as was intended. In the opening scene for example, the sight of *Ananse* in the form of a perfectly healthy and normal young man as portrayed by David Longdon, trying to climb a tree with the gourd of wisdom hanging over his stomach was not really funny. It is true we laughed, but I am sure it was more at the sight of dear old David making an ass of himself rather than because the scene was convincingly funny. What would be the reaction of a foreign audience at such a scene, one wonders. The sight of *Kweku* dying a patently faked death, was also neither convincing nor funny. One was led to some impatience and some embarrassment as well. Were we thought to be so gullible? The scene of *Ananse's* 'burial' too can be put in the same category, as well as other sequences; and finally the tussle with the glue figure. This scene which should have been the tragic-comic climax of the entire show fell quite flat, petering off rather uncertainly: it was

evident that the figure on the screen was not actually holding Kweku fast as we were expected to believe. Here too there were many laughs. I suspect, mainly because of David launching into his relays of local and foreign languages. But again one wonders what the effect would have been on an audience with no idea of the peculiarities of our local vernaculars. Yet part of the potential of the *Anansem* as a commodity is its export value.

These criticisms are not meant as objections to the structure of the *Anansem* itself; far from it! They are meant to indicate how *Anansem* is depreciated in translation and thereby to open the way to a more creative approach. The screen-play for this film was based on Joe de Graft's stage play of the same tale. The play was performed in the heydays of 'the 'experimental' Drama Studio very stagily with a lot of heroic poses and clever lighting. The main support of the play was the poetry into which it had been transposed, fortified by the drumming effects; (QUOTES ?) the whole show becoming one long poetic effect.

Unfortunately the screen-play did not seem to know quite what it was about. There were some attempts at snatches of poetry which then quickly faded away. Yet the venture could clearly not be entirely supported on a realistic, prosaic portrayal. Even the funeral scenes of drumming and dancing were too patently superimposed and one could actually identify the various groups who were obviously dancing for show, and not 'at a funeral'!

The fact is that the *Anansem* is a mixture of realism, farce and fantasy, with some poetry thrown in for good measure. Any translation or interpretation must therefore know how to effect these severally as they occur. In the tree-climbing scene, for example, was it necessary to be so realistic? Wouldn't some trick photography, or perhaps some other 'fantasy effect' translation have been more effective? One here calls to mind the creations of film directors like Fellini, producers like Walt Disney, and the early Charles Chaplin—and their use of differing techniques to create illusion and fantasy. These techniques are worth studying. Fellini relies most on 'effect photography' to create his images of fantasy and illusion. Disney went right down to discovering the animated cartoon; and Chaplin relied on the meticulous character study of the great clown. Again there is the blandly obvious, clowning style called 'slap-stick' largely favoured by the British. In our *Anansem* film a point which was completely lost was Kweku's greed. He faked death so as to eat up the whole farm. After Kweku had been portrayed as a perfectly normal 'kooble' who liked to get drunk and hated to work, what

plausibility was there for the monumental deception? And as though to make matters worse we are shown Kweku charing away to prepare his meals, when Okonore could have saved him all that nuisance had he only chosen to stay on in the realms of the living! I believe some more thoughtful characterization or, alternately, some fantasy effects would have been more acceptable. Then there is the possible approach from the animated cartoon angle or even the slap-stick.

We have much to gain from the *Anansem*. It is something which is our very own and nobody else's. Should we not make the most of it and take pride in doing it? There is the question of preserving our cultural heritage on the one hand and on the other, there are the commercial potentialities—books, films for T.V. and cinema, etc. Just imagine how our children would relish a T.V. series of *Anansem* cartoons! Or for that matter how America would lap them up (Dollars!) True we have enjoyed this film; and the film makers deserve full credit for even undertaking it, for film making is a highly complex and difficult affair, and more so with our lack of experience and facilities. However, let us not congratulate ourselves too much at this point. There are too many possibilities to be exploited by our artists, writers, photographers and technicians.

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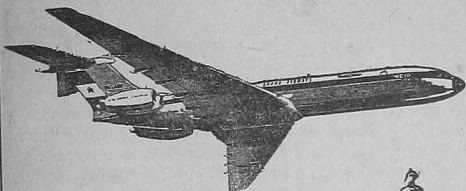
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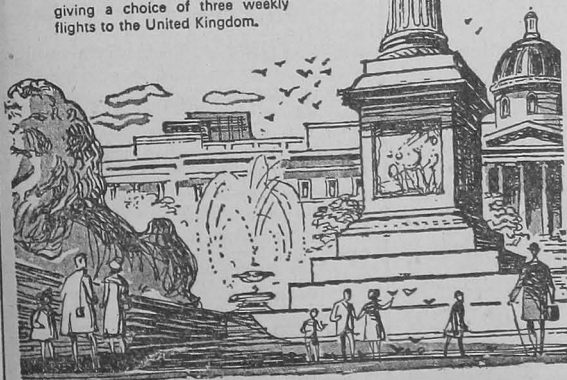
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IN MEMORIAM

KOFI ADUMUAH BOSSMAN

By G. K. A. Ofosu-Amaah

WITH the tragic death of Kofi Adumuah Bossman on April 16, 1967, Ghana has lost a distinguished lawyer, a respected Judge and a man who had devoted his mature life to public service.

Kofi Adumuah Bossman was born on March 27, 1904, and educated in Accra, Bury, St. Edmund's and King's college, London, where he took his LL.B. in 1928. He was called to the Bar in the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn in 1928, and returned to the Gold Coast to practise in early 1929. For the next 27 years, he had a wide and extensive practice before the courts in all parts of the country. Those who knew him and worked with him in this active phase of his life, attest to his sound knowledge of the law, his mastery of technical details, his friendliness and professional integrity and above all, the willingness with which he handled, for token fees, the cases of indigent litigants. He became, and remained for a long time, the Secretary of the Bar Association and was a member of the Rules Committee of the Supreme Court.

He was elevated to the High Court Bench in 1956 and soon became renowned for the thoroughness and erudition of his judgements, if sometimes delivered belatedly. He was made a Justice of Appeal in the then Supreme Court of Ghana in 1961, where as a tower of judicial strength he continued his practice of lengthy and thorough exposition of the law only to be cut short in full career by his arbitrary removal from the Bench in 1964. The ostensible reason for his removal was the presidential dissatisfaction with the acquittals in the first treason trial. Since Mr. Justice Bossman was not a member of the tribunal which tried that case, it has never been explained why he was removed from the Bench. He bore this reverse with fortitude and after the revolution of the 24th February, he gladly offered his experience to the National Liberation Council. At his death he was Chairman of the National Investment Bank, Chairman of the Chieftaincy Secretariat, Chairman of the Legal Committee of the National Liberation Council and a member of the Constitutional Commission. He entered into this phase of activity with his usual vigour and enthusiasm and must have contributed a great deal to the success of those bodies.

Kofi Adumuah Bossman was a buff for physical fitness and his amplitude for exercise, including his early morning cross-

country run lately transformed into a brisk walk, was well-known. As an athlete himself, he was prominent in sporting circles in the 1930s. Like many other professional men of his time, he dabbled in the politics of the Accra Municipal Council as a matter of public service and was elected to the Council on a number of occasions. He seemed to have lost interest in political matters in the early 50s when politics in Ghana became a search for power, wealth and influence especially for those who, in their lives, have achieved nothing of note. He was very prominent in the social life of Accra, a pillar of affection and activity in several clubs and societies.

It is fitting to remember Kofi Adumuah Bossman, principally, for the social productiveness of his life in view of our past and recent **malaise** to his profession, and to his public life he brought us, as Mr. Justice Ollennu said a few days ago, "honesty, integrity, sincerity and respectability". To those who were younger and less experienced than himself, he was always approachable, never pompous, uppish and very much interested in hearing what they thought of various matters. He genuinely wanted to hear the opinions of the young. The present writer remembers vividly the last extended conversation he had with him: Mr. Bossman had just then come back from a tour of Northern Ghana on behalf of the Constitutional Commission. Asked whether the whole exercise was worthwhile in the present political vacuum, and in particular what he thought they could learn from the views of those in Northern Ghana, he replied that the whole exercise was meaningful if only because political participation in these matters at all levels was crucial. He lamented the disastrous failure of our local authorities based on the very English idea that there existed in Ghana, Kofi Mensahs, devoted to public service, who would place their time, knowledge, and experience at the disposal of their community, without personal benefit in order to develop their areas. He was gravely concerned about what should be put in the place of the present system to ensure professionalism and efficiency as well as the participation of local personalities. One would have liked to hear more of what he thought of such matters, but alas, Kofi Adumuah Bossman has gone from us forever.

Commentary

THE ARMY CHANGES

By Kontopiaat

LIKE many Ghanaians, I have hitherto been very much opposed to joining any form of martial organisation, in particular the army and the police. The furthest I have gone so far is the Boy Scouts Movement, which, as all impartial observers will agree, is non-military, unlike say the hideous Young Pioneers Organisation. However, I am now beginning seriously to change my attitude to the army in view of recent trends in Africa, and I am even now regretting not having joined the Army. The conviction is fast growing.

First it has become absolutely clear now that the only sure way of getting rid of a one-party dictatorship is an army-coup, and had I joined the Army when I left the secondary school more than fifteen years ago, repeat fifteen years ago—whether you like it or not—I would today be the chairman of the N.L.C. Indeed I am sure I would have staged the coup much earlier. My star tells me so now, though unfortunately like all good forecasters, it did not tell me so at the really material time.

Moreover, should an army man miss the first boat, he can always join it or even take it over himself by organising a counter-coup of his own. But rather fortunately, it is clear from the Nigerian, Ghana and Congo experience that in Africa, counter-coups are not so easily pulled off. So probably I would not try it. And I will strongly advise my more fortunate commissioned men to resist the temptation, especially when the military regime is still popular and is generally believed to be doing a good job, and when the leaders of the original coups are still national heroes

But what have really led to this painful reappraisal of my attitude towards the army are

the recent changes in the Ghana and the Sierra Leone armies. It seems quite clear from these changes and indeed from the not too distant ones too that once you get to the top in the army, if you should be deemed or even be proved to be incompetent or cowardly, you are not sacked or merely retired but you are actually booted upwards.

Since the dictum that charity begins at home has never really appealed to me because of the many serious difficult philosophical problems it raises, I would like to illustrate my contention first from the outside, and the Sierra Leonean experience comes in really handy here. What happened there first to Genda and is likely to happen now to Colonel Bangura? Genda on being removed from the army was immediately promoted to join the Diplomatic Service and posted to the United States, and it has just been announced that "Colonel Bangura has been retired from the army with full pension and will be sent abroad on special duties." And now here in Ghana Major-General Bruce and Rear-Admiral Hansen are also to go to London and Washington respectively as military advisers.

You see, my ambition has always been to end my career in the diplomatic service, especially since I missed it at the beginning. I know I can become an Ambassador if I join politics and get either too clever and powerful or too dotty. But I loathe politics. The other avenue is the Civil Service but it is too late for me to join the Service. Unfortunately, in my present profession if one grows dotty, or even is deemed to have done so, I don't think one is ever going to be posted to London or Washington as a consequence. At least there has been no precedent yet, and the chances are pretty slim. You do understand then, don't you, why I am really regretting not joining the army over fifteen years ago, and why I would like to do so now?

News Summary

(By Courtesy of the Ghana Broadcasting Corporation)
30/4/67

Military Tribunal sits on November Plot

THE trial by a Military Tribunal of four persons charged with conspiracy to commit subversion, and subversion, began at the Burma Camp. The four—Sampson Sasu Baffour Awuah, John Osei Poku, Lt. A. Owusu Gyimah, and Kofi Owusu—all pleaded not guilty.

Ammunition Depot burgled

AN ammunition depot situated at the James Town Police Station was broken into by a gang of robbers who made away with a quantity of arms and ammunition. Two police constables who were on duty at the charge office near the depot when the burglary took place have been placed in custody on the orders of the Inspector General of Police, Mr. J. W. K. Harlley.
7/5/67

Kotoka Trust

LT.-GEN. J. A. Ankrah has launched a national trust in memory and honour of Lt.-Gen. E. K. Kotoka, killed in the insurrection of April 17. The trust will be used, among other things, for the erection of a statue of Kotoka in full military uniform at the spot where he fell; the erection of a house in his home town; and the education of his children and those of the three others—Capt. Aveyor, Capt. Borkloe and Sgt. Osei Grunshie—who were also killed in the insurrection. In addition the Accra International Airport, and an Army Barracks, will be named after the late General.

Changes in the Ghana Armed Forces

MAJOR-GENERAL C. C. Bruce, Officer Commanding the Ghana Army and Rear-Admiral D. A. Hansen, Commander of the Ghana Navy have been appointed Defence Advisers to the Ghana Missions in London and Washington. Maj.-Gen. A. K. Ocran has been appointed Commander of the Ghana Army, and Brigadier D. C. K. Amenu, Chief of Staff. Col. A. A. Kattah becomes Commander of the 1st Infantry Brigade Group in place of Brigadier A. A. Crabbe who has been posted to the Central Region as Chairman of the Regional Committee of Administration. Col. J. T. Addy has been appointed Commander of the 2nd Infantry Brigade Group.

Conference on West African Regional Economic Cooperation

THE Second West African Sub-Regional Conference On Economic Co-operation in Africa has been held in Accra at the State House. The 8-day Conference was opened by Lt.-Gen. J. A. Ankrah, Chairman of the N.L.C. The Conference ended last week with the formation of an interim Council of Ministers as the nucleus of a West African Economic Community. The Conference was organised by the E.C.A. and was attended by 12 French- and English-speaking West African Countries. Its next meeting will be in Senegal.

Ofori-Atta's Motion Dismissed

AN Accra High Court has dismissed a motion by Mr. K. A. Ofori-Ata, former Speaker of the dissolved Parliament, for a review of the N.L.C. Decree ordering him and 10 former cabinet Ministers to pay back NC2 million to the Government of Ghana, the Court also dismissed his application for a stay of execution of the sale of his property. Mr. Justice

Amissah, presiding over the Court, explained that the Decree, like an Act of Parliament, was not subject to review by any Judge. (The NC2 million involved is an overpayment made by the ousted Government in the take-over of the assets of Messrs. A. G. Leventis).

Ghana at the U.N.

GHANA has rejected a U.S. suggestion that the U.N. hold talks with South Africa over South West Africa. Mr. Arkhurst, Ghana's Chief Delegate, urged the adoption of an Afro-Asian proposal which calls for enforcement measures.

LATE NEWS

Leaders of April 17 Insurrection Executed

LT. S. B. Arthur, who led the April 17 insurrection, and Lt. Moses Yeboah, who killed Lt.-Gen. E. K. Kotoka in the insurrection, were executed on Tuesday, 9/5/67, at 9 a.m. They were found guilty on charges of subversion by a Military Tribunal which began sitting on Friday, 28/4/67, and sentenced to death by firing squad. The third accused, 2nd Lt. Osei Poku, was sentenced to 30 years imprisonment with hard labour by the same Tribunal. The execution took place in public at the Military Academy Shooting Range, Teshie, and was attended by a very large crowd.

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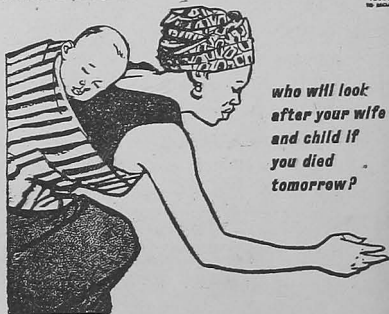
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(a) All correspondence must be supplied with the real name and full address of the writer, even if these are not meant for publication. Addresses with only the post office box number, or only the zone of the city, are incomplete (e.g. P. O. Box 41,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

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

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

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

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

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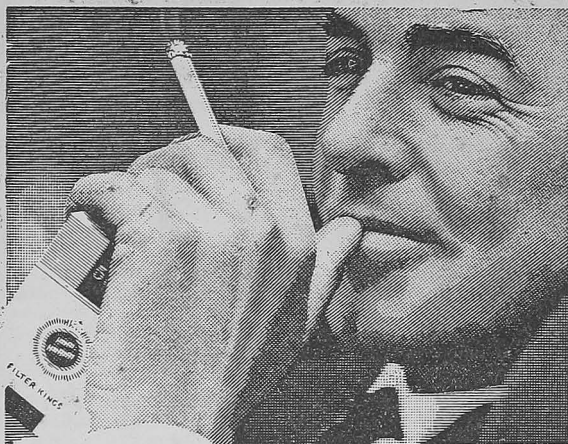
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EDITORIAL

BRINKMANSHIP IN THE MIDDLE EAST

CONES OF political storm have been gathering in the Middle East over the Israeli-Egyptian border dispute since last week. The Israeli-Egyptian border dispute became serious last week when the United Nations Peace-keeping Force was precipitately withdrawn from the Middle East.

Immediately after the withdrawal, authoritative reports from Cairo stated that Egyptian Armed Forces had arrived at Sharm El Sheik, which overlooks the Gulf of Aqaba; at the same time an Egyptian cruiser, motor torpedo boats and submarines had passed through the Suez Canal apparently heading for the Red Sea and a possible blockade of the Gulf of Aqaba.

The Western Powers might have believed that the Egyptian military build-up was just a demonstration. However, last Tuesday, it was announced that President Nasser had closed the Gulf of Aqaba, Israel's only access to the sea, which was formerly protected by a U.N. Peace-keeping Force. The closure of the Gulf is all the more dangerous in view not only of America's threat that it considers the Gulf as an international water-way, but also in view of Israel's contention that such a closure which interferes with shipping will be considered as a sufficient cause for war.

President Nasser's move is far from being a bluff which may be called off easily by an Israeli threat. Nasser's cause is the cause of all the Arabs; in fact, Iraq has offered—and Nasser has accepted the offer—to despatch Iraqi Armed Forces, comprising infantry, armoured and air force units. Moreover, Nasser may find it extremely difficult to go back on his decision; for, if he does—say, under U Thant's persuasion—he might be considered over-conciliatory by the Arabs who are emotionally involved in the dispute with the Israelis. This means that much hope cannot be put on the meeting between Nasser and U Thant.

Ever since Israel became a state in Palestine in 1948, the relations between the Israelis and the Arabs have been regulated by a series of armistice agreements. In May 1947 a majority decision in the U.N. recommended the termination of the British mandate over Palestine, to be followed immediately by the independence of Palestine. The majority wished to see Arab and Jewish states linked in an economic union in Palestine, with Jerusalem, the capital, as an international enclave. This plan was rejected by the Arabs, and fighting immediately broke out between Jews and Arabs with the Jews emerging victorious in the war. The victory of the Jews, which immediately was followed by the establishment of the state of Israel also began the exodus of about one million Arabs from Palestine into neighbouring