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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.

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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 ensure 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 ethnocentricism 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.

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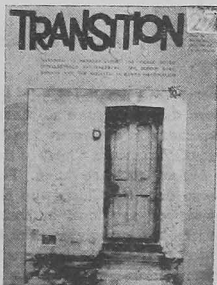
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Politics

CHEFTAINCY 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 Ahafos 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 obstructism, 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 to 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

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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. Kwabong 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

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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.

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Book Review

A MAN OF THE PEOPLE

By

Chinaua Achebe

Heinemann: London C2.16

A Review by B. S. Kwakwa, Legon

"A MAN of the People", Chinaua 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 flattery 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

GHANAIAN 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 cooperate 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.

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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.

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Organ of the Legon Committee on National Reconstruction

Published fortnightly

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(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*.

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

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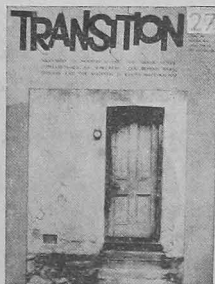


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Electoral Commission

IT IS here suggested, therefore, that the new Constitution should make provision for the setting-up of such an Electoral Commission. It should consist of not less than three and not more than seven members. *The members of the Commission should enjoy the same independence as will be accorded to the judges.* The functions of the Electoral Commission should be:—

- (i) To see to the delimitation of electoral districts or constituencies;
- (ii) to supervise and make the necessary arrangements for the whole process of all types of elections—local and national;
- (iii) to serve as the appointing authority for all election officers; (civil servants and Civil Service machinery are not excluded from playing their part when so required by the Commission);
- (iv) to decide on matters relating to the recommended limitations on parties;
- (v) to register groups that qualify and seek registration as political parties; and
- (vi) to serve as a court of first instance on election and electoral disputes. (Appeals should lie from the Commission to the Courts.)

It cannot be too strongly emphasized that the *existence, functions and powers of the Electoral Commission should be entrenched in the Constitution.* Two different meanings are here implied. *First*, the provisions governing the Electoral Commission should not be capable of being changed easily by the government or by Parliament. They should be changed, like all the other entrenched clauses of the Constitution, only in accordance with a special and difficult method which must itself be written into the Constitution and also entrenched. *Secondly*, the provisions must be capable of being enforced in the ordinary courts of law, whose position in the Constitution will also have to be specially safeguarded. The decision of the Supreme Court in *Re Akoto*, that the Solemn Declaration of the President under the defunct Constitution although entrenched in the Constitution could not be enforced by the Courts, must be specifically condemned as subversive of constitutionalism.

Danger to Constitutionalism

Again, it cannot be too strongly emphasized that the Electoral Commission should be independent—especially of the government and of Parliament. It has already been argued that there can be no democratic government without the electors having a genuine choice at elections. In practice this boils down to only one choice—

between the government of the day and its opponents. To ask the government, then, to manage the electoral machinery is like asking one of two boxers engaged in a fight to be the referee: at all times in every country this power is likely to be abused; in the under-developed politics of Africa to-day it is positively dangerous. So far, all African governments, like dictatorships everywhere, have come to look on elections as opportunities to confirm themselves in power and to think it perverse, indeed subversive, to attempt to urge the electorate to vote them out. Consequently, an election, to these governments, is, as Denis Austin said of the 1964 referendum in this Country, “an administrative exercise by the party rather than a test of public opinion”. Every future government of Ghana must be made to understand quite clearly that elections are meant to give the electorate the opportunity, if they so wish, to vote out the government and bring in others; that it is to prevent the government from frustrating this; that the conduct of elections should be taken out of its hands and vested in an Electoral Commission; that the Commission should be made independent of all over-powerful groups in the Society, especially the government and Parliament; and, finally, that the Commission’s position should be guaranteed by firmly entrenching it in the Constitution.

Corrupt and Illegal Practices

The establishment of the Electoral Commission does not, of course, exhaust the electoral laws. A few more suggestions may be thrown forward for consideration. The electoral laws must necessarily make provision for the severe punishment of corrupt and illegal practices in connexion with elections. The most corrupt practices are connected usually with money. It is here that the wealthy—especially those among them who feed fat on ill-gotten gains—can twist and manipulate the electorate. Stringent limits should therefore be placed on electioneering expenses both by parties and individual candidates. Limiting electioneering expenses has the added advantage of removing a strong incentive driving parties to dip their hands into public coffers. The argument that is sometimes advanced that to ask candidates for election to pay deposits puts the wealthy at an advantage is not acceptable, except if the deposit is too large. It may be suggested that a deposit of one hundred New Cedis (N¢100.00) would not put candidates who are not wealthy at any serious disadvantage. It is necessary to claim this deposit so that “freak” candidates, who cannot muster about one-eighth of the total votes, may be discouraged from wasting the time and energy of electoral officers.

Those who obtain more than one-eighth of the votes should, as usual, receive back their deposits.

It has been argued in the first part of this article that although parties should not be abolished it is necessary to discourage their excesses. One way of doing this is to loosen their dictatorial hold on their candidates who are elected to office. In this connexion it is essential that the electoral laws, or better still the Constitution, should ensure that although parties can expel Members of Parliament and local councillors from their ranks they cannot compel them to resign from Parliament or local councils. Parties, that is to say, should not have the right of "recall", and the practice of making M.P.s sign undated letters of resignation, which can be dated by the parties and submitted to the Speaker whenever M.P.s displease the party apparatus, should be made absolutely illegal. It is a particularly insidious way of depriving the elected representative of his independence and, hence, of his representativeness.

Voting

There is an important part of the electoral laws that has not yet been considered: the laws governing voting. Voting is, of course, the heart of the electoral system as well as of the democratic order. Important as the right to vote is, it has never been unconditional. Mad men, children and convicts have always been excluded from the vote. It would be proper also to debar people who refuse to pay their local rates from voting. Such people are obviously not fit to be citizens. On the other hand members of the Civil Service, Armed Forces, the Police Service, the Judiciary and the Electoral Commission should not, *ipso facto*, be debarred from voting; the number of intelligent and responsible votes that would be lost would be enormous. They should, however, be debarred from taking an active part in politics. These officials must be neutral as between contending political parties; they destroy this neutrality if they play an active part in politics.

The most essential feature of the vote has not been touched. How is the actual voting to be done? Are we to stick to the old method whereby each party or individual candidate has a separate ballot-box hidden away from public view? Or should we devise a new, more secure, system of voting? This is crucial; for it is at this point that human ingenuity excels itself in devising ways and means of cheating the electorate out of its right to choose a government it wants rather than what somebody or group of people dictates. No one who has observed the conduct of elections in the last ten years in this country can possibly doubt that the old method lends itself too easily to

rigging. *The secrecy of the vote does not consist in hiding to cast one's vote but in making it impossible, except under very special circumstances, for anyone else to know for whom one has voted.* It is therefore suggested that in all future elections there should be only one ballot-box at a time at each polling station. This ballot-box should be clearly and conspicuously displayed to the public view. The voter should mark or thumb-print the ballot-paper in secrecy but *the actual casting of the ballot, the actual putting of the ballot-paper into the ballot-box, should be done in public.* With this method of voting and with each candidate having a representative at each polling booth, "stuffing" of ballot-boxes and other forms of abuse stand a good chance of being reduced to a minimum.

It must not be thought that once the suggestions put forward in this article are adopted all will be well with our political parties and the electoral system. Human ingenuity, unfortunately, is illimitable and man's capacity for evil unbounded. No system of rules *by themselves* can, therefore, prevent a perversion of the electoral system. *But good rules, together with human determination, can prevent a lot of evil.* (Concluded)

Africa

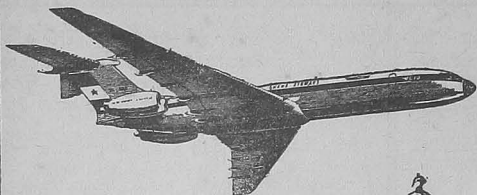
SIERRA LEONE: TENSIONS OF A CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS

By

K. A. B. Jones-Quartey

AN INTRIGUING picture emerges from even the most cursory comparative look into the present political situation in the three countries of Nigeria, Ghana, and Sierra Leone. So far the drama has been unfolding in the first two countries alone, but now Sierra Leone also faces a crisis which may develop into another African political disaster unless both patriotism and realism should suddenly go into the ascendency. In short, in Freetown the political gulf is widening between Sir Albert Margai and his Sierra Leone People's Party on the one side, and, on the other, all the oppositional forces taken together. But first a few words about the other two countries.

In Nigeria the situation is one involving the very survival of the country we have known as Nigeria, and in the search for a constitutional formula there is the search for a new basis of unity. In Ghana such a basis is universally assumed to exist, ethnic differentiation between interests and ambitions—in a word, tribalism—is widely held to be relatively unimportant, and the search for a new constitution turns mainly on the anxiety to prevent from arising again another disastrous case of power concentration.



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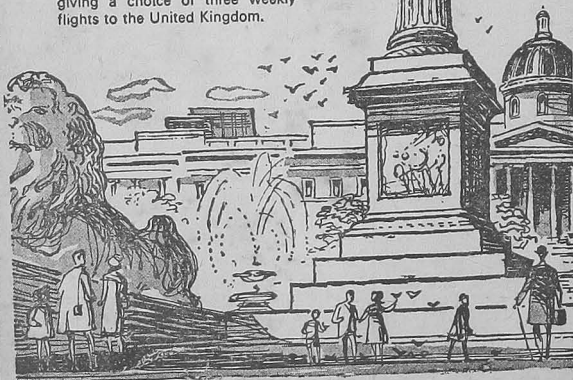
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In each of these two cases the present situation is the result of a military take-over of the previous civilian government. In each case it is the new leaders and the people together that are engaged in the search for an entirely different constitutional formula, one that would guarantee democratic rule under law and frustrate the evil ambitions of thieves and dictator-types. However, in the Nigerian case political unity has been heavily undermined by ethnic incompatibilities, while in Ghana, on the other hand, ethnic unity would appear to have been strengthened by a political threat which menaced all interests, local and national. Nigeria, in short, is in search mainly of a new constitution that would reunite its people, while Ghana seeks one that would restore the rule of law and guarantee a foolproof system of social justice for a people already relatively united in common interests.

When we turn in detail to Sierra Leone we find there a combination of the crucial features characteristic of the situations in the two other countries. Sierra Leone's peoples are, up to now, still "all in one piece"; nevertheless the explosive potential is very near the skin surface of tribalism. Furthermore, the power-structure element which was the fatal feature of the Ghana phenomenon, and whose welcome destruction was the major achievement of the February Coup, seems to be precisely what the new Sierra Leone Republican Constitutional proposals now before the country set out to erect as the dynamo of its new machinery of government. Thirdly, the now "famous" spectre of "Bribery-and-Corruption" stalks the land—according to the newspapers at least—just as menacingly as in Ghana and Nigeria. But of all the dangers which Sierra Leone thus faces at the moment the greatest by far arises without a doubt from the Republican Constitutional proposals put before the House of Representatives at the beginning of its January sitting.

It is on this constitutional issue that the "oneness" of the population can for the moment be postulated. For with Sir Albert, the P.M., who is a Mende, are true-blue Krios like Berthan Macauley (the Attorney General) and Gershou Collier (Sierra Leone's U.N. Chief of Mission); while the opposition shows complete harmony of view among an ethnically differentiated group consisting at the top of political leaders like Siaka Stevens (a Limba) and intellectuals such as Raymond Easmon and Eldred Jones, established Krios. For the time being, therefore, the struggle for political power transcends the struggle over ethnic claims of advantage or privilege. And the struggle for power has expressed itself in recent times most vehemently over Sir Albert

Margai's proposals: first for a one-party state, aborted as a direct result of the C.P.P. collapse in Ghana; and next for a Republic based on the proposals the Prime Minister presented to Parliament in January.

We can examine only a few of the main provisions here. First, the Headship of State. The draft Bill for a Republic of Sierra Leone provides in Section 16(2) that "the President shall be appointed by the Cabinet and shall hold Office during the pleasure of the Cabinet." In other words, the President will be appointed by the Prime Minister and his junior colleagues, and it is this Executive Power to whom, without any other apparent qualifications, the President will be beholden, *minus any protective sanctions*, for the security of his tenure. The insecurity which would thus surround this highest state office in the land is compounded by a further requirement. This is, that when the constitutional situation so dictates, it is the President who, "in turn", appoints the Prime Minister, under the provisions of Sections 46(4) and 50(8).

If the famous question here arises again as to "which came first: the chicken or the egg", the answer is that this is not the important point at all. The important point is that the President is required to choose as Prime Minister someone who, he has reason to believe, enjoys majority support in the House of Representatives; but the President would then immediately be caught in a game of mutual backscratching by this act. At the same time he becomes the potential victim of a power-play in which he can now be removed at the mere drop, say, of a costly joke he has made at the expense of an appointee who meanwhile has also become his political master. Nor does the temper and tempo of contemporary African politics suggest that this is some mere, idle speculation. Besides all this, the proposals on the Presidency also make no mention whatever of qualifications for the candidate—*nationality, age, education, et cetera—nor the length of his tenure of office.*

Tension has been created in non-SLPP (Sierra Leone Peoples Party) circles on this point, and on such other provisions of the proposed Republican Constitution as seem to aim at the concentration of power in the hands of a Republican Prime Minister. In particular, the power it is proposed to give the P.M. over appointments to high office is a principal cause for agitation. Here is a passage from the paper *Think*, for New Year's Day 1967:

We do not want a Constitution which requires everything to be done "on the advice of a Prime Minister".—Civil ser-

vants to be appointed *on the advice of the Prime Minister*; Ministers, likewise *on the advice of the Prime Minister*, Judges *on the advice of the Prime Minister*; members of the Cabinet, *on the advice of the Prime Minister*; President, *on the advice of the Cabinet which was appointed on the advice of the Prime Minister*; Chief Justice *on the advice of the Prime Minister*." (Italics mine.)

Indeed the writer could have gone on to list other key posts to be virtually filled by the P.M. personally, such as the Civil Service Commission, Electoral Commission, Auditor-General, and so on.

But there is more to come. One proposal in Chapter 4 of the draft Bill provides for the appointment by the President—it says the President may appoint—of not more than six persons *who are not members of Parliament to be Ministers and deputy Ministers*. In other words, a Head of State appointed by and holding office solely at the pleasure of the Prime Minister can, and almost certainly will, be "advised" by the P.M. to appoint on to the P.M.'s Cabinet, persons who—to cite only the most dangerous possibility—*may quite easily be party members previously defeated at the polls!* And these appointments, as S.J.A. Pratt (a Barrister) points out in another Freetown opposition paper *We Yone* ("Our Own") of 7th January, would be "without prejudice . . . and in addition to the provisions under which the President may appoint an outsider as Ministerial Attorney General." "Surely", asks Pratt, "this is discrimination which runs counter to the spirit and intention of the very First Chapter of the Constitution" (that on the fundamental rights and freedoms of the individual)?

It is around the proposals in Chapter 5, concerning the Judiciary, though, that in Freetown the political tensions of the day cluster and strain most. Apart from the cause of complaint registered by the commentator in the *Think* article cited above, there is a devastating proposal with respect to the tenure and subsequent career of judges which must be brought to attention here. The security of tenure for a judge, in these proposals, is hardly enough guaranteed as things are. But in addition, a judge who resigns or is dismissed would thenceforth be prohibited from practising his profession of law. This, as is well known, is in principle what happens in Britain, and the example can glibly be cited in support. But everyone also knows the difference between "there and here" in these respects: *emphasize* the nature of the local political situations we are discussing, and we might just as well be talking about the North Pole as against the South, or

about Eskimos and Pakistanis. In plain language, if, under our present political conditions and the Sierra Leone Republican Constitution as proposed, a judge should resign in protest or be sacked for reasons overt or covert, *he is finished*—even if he be only 40 years old and a judge for only four years.

In its editorial of Saturday, December 31, 1966, the Freetown *Shekpendeh* describes what it calls "the most important section of the Bill" as "peremptory and dictatorial". The editorial concludes with these paragraphs:

With the lessons of Nigeria and Ghana, it is remarkable that the evils of the concentration of power in individuals have not been realised.

No Prime Minister should be made to command such power and authority, and because of this, if not because of the other ills in the Bill, it must be rejected, a dissolution of Parliament notwithstanding.

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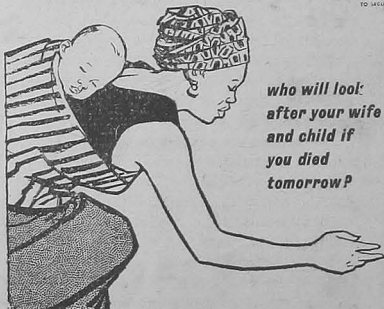
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The Economy

THE TRADE FAIR AND THE ECONOMY

By

G. Kportufe Agama

GHANA'S FIRST international trade fair opened this week with as many as thirty-two countries participating in it. The nineteen-day fair was to have been held two years ago but was postponed by the former government to this year. In opening the fair on the date laid down before it seized power, the National Liberation Council has shown a remarkable organization ability. We do not know yet how much money is spent on holding the fair, but we are certain that when the accounts are made at the close of the fair, a substantial amount of funds would have been invested in it. This investment has been financed mainly by the Ghanaian tax-payer, and partly by the participating countries. What do we Ghanaians and the foreign participants expect to get back in return?

2. Besides its intangible educational effect as an eye-opener to the economic potentialities of both Ghana and the participating countries, the fair provides an opportunity for positive economic returns. This return will come in a variety of forms; and in some of these forms the return is direct, certain, and calculable, while in others it is indirect, uncertain, and not easily calculable. In assessing the overall return on the investment in the fair it is necessary to distinguish between these different forms in which the return accrues.

3. The most direct, certain and calculable return has in fact been accruing in the form of rent paid by exhibitors for space taken up at the fair site. As most of the exhibitors are foreigners, the greater share of rent received will be in foreign exchange, the provision of space being service exported by Ghana to foreigners. But unless the fair becomes an annual event, this foreign exchange earning is once and for all, and it must also be offset by the foreign exchange component of the expenditure on preparing the site. Even as a once-for-all return, one cannot really expect much in the form of rent on fair site. Another direct and quite reliable return will come in the form of windfall profits to the traders in Ghana who could import some of the goods on display at the fair for subsequent sale to the goods-starved Ghanaian public at immoderate prices. Again, this is a once-for-all windfall gain, and as we cannot be definite about the disposition of the potential windfall profits, we are unable to lay much store on this type of return.

4. We expect the really significant return to come in two forms, *first*, in the form of sustained increase in the value of goods and services we sell

to foreigners; *secondly*, in the form of increased investment in Ghana by foreigners. The return in both forms is indirect, uncertain, and not easily calculable. But it is on the expectation of this return that the trade fair is focussed. The uncertainty about the return in either form arises from the situation in which the foreign participants have the same expectations about the fair as we do. Foreign participants are seizing the opportunity of the fair to promote the sale of their countries' products, and to exploit profitable investment outlets in this country. We should welcome this activity by foreigners, but in welcoming it, we should constantly be confronting in our minds our own expectations from the fair with the foreigners' expectations.

5. There is little doubt that there will arise the need to accommodate the clash of both economic and political interests which are likely to emerge as both sides attempt to fulfil their expectations. The first step on the way to successful accommodation of interests is for our people to realize the basic strength of the Ghanaian economy, namely, that the investments during the past few years in social overhead as well as plant machinery and equipment are adequate for sustaining a remarkable growth in the manufacture of a wide range of low-income consumer goods. As the domestic market is small and likely to remain so in the immediate future, we shall have to begin thinking seriously of exporting to neighbouring markets in order to be able to absorb the potential increased output. We will need to develop concrete ideas on regional economic co-operation in West Africa. This presupposes the existence of a domestic economic policy, and we therefore move to our second step.

6. This is the need for a clear-cut policy on the organization best suited for undertaking production in strategic sectors of the economy most efficiently. That is to say, it will be necessary to spell out precisely for a period of time, the specific areas in which the three agents of enterprise namely, the state, Ghanaian private business and foreign private business, should operate, but also to state clearly the goals to be pursued in each case.

7. Undoubtedly, the fundamental economic problem facing this country is not what type of enterprise we should have but how to promote some enterprise to achieve certain desirable goals within a given political framework. It cannot be said that during the past seven years, Ghana was starved of foreign enterprise; in fact it was surfeited with it, and we are in our present difficulties because we lost control over the direction of this type of enterprise. In our present circumstances, therefore, we venture to suggest that the promotion

of Ghanaian private enterprise should be the cornerstone of our economic policy, and that foreign enterprise should play a supplemental role.

8. Such a policy must constitute our economic strategy which will enable us to cope with the aftermath of the trade fair. And in view of the pressures which foreigners with business proposals to make are likely to exert on officials of the government, a third step ought to be a radical reorganization of personnel in the strategic departments of government. One field where this reorganization is most needed is the collection of economic data on foreign countries. In an economic strategy this kind of information is vital. This information will enable our economic officials to check on the claims by foreigners in proposals they present to the government. Under a regime of economic controls it is more vital. Trade and exchange controls, like any barrier to free life, challenge the ingenuity of people. Importers tend to over-value their imports and exporters under-value their exports in foreign exchange in order to obtain access to the foreign exchange outside the control of the authorities. An effective measure to eliminate this tendency is to set up abroad centres which will collect the prevailing prices of the major products in which this country trades.

9. Fortunately, this does not require the establishment of a separate organization. The existing machinery of the Foreign Service can be used effectively to perform this task. What may be needed is the redeployment of personnel in this Service so that its economic departments are administered by officials who possess some economic and financial knowledge. This task should not be entrusted to foreigners.

10. We come now to our last step. Policy, and economic policy, is essentially politics; and it is necessary that the political factor is fully taken into account, especially in our dealings with foreign enterprise. Indeed, we ought to consider this point so important as to make us compelled to reconstitute the Economic Committee to include some members of the Political Committee. We regard this suggestion as a compromise, and a good compromise, with the clumsy alternative of having the Political Committee to examine proposed economic agreements with foreigners after the Economic Committee has had its look. The need for this reorganization cannot be over-emphasized, especially as the present members of the Economic Committee are public officers who are responsible only administratively (and that remotely), and not politically, to the people of this country. This arrangement should not waive the present sound requirement that the Department of the

Attorney-General check the legal drafting of these agreements.

11. The trade fair presents many opportunities, and these opportunities raise certain problems. We believe that if we follow the steps outlined in this essay, we will succeed in seizing the opportunities and in coping with their problems in our best interest.

TOURISM AND GHANA

By

A. N. Hakam

THIS SUBJECT when mentioned with regard to Ghana often generates either apathy or pessimism. It is frequently thought that spending money to attract tourism to Ghana is economically wasteful since Ghana is believed incapable of attracting tourists in sufficient numbers. Ghana, it is felt, cannot compete in attracting tourists with such long established resort areas as those of the Caribbean, the Canaries, the Southern Mediterranean, nor with the emerging but fauna-resplendent East African countries. In addition distance, it is felt, makes it too expensive for the average tourist.

False Assumptions

These are at best pessimistic assumptions; for, Ghana is a beautiful country, enjoys very interesting culture and folklore that would have a tremendous appeal for people from vastly different civilizations such as those from Europe, North America and Japan. (These, it must be remembered, are the large spenders in the tourist trade and their successful attraction makes the difference in success or failure in tourism). Furthermore, Ghana has beautifully situated beaches and a magnificent coastline of cloudless and sunny days in any given year where temperatures are kept mild by constant ocean breeze. These are conditions that any country would consider to be great national assets if properly exploited for tourism. As for air costs, air fares to Africa are going down soon by as much as 25 per cent, and this is not the beginning nor the end of a continuous trend. In the meanwhile, as incomes rise in the countries from which most of the tourists come and more and more people can afford to travel, the more likely that a vanguard of tourists will travel further and further away from the easily accessible places. For instance, right after the second world war, Western Europe and the Caribbean were practically the only place frequented by North Americans. Now with improved incomes, and reduced fares, they venture in hordes to nearly all parts of the globe—as far as Japan, Tahiti, India, the Middle East, Russia, Eastern Europe and parts of Africa. So why not Ghana? Some tourists would like places with a "difference", not just the same old

places frequented by everyone else. So the countries that are imaginative in this respect can cash in very much by appealing to this element. Recently Gambia and Sierra Leone have been reported by *West Africa* to be making strides in this direction.

Why Tourism ?

The economics of tourism is very simple. As Arthur Lewis called it, it is an "export of service". The service account of the balance of payments is greatly aided by an influx of tourism, and if sufficiently large, would tend to cancel out much of the deficit that Ghana is likely to have in her merchandise account (exports and imports of commodities), and other services—shipping, insurance, remittances and travel by Ghanaians abroad. Thus by attracting a minimum of 30,000 tourists annually, and if each were to spend on the average £200 for a 14-day stay plus air fares, this would bring in £6 to £8 million of foreign exchange—an amount that would exceed present Ghanaian foreign exchange earnings from diamonds. The average tourist, then, will tend to spend in one day in Ghana £10 to £15 (a rate of expenditure about 40 times the national average per capita expenditure), and all of it in foreign exchange. Furthermore, the tourist industry tends to be labour-intensive and thus would absorb much of the urban unemployed, in many direct services such as hotel employees, and various other indirect services and industries that cater for tourism such as arts and crafts industries of all sorts, hotel food and supply industries, laundries, air and shipping transport, car hire and limousine services, guides and hostesses, restaurants and night clubs. Also tourism tends to aid the economic development of the hinterland. Most genuine tourists do not wish to be confined to the capital city and thus new resorts tend to be built away from the main centres.

Tourist industry, though, requires good management, and imagination. On the other hand, it is technologically not a complex industry and well within the capacity of Ghana's present manpower resources, as a relatively easy industry to organize and run. Perhaps a most important element that should be mentioned is that tourism brings in foreign investments. It is a known fact that many private foreign investments in some of the countries of Western Europe, have their origin in tourists who developed an interest and affection for the country they visit and thus follow it up by a direct investment. In connection with foreign investments, perhaps, should be mentioned the fact that as the country proves attractive to tourists, financing of further physical tourist structures—hotels and resorts—could be foreign. The Hiltons

and others would show enough interest to enter and build their own mansions. Thus tourism would then be self-financing. (Perhaps a sign in that direction is the recently signed agreement regarding the joint operation of the Ambassador Hotel and the Continental Hotel by Intercontinental Hotels Corporation).

There are non-economic benefits: it would make Ghana known to thousands of persons as a real and not just an abstract entity. It would tend to create goodwill for the country in international politics and "aid" matters. And in the case of inter-African travel, it would enhance Ghana's bond with her African sisters—a very important aspect of African unity—perhaps more important than trade.

How to Promote Tourism in Ghana

Having been convinced of the benefits of tourism the question becomes that of ability to attract. It is a rare phenomenon that tourists discover a place by accident. A place must become fashionable and it must have appeal. We mentioned that Ghana has various physical and cultural attributes that could make her attractive for tourism, but the question is that every effort must be made to exploit that through such promotional means as:

1. Attracting wealthy Africans and foreigners in neighbouring countries. This is a relatively easy source, since thousands of well-to-do foreigners live in Nigeria, Ivory Coast and all of the other neighbouring African states, for a middle and upper income African class that can afford travel is emerging in these countries, as well. The appeal to these would be to emphasise the distinctness of Ghana from the rest and the nearness of Ghana to such countries as Nigeria (for instance with the new Volta bridge the distance from Lagos to Accra could be travelled in about ten hours by car, on good roads nearly all the way.) In attracting French speaking neighbours, French must appear in the promotion and must be spoken in the better hotels.
2. Placing as many beautiful, large posters of Ghana in airline and tourist Offices and in as many public places as could be feasible in all the major tourist exporting countries.
3. Good guide books and brochures on Ghana and other information supplied in liberal quantities to tourists agents abroad — a sadly lacking aspect at present.
4. Selected Ghanaian embassies abroad should have a tourist promotion wing which could be combined as a function of the trade section of these embassies.
5. The Ghana Airways offices, wherever available, and in co-operation with tourist agents abroad should offer attractive package tours to Ghana that would include airfare and hotels stay at reduced costs for a number of days. This has an appeal to a certain class of travellers.
6. Co-operate with other tourist bodies and airlines of neighbouring states to attract tourists from Europe, and North America to visit several West African States

in one tour. This would appeal to the type of tourist who will only tour Ghana if he can also see several countries on the same trip. This is because of the air travel cost involved. With the recently established airline connection between the U.S., Europe and East Africa passing through Accra, it would also be fruitful for Ghana to exploit the stopover of the hundreds of tourists bound for East Africa to make them tour Ghana, as well.

7. The accent on youth has to be looked into. Increasingly the young university age groups have become a major factor in world travel. Since these have little to spend, intermediately priced hotels should be set up or even better still tourist homes and rest houses where the rate would not exceed £1 per day. Accra is especially lacking in moderately priced, clean hotels.

8. Perhaps a favourable rate of exchange for tourists must be investigated, especially if Ghana can be proved to reap greater benefits from increased tourism, as a result of it.

9. A reduction of double room hotel charges so as to induce more businessmen to bring their wives.

10. Folklore, traditional art and culture, durbars and festivals as well as castles and forts should be emphasized in tourist promotion. For instance, it is sad for an expatriate traveller in Ghana to read in the papers only too late that such a durbar or festival has taken place in such and such a village. These events should be publicized beforehand and not afterwards. What is needed is a good calendar of such events. It must be mentioned that folk dancing and drumming in connection with festivals will have an unrivalled appeal to a foreign tourist. In some countries these are deliberately and artificially staged by governments not for their own sake, but for the sake of tourists.

11. A very important attraction would be genuine game reserves (and not ones in name only). Some people cannot associate a country in Africa without wild animals, preferably the large types—lions, tigers, giraffes, zebras, rhinos and elephants. These would attract hundreds of tourists to Ghana.

12. Scheduled inland tours should be set up to take tourists on various short and long tours in the country—to take them not to visit factories and public buildings but rather those aspects enumerated in 10 and 11.

13. We must remember that the aspect that the tourist would enjoy most in Ghana even more than culture, folklore and animals would be swimming and bathing. Unfortunately this is an aspect that fares very badly in Ghana. There are very few developed, protected beaches, and Ghana must have the smallest number of public swimming pools of any country blessed with beautiful sunshine. Accra does not even have one public swimming pool. Every hotel that gets built in Accra fails to have a swimming pool, an aspect that must be distressing to the traveller. Thus, building swimming pools and developing safe, clean beaches should be top on the priority of a tourist-attracting programme.

14. Every effort to make it easy for tourists to travel to and out of Ghana without red-tape must be made; and simple, easy to obtain visas must be given on the spot by consulates abroad.

In conclusion, it must be stressed that a tourist programme is not as simple as it may appear. Tremendous effort and imagination must go into it to make it successful. Besides, the capital investment that initially goes into it, may not bring in dividends for several years. However, in the end, persistence, boldness and well-managed programmes along the lines above may bring success.

Observer Notebook

British probity, Corruption and the Nkrumah Regime

WE ARE often reminded *ad nauseam* of the high standards of probity in British public life. We are often told that the British are incorruptible; indeed the favourite hobby-horse of British journalists, ex-colonial civil servants, sociologists and political scientists is writing glibly about the prevalence of bribery and corruption in Africa from a detached point of view. The spate of British books, articles and commentaries would make the unsuspecting believe that, at least, in public life the British are free of this near-universal social phenomenon. What, however, is the British record of public probity in post-independence Africa? The facts are given by Mr. Justice F. K. Apaloo (Commission of Enquiry (Kwame Nkrumah Properties) Instrument, 1966).

A British Company—the Parkinson Howard and Co. Ltd.—was, on the evidence of the Apaloo Commission, involved in very massive corruption under the old regime. This internationally known company is headed by no less a person than Sir John Howard, sometime the Chairman of the Conservative and Unionist Party of Britain—a party that has ruled Britain for most part of the nearly seven decades of the 20th century.

The company confessed at the Apaloo Commission that between 1958 and 1965 they paid a total of approximately £123,000 (£295,200.00) in cash to the C.P.P. at the request of certain Ghanaian Ministers of state. The Company was later requested by Mr. Aye Kumi, Nkrumah's Economic Adviser (or Adviser on Corruption?), to make further payments, which it agreed to make, this time, by cheque. The amount involved was £120,000. The Company, thereupon, entered into a "Colourable Agreement" with a company "known as West African Industrial Consultants, by which the former agreed to pay the latter £120,000 (£288,000) for alleged consultative services. This Company has itself to pay over this sum to NADECO Ltd.

for onward transmission to the C.P.P." "We are satisfied" continues the Report, "that a total sum of £82,500 (£198,000.00) was paid to NADECO Ltd. for the benefit of the C.P.P. under this contract." (Apaloo Report pp. 39-40). All this is not to talk of the hotel bills paid for Ghanaian Ministers on delegations overseas, moneys paid into the London banking accounts of Ministers by the Parkinson Howard Group of Companies, and the dubious missions Sir John Howard undertook—including one to entice Mr. Gbedemah back from exile into Ghana—on behalf of the corrupt and discredited ex-President of Ghana.

It has to be remembered that other British firms aided and abetted Nkrumah's massive corruption; other British firms discredited in the Report are: Swan Hunter and Wigham Richardson, of Wallsend-on-Tyne; World Air, a London merchant bank; and the Ethelburga Agency, London aircraft dealers. These British firms might have engaged in corruption because Ghanaian Ministers made the payment of a 10 per cent commission a condition of awarding contracts. It is rather despicable that such apparently reputable international British firms could not resist the temptation to resort to morally dubious devices to win contracts. British standards of probity indeed!!

The distressing thing about these British firms was that they must have been aware that in meekly agreeing to pay the 10 per cent commission they collaborated with Nkrumah to inflate prices in Ghana, thus helping to depress the Ghanaian's standard of living.

Kwesi Armah and Britain

THE GOVERNMENT of Ghana has lost the second round in its efforts to have Kwesi Armah, the former Minister of Trade, sent back to Ghana to face criminal charges involving the theft or misappropriation of funds.

In the first round, the government sought his return to face charges of corruption and extortion in connection with the issue of import licences. The government's case was that Mr. Kwesi Armah obtained a bribe from Mr. Fattal for the purpose of granting him an import licence. Under the Fugitive Offenders Act of 1881, Kwesi Armah could be sent back if our government established a "strong and probable presumption" that Kwesi Armah had committed the offences of which he stood accused and if sending him back would not be "unjust and oppressive."

Applying the test laid down in earlier decisions, the magistrate who first heard the case decided that the Government of Ghana had made out a

case which could justify the trial of Kwesi Armah. The House of Lords, sharing the reservations of the High Court, disapproved of the test applied by the magistrate. In its view, the government of Ghana should have made out a case not only to justify trial but which, if uncontradicted, would be such as would result in a conviction. The government's case appears to have failed the test propounded by the House because:

- (a) Fattal who said he paid the bribe was an accomplice (the law treats the evidence of such people with suspicion),
- (b) on Fattal's own evidence the money was paid after the issue of the import licence and
- (c) discrepancies existed between his statements to the Police and his evidence before the Ollennu Commission.

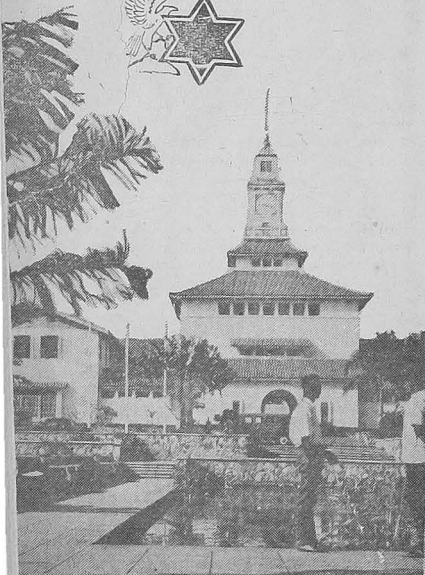
A factor which at least the High Court admitted partly induced its reluctance in supporting the magistrate's case and which is pertinent to the Home Secretary's decision now was that to send Kwesi Armah back would be "unjust and oppressive" contrary to S.10 of the Fugitive Offenders Act of 1881. This is because of the provisions of the Corrupt Practices Act of 1964 under which the Ollennu Commission was appointed. This Act, apart from offending the standards of Criminal justice generally accepted here, offends notions of natural justice as well. To make matters worse it was demonstrated to the Court that Kwesi Armah could be put in protective custody, win or lose. Only the assurances of the Ghana government not to prosecute him under the Corrupt Practices Act and to allow him to leave Ghana if he was acquitted made the High Court support the magistrate's decision. But the House of Lords was of the opinion that such assurances are unacceptable.

Soon after his victory Kwesi Armah was re-arrested, this time on a request for his extradition to face charges of misappropriation or theft of £30,000 intended for the Ghana High Commission at the time he was the High Commissioner. Kwesi Armah claimed he used the money for state service. He further argued that he was wanted for political rather than criminal reasons, and that if he was acquitted in a trial here he could be imprisoned under other laws. This time he lost his case. But his extradition depended upon the Home Secretary's discretion. The latter appears impressed by the political arguments made by Kwesi Armah which the courts could not properly consider.

It is not immediately clear why the British government would wish to antagonize a friendly government. But the Ghana Government is upset and so are many Ghanaians over a decision

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which seems to ignore the assurances of fair play and efforts to establish the rule of law here, not to mention the fact that in the government's view, based on advice of doubtful soundness, the crime was committed in the Ghana High Commission which under international law is Ghanaian territory. Some even suggest that influential people who are beneficiaries of Kwesi Armah's loots have a hand in the Home Secretary's decision.

The indignation felt over the decision is natural. It implied an adverse judgment on the standards of justice prevailing in this country. The implication is reinforced by the option extended to the government to prosecute Kwesi Armah in England. But some, if not all, the laws which the High Court considered to fall below standards of British justice remain in force here.

The Home Secretary's discretion has always been a source of embarrassment to British governments precisely because it involves passing judgment on the standards of justice in other Commonwealth countries. It is one among many shortcomings of the Fugitive Offenders Act. The conference of Commonwealth Law Ministers held in Britain last year, at which Ghana was represented, declared the Act out-moded. It was passed to regulate the transfer of suspected criminals from one part of the Commonwealth to the other at a time when all Commonwealth countries were directly under the British Crown. It was not intended to regulate the extradition of offenders between independent countries. This was regulated under the Extradition Act of 1870. But when the Commonwealth evolved into an association of independent states the Act continued to be used. This resulted in injustices. For example, the Act does not embody the principles contained in the Extradition Act, whereby extradition for political offences or for criminal offences where political motives underlie the request for extradition is not permitted. Non-extradition in such circumstances is universally accepted in the interest of human rights which find expression in international instruments.

The Home Secretary's decision appears to have been influenced by the fact that the law is recognised by all the Commonwealth as outdated and a bill to amend it to bring it in line with extradition to non-Commonwealth countries has been published. He must further have been mindful of the bitter criticism he and his colleagues levelled against the Conservative government's decision to send Enahoro back to Nigeria to face charges of treason; they couldn't now open themselves to what would be a devastating taunt from the Conservatives.

It is unlikely that the Home Secretary's decision would be reversed. The only course open to Ghana now is to prosecute Kwesi Armah in England. The fate of such a step is not easily predictable and would prove unnecessarily expensive.

Crime

THE INCREASE in criminal activities is becoming alarming. Cars disappear, customs sheds are broken into and banks are raided, sometimes with violence. Most people in Ghana consider the February coup as an opportunity for a fresh start and it seems the criminals think likewise. Unless information about crimes was suppressed under the Nkrumah regime, there is a definite increase in the crime rate. The wholesale release of the victims of the Preventive Detention Act may have benefitted some criminals.

Whatever the reasons for the increase, special efforts need to be made now to check the tide before we witness more gruesome acts. The Police Service needs to be strengthened in the towns and night patrols increased. Patrol cars need to be purchased and fitted with radio equipment to enable communication with headquarters. The government should consider building as many police telephone boxes as possible to facilitate reports of crimes. The general telephone service in the country needs to be improved for this among many reasons. Efforts to clean up the Police Service should be accelerated to eliminate elements prone to corruption and collusion with criminal elements and to strengthen public confidence in the Service. Better terms and conditions of service for the Police could minimise temptations. More time and effort should be put in preventing and detecting more serious crimes than in speed-checking and other petty matters. The public needs to be educated not to put faith in "money-doublers" and other cheats, and not to be so careless as, for example, to leave ignition keys in parked cars or leave windows open. Banks should strengthen their security systems. Finally, the government needs to make haste with schemes for the absorption of surplus labour. The unemployed are likely to resort to criminal ways of earning a living.

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Letters

Kwesi Armah's Extradition

SIR—I heard with shock that the British Home Secretary had refused to follow the court's decision that Mr. K. Armah should be extradited to Ghana. According to the B.B.C. on 26/1/67, Mr. Jenkins' ruling is based on the argument that people against whom criminal charges are to be made for political reasons should be granted political asylum.

It would seem to me a completely unwarranted assumption that the sole motive for charging Mr. K. Armah is political. We have read recently (*Ghanaian Times* 25/1/67) that the National Liberation Council has dismissed two senior police officials (presumably supporters of the present regime) for 'gross neglect of duty'. The N.L.C. is concerned to establish justice and the rule of law, and it is bad that it should be hampered in these efforts by Britain.

I have already protested to the Home Secretary and the British High Commissioner in Ghana. I should like to see a letter of protest signed by as many Senior Members of this University as possible. I hope that someone senior to myself will undertake to organise this. Meanwhile interested persons may contact me.

Department of Modern Languages,
Legon, Accra.

P. W. C. Maxwell.

C.P.P. and Blows

SIR—I read recently in the local papers that Mr. J. E. Hagan, a former C.P.P. Regional Commissioner, was punched in the face by a member of the audience at the Annie Jiagge Commission inquiring into the Assets of ex-C.P.P. functionaries. This "punching" has been condemned by most Ghanaians. For my part, I believe the C.P.P. regime—especially Mr. Hagan's role in it at Cape Coast—made many people bottle up their emotions. We are now free to release some of our emotions, and I am all for the release of such emotions in the form of punches, cat-calls, boos etc; provided they would not end up in murder. The police should supervise this. This is freedom; if this is not allowed the emotions will seek outlets in stealing, subversion and disrespect to the N.L.C. which is vastly superior in common sense, humanity and moderation to the old regime. More harmless punches!!

Takoradi

Kwame Abrokwa

Economic independence in the Congo

SIR—Last week, it was announced that President Joseph Mobutu of Congo (Kinshasa) nationalised "Union Minière du Haut-Katanga", with the apparent intention of clenching his country's independence. The move is bold and laudable enough to be of interest to us all in Africa. Most people will find it difficult, though, to convince themselves that the newly appointed all-Congolese Board of Directors can manage the Company efficiently.

What Mobutu said in connection with the nationalisation, however should be of interest to Ghanaians in particular. He said that "if we have to be hungry to be free and independent, then we will go hungry. We prefer to remain poor and hungry to being rich slaves".

Fine words indeed. It is hoped every Congolese is prepared to tighten his belt with his leader just as every Ghanaian, a few years back, was prepared to follow

the ex-President when he told the outside world that "we prefer self-government with danger to servitude in tranquility". Few understood him then! The others, the masses, were prepared to sacrifice with him and did tighten their belts only to realize today what "self-government with danger" means—intimidation, persecution, despotism, expensive tastes, detention—and many other dangers.

What a pity. Leaders of New Africa time and again preach economic independence while they themselves have paranoic love for slick values, expensive tastes and big cars.

Is Mobutu's apparent call on his people for sacrifice a bona fide one?

Is he prepared to "remain poor and free"?

Naval Base, Takoradi.

Albert K. Kattah

The Constitutional Commission

SIR—I write to comment on the appeals being made by the authorities and especially by the local press to all sons and daughters of Ghana who have the interest of the nation at heart to submit memoranda to the Constitutional Commission on the sort of Constitution Ghana should have. The move is welcome and our hearts are filled with joy.

I am, however, disturbed by the haste with which public response is being sought. Certain individuals and, worse still, a local paper have found it difficult to resist the temptation to condemn the slowness with which Ghanaians are responding to the appeals. When it was found out by those responsible that the public had not been fully educated as regards the form their memoranda should take—a factor contributing to the slowness of response—the press came to the rescue. But a few days later, a local daily came out with an editorial condemning Ghanaians for delay and aloofness (or apathy?).

Why the rush? It must not be supposed that constitution-making is a trite matter. Much reflection is needed to ensure that proposals put forward are sound so as to make the preparation of a final draft easier for the Constitutional Commission. It is too early for us to forget the great harm done to us as a result of the suspended bogus constitution hurriedly foisted on the country by Nkrumah and his band of swindlers. Let us learn from our past mistakes. "Haste makes waste," so says an old adage.

The kind of constitution I will like to see is one which guarantees freedom of worship, thought, assembly, the press and expression. It must ensure equality before the law and immunity from arbitrary arrest and detention.

Ghana News Agency, Accra.

J. C. Quaye

White Paper and Apaloo Commission

SIR—The people of this country cannot be deceived by the Government White Paper on the Apaloo Commission's report, which subtly tries to whitewash Gbedemah, Botsio and Krobo Edusei over the Parkinson Howard Group affair.

Mr. Justice Apaloo, a Supreme Court Judge, after considering all the evidence and, more particularly, the witnesses' demeanour in the witness-box, came to the reasonable conclusion that Gbedemah, Botsio and Edusei could have received money from Parkinson Howard and paid it into C.P.P. coffers. But the White Paper goes to great lengths to exonerate these three

close associates of Nkrumah. The White Paper rejects the Commission's findings because they are based on hearsay evidence of Mr. Granville. Is it being suggested that Mr. Justice Apaloo does not know what is legally admissible evidence?

Even a layman reading that part of the report relating to this affair as a whole cannot but be impressed by the just conclusions arrived at. On the other hand the White Paper's argument is incredibly unconvincing.

Is it possible that the hope of political associations have started to blind people in high places?

Accra.

Kwame Apeapeyi

Religion

BELIEF IN GOD—REPLY TO MY CRITICS

by James Thrower

I WOULD like to thank the Rev. Peter Barker and Dr. Konotey-Ahulu for their replies to my article, "Should we all believe in God?" (*Legon Observer* 23 Dec. 1966). At this juncture in Ghana's development, frank and uninhibited discussion of such issues cannot but be to the good. Religion plays a very important part in the life of the nation and it therefore demands reflective consideration from all who have the welfare of the country at heart.

To turn first to Mr. Barker. In his opening remarks he has, I fear, been misled by the editorial caption, "Belief in God", given to my article. It was not my intention to argue for or against the truth or the falsity of believing in God. I am quite aware that the actual behaviour of theists is irrelevant to the truth-value of propositions asserting or denying the existence of God. What I was concerned to do was, in the first place, to call attention to some of the confusion surrounding the loose use of words such as 'theism', 'atheism' and 'religion', and secondly, in the light of the loose use of particularly the word 'religion' and its cognates, to question the value and doubt the consequences from a moral point of view of a naive desire for a revival of religion, with its added consequence of an attitude of militancy towards atheism, used equally loosely.

Both Mr. Barker and Dr. Konotey-Ahulu seem to me to fall into this confusion. In paragraph eight of his reply which reads, "Of course, belief affects behaviour; the man who entrusts himself to Christ soon discovers that the Master revolutionizes his whole attitude to life. But theists do not claim to be perfect . . . or if some of them do claim to fulfil a divinely given standard of morality . . ." Mr. Barker here equates the terms 'Christian' and 'theist'. What he says is no doubt true of some, though alas not of all, Christians, but the class of Christians does not exhaust the class of theists. Many theists, for example Moslems and the followers of the various gods and goddesses scattered throughout this land, are not revolutionized by adherence to "the Master", and the history of the Christian church itself shows that many Christians have interpreted the behavioural demands of commitment to 'the Master' very differently from each other, as well as at times against each other in some of the bloodiest wars in the history books. Dr. Konotey-Ahulu in his closing questions and answers makes the even bolder equation of Christianity with religion itself.

We cannot, therefore, I repeat, conclude that because a person is religious, or a theist and not an atheist,

that his behaviour will be such as to win our moral approval, or in the phrase which Mr. Barker objects to "will be followed by consequences which the majority of us would like to see." By "us", here, I mean those who are concerned about the standards and practice of morality in this country. It does not seem to me that simply urging people to 'be religious' or to 'be theists' and 'not atheists', without being much more theologically specific, has much bearing at all on the standards and practice of morality.

It is not in fact myself, as Mr. Barker claims, who sees theism as a means to an end, but those who in the name of morality, and they are many, as my having just taught a seminar on 'Religion and Nation Building' at the 18th Annual New Year School has shown me, are at present urging a revival of 'religion'. Dr. Konotey-Ahulu answers my third question, "Is in fact a revival of religion a good thing?" with an unhesitating affirmative. Admittedly he then goes on, as I have pointed out, to identify religion with Christianity, but taking his answer at its face value I would like to ask him if, as he believes, a revival of religion is, in itself, a good thing, whether he would still maintain this, if, for example, there were to take place a revival of religion in the form of orthodox Islam, resulting in the putting into practice of the theistic demand of Surā 5—The Table—of the Holy Koran? This 'divinely given standard of morality' demands that "As for the man or woman who is guilty of theft, cut off their hands to punish them for their crimes. That is the punishment enjoined by Allah" . . . a practice still adhered to by the theists of Saudi Arabia. And this is by no means the worst thing we should have to fear if the divine commands of the Koran were ever to be seriously adhered to! Much rather, surely, that we should sit for ever on the fence and let others enjoy the blessings of our uncertainty; which brings me to another point raised by Mr. Barker.

Why Mr. Barker should equate religious agnosticism (sit-on-the-fence-ism) with immorality (do-what-you-like-ism) I fail to see. There is neither philosophical nor empirical justification for doing so. In paragraphs six and seven Mr. Barker gives us a version of the moral argument for the existence of God which I should dearly like to take up, were the *Legon Observer* a journal of philosophy and provided space enough for this kind of dialogue, so profoundly do I disagree with it. (As an argument in the philosophy of religion and not because of atheistic humanist prejudices, I must add.) The dictates of conscience(s) seem to me to be so varied in their demands and so often contradictory that to claim their emanation from one source is impossible unless God is, as the eighteenth century Scottish Sceptic David Hume once suggested, really a somewhat motley committee. With regard to 'conscience' one has to be even more specific than with words like 'theist' and 'religion'. It is surely more accurate in this respect to talk of a Christian conscience, a Marxist conscience, an Islamic conscience, and so on. Further, Mr. Barker's account of the facts and implications of the moral life is not one which I recognise. 'I feel I ought to do this' does not imply 'It is God who is telling me to do this'. The first premise admits of many other equally plausible interpretations. One last remark on this point. It appears to me far more dangerous to the cause of morality to encourage people to believe that every moral demand they feel is the voice of God and has

therefore divine backing, leading as it sometimes has done to the most frightening excesses of bigoted cruelty, than to create, as Mr. Barker accuses me of doing, "a state of uncertainty" with regard to religious faith.

In his penultimate paragraph Mr. Barker makes some remarks about Christian morality with which I heartily agree, but I must ask him to re-read precisely what I said when he goes on to accuse me of seeking "to limit the extent to which the churches should look outward to their responsibilities in the world." The passage he no doubt has in mind is as follows: "It might well turn out that . . . the task of building up a morally healthy society lies less with the churches than it does with those on whom the responsibility for social security rests. This is not to say that it rests wholly with them." "It might well turn out." I don't know. Perhaps one day the psychological and sociological evidence will tell us whether people steal, for instance, more because of their circumstances than because of their beliefs or the lack of them. I think we have much to learn about the motivation of behaviour. The point of the above passage was, however, in this instance, to have it both ways, and to suggest that both the Christian church and the government have responsibilities here, though these will overlap as Christians become more aware that they should also practise their faith, and take their part in redeeming the world, outside of formal church institutions, and activities.

Dr. Konotey-Ahulu in his reply appears to me to make my article a spring board for a message of his own, setting me up, irrespective of what I actually said, as a scientifically orientated atheistic humanist" Aunt Sally, at which he then proceeds to throw his darts. Apart, therefore, from the repetition of my name, for which "James Thrower" read "scientific humanist, the major part of his reply has only an indirect relevance to my original article. There are, however, two or three points that I must comment upon.

I am, of course, aware that Christianity is not a philosophy, if by a philosophy is meant a set of beliefs, held purely intellectually. I never said that it was. On the other hand Christianity does, I believe, despite what many Christian theologians are now saying to the contrary, involve the adherence to propositions which are held to be true, and the assertion 'I believe in God' whatever else that affirmation may involve, is one of them, and being such, comes, and always has come, under philosophical discussion. But as I have already pointed out, the truth or falsity of this assertion was not under discussion.

With reference to the point which Dr. Konotey-Ahulu makes in his third paragraph about "saints", I would agree that my usage certainly went beyond that of the New Testament. The "saint" or holy man I had, in fact, in mind was a Buddhist one, in that I was talking about "world-denying religions" as can be seen by turning to the context of my remarks. (Much of Dr. Konotey-Ahulu's trouble, here and elsewhere in his reply, springs from his persistent identification of Christianity and religion, as if Christianity were the only religion which I could possibly have had in mind. Thus, for instance, in his fourth paragraph, where after reciting some of the beliefs of (some) Christians, he comments, quoting my words "all these may be repugnant to the majority of moral men." This was not what I had in mind at all. I was in fact thinking of some of the demands of reli-

gions other than Christianity, for example Surā 5 of the Koran which I have mentioned, Yahweh's charge to David that he should slay all the Amelekites in the Old Testament, or with Christianity in mind, Queen Mary of England's obedience to what, presumably, by means of her conscience she took to be God's will to the effect that she should burn all important Protestants. Not surprisingly, therefore, when he accuses me of attempting to "slay religion" and "whitewash atheism," though where he got this extravagant idea from I cannot imagine, and of "lumping all beliefs into one huge heap of a caricature" he fails to see that what I was endeavouring to do was just the opposite, namely to try to unpack these terms into their concrete instances. I was in fact, he may be surprised to learn, saying nothing that one of Christianity's leading theologians, Dr. Karl Barth, has not said. My article could, though in fact it wasn't have been written by a confirmed Barthian, for one of Barth's major distinctions is that between Christianity and religion.) But to return. It cannot be denied, however, that historical Christianity has exhibited similar world denigrating tendencies, though I would agree with the doctor that such should not characterise the "true Christian." One might contrast here those two Christian saints, St. Anthony, who as Helen Wadell in her book on the Desert Fathers has said, "sold earth to buy heaven", with St. Francis of Assisi. This would also serve as yet another example of the differing interpretations which different people put on what is involved in adherence to the Master, or on the call of conscience.

Lastly, I am indeed aware that the Christian religion does not aim solely at producing moral people. In fact I would go further and doubt whether its aim is to produce 'moral' people at all. Its aim is rather to restore men to their sonship with God and that this has consequences and overlapping connections with what the world calls 'morality' which does not nullify the point that Christian ethics uses throughout theological terms, and is in fact applied theology, and leaves morality as such to moral philosophers and moralists. I do not hope that this rather concentrated point will not be misunderstood. Many people, however, as I pointed out in my original article, and as I have already stated in this one, are looking to a revival of religion as a means to restoring the standards and practice of a certain basic human and social morality and it is to them that my original remarks were addressed, as should have been clear from my opening paragraphs.

Upon the remainder of Dr. Konotey-Ahulu's reply I have no comment as I do not regard it as relevant to my original remarks.

The issue, therefore remains, and I still ask, as being worthy of discussion, my original question in my original words "Is a revival of religion necessarily a good thing?" Dr. Konotey-Ahulu has answered with an unqualified yes. For myself, I should wish, as I have tried, to clarify the question and at least be more precise as to what kind of religion is meant, before I make up my mind either way. I trust that at least some other people, and particularly those in positions of authority, will do likewise.

I think also, and this was as much a part of my original intention, that a similar exercise would be welcome before we unilaterally rule atheism out.

Correspondence on this topic is closed—Editor.

Book Review

THE WRETCHED OF THE EARTH

by Frantz Fanon

(MacGibbon & Kee, 1965, London.)

Review by

Kwabena Archempong

IT IS perhaps the greatest irony of history that revolutionary ideas and situations which are considered the most effective means of social and historical change cannot be completely dramatized. These ideas can be rehearsed or even staged with considerable historical amendments and revisions to the original script. For instance people in different times and places had tried to organize the world in accordance with the letter and spirit of the Holy Scriptures or of Marxism, and yet full-length presentations, faithful to the authorised texts have been found to be impossible in the different historical and social circumstances. For whenever and wherever there is an historical acting of a revolutionary idea, whether it is Christianity or Marxism, the result turns out to be really an adaptation of the original idea. Purists or those dedicated to the original Idea or "thing-in-itself" may deplore the revisionism of the actors but it seems inevitable that in any historical revolutionary situation the actors are forced to be inauthentic. The fact that one cannot live out a revolutionary idea fully and authentically is due to the Utopianism and the total violence in the very idea and process of a revolution. For a revolution is essentially the realization of an *alternative reality*, of an Utopia which can be brought about only through total violence—by means of complete destruction of all other situations logically incompatible with the Idea. Thus even though the statement of the ends of revolutions almost always refers to the achievement of a golden age, the language of a revolutionary or the prophet of a revolution is necessarily a language of violence. It follows then that to set out to justify or condemn the element or idea of violence in the context of a revolution by some external system of values is irrelevant, since the relation between Utopianism, revolution and violence is strictly speaking internal. It is therefore not untypical that even in the Holy Bible the language of the prophets and the Messiah is always a language of doom, hellfire and violence whilst the whole purpose of God is supposed to begin and end with the happiness of the Garden of Eden.

Revolutionary Utopias consist in the presentation of mutually opposing possibilities but they also carry the terrifying conviction that

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the actual situation should not have existed and must not (be allowed to) exist and that the alternative reality which is merely a bare possibility must be realized by all possible means, even though its happening is also historically inevitable. Therefore the actor in a revolutionary situation and the prophet of the Utopia live in a world of opposites; violence is the definitive relation of this ontological set-up. Frantz Fanon, in *The Wretched of The Earth* analyses with clinical precision and presents with prophetic ardour the Developing World: the world of colonisation and de-colonisation, a world in which such opposing concepts as oppression and freedom, authoritarianism and liberty, wealth and poverty both grip and collide. Within this world in which one thing negates the identity of the other thing and processes do not fuse into higher synthesis but each process constitutes a clean state of its opposite, Fanon describes the neurotic disorders of the Developing World, which the French call the Third World (*Tiers Monde*)

A violent deprivation of the freedoms, liberties and wealth of the native by the settler is the outward criterion of the schizophrenic disorders of the Tiers Monde. But basically the ailment has roots in the tension between opposite species in that universe. The rift between the species is not dialectical and horizontal as Marxism presupposes but instead it is existential and vertical and the opposing situations are as mutually destructive as they are mutually definitive. Europe, according to Fanon, is the creation of the Tiers Monde just as the Tiers Monde is the creation of Europe. Therefore one cannot preserve one without preserving the other; collorary, one cannot abolish one without abolishing the other. Hence, although decolonisation is the abolition of colonialism and the destruction of the settler through mental and physical violence, decolonisation is not the substitution of the native for the settler. In decolonisation the Tiers Monde also abolishes itself in a collective punishment and establishes a new order which is beyond the good and evil of the universe of the Tiers Monde.

If Europe is responsible for the inimical social and political relations in the Tiers Monde, the sickness has also been accentuated by a certain imbalance in the biochemistry of these nations of Africa, Asia and Latin America. These nations are hampered in their growth by their own sterile traditions and tribalism; the people in these countries are abandoned or exploited by an underdeveloped and uncreative bourgeoisie and are oppressed by their own political leaders. Fanon contemptuously refers to this native elite—the class of intellectuals still working

dogmatically with the categories of Europe and of the professional class and the leaders of the nationalist political parties—as “affranchised slaves” who have a very confused conception of social and political reality. The dimness of their perception of social reality lies in their rejection of total violence and in their pathetic attempts to be like the “other”.¹ Fanon attacks with more vehemence the political leaders and heads of government of these countries who make themselves the embodiments of the reason and will of the whole of the people, whilst they at the same time undermine the unity of their countries by their petty allegiances to their own tribes and families: . . . “these heads of the governments are the true traitors in Africa; for they sell their country to the most terrifying of all its enemies: stupidity.”

Leaders in developing countries, have taken a partial view of the semantics of the English word “to lead” or the French word “conduire” to mean only to drive and thereby have reduced their people to an unthinking herd. This emasculation of the people by their own leaders is done through the political party which

. . . instead of welcoming the expression of popular discontent, instead of taking for its fundamental purpose the free flow of ideas from the people to the government, forms a screen and forbids such ideas. The party leaders behave like common sergeant-majors, frequently reminding the people of the need for “silence in the ranks”. This party which used to call itself the servant of the people, which used to claim that it worked for the full expression of the people’s will, as soon as the colonial power puts the country into its control, hastens to send the people back to their caves.

The only embodiments of political reality and revolutionary virtue in the Tiers Monde, according to Fanon, are the people, the lumpenproletariat, the inhabitants of the marginal and subterranean worlds; the prostitutes and their pimps, hobos and the rural scum. These people alone have remained uncorrupted and their political virtues have not been compromised by their social roles. These alone are the demiurge and their hands are the magic hands which can take responsibility for everything. And when this class of people have achieved political education, when . . . the people have taken violent part in the national liberation they will allow no one to set themselves up as “liberators”. They will show themselves to be jealous of the results of their action and take good care not to place their future, their destiny

or fate of their country in the hands of a living god.

This total liberation cannot be achieved except by means of a violent destruction of oppressive ideas and physical opposition to enemies of unfreedom. Thus "violence alone, violence committed by the people, violence organized and educated by its leaders makes it possible for the masses to understand social and political truths and gives the key to them". However, the idea of violence and revolution as a complete antidote to oppressive systems is valid only if these systems are definitive; but in a world in which unfreedom is hydra-headed and has no specific essence, the intentions of a humanistic revolution cannot be completely realized. Even in the Tiers Monde where Fanon comes close to identifying the

nature and extent of the oppressive situation, the neurotic nature of the crisis makes it a near contradiction to suppose that there can be a complete and total liberation.

In *The Wretched of the Earth* Fanon is primarily concerned with a sickness produced by the oppressive universe of the Tiers Monde. And yet since oppression anywhere and of any kind leads to sickness and unhappiness of a human being, the political sickness of the Tiers Monde is also the sickness of Europe (and of America). It is indeed a universal sickness and it is only when we have created a new humanity that the "workless-less-than-men . . . , all the hopeless dregs of humanity, all who turn in circles between suicide and madness, will recover their balance".

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News Summary

(Ghana Broadcasting Corporation)

22/1/67

Report of the Apaloo Commission

THE Apaloo Commission which enquired into Kwame Nkrumah's properties found that, at the time of his overthrow Nkrumah was worth about £2½m. Of this, over £400,000 including some £342,000 in bank accounts was held in Ghana. Nkrumah also owned properties worth over £265,000 outside Ghana, and controlled limited liability companies worth over £1m.

The Commission recommended that of the amount standing in his name in the banks in Ghana, Nkrumah was properly entitled to £45,000—one third of his total legitimate income. The rest should be recovered by the Government. It also recommended the recovery of sums standing to the credit of Nkrumah's wife (Fathia), his mother (Elizabeth Nyaniba), and his children.

Ayeh-Kumi and Halm, trustees of Nkrumah's accounts in foreign banks, were to recover for the Treasury moneys held on Nkrumah's behalf in the Midland Bank in London and the Swiss Bank of Incorporation in Zurich. The Commission also recommended the recovery of the ownership of Nkrumah's building in Cairo (valued at £58,000). The expenditure incurred from public Ghana funds on Nkrumah's villa in Rabat, Morocco should be recovered from his cash assets in Ghana.

The loss of £1m. incurred in the purchase of the assets of Messrs. A. G. Leventis and Co. should be recovered from Nkrumah and members of the Cabinet who sanctioned the purchase of the assets. Money loaned, given out as gifts, or improperly expended on people from Nadeco funds, C.P.P. funds, the Special Commissions Account and the Contingency Vote should be recovered.

The Government generally accepts the recommendations of the Commission.

Association of Ghanaian Importers and Exporters

AN ASSOCIATION of Ghanaian importers and exporters has been formed in Accra to reduce the cost of consumer goods for the average Ghanaian. Known as the "Association of Ghanaian Importers and Exporters", it aims to offer Ghanaian businessmen a higher bargaining position in respect of bulk purchases and finance.

Mr. Oduro-Kwaten protem secretary of the Association said the Association will offer advice to Ghanaian businessmen on management finance and market research. It will also negotiate with the government to reduce what he described as the present unbearable import and export duties paid by Ghanaian businessmen.

Police Superintendent Sacked

MR. J. E. K. AGBADJA, Chief Superintendent of Police formerly stationed at Ho, has been dismissed from the Ghana Police Service for gross neglect of duty. An official announcement in Accra says Mr. Agbadja was dismissed by the N.L.C. on the recommendation of the Inspector-General of Police Mr. Harlley.

Jurist pays respect to Danquah

THE Secretary-General of the International Commission of Jurists, Mr. Sean MacBride, who was on a short

visit to Ghana laid a wreath on the grave of the late Dr. J. B. Danquah at a solemn ceremony performed at the Kibi public cemetery.

G.N.T.C.

THE Ghana National Trading Corporation (GNTC) has presented a cheque for three million cedis out of their last year's six million cedis net profit to the Government.

Nana Kobina Nketsia

NANA Kobina Nketsia, Omanhene of Esikadu, has been appointed the 17th member of the Electoral Commission.

Prisons Commission

MEMBERS of the Commission appointed by the N.L.C. to enquire into conditions prevailing in Ghana Prisons have been sworn in by the Chief Justice, Mr. Justice Akufo Addo. Members of the Commission are, Sir Edward Asafu-Adjaye, chairman; Mr. N. A. Cameron, formerly Chief Adviser on prisons to the Uganda Government, Mrs. D. B. Vanderpuije, National General Secretary of the Y.W.C.A. and the Reverend W. G. Brandford, Secretary, Christian Council of Ghana.

The Deputy Chief Principal Officer of the Department of Social Welfare and Community Development, Mr. Acquah, is Secretary to the Commission.

Food Marketing Corporation to be investigated

THE N.L.C. has appointed a four-man Committee to investigate reports of irregularities and maladministration in the Food Marketing Corporation. The Chairman of the Committee is Mr. J. G. Amofo, Chief Agricultural Economist and the members are Major J. G. W. Doamekor of the Army Headquarters, Mr. K. Ghanney, Chief Superintendent of Police, Mr. T. Vardon, Senior Auditor, Auditor-General's Department is member secretary.

Special Course for Police at I.P.A.

THE Inspector-General of Police and Vice-Chairman of the National Liberation Council, Mr. J. W. K. Harlley, has opened a three-week special course for about 13 senior police officers at the Institute of Public Administration at Greenhill, Achimota.

The course has been designed to train the officers in administrative management so that they could improve upon the standards of efficiency in their various commands.

27/1/67

State Cocoa Marketing Board Statement on loans

IT HAS come to the notice of the Ghana Cocoa Marketing Board that certain people in the country are organising to take legal action against it in respect of the collection of loans granted to cocoa farmers by the defunct Cocoa Purchasing Company. These people are said to be advising debtors of the Board to resist repayments of loans granted them.

The State Cocoa Marketing Board wishes to make it clear that the whole of the shares of the Cocoa Purchasing Company was subscribed to and paid up by the Board alone and that the Cocoa Purchasing Company merely acted as an agent of the Board in granting the loans through a newly-created department of the Cocoa Purchasing Company known as the "Ghana Cocoa Marketing Board Loans Agency". This body was later absorbed into the State Cocoa Marketing Board

as the Loans Department of the Board when the Cocoa Purchasing Company went into liquidation.

The Board wishes it to be known that it does not intend to write off the loans under any circumstance whatsoever. Debtors are therefore warned of the futility of allying themselves with and giving financial contributions to anybody or organisation whose aim is to hand the loans granted to them annulled. They are further advised to intensify their repayment of the loans or face the consequence.

Persons behind such a move should be reported to the police.

The Kwesi Armah Case: Ghana protests against Britain's Decision

THE Government of Ghana has protested to the British Government about the decision of the Home Secretary not to return Kwesi Armah to Ghana.

N.L.C. uncovers plot to stage counter coup

THE National Liberation Council announced that it had uncovered a plot to stage a counter coup d'etat in Ghana.

Release of "Refugees" from Custody

THE Ghana Government has released from protective

custody and granted political asylum to thirty refugees from the Cameroons and Fernando Po, who were placed under protective custody during the coup. An official statement said that in consultation with the representatives of the United Nations High Commission for refugees in Ghana and the Ghana Red Cross, the Government has agreed that should the refugees elect to stay in Ghana, the Red Cross and the U.N. would be responsible for their settlement.

British Car Assembly Plant

A MEETING between representatives of the Ghana Government and the British Motor Corporation (BMC) was held at the Castle in Accra to consider the possibility of establishing a Motor car assembly plant in Ghana. The plant will assemble BMC cars which include Austin, Wolseley, Morris and MG. The Ghana side was represented by six-man team headed by the Chairman of the Economic Committee of the N.L.C. Mr. E. N. Ombaoe. The B.M.C. was represented by Mr. E. A. Oakley, Director, BMC Export Sales Limited. Present also was the First Secretary, Commercial, of the British High Commission, Mr. J. D. Millar.

O B I T U A R Y

TRIBUTE TO SIR ARKU KORSAH

BY AFRICAN standards of life expectancy, Sir Arku Korsah has done better than most and Ghana is the better for it, He has given to the country a long period of distinguished service. In the administration of the law which was his primary occupation, he not only made history by becoming the first African Chief Justice but he was a major force behind such institutions as the Local Courts. The administration of justice and government are interrelated and Sir Arku Korsah's connections with the latter date as far back as to 1928 when he was appointed a Member of the Legislative Council, a post he held until 1940. Between 1942 and 1945, he was a Member of the Executive Council.

Born at Saltpond in 1894, Arku Korsah was educated at Fourah Bay, Durham and London, where he read degrees in law, and returned to set up a lucrative practice at Cape Coast in 1920. In 1942 he and Nana Ofori Atta I broke new ground when they became the first Africans to be appointed Members of the Governor's Executive Council during the Second World War. In 1945, he was appointed a Puisne Judge, and in 1957, a Justice of Appeal, and a member of the West African Court of Appeal. In 1956, he became the first Ghanaian Chief Justice, a post he held until his dismissal in 1963 by Nkrumah.

Except towards the end of Nkrumah's

regime, Sir Arku Korsah maintained good relations with all previous regimes in Ghana, whatever position he held—a factor which has made him a controversial figure in professional and political circles. One is not certain as to the view he may have held with regard to Nkrumah's encroachments on the liberty of the individual and the independence of the judiciary. Following the acquittal of Tawiah Adamafo, Ako Adjei and Cofie Crabbe on charges of treason, a case in which he sat with Mr. Justice Akufo Addo and Mr. Justice Van Lare, he was dismissed from the Bench. This must have come as a shock to him and may have affected his health.

He was always at the service of the state. As old as he was, he undertook a mission last year to several African countries to explain the reasons which led to the February coup. As evidence of his versatility, he was a Member of the Commission on Higher Education in West Africa from 1943 to 1945. Altogether, then, he rendered invaluable services to his country. But in such a long and varied career it is impossible to avoid controversies and Sir Arku Korsah had his share. His death is a serious loss not only to his family, to which we extend our deepest condolences, but also to Ghana. When he died Kobina Arku Korsah was full of honour, mourned alike by his Government and his people.



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