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IN THIS ISSUE

EDITORIAL

THE O.A.U. AND AFRICAN PROBLEMS

ANOTHER conference of the O.A.U. opens in Kinshasa shortly. The meeting of the Heads of State and Governments will be preceded by that of Foreign Ministers which starts on the 4th September, 1967. Of the total membership of the O.A.U. two are known to have declined invitations to attend—Guinea because of the detention of her diplomats in Ivory Coast and Malawi presumably because of fear of criticism of her policy on Rhodesia and South Africa. It is not, however, certain that there will be many Heads of State and Government attending because of the security risks created by the mercenary threat in the Congo. Moreover, many Arab leaders are unlikely to be in a position to afford the time and energy required after attending so many inter-Arab conferences on the Middle East Crisis; while the Nigerian Head of State needs to stay home for obvious reasons.

The conference will be faced with the familiar problems of Southern Africa. It will have to consider what further steps are necessary to deal with them. Of course, the usual condemnatory resolutions will be passed. But the conference will do well to give serious thought to more practical measures. The Liberation Committee will have to be re-organized and strengthened to make it an effective channel of aid to resistance fighters in Rhodesia, South Africa, Angola, Mozambique and elsewhere. A lot of thinking, planning and sacrifice of the scale involved in the Vietnam war will be called for in the years ahead to face our formidable foes.

The O.A.U. conference should further consider other measures for bringing greater pressure to bear on Britain to do something about Rhodesia and South Africa. Embargoes on selected British products especially those whose substitutes are available elsewhere, supplemented by nationalisation of British commercial interests in African states, will induce desired results. All these measures are, however, possible only if there is the will to fight injustice. It is patently lacking in the case of Malawi, Botswana, and Lesotho while many French African countries are unlikely to support measures beyond condemnatory resolutions.

The distrust generated by inter-African conflicts corrodes the will to co-operate fully for the solution of problems facing Africa. Boundary disputes are a case in point. But they are unlikely to be a major issue at this conference. Apart from the Moroccan-Algerian dispute, the O.A.U. has shied away from border problems.

Two issues which one would like the conference to consider are the mercenary threat in Congo (Kinshasa)

and the Nigerian civil war. The former is likely to arise in connection with the call which O.C.A.M. members reportedly intend to make on Algeria not to extradite Tshombe to the Congo Such a call will be resisted by Congo (Kinshasa) and it may considerably poison the atmosphere. On the other hand the Congo (Kinshasa) is likely to call for a condemnation of mercenary activity in her territory. As regards Nigeria, the Federal government will resist any attempt to discuss the civil war for familiar reasons. It is, however, likely to be taken up in private discussion between the Nigerian and other delegations.

The Arab-Israeli conflict is bound to feature at the conference. Faced with a critical situation, the Arab states will want some assurance of O.A.U. support. This will raise awkward problems for those African countries with commitments to Israel.

The re-organization of the O.A.U. itself is another item to be discussed. Already some of its activities have been streamlined resulting in the abolition of some specialized agencies. With this issue goes the budgetary one. The record of many members in meeting their assessments has been poor. Some are likely to advocate a reduction of such assessments as part of the effort to cut down costs.

There is a host of other problems which the conference may wish to discuss—economic co-operation, refugees, non-proliferation treaty and Vietnam, to name a few. Not all can be taken up. Whatever the issues eventually discussed it is our earnest hope that mature diplomacy will attend the deliberations so that the conference can be brought to a successful end.

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may be described as "near-unanimity". It will be realized, however, that this method does not extend to those provisions of the constitution a change in which might be held vital. In particular, it does not extend to the powers of the legislature itself. It will also be realized that the three months interval and the two-thirds majority rule are designed to ensure that as many people as possible approve the amendment. Above all, it is a convenient method of amendment. We believe that the second method, which covers those aspects of the Constitution that are crucial to the maintenance of balance in the Constitution and of our liberties, ensures that it is only by means of "concurrent majorities" that changes can be made. We believe further that the underlying principles of the Constitution can be constitutionally subverted only with the deliberate and willing consent of the people of Ghana. No constitutional provisions, however, can prevent anything being done with the deliberate and willing consent of a people.

The last point is a useful one on which to end. A good amendment process as we have argued, merely permits the electorate to maintain control over constitutional changes; it does not do away with this necessity. If the people of Ghana insist on making good use of this power the Constitution will not be subverted; but if they are nonchalant, if those thrust into positions of leadership will prefer the glories of office and the comforts of materialism to the hard, but unglamorous, work of standing up to those who would subvert the Constitution, there is nothing that the amendment process can do to prevent the subversion of the Constitution. It is ultimately a question of choice; and the choice is for Ghanaians to make, not the Constitution.

Africa

THE O.A.U.: ACHIEVEMENTS AND FAILURES

By
O. Y. Asamoah

IN A few days time members of the O.A.U. begin another round of their yearly conferences. There will be much talking, wining and dining but little else. After four years of age one wonders whether the O.A.U. justifies its existence. Born in May 1963 the O.A.U. was given far reaching economic and political objectives but denied an organic character without which those objectives would be unattainable. But in the atmosphere of 1963 all one could hope for was that the requisite cohesion would develop in the course of time. How much have these hopes been realized?

African Unity

One of the purposes of the Charter of the O.A.U. is to promote the unity and solidarity of the African States. The organization was born in part to stem the polarization of Africa into rival and competitive groups. But how far has this been prevented? It is true that the Casablanca and Monrovia groups, among others, have disappeared. But ideological, cultural and other considerations that gave rise to these organizations remain and there still remain identifiable groups of radical and conservative states. In addition events have not affected the much longer history of francophonic co-operation. The Brazzaville group (UAM), the nucleus of the Monrovia group, continued in existence under a different name (OCAM). Within the Brazzaville group which almost entirely consists of former French African territories there are smaller groupings such as **Conseil de l'Entente,** etc. There is talk of a larger Commonwealth of French Africa. In North Africa the Arab States are more preoccupied with inter-Arab problems and the Arab-Israeli dispute than with other African problems. In East Africa, the states of Tanganyika, Kenya and Uganda continue to hope for closer political co-operation. In addition, there is individual alignment with power blocs. The affirmation of a policy of non-alignment as made by the signatories of the O.A.U. Charter as an essential principle of the Organization has remained largely meaningless. Thus historical, cultural, ideological and other considerations continue to keep Africa divided.

Apart from splinter groups, Inter-African disputes have frustrated efforts at greater unity. Border disputes in varying stages of development

L.S.N.A. Communication

AMENDING THE CONSTITUTION—II

By
Our Political Correspondent

Preventing over-rigidity in amendment process

THESE, then are the general points to bear in mind in working out definite proposals for the new Constitution. In considering definite proposals, however, there is one danger that must be avoided. Constitution makers must carefully keep away from both the Scylla of over-flexibility and the Charybdis of over-rigidity. We have already disposed of the question of over-flexibility, for that arises only when the legislature has the untrammelled power to amend the constitution. The question of over-rigidity is a more difficult one.

It is easy to conclude from what has been said about the conditions of an effective amendment process that it should be very difficult to change a constitution, that the amendment process should be as laborious as possible. There are, indeed, those who would argue against any change at all. These are the people who hate the very notion of change. They are like the first Lord Liverpool of whom it was said that if he had been at the creation he would have protested: "Lord, preserve the chaos". We cannot take issue with such people; we can only leave them to vegetate (if that is possible!) in the quagmire of reaction. We have already argued that since society in the present world is changing at a fast rate a method of ordered change in the constitution must always be provided, otherwise the constitution will invite its violent over-throw. It would appear, therefore, that the correct position should be that a constitution must be difficult to change, but not too difficult. Nor should it be thought that the same method need be applied to all parts of the constitution, for all parts of a constitution are not of the same importance. The more important a provision the more difficult it should be to change.

Specific Proposals for amending the new Constitution

What, then, are our specific proposals for amending the new Constitution? We recommend that there should be two methods, one more difficult than the other. The **first** method, the less difficult one, should apply to those provisions that are considered less important. Any member of Parliament should have the right to propose an amendment. Every proposal for an amendment should be set out in the form of a Bill and should indicate in detail its scope and effect. The first time it is put forward it should be debated in Parliament, and it should be considered passed for the first time if two-thirds of the total membership of the legislature support it. If it is not supported by such a majority then it is pronounced dead—as dead as a cuckoo! If passed, it should go into abeyance for three months (during which time the country will have the opportunity to discuss it). If after three months the Bill, as passed at the first time, is debated and again passed by a two-thirds majority of the entire membership of the legislature the amendment shall be considered adopted.

The **second** and more difficult method will apply to the more important section of the Constitution. According to this method, after the Bill has been passed in the manner described above it should in addition be submitted to a referendum without any change whatever in it. It will be considered adopted if it is approved in the referendum by a majority of the electorate as well as a majority of the Regions comprising Ghana. If the amendment affects the powers or functions of a particular Regional Council the Regions approving the Bill must include the particular Region whose Council is affected. The amendment as approved becomes law without being subjected to any changes, whether substantial, grammatical or typographical. (Any such changes must be made before the referendum). In general this second method covers those provisions of the Constitution that are entrenched. Specifically, these provisions include: powers and functions of Regional Councils and of the Electoral Commission; Houses of Chiefs; Fundamental Rights; independence of the judiciary and the right of the judiciary to pronounce on the constitutionality of Acts of Parliament; powers of the legislature; prohibition of the one-party system; and the amendment process itself. Provisions which do not fall under the second method are of course covered by the first.

Conclusion

We do not claim that the proposals we have put forward are the best that could be made. We believe, however, that they conform with the general principles we have considered in the earlier part of this communication. That the two methods of amendment are not over-flexible is plain to see; we believe that they are not over-rigid. It may rightly be suspected that the power of the legislature to change some parts of the Constitution, even if hedged about with some safeguards, might violate the principle of the sovereignty of the people and the principle of what

and intensity exist between the following groups of states:

Ethiopia and Somalia,
Kenya and Somalia,
Algeria and Morocco,
Ethiopia and the Sudan,
Chad and the Sudan.

A third divisive factor which until the overthrow of the Nkrumah regime threatened a great split among the African states was subversion. The O.A.U. meeting of 1965 which took place in Accra was almost not held because of this issue and even so a number of states boycotted it. The overthrow of the Nkrumah government has, however, helped to ease tensions between Ghana and her neighbours. But the coup of February 1966 created problems of its own. It resulted in poor relations between Ghana and Guinea on the one hand and Guinea and Ivory Coast on the other leading to the arrest of Guinean diplomats in Accra last year and now in Abidjan. Just as the Accra incident prevented Guinea representation at the O.A.U. meeting last year, the Abidjan incident will mean the absence of Guinea from the meeting at Kinshasa.

Disputes between states are unavoidable. What is required is their amicable settlement. In 1963 the African states provided for a Commission of Mediation, Conciliation and Arbitration which was, however, not set up until 1965. It is unlikely that this body will achieve great results. Ad hoc bodies were set up to deal with the Algerian-Moroccan, Congo (Kinshasa)-Congo (Brazzaville) and Ghana-Guinea disputes, the other disputes remain outside the purview of the O.A.U.

Economic, Social, Educational and Cultural Co-operation

Another vital aim of the O.A.U. was to foster economic, social, educational and cultural co-operation between the member states. The resolutions on economic co-operation adopted at Addis Ababa in 1963 inspired a feeling of a determination to take concerted action to attack once and for all the problem of redistribution of the economic resources of the world. But the African states have not shown what it takes to achieve such results.

Economic developments have largely followed patterns created in the colonial era. The emphasis is on economic dependence on Europe rather than inter-African co-operation—witness the stampede to enter the European Economic Community. Even the little inter-African co-operation that exists has been achieved outside the framework of the O.A.U. either through the Economic Commission for Africa or through regional groupings. The most that the O.A.U. itself has done has been to set up a number of specialized agencies which produced little and have been reduced from 10 to 3. On the issue of refugees, however, some good results have been achieved by the adoption of a convention.

Colonialism and Racism

The only issues that engender a high degree of solidarity are colonialism and racism. But the achievements of the O.A.U. in eradicating these evils have been very little. Rhodesia seized independence without any effective action being taken. South Africa continues to defy world opinion and there is little that can be done. Portugal continues to fight a colonial war on three fronts (Portuguese Guinea, Angola and Mozambique) without much loss to herself because Africa is not ready to meet the challenge of colonialism. Even though unanimous resolutions are adopted within the O.A.U. to condemn these countries not all African states feel sufficiently strongly about them.

To be fair to the O.A.U. it must be said that it created a Committee of Liberation which channels aid to freedom fighters. The activities of this organization have been subjected to severe criticism from certain quarters, and Tunisia, for example, will not lament its demise. Most of the aid the freedom fighters receive, however, comes through their own individual efforts. The existence of rival organizations of freedom fighters in most of the territories involved has hampered O.A.U. efforts. On the other hand the racist governments of South Africa and Rhodesia are beginning to win African friends (Malawi, Lesotho and Botswana), some of whom have entered into economic relations with them and co-operate in intercepting freedom fighters. The members of the O.A.U. need to rededicate themselves to "the total emancipation of the African territories which are still dependent", a task they enthusiastically undertook in 1963.

Sovereignty, Territorial Integrity and Independence

The Congo turmoil brought into sharp focus the technique of colonial powers in sowing the seeds of disintegration when the time approaches for their retreat. These same colonial powers bequeathed to independent Africa unsettled boundaries and states arbitrarily created without regard to tribal allegiances. Furthermore, it has been obvious that political independence was meaningless unless there was vigilance to preserve it. It was therefore decided in 1963 to make the defence of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of the African states one of the purposes of the O.A.U.

One of the earliest acts of the O.A.U. was to adopt a resolution affirming the sanctity of existing boundaries. This remains strong O.A.U. policy. But the events in Nigeria may put this policy to a severe test.

Conclusion

That there is real pessimism about the future of O.A.U. is self-evident. The primary cause being the continued strength of neo-colonialism. Speaking on his return from Addis Ababa after last year's O.A.U. Conference, President Nyerere said that, "what this conference demonstrated more than anything else is that France and Britain have more power in the O.A.U. than the whole of Africa put together and it is really up to Africa to be truly independent or to remain colonies of France and Britain". Speaking of the future he said, "Africa is in a mess. There is a devil somewhere in Africa". Many will agree with him even if for different reasons. Either the mess is cleared up soon or the O.A.U. will fold up.

NIGERIA: AFRICA'S PROBLEM

By

Onyemaeke Ogum

WITH the first place going to the Congo, Africa's number two trouble-spot is Nigeria. Almost since Independence in 1960, that country has not known perfect peace. But until July, 1966, this absence of peace had the form that is generally described as "political tension". The chain of events which started in 1962 with the Action Group plot to overthrow the Federal Government had reached a climax in the Western Nigeria Elections of October, 1965, the results of which were a near-robbery. The events of 1966 are well known: the coup and counter-coup of January and July; the massacre of the Easterners in the North and the debate over constitutional arrangements which followed these events. Efforts were made but tension and distrust were still high and much couldn't be achieved when the year ran out, leaving Nigeria in uncertainty and fear.

The year 1967 dawned with some rays of hope when the Ghana Government initiated a move which brought the Nigerian military leaders to Aburi, Ghana, to talk peace. But this hope was short-lived; the Nigerian Military leaders, back home, disagreed over the correct interpretation of the decisions which they reached at the two-day meeting at Aburi. These decisions were finally thrown out by commander-in-chief Gowon. After this disagreement, it became doubtful whether Nigeria would be saved. Tension continued to mount. A pitch was reached in the "decreeing" of the country into twelve states by General Gowon and the follow-up proclamation of independence of the former Eastern Nigeria (now Biafra) by Col. Ojukwu. The actual outbreak of war, though shocking, did not come as a surprise in view of the degree of bad-faith that had been built up.

After two months of war, it has become reasonably clear that what used to be known as 'Nigeria' will never be again, though some people still find it painful to dislodge themselves of a contrary view. But when the reality of Biafra becomes common knowledge, it might interest those who will write an account of what happened, to find out how much each person or group of persons contributed to the failure of that which once was the giant of Africa.

They might be interested in finding out how much the British Colonial masters contributed to the disintegration of the country through their muddle of a constitution which formed a cornerstone for all shades of corruption, a constitution in which 'tribalism' was entrenched as a clause. One might examine how much the unscrupulous politicians contributed to the big crash by their usurpation of powers that ordinarily belong to the electorate, and their flagrant misuse of such powers in pursuit of their narrow and selfish interests. On might examine the role of the electorate who acquiesced in the promotion of the new ideology of "money-politics", vis-a-vis their understanding of their responsibilities and rights as citizens. The role of the Press might throw some light on the "freedom of the Press" in Africa. Some might find it pertinent to examine the role of the so-called intellectuals in a developing country. But while the war rages, what is important is to attempt an analysis of the reaction of Africa to her number two trouble-spot.

Many people have complained about the apparent lack of concern or understanding which African States have shown towards the Nigeria-Biafra war. It is very likely that many Heads of Governments have experienced some uneasiness about this deadly silence. There is no doubt that African Governments know that something should be done, though not all of them seem to know what. Above all, there is the big question of who will bell the cat. As long as this question remains unanswered, the war will continue until the whole of Africa finds itself engulfed in one huge upheaval. Already the war is assuming fresh and more dangerous dimensions.

The silence of African Governments can be variously interpreted, one version being a widespread sympathy for Biafra despite the fact that no

country appears willing to enter into a diplomatic warfare with Nigeria, should such a country offer recognition to Biafra as a means of stopping the present armed conflict. This attitude of African Governments can be better understood in the light of the general situation all over the continent. Our brothers in North Africa who would have been fast in throwing their weight one way or the other have been crippled by the recent Arab-Israeli war. The Army regimes in West Africa seem to be preoccupied with the 'big' task of reconstruction. The Summit of East African leaders to discuss the Nigeria-Biafra crisis was threatened into ineffectiveness and indefinite adjournment by Nigeria's emissaries who warned that the crisis was an internal affair. Africa's eldest nations appear to be struggling with age; moreover, General Gowon's denial to them of the chance to mediate, might not have been happily received.

But Africa must not wait indefinitely. The Nigeria-Biafra war is an explosive situation which affects the whole Africa. With each day that passes since the war started, Africa loses in human resources, let alone the disastrous economic consequences. Britain, after a few weeks of open-lie diplomacy, has finally admitted sending arms to the Lagos Government. This has far-reaching consequences, and no matter how much African countries may sympathize with either side, any shipment of arms to the warring parties must be viewed with consternation. Such a replenishment will only help to prolong the conflict and increase bitterness. And it is Africa that suffers. Britain should be told in no mistaken terms to keep her arms. It is Africans that are being killed with those arms and not whites.

In Nigeria, what started as a squabble has developed systematically to engulf the whole country. The same thing might happen to Africa if foreign intervention in the Nigeria-Biafra war is not vehemently resented. More alarming is the dramatic entry of Russia into the conflict.

Recently, a British Conservative member of Parliament, Mr. John Cordle, said in Lagos that the Federal forces would be able to defeat Biafra but that that would only be possible "with a tragic loss of life". And he went on to say that ne would urge the British Government to provide the Federal forces with the means to "finish the war quickly." The inference is obvious. This is the British attitude to anything involving the loss of African lives. Yet in Rhodesia, Britain has proved to be the "toothless bulldog" that Mr. Ali Simbule has called her. Any genuine concern on the part of Britain for the welfare of Africans must first be demonstrated in Rhodesia. Britain's commercial interests in Nigeria-Biafra crisis are too obvious to be confused with this concern.

Regrettably, the O.A.U. appears to have slumped to the canvas since the spate of Military coups in Africa. But she must hasten to find her feet before it becomes too late. The Nigeria-Biafra crisis has been a very big test for Africa as a whole, and I am sure the O.A.U. must have realized how unimpressively she has handled the situation. If she found the way blocked for any direct negotiation she could have canvassed behind the scenes to convince the leaders to accept mediation long before the war broke out. It is, nevertheless, gratifying that the leaders of the O.A.U. will be meeting in Congo-Kinshasa next month. If she fails, by omission or commission, to include the Nigeria-Biafra crisis on her agenda, she will leave many people in doubt as to her awareness of her responsibilities. Anybody who still regards the crisis as an "internal affair" is simply not being sincere. The O.A.U. must do something to break this conspiracy of silence.

Politics

(Special Communication)

INSTITUTION-BUILDING IN GHANA AND NIGERIA

By

K. Bentsi-Enchill

Editor's Note: This is the concluding instalment of this report by Professor Bentsi-Enchill of the private seminar held at Fourah Bay College, University of Sierra Leone, in January this year. The serialising of Dr. Bentsi-Enchill's report, made necessary by space considerations, began in **L.O.** II, 13. Readers should check in that issue for other factual details, as well as for our introductory statement on the Nigerian situation, which took its present turn after the Freetown meeting. Dr. Bentsi-Enchill, as will be seen at the end of his report, invites comment and correspondence on the subject. His address is: P.O. Box RW. 293, University of Zambia, Lusaka. The **Legon Observer** would equally be pleased to publish comments and reflections from its readers on the important matters raised by the Fourah Bay Seminar. The concluding instalment of the report follows:

VIII. Problem of Communication & News Media

OTHER aspects of the problem of public information and the ownership and control of the media of mass communication were raised, but could not be fully discussed as time was running out. And this is clearly one of the topics that must engage the attention of the next meeting.

IX. Political Parties and Representation

Nor was there time enough to enter seriously upon this central question, when its turn came up for discussion. Needless to say, various aspects of the problem were touched upon. There was agreement on the crucial importance of devising effective independent machinery for the supervision of the electoral process. It was suggested, for example, that the independence of the commission must be assured in the same way as that of the judicature, and that the electoral commissioner should have the status, tenure, and protections of a Supreme Court judge.

It was also suggested and agreed that in the quest to ensure democratic procedures throughout the state, constitutional provision should be made enabling the membership of organizations like the trade unions, and other business and professional associations and political parties, to have recourse to the machinery of the electoral commission at need. And although there was some informal discussion of electoral procedures outside the meeting hall, this did not receive formal discussion.

The problem of political parties itself was only reached and started upon in the weary hours of the last evening meeting. Time did not allow for more than the indication of some starting positions. It was interesting to note the recommendation of a one-party system not only from the angle of the revolutionary socialist but also from a quarter where the insistence had been strong on the need for a preliminary study of the nature and characteristics of ethnic cleavage before the prescription of any remedial institutions. An opposing approach was suggested, namely the deliberate contrivance of a cross-ethnic two-party system. And there was withal the general position that others took on the basis of the principle of freedom of association.

There was no time left for the discussion of this pivotal problem. Viewed as one of the basic processes for which institutional provision must be made in the final constitution, it was reserved as one of the matters to be examined under the general heading of "specific institutions and machinery". But when this heading was reached all the remaining time sufficed for the discussion of only one problem—the headship of state. So that the problem of party remains as one of the major issues that must engage the attention of the next Seminar.

X. Specific Institutions and Machinery

As will have appeared from the preceding summary, a number of specific institutional arrangements and suggestions came up for consideration in the course of the examination of various problems. Not least among these was the recommendation for the establishment of a number of **agencies of invigilation,** notably the Ombudsman, and agencies for the policing of the national pursuit of social and economic justice by the ensuring of a fair distribution of important jobs among the different peoples of the state and a reasonable distribution of national economic projects among the different regions, and for dealing with reports regarding corrupt practices. Other necessarily independent agencies like the judiciary, the electoral commission, and the public audit were also kept in mind for later specific discussion.

It is gratifying to report that consensus was reached on the question of the headship of states such as ours. That consensus was based on a frank recognition of the basic problem of our states—namely the creation of a nation out of heterogeneous peoples. It was also influenced by various elements in the preceding discussion and by considerations such as the need to avoid the personalisation and abuse of power, to increase

the sense of participation of all the constituent peoples, to emphasise the notion of trusteeship in the holding of public office, to contain the inevitable struggle for power within reasonable limits, and to minimize corruption.

The headship of multi-ethnic states such as ours, it was agreed, must be conceived as the pivot of our machinery of **national unification and conciliation.** The primary function of the head of state must be that of unifying the different peoples and of initiating conciliatory moves wherever and whenever necessary. This therefore makes it important to distinguish the headship of the nation or the state from the headship of the government of the day, which latter must emerge out of the party political process. The occupant of the top position in the nation must occupy it not by virtue of being the head of a triumphant political party, as in America, but by reason of being the one selected to perform a unifying, nation-symbolising role and function—as in Britain.

But this function is not to be viewed as merely ceremonial and symbolic, important as that aspect undoubtedly is. The occupier for the time-being of this position must be the officer ultimately responsible for those agencies of state which are required to operate independently of the government of the day, as well as for the arrangements for the appointment of personnel to operate those agencies. Such agencies would of course include the judicial service, the public service, and the electoral commissions, as well as the invigilatory arrangements described above.

The President

For the effective performance of this presidential function it is important to surround it with a small college, or privy council, made up of key men from the different regions of the country (and therefore representative of the different peoples), as his consultants and assistants. Since a division of the country into economically viable units or regions would still leave each region with a heterogeneous population, each of these regional representatives in the council might himself be an officer performing a similar functional role in his region as head of the regional administration. Together, they might be envisaged as forming a college of vice-presidents.

The president's term of office should be short (not more than two years), and he should have no right to succeed himself. Such a provision would operate to ensure that many people have a chance of performing this role. Furthermore it should be the rule that the successor president is chosen from among eligible persons of regions other than that of the outgoing president, thus institutionalising a **principle of rotation** and assuring to the different regions the certain chance of providing the president of the nation from time to time.

This job-description of the office of the head of state places that office above party politics and apart from the headship of the government of the day. The collegiate body of vice-presidents is designed to re-inforce the presidential function of symbolizing and promoting the unity of the nation. Whether this design is successfully implemented or not, however, would depend importantly on the method of electing the president; and the skill with which that is divorced from the party political process. And it would also depend on a clear definition of the role of the head of government.

The headship of government is to be envisaged as somewhat approximate to the office of prime minister in British type constitutions. One important difference, however, would be that in our scheme the appointive powers and the patronage controlled by the head of the government of the day would be more closely restricted to the political realm. Appointments to the necessarily independent agencies of state, such as the judiciary, the public and judicial service and electoral commissions, the Ombudsman's office, and the other agencies of invigilation, would lie outside his control and patronage. Another point of difference could well be that this officer would be the head of an executive separate from the legislature, somewhat like the American presidential executive rather than a parliamentary executive of the British type. But the discussion did not reach this point.

The Sequel

There was some inconclusive discussion concerning the role of the military, and the importance of requiring allegiance to the national constitution rather than to the person of the head of the state. But it is clear that we had only reached the beginning of the discussion concerning the whole array of necessary political institutions and processes when the time came for returning home. However, as to the fact that a useful beginning had been made, and that the preliminary delineation of problems had been a fruitful and necessary exercise, all were agreed.

Further meetings are intended. The next one was agreed to be held at Legon, Ghana. Those who would wish to be invited to such a meeting in future would be requested to submit written papers on any chosen aspect or aspects of our

general quest for suitable institutions. This would provide one ground on which invitations to the meeting would be based. In addition, an effort will be made to achieve representation from all the different regions of the countries to be studied —whether the original two or an enlarged number of African states.

Meanwhile, it is hoped that the widest possible discussion would be given to the various concerns and thoughts discussed in this report. Those who read this report are invited to discuss it with their friends and neighbours, and if possible to set down their views on paper and communicate them, if it should so please them. The writer of this report would be glad and honoured to respond, and to act as a clearing house for correspondence on these burning issues of our day. So would the others who attended the first meeting.

It now remains to acknowledge with thanks the financial assistance provided by the Congress for Cultural Freedom, without which the meeting could not have been held.

Observer Notebook

Disqualification of C.P.P. Officials

WITHIN the past two weeks, two national newspapers have discussed the issue of the disqualification of certain high-ranking officials of the C.P.P. from holding public office, at least for some time, in the future government of this country. One paper called for such disqualification, the other rejected it outright.

The reasons adduced in support of disqualification are that those affected voted for or approved the notorious Preventive Detention Act, subverted the constitution and grossly mismanaged the country's affairs. In short, these men abused the trust of the people. These are acts of politics which deserve strong condemnation, and we have spared no efforts to do so. But it is one thing to condemn them and it is another to make a blanket disqualification of all the persons concerned.

What are the arguments for and against such a step? The argument in favour of such a move is that it will be a lesson to future politicians not to betray the confidence of the people. But as against this must be weighed the right of the people to choose their leaders—a right the denial of which was one of the reasons for the glorious coup of 24th February, 1966. Furthermore, one will be setting a precedent which opens up a pandora's box. Is there an objective test universally acceptable which readily indicates what acts merit the disqualification of the sort advocated? Political acts which may be legitimate in one context may in a different atmosphere seem obnoxious. Will those who advocate blanket disqualification now be surprised to find themselves disqualified in the future for depriving the people of the right to choose their leaders?

Whatever the arguments for and against a blanket disqualification, it is accepted by most people that crimes of a certain gravity should be a ground for disqualification. Therefore, no one can legitimately condemn disqualification of those guilty of such crimes. But beyond that careful consideration should be given to one of the purposes of the coup and of the current programme of civic education—tolerance.

Nkrumah's Friends next door?

THE NIGERIAN civil war may turn to Nkrumah's advantage. The Russians who we have been told are among those helping ex-President Nkrumah to regain his throne are cashing in on the Nigeria crisis to establish a presence if not a base in Nigeria. Mig fighters require technicians

existing enterprises, and, above all, training of man-power to meet all kinds of needs. The countries that have jumped the hurdle of economic backwardness and immobility are those which started by concentrating on human investment. Only aid geared to the realisation of the above objectives should be welcome otherwise no amount of foreign aid will save this country.

Foreign cash loans have a tendency of sticking to the top and the established sections of the society, thereby making the ruling classes puppets of foreign powers, while the needs of the general population are neglected. Financial elbow-room provided by foreign aid may, for instance, be used in employing chauffeurs instead of streamlining commercial and technical schools. Such a tendency explains why in many Latin American countries despite American efforts the ruling classes are enamoured of the Americans while the population as a whole are anti-American. Foreign private investments, in the long-run, turn indigenous populations into political and social clients. It is for this reason that even Britain, France and Canada have had occasion to decry foreign capital in-flow.

The economic growth of this country must seriously take account of distribution of the national income with regard to equitable proportions between employers and workers, industrialists and farmers, ministers and messengers, town and country, foreigners and indigenous people. Otherwise, we shall one day discover that we have either sewn the seeds of social instability or auctioned our country for mere pittance or both.

Dissipating the Lincolnite's Lincoln

WHETHER ex-President Nkrumah's association with Lincoln University had anything to do with the purchase of the NC40,000 Lincoln saloon limousine is very difficult to say. One thing is, however, certain—the purchase was a reckless dissipation of public funds. As regards those who want to dispose of it at the earliest opportunity and at any price care must be taken to avoid the lesser charge of careless dissipation.

The Elite and the State Chest

SO NOW it is chauffeurs at Government expense for Principal Secretaries, all heads of government departments, joint secretaries to the Constitutional Commission, regional administrative officers, the Solicitor-General, the Director of Medical Services and the Chief Education Officer. If from the inclusion of officers such as the joint secretaries of the Constitutional Commission the gate appears so wide open, only heaven knows how many officers will be accorded this privilege in the course of time. In this day and age when dissipation of public funds is a matter of concern and for which members of the old regime are being tried this scheme of chauffeur service at government expense is a bold one.

The scheme is unjustified for other reasons. In the first place, should the treasury which is now greatly depleted be burdened with unnecessary services? If the government is in financial difficulties can this sort of thing be justified? Secondly, those who will benefit from this scheme are well paid and can afford to employ drivers at their own expense. In the light of the economic and social needs of the society care should be taken not to give the impression of an unfair distribution of the nation's resources. The money that will be used to employ drivers for the officials concerned could have been used for medical or educational purposes of far greater benefit to the society as a whole.

The "Brain Drain" Conference

IN THE midst of the gloom of wars and rumours of war, the news last week of an international "Brain Drain" Conference, the first ever to be held anywhere, came like a beam of pure light. Just the idea of such a gathering must have brought profound relief and gratitude to millions of people in many affected countries, even including Great Britain herself. Even if in the end nothing much develops from this first effort, it would still have occasioned a feeling of comfort and consolation to many, at least as an earnest for the future.

The conferees were from 10 countries, including one country from Africa, namely Ethiopia. They were mostly university professors and economists, but with them were some official and unofficial observers from some of the countries involved. The venue of the Conference was Geneva, and the one item on the agenda was the discussion of how the countries affected by the "brain drain" could overcome the factors which tempt away from their own homes to service elsewhere the critical class of scientists, doctors, and other qualified persons.

The most heartening element about this unique event is the fact that the United States was one of the sponsoring countries. This has to be emphasised, since, as the whole world knows, Ame-

many of whom may know other techniques and in the present state of the development of the Nigeria Air Force, Gowon needs a considerable number.

The Russian presence in Nigeria is as easy to understand as it is worrying. Freeing themselves from political dogmas, the Russians have proved as opportunistic as any other nation. The spread of socialism can wait. What is important now is to win friends and markets for ordinary commercial goods as well as military hardware. Lukewarm British support, the American refusal to help the Federal government and the desperation of Gowon created conditions favourable for Russian exploitation. Overnight the Russians who never seemed likely to get near the West's idol on the West African coast appear to the federalists as friends and saviours. In the face of African reticence the Russians might further have thought that their action was consistent with the aspirations of the African governments. After all, was not one of the first acts of O.A.U. concerned with ensuring the territorial integrity of the member states as at present constituted; and look at the almost total opposition to Tshombe's attempt to create independent Katanga. Then again in a war that is essentially between the Moslem north and southern Ibos helping the North may reduce Arab disappointment over Russian attitudes in the Middle East crisis.

But the Russians may have miscalculated. Whatever the attitude of governments, if the feelings among people in Ghana are any guide, Ojukwu is not seen by most Africans in the same light as Tshombe. While Ojukwu reacted to a pogrom and as a means of survival, Tshombe was an imperialist stooge fanning the flames of disintegration. Again in the light of Africa's concern for progress, the impressive achievement of Ojukwu lessen sympathy for the feudal north. Furthermore, to most people, events in Nigeria had to a large extent destroyed the basis of a federation and the federal government's clumsiness over the Aburi agreement has not improved its image. What is, however, paramount in the eyes of many is the fear that victory for Gowon means genocide for the Ibos. It is therefore easy to see Russian and British help as encouragement of genocide. It is nothing to be proud of.

To a large extent Africa's failure to take the initiative is partially accountable for the Russian boldness. But if this boldness and the British support is to help dispel the theory that the Nigerian crisis is a purely internal affair with no international implications then it may have achieved some good results. All humanity and, more particularly, Africa has an interest in preventing a senseless war. Our government should give the lead if only to guard itself against such nearness to Nkrumah's comrades.

Loans and Foreign Aid

IN THE pamphlet "Ghana's Economy and Aid Requirements in 1967", it is made clear that, to keep on an even keel, an amount of about NC95.0 million may have to be raised through external financing. While it is sometimes correct to say that, under certain circumstances, debts could be liquidated only through better utilisation of further debt, one has to be very careful in the modern world, about over-dependence on external aid, because the aims of economic development and planning are not solely related to sheer growth but also are geared to certain desirable political and social goals. For, it is not of much use simply to point at aggregate statistics to show the rate of economic growth without analysing its social and political content.

It is even a matter of intelligent controversy among economists whether foreign financial and some other types of aid do any good in the long run to developing countries. In some Latin American countries, for instance, it is estimated that amount spent on servicing external debt is even greater than the in-flow of foreign aid. Moreover, as it has been pointed out in a previous issue of this paper, foreign aid has sometimes the tendency of encouraging uneconomic utilisation of the recipient country's resources. At the moment it appears that corn and rice gifts from abroad are making the lot of some of our farmers harder than necessary simply because it is unreasonable to expect their products to be in a competitive position with alms.

This incipient impoverishment of the rural areas through foreign aid is bound to have adverse effects on purchasing power in the country and thereby serve as a brake on many industrial and commercial schemes in the urban areas. Consequently, it is correct to emphasise that in many developing countries, such as ours, the vanguard of economic growth should be the countryside.

What most developing countries, especially those with adequate natural resources and small populations, need is straightforward technical aid or "do-it-yourself" programmes, and not alms or useless debts. In this sense, this country's needs are principally a systematic survey of industrial and agricultural resources, feasibility studies for specific projects, the provision of technical services, industrial and technological research to help

rica is herself the greatest beneficiary—her enemies would use a less charitable term—from this erosion in the supply of qualified manpower in the countries where qualified manpower is more often than not a matter of life and death. The factors which entice the scientists and the doctors away from their own hard-pressed countries are: better pay and better conditions of service, greater research facilities and service opportunities, and with discrimination at home in addition to lack of good working conditions.

Some of the results of brain drainage are utterly appalling, indeed frightening. It is pointed out, for instance, that 90 per cent of Asian students trained in America never return home; that between 1949 and 1961 about 43,000 scientists and engineers migrated to the United States from their own countries, many of them being from the developing areas; that even in Britain and West Germany, to name only two, foreign doctors, for instance, are being increasingly relied upon (especially Indians and Pakistanis) on the lower rungs of the medical services of these otherwise highly organised countries; et cetera et cetera. And by the filling of lower posts in hospitals in Britain by Indians, Pakistanis, Africans, **et al.,** that many qualified developing-area doctors are denied to their own home countries.

The most profound effects will be made upon the areas worst hit by the brain drain, if any positive results come out of this Conference, and the conferring countries: Argentina, Britain, Ethiopia, France, Greece, India, Israel, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United States, will gain the eternal gratitude of the developing countries for such results.

Commentary

THE GHANA PRESS

ONE OF the major disappointments of these post-coup days is the apparent non-progress of the Ghana Press. Ghanaian gatherings in London often wonder at the poor state of the press and share the views expressed by members of the Ghana Government about the poverty of ideas in the editorials and the obsession of the news-editors with the trivia of foreign news.

It is held that editorials read, as in the days of the former regime, like appendices to government White Papers and it is regretted that there is no feature-writing focussing attention on the manifold social, economic and political problems facing Ghana today. In sum, for our newspapers, the coup, expected to usher in the flowering of free thought, might not have happened, except that there are new faces on the editorial desks.

There is some truth in all this. But to make fair and useful criticisms of the dailies, one requires a good knowledge of the finances of the newspapers and the nature of their relations with the present regime. Money appears to be the heart of the matter. It determines the quality of staff and the extent to which the editors can go in organizing the coverage of news at home and abroad. One would like to see features written by well-educated people with some knowledge of the background to events and a fairly good command of the English language but can the dailies' budgets bear the relatively high salaries of such people? Again, one would like to read the dailies' own independent accounts of the Nigerian scene but can Ghana bear the expense of foreign news agencies?

The development of our newspapers also depends on the degree of tolerance shown by successive governments towards criticisms, so long as most of the dailies are owned by the state. The present regime, it is true, has made statements showing that it would welcome useful criticism in the press. But, for all the outsider knows, this may be a mere public declaration of principle and the practice behind the scenes may be different. That one professes a public desire for criticism is by no means a clear indication of how one would actually and emotionally react to it. Ghanaian pressmen's experience in recent years has not been of the sort to encourage them to venture into heady rhetorics. We have recently,

be it noted, passed through times in which even university teachers, consciously trained to value intellectual honesty and who might find a ready market for their skills, have had, and continue, to play scarcely-veiled games of intellectual self-abnegation in order to realize their own personal ambitions. It would, therefore, be hardly fair to expect journalists with a very restricted market for their skills to display extraordinary feats of courage and self-denial.

Nor would it be fair to make comparisons between the **Legon Observer** and the dailies. The former is not owned by the state; the government does not appoint the editors; and nobody's means of livelihood depends entirely on the **Observer.** (As a matter of fact, a connection with it may adversely affect one's own pocket)

It appears, therefore, that the proper functioning of our dailies depends, to a great extent, on the demonstrated (not proclaimed) attitude of the ruling authorities to criticisms in the papers and on how much room for manoeuvre they are prepared to allow the pressmen. In this context, the recent statement about it being the government that 'calls the tune' because it bears the newspaper costs is too cryptic to be helpful. One must know the spirit in which it was said as well as the intended effects in order to assess its possible significance for our dailies.

Even so, one may say this: Ghanaian pressmen should, in order to feel free to exercise their critical functions, have the assurance that the government is prepared to allow a working distinction between the state and the government.

The **Evening News,** for example, is owned and financed by the state and, strictly speaking, not by the Government, though the latter, as the manifest and organized agent of the former, actually performs the role of the state in these matters. When it is said that the government 'calls the tune', therefore, the statement should be understood in this sense and the ruling authorities should allow that there may be instances in which the actual interests of the state—here loosely used to mean the total Ghanaian community—may turn out to be different from their own conception of it. The 1966 coup, it may be recalled, was staged partly to halt the trend towards totalitarianism (which identifies in theory and in fact the government and the state), and to vindicate the view stated here.

I am suggesting that the state-controlled press should be regarded in letter and spirit by the government in the same way as the British Broadcasting Corporation is regarded in the United Kingdom; that is, as an independent organ of the community reflecting the diversity of views in it, and controlled by an independent Board of Governors. The Government could actually demonstrate its practical attitude to the press by the sort of men it appoints as governors, and the degree of latitude it allows the governors in the appointment of editors and the top editorial staff.

Unless ruling authorities are prepared to view the press as a separate "communal" institution and not as an arm of the government, Ghanaians interested in militant journalism should place their hopes largely in privately-owned papers. But these are extremely unlikely. Few Ghanaians could command the resources for commercially viable newspapers; and even if they could, their operation would be greatly hampered by the present economic situation of the country.

Thus we have to fall back on the state-owned newspapers, and this places heavy responsibilities on those in charge of them. Even within the present financial and political framework, there seems to be plenty of room for manoeuvre for the imaginative editor who could put the expressed desire of our present authorities to see some robust and useful criticisms (of government policy and practice) to the test. In any case, the history of newspapers has shown that editors exercise as of right the function of criticism and do not, except in dictatorships, wait to be assured of that right.

It is also certain that sheer analyses of such problems as those of urbanization and the uncongenial conditions of the countryside, though they may imply a critique of government policy and practice, are not likely to evoke the wrath of the government, and it is these that Ghanaians abroad are anxious to see. In short our editors must do more than mere paper work and engage in thoughtful planning. "Communal" newspapers should do more than ordinary chronicling of events. They should encourage writing throughout the length and breadth of the land and so reflect the change and continuity in the social framework.

These immediate post-coup years represent a watershed in Ghana's history and no section of the community has a greater opportunity for achieving lasting respect and even greatness than our editors. But they have also a corresponding opportunity for earning our contempt. Whether they achieve the one or earn the other depends on the degree to which they play it safe or continue to hang on to the ruling authorities' apron-strings.

Letters

Traffic and Ghana V.I.P.s

SIR—Since the coup of February 1966 the N.L.C. has done a lot to restore freedom to the people of Ghana. For the first time in ten years it is now possible for Ghanaians to feel proud of the fact that they are Ghanaians. There is, however, one relic of Nkrumah's despotic rule which needs to be immediately banished and forever from the face of this country. It is the way police motorcyclists treat motorists when they are escorting important members of the Government or other dignitaries along our streets and highways.

It is perfectly understandable that when the Head of State, or some other important Government personality or foreign dignitary, is driving along a road other motorists who are in the way should be expected to make way for him. Indeed on account of the respect and admiration which Ghanaians feel for the N.L.C. most motorists would do this without waiting to be asked. Therefore it is quite unneccessary for police motorcyclists escorting a motorcade to drive motorists off the road in the aggressive and hostile manner which has now become their style. This practice is undignified and embarrassing for the V.I.P. being escorted and most humiliating for the ordinary motorist, **who is quite legally using a public thoroughfare for which his vehicle has been registered and taxed.***

Under Nkrumah (when the only person in Ghana who was considered to have any rights was Nkrumah himself) it was understandable that the police should behave in this fashion. But times have changed. Today, we have a Government which is composed of reasonable people who have made it abundantly clear by their words and their actions that they mean to restore true freedom and dignity to the people of Ghana. There is no reason, therefore, why the public should be expected to put up with this abominable practice any longer, and the sooner the N.L.C. did something about it the better.

Most roads in Ghana have two lanes. What is the need to stop traffic moving in the opposite direction to that in which the motorcade is travelling, when it cannot possibly cause an obstruction to the motorcade? If the police seriously do not want the motoring public to use the roads when a V.I.P. is around, then they must plan in advance and arrange a diversion along which ordinary law-abiding motorists can travel, without being molested or humiliated.

University of Ghana, Legon. **E. A. Boateng**
Professor of Geography

*Emphasis added—Editor

P.S. The **Legon Observer** wrote about the general subject of the V.I.P. motorcade as long ago as Vol. I, No. 4, and today endorses Professor Boateng's protest. Only recently, according to another and unimpeachable report made to us, a Ghanaian magistrate was given this kind of treatment by an outriding police officer, with the magistrate's car literally huddled off the road, his name and business rudely and aggressively demanded: ["And who are you?"], his car number taken . . . all this—for the **prima facie** crime of his daring to be going to work at the same time and via the same route as a V.I.P. motorcade!

The Minerals Industry

SIR—I write to congratulate Mr. Cudjoe on his reply to Mr. Quashie's article on the minerals industry in Ghana and the Geological Survey Department.

I have no first-hand knowledge of the facts in dispute and would not therefore presume to pass judgement on this aspect of the controversy. I am however impressed by the temperate tone of Mr. Cudjoe's reply. He concentrates on refuting Mr. Quashie's points and refrains from threatening and insulting both the **Legon Observer** and the author of the article. It would not matter if it were proved that Mr. Cudjoe has not succeeded in refuting Mr. Quashie's points; the important point is that his approach and his tone are cultured and in the best traditions of public controversy.

It has become painfully clear of late that the reaction of public figures holding responsible posts to criticisms in the columns of the **Observer** is to abuse the authors and editors and to threaten them with dire consequences and worse. Mr. Cudjoe has performed a very useful public service in setting a good example to such people.

Oxford, U.K. **B. D. G. Folson**

Salary Incentives for Honesty?

SIR—In a letter in the **Daily Graphic of** 24 August 1967 Mr. R. I. Ampiah, who obviously is an employee of Barclays' Bank, tries to justify the bank employees' demand for not less than 50 per cent salary increase, using the following sentence: "Banking is a risky job. It is not so easy to be honest and so for his honesty the banker needs compensation."

I could not believe my eyes when reading this statement, but the subsequent paragraphs of that letter do not leave any doubt about the mentality of its author. I should like to make a few comments:

If Mr. Ampiah thinks that it is not easy for him to be honest, he simply is not fit for his present job and, in fact, not for any other job. Honesty is required everywhere and in every position, high or low. To ask for compensation for being honest (i.e. for being as one is expected to be under all circumstances), is turning things upside down and shows that the writer of the letter still needs some elementary instruction in social behaviour and morality. His demand is not less than an attempt at blackmail and, by doing so, he is displaying a severe lack of integrity.

I hope that the mentality shown by Mr. Ampiah is not typical for the employees of Barclays' Bank (or any other bank) in general. Otherwise one would tend to feel somewhat uncomfortable about the banking service in Ghana. I am grateful that the author of the letter and the **Daily Graphic** are bringing this mentality, which prevails in certain circles of the community, into the open. It only shows to the public that the centre for Civic Education has indeed a great task to perform.

Legon. **A. F. J. Smit**

Administration of the Kusasi District

SIR—Ghanaians in all walks of life are anxious that the illegal Smith regime in Southern Rhodesia be suppressed. But I do not know whether we are all aware of what is happening at Bawku in the Kusasi District, where there is our own Southern Rhodesia . Here, the Kusasis are struggling to free themselves from the hands and the domination of the minority Mamprusi.

Some Kusasis have suffered death because of this. Why should the Mamprusi, who have their own land in the Northern Region, exercise authority over the Kusasi in the latter's own land? Will the Government look into this?

P.O. Box 78, **A. A. Yakubu**
Pusiga, Bawku.

Turmoil in Ghana Schools and Colleges

SIR—Some people believe in letting sleeping dogs lie, or in discretion as the better part of valour. Your contributors on the subject of the state of education in Ghana do not appear to be of this breed, and they deserve to be mauled.

Dr. Ato Dickson makes the mistake of the unenlightened man in asserting without statistical evidence that standards in education are falling, much the same way as adults bemoan the fall in moral standards of the younger generation, expecting to be believed, when they themselves set the pattern. Dr. Dickson may be sincerely convinced and may be excused his misconception because his department may never see again students of his own calibre. But good students still exist and each year reach higher standards in the School Certificate than before. And students, both boys and girls, go one better and clear alphas in all subjects at A-Level in many schools, in spite of part-time teaching, shortage of staff, backsliding teachers and heads, riots and demonstrations etc.

I dare not question Mr. Ackom-Mensah's knowledge in the Theory of Administration. He is a lecturer in the subject at our highest seat of learning. But his observations on Educational Administration are unfortunate. The only purpose served by his article is to demonstrate his own expertise at Business Administration. The declared theme of his article is based on false premises: firstly, that the absence of riots and demonstrations is in itself the hall-mark of good administration; and secondly, that dishonesty, embezzlement and falsification of accounts are the direct results of poor administration.

Having got these off his pen, he then proceeds to demonstrate his expertise, and concludes by calling on the officers of the Ministry of Education, Heads of schools and colleges, bursars and what-nots to be given courses in Administration. Not a bad idea at that especially for certain people. But honestly, what good would that be? Might as well ask Lyndon B. Johnson to take such a course because there are riots in American cities.

The plain truth is that the more one knows of the THEORY of Administration the more frustrated one is likely to be in any Boarding Institution in Ghana today. Since 1962 or 1963 the smooth running of secondary schools and other higher institutions has been at the mercy of forces outside the control of Heads. Of what use is one's knowledge of the mechanics of budgetting for instance when National Planning or the messing of it puts everything out of joint almost before the ink is dry? Now multiply this with uncertainties without number in supply of essential books, teaching aids, staff, food, equipment, and of money; then add to this the parents who have set their children standards unattainable except by graft, chicanery or special positions of privilege, and pride and arrogance, selfishness, disregard for the feelings of others, adult political obtuseness, love of show, demonstrations to ban the bomb, demonstrations to protest U.S. interference in the internal affairs of Ghana, or to shut the mouth of the Chancellor of the University of Ghana; and see what answer you get.

Mfantsipim School, **J. W. Abroquah**
P.O. Box 101,
Cape Coast.

OA.U. Liberation Committee

SIR—Permit me to draw your attention to the article on the O.A.U. Liberation Committee on page 13 of Vol. 2, No. 16 (4/8/67) of your esteemed journal and to ask you kindly to make the following correction.

The Liberation Committee has stepped up its membership to eleven states—Algeria, Guinea, Nigeria, Congo-Kinshasa, Ethiopia, Senegal, Uganda, Tanzania, Zambia, Somalia and the UA.R. I trust you will take the above observation on the membership of the Committee in good spirit

Permit me also to take this opportunity to observe that the little piece was well written and well-timed. It supported a view expressed by the Foreign Minister of Uganda when he addressed the Committee on the final day of its session in Kampala. The Minister called on Freedom Fighters to make more and realistic efforts to liberate their countries and not to behave as tourists.

The **Legon Observer** is esteemed by readers in Uganda especially the Lecturers, Students, etc. of the Makerere University College in Kampala. The only drawback, perhaps, is that its circulation is extremely limited.

Ghana High Commission **E. A. Dzima**
P.O. Box 4062
Kampala

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

Religion

YOUR GOD IS TOO SMALL (II, Concluded)

By

C. R. Gaba.

NO ONE doubts that service to God for its own sake is one deep religious truth that Christianity enshrines except, perhaps, he does not know that Christians sing

> "My God I love thee; not because
> I hope for heaven thereby
> Nor yet because who love thee not
> Are lost eternally."

Of course this disinterested service does not form part of Judaism with its constant preaching of salvation through works. Nor can this be found in African traditional religion. In fact the average African traditional believer cannot understand why anyone who discharges his religious obligations sincerely should not prosper like the "green bay tree". To him suffering is incompatible with the believer's closer walk with his God.

But the Hindu Scriptures muzzle the Christian's haughty pride which imagines that it is only Christianity that recognizes disinterested service as part of true religion. "He who works having given up attachment, resigning his actions to God is not touched by sin".

The same idea Rabi'a, a Moslem, expresses in the words:

> O my Lord, if I worship thee for fear of hell, burn me in hell;
>
> And if I worship thee for hope of Paradise, exclude me thence;
>
> But if I worship thee for thine own sake, then withhold not from me thine eternal beauty.

In short lives of many in other religions are a constant reminder to Christians that there are others too outside the fold of Christianity to whom Job-like faith and service is not foreign in the least.

Was Jesus Christ not forty days in the wilderness and was not all his life dotted with retirements into solitude to meditate so as to receive power for his work? Elijah, we are told, was for several years in the deserts of Arabia. So also was Paul. In the practice of religious Yoga—especially as enjoined in the sixth chapter of the *Gita*—Christians are not only made aware of some other religions recognizing and practising meditation as part of true religion. But they are also offered an opportunity to learn one good way of meditation to displace the sort of hurried and irreverent prayers that Christians offer the Holy God. Indeed few practising Christians would doubt that without meditation "life becomes fevered and nervous".

The argument so far is that Christianity officially recognizes truth in any form of the religious experience and that any such truth comes from the one great God. This truth, Christianity further holds, is variously interpreted by all mankind. In the light of this why then should the Christian with a proud humility affirm that his way to God is only though Jesus Christ?

In Jesus Christ, the Christian believes that the Divine Light that inspired many prophets and sages "became flesh and dwelt among us" —he equally knows of Hindu avatars. But it is in the same Jesus Christ the Christian affirms he possesses the fullest revelation which mankind thus far has of God. When the Christian sees Jesus in action there he sees God in action. In short the Christian considers his faith, the personal encounter with a loving and a fatherly God in Jesus Christ as the origin and fulfilment of all other known religions. This is the faith of the Christian. Herein lies the uniqueness the Christian places on his faith. Herein lies the Christian's justification for his communion with God exclusively through Jesus Christ though he recognizes that the knowledge of the true God cannot be completely absent from other religions.

Finally, in these days when patriotic Ghanaians are struggling hard to rebuild their nation, the Christian's insistence on the uniqueness of his faith leaves him no other alternative than to accept the challenge of providing a unique leadership to leaven not only the spiritual but also the social, economic, and above all, the political life of the nation. Perhaps, this may be a fitting demonstration, to other faiths especially, of the Christian's treasured uniqueness of his faith.

Miscellaneous

THE GUESSING GAME

By

Daphne Hereward

"Have you heard about the president of Niye Melon?"

"Wasn't he the one who put the students in forced labour camps to serve the community and had them sent down when they protested? Or did they protest at Loans instead of Grants? I really forget."

"That was only half the story."

"Why, what happened then? Did the surviving students stick up for academic freedom?"

"They all volunteered to join the army—"

"Cowards!"

"And were so keen that the Students' Brigade was trained in record time. The president was delighted, and offered them a reward, but all they asked was to be allowed to parade in front of him in the public square".

"The fools! Why didn't they ask for honest Scholarships?"

"Wait a minute. On the day of the parade, the road from the University to the public square was lined with all the fathers and brothers and uncles of the students, and they overflowed into the President's garden and all sorts of public buildings. The students all lined up and prepared to march. The President was delighted. He made a speech that students were not an elite, that a student ought to do a steward's job, that work would eventually be found for the unemployed stewards, that all the schoolboys should read his Thoughts and weed the garden, and that education should be truly African. Then he was handed a telegram from South Africa saying that this was what they had said about Bantu education all along. The president was delighted. He was dressed in a red robe that only a chief was allowed to wear—and he wasn't; and two people stood beside him and fanned him with peacock feathers. Then the grand parade began. The students marched along with the band playing 'Les Imperialistes a la porte!"; but then they suddenly stopped and there was a moment of silence. Then they began to play "Gaudeamus igitur" and the president suddenly realized what was going to happen."

"Why, what did happen?"

"They had a Coup".

Book Review

EDUCATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN GHANA

(By Philip Foster, London 1965; Routledge and Kegan Paul, [NC3.60]

Review

By

B. S. Kwakwa

IN "Education and Social Change in Ghana", Philip Foster examines in a very interesting and reasonably comprehensive manner the impact of the British type of formal education on the Gold Coast and Ghanaian society. Educational institutions, he writes, formal and informal, have a dual effect. They are both homogenising and differentiating agencies. Informal education is predominantly homogenising, but the balance shifts forwards and backwards from one to the other of these effects in formal education. In the situation in the Gold Coast the balance appears to have shifted more in the direction of differentiation, in the direction of creating an educated elite who, in the 19th and 20th centuries, look to the ways of the representatives of the colonial powers as their model and tend to appear different from, and in cases to look down on, the illiterate in the "bush".

Early in the history of the contact with Europeans a demand arises among certain African groups for "a very specific form of academic education". It is a "reasonable reflection of economic and political conditions created by Europeans". And attempts to modify this "bookish" attitude fail. They fail because the government and the missions ignore the realities of the occupational structure in the country; these bodies do not understand the social functions of the school and the Europeans fail to realise their own significance as a normative elite group. "Academic" education has led to "mass unemployment among school leavers". This unemployment has happened not because the schools have "the wrong kind of curriculum", creating groups interested only in "white collar" jobs. "It is rather the consequence of disparities between the rising output of the schools and a low rate of expansion in the exchange sector of the economy. The schools alone can do little about this problem".

The failure of the colonial power to interest the inhabitants in technical and vocational education, consequent upon the reluctance of educated African to embrace this kind of education, is a theory to which Foster returns every now and again:

"It is said that an academic system which had developed in response to European social and economic conditions was 'imposed' on African populations. Fur-

ther analysis reveals that the reverse was the case. European educators were very much concerned with the development of alternate forms of educational institutions while African demand, limited as it was, took the form of pressure for academic instruction. The discrepancy between stated policies and objectives and the actual developments that were to take place was not due to the resistance of the 'conservative educator' but was the resistance of the 'conservative to accept educational alternatives".

No doubt technical education has not been ever popular in mid-twentieth century Ghana. But it must be realised that from the beginning academic education was the only type transplanted to the Gold Coast. Forster himself quotes an instance even before 1572 of King Joao III of Portugal advising his representatives on the coast to "take special care to command that the sons of the Negroes living in the villages learn how to read and write, how to sing and pray while ministering in Church". And late in the 18th century the books recommended for the Castle School in Cape Coast were, "Primers and Spelling Books, Testament and Bibles of a Common Edition". The education envisaged is academic and biblical. This is the only type the inhabitants know before theorists begin to recommend technical education, and it is enshrined in their minds. And it is reinforced when the few who visit Britain find that there, technical subjects are not regarded respectable enough to be included in the curricula of respected public schools and universities. It is natural for these few educated to view the introduction of the "inferior" technical education with suspicion.

The introduction of new types of curriculum and syllabus needs more vigour and imagination than applied here in the 19th and 20th centuries. For breaking habits of thought is always difficult. Foster, in this book, does not appear to appreciate this idea. For example, he does not discuss syllabuses. All he says is that the curriculum is academic. In examining the impact of education on society the educationist is more concerned with the details of syllabuses than with curricula. For it is only the detailed analysis of the syllabuses that will make clear whether even the "academic" subjects are geared to the needs of the society or not. To make the school pupil understand his history and institutions and question contemporary social assumptions he must be made first to study them. And although the curricula in British and Gold Coast schools may be the same, the detailed syllabuses in, say, subjects like History should be different.

Again Foster scarcely mentions the teacher and does not discuss the role of the teacher in education at all. Early in the book he refers to a criticism of the method used in the first schools. "There is too much time employed in the schools in the mere exercise of memory, too much of a mere teaching of words and neglect of the knowledge of things and too little employment of the faculty of thinking and of instruction in the habits of industry." Teaching in the schools, therefore, was not good enough from the beginning. The kind of method described here was backed by an excessive use of the cane. And incidentally this more than anything else accounts for the reluctance on especially the part of the Ashantis to send children from royal households to schools. A deformed man is unfit to be a chief in Akan Society.

Later on, of course, the quality of teachers improves. But the unpopularity of technical subjects still persists. This, in a large measure, is due to the low standard of teachers of technical and professional subjects vis-a-vis teachers of academic subjects. In Achimota, brilliant M.As. taught subjects like Latin, English Literature and History while teachers of subjects like Agriculture and Woodwork had scarcely had any secondary education. And technical subjects were never worked into the examination system. Educational theorists saw the need for agricultural education, as Forster never tires of pointing out. The various movements to implement this idea failed, not because the schools could do little about the problem as he concludes. They failed, because the planners were not insightful enough to realise that education is very complex, and that it takes good syllabuses, good imaginative and inspiring teachers and an imaginative government to make new, rather unpopular plans to succeed.

There is a good survey of the various ethnic groups in Ghana. Perhaps, the most interesting section, here, is the contrast between the Asantehene and the Kabaka of Buganda. The Asantehene is only the most senior of a group of paramount chiefs, each essentially autonomous in his area. The Kabaka is an all-powerful over land. Hence the comparative ease with which the British "anglicised" Buganda as against the difficulties experienced in Ashanti. In Buganda it was a question of getting hold of the head of the snake and rendering thereby the body powerless. In Ashanti it was the complex and difficult process of getting the acquiescence not only of the Asantehene but also of every other paramount chief for the establishment of schools.

Foster's inference from the facts of educational history can sometimes be shown to be rather

faulty. His treatment of political history is sometimes too much of a vindication of British imperialism. For instance, he states that after 1880 British officials penetrated deep into the Ashanti hinterland to check "depredations of African slave traders moving into the area from the north while at the same time treaties were signed with several northern chiefs". The British, then, Foster would have us believe, participated in the scramble for Africa to protect Ghana from the depredations of African slave traders!

The last chapters of the book are devoted to the contemporary scene. Quite rightly Foster points to the importance of economic incentives in their influence on educational attitudes. But it should also be realised that an education system properly planned in all its details and properly executed can do more than a little, can have a greater role, than Foster gives it in effecting a salutary social development.

Matters Arising

MR. L. A. K. QUASHIE WRITES TO THE EDITOR

I SHOULD like to assure Mr. Cudjoe that my original article was never intended as a personal attack on him. However, I am prepared to offer him an apology if he is convinced that I made a personal attack on him in public.

In any case, I should like to repeat my suggestion that the Government should set up a Commission to investigate all the allegations that I made in my article. I am prepared to defend my words at a public enquiry, and I trust that Mr. Cudjoe would also welcome such an opportunity.

Mr. Editor, our readers may be interested to know that Mr. Cudjoe and I have had discussions on almost all the points I raised, on several occasions. I am therefore not impressed by his apparent indignation. I should think that his only legitimate complaint is that I have said these things in public for the first time.

Restating the Points

I wish to refresh the memory of our readers on the following points, which I made in my original article (**Legon Observer,** May 12, 1966)

1. Geologists classify the mineral wealth of the country into two main categories, namely (a) the **mineral prospects,** and (b) the proven **mineral reserves,** of the country. The mineral prospects of a country constitute the Possible Economic Minerals that have been located by a rapid-reconnaissance geological mapping of the country. All minerals that are located during the reconnaissance survey are then prospected very closely by drilling, to establish **actual** reserves **available.** The "proven reserves" then form the basis for feasibility studies.

The above statements are not "muddled", and they do not confuse "straight-forward geological mapping and mineral prospecting".

2. The Geological Survey of Ghana completed the reconnaissance phase of mapping of this country in 1959, and began a detailed mapping programme of the whole country on a scale of 1-inch to about 1-mile in 1960.

3. Mineral evaluation (i.e., pitting, trenching, drilling, etc.) as undertaken by the Geological Survey does not properly belong to the department. This work could be carried out more efficiently by private companies.

Mr. Cudjoe agrees with the above statement when he says that "Mineral Prospecting on the other hand, which involves pitting, trenching and drilling, . . . are generally expensive and with the limited resources that it often has, the Geological Survey does not normally carry out such investigations unless it is Government's intention to exploit a particular deposit after it has been prospected". Who is exhibiting muddled thinking here?

4. In an attempt to do everything at the same time, the Geological Survey Department had tended to stretch its resources and capabilities.

5. The turn-over of professional men (not only Ghanaians) in the department has been alarming, and it is suggested that investigation should be conducted to find out the reasons for this situation. The result of this problem is that the department has not been able to operate at maximum efficiency for a long time now. Mr. Cudjoe has given some of the reasons for the situation, but I doubt whether there could not be other equally valid reasons too.

6. It is hard to believe that the Ghana Government got value for the huge amount of money that was spent on the Russian geological team. I should like this to be investigated.

7. The targets set for mineral production in the 7-Year Development Plan would probably not have been reached. In any case, no feasibility studies were conducted in 1962 by the Geological Survey. It is not true that the Mining companies promised to increase production either in quantity or in cash value, as set in

the 7-year development plan. It would have been impossible.

8. It could be estimated that the Nkrumah government paid about £1½ million too much for the five gold mines. This allegation might be investigated too.

Gold Mines Without Gold

9. The present government should take immediate steps to re-negotiate a new agreement with the Ashanti Goldfields Corporation. This should grant them a new concession agreement beyond the twenty-year period, in order to encourage the company to invest in long-term exploration for more ore reserves in the country; otherwise Ghana will find herself in the same situation as in 1961, when the government was compelled to buy gold mines which were virtually depleted of ore reserves at the time of purchase. I understand this proposal is under very active consideration by the Government.

10. It is suggested that the government should immediately invite private tenders to prospect for oil in Ghana, since the country at present does not have the financial means. I understand that the government is now considering applications from private companies wanting to do so. This is very encouraging.

11. There is no iron deposit discovered in Ghana which has iron content above 45 per cent. The iron content of iron ore deposits in other West African countries is above 69 per cent. The steel factory at Tema should therefore give serious consideration to importing iron ore from neighbouring West African countries, rather than base their operations on the low grade deposits in Ghana. I believe that if the Tema steel factory is put on commercial basis it could be a payable proposition.

12. There should be close co-operation between the Geology Department of the University of Ghana, the Tarkwa School of Mines, the Geological Survey Department, and the Mines Department, in the training of manpower. Mr. Cudjoe can still do a lot in this direction. We in Legon have always demonstrated our wish to co-operate with the Geological Survey.

Mr. Editor, I still stand by the above points, which I regarded as most important in my original article. In addition, I should like to comment on some other issues which arise from Mr. Cudjoe's presentation. The Government should be very cautious about setting up factories based on the so-called "confidential" reserves of minerals in the country. The recent experience at the Abosso glass factory should serve as a warning. I recall that this project was put on very high priority by the Nkrumah government, on the recommendation of the Geological Survey. I also dare to suggest that the economics of the proposed ceramics factory at Saltpond should be re-investigated.

It is also not correct to say that the Ashanti Goldfields Corporation abandoned prospecting for "assorted minerals" in the Winneba district. The Government refused to gazette the concession agreement. The company, therefore, had no choice but to give up the venture. This is a fact!

Even Big Countries Buy Abroad

I disagree with Mr. Cudjoe that if the Shieni iron ore deposits "were situated somewhere in America or Europe it would be exploited". Some of the biggest steel companies in the U.S., Canada, and Europe are importing iron ore from Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Gabon for their mills. In fact, Liberia supplied about 12 per cent of Europe's iron ore needs in 1965. If Ghana needs "only 150,000 to 200,000 tons of steel per year", I submit that it would not be economic in the short-term (i.e., about 20 years) to use the comparatively non-competitive grade of ore that we have in Ghana.

It might also be noted here that the present acceptable grade of iron in the International Market is not less than 60 per cent iron. Furthermore, it will be appreciated if someone could provide a breakdown on types of steels imported into the country. One would also like to know the cost ratio between the use of high grade ore from neighbouring African countries and the low grade ore in Ghana.

Mr. Cudjoe played a very big role in the formulation of proposals for the minerals industry for the 7-Year Development Plan, and some of us remember his proposals for the purchase of 16 Dredges for the Birim diamonds, and for the establishment of a ferro-manganese plant in the Western Region, based on manganese deposits at Yakau, near Dixcove. I maintain that these projects would have saddled the country with enormous debts, were it not for the coup. Mr. Cudjoe does "not find anything wrong or fictitious about these projects", but I would still suggest that the Government should conduct a thorough investigation before embarking on such ventures.

It might interest our readers to know that of the present 14 Ghanaians, those who had general

degrees were employed as Experimental Officers by the Geological Survey and subsequently awarded scholarships to do honours degree courses or the M.Sc., thereby qualifying for the post of geologist, petrologist or geophysicist. Seven Ghanaians have left the department and eight have been employed within the last two years. Let us hope they all become geologists and stay in the department. The impression given that some Ghanaians left the department, or want to leave, because of their distaste for field work could be very misleading. I should like to point out that those students who got the advanced degrees and were employed as geologists by the Geological Survey, to my knowledge have not found themselves lacking in the field. In fact, their greatest complaint is that they are seldom visited in the field by their seniors.

Mr. Cudjoe requests me to offer suggestions on how best he could administer the Geological Survey Department. I was in the department for only two years, and I therefore do not regard myself as an expert in administration. However, it will not be too impetuous on my part if I make the following observations for serious consideration:

1. The Annual Reports of the Director of the Geological Survey Department are long overdue since 1964.

2. The Recent bulletins published by the department contain too many errors and omissions. Obviously they require a more serious professional attention.

3. Young graduates who are recruited by the department are not necessarily experienced field or laboratory men. They therefore need close supervision from their seniors. They also need sympathy and understanding when they commit genuine errors.

4. Above all, the Geological Survey Department, apart from being a scientific department, is also a Public Department. It should therefore refrain from making exaggerated pronouncements which may embarass professionals in the Minerals Industry.

Mr. Editor, I should like to end by saying that I refuse to associate myself with projects which I sincerely believe are going to fail. If I disagree with the Director of the Geological Survey, it is not out of malice.

EDITOR'S NOTE: This closes the matter between Mr. Quashie and Mr. Cudjoe. But readers who know and have interest in the subject may comment on it in subsequent issues of the **Observer.**

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