



GOLD COAST

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY
DEBATES, 1956-57

OFFICIAL REPORT—FIRST SERIES
VOLUME 4

4th-5th March, 1957

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LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY DEBATES

FIRST SERIES — VOLUME 4

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

OFFICIAL REPORT

FIRST SESSION OF THE THIRD LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY
OF THE GOLD COAST CONSTITUTED UNDER THE
GOLD COAST (CONSTITUTION) ORDERS IN COUNCIL,
1954 TO 1956

SESSION 1956-57

COMPRISING PERIOD FROM 4th MARCH, 1957
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THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY DEBATES

OFFICIAL REPORT

IN THE FIRST SESSION OF THE THIRD LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF
THE GOLD COAST CONSTITUTED UNDER THE GOLD COAST
(CONSTITUTION) ORDERS IN COUNCIL, 1954-1956

FIRST SERIES

FOURTH VOLUME OF SESSION

VOLUME 4

THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

FOURTH MEETING, 1956-57

MONDAY, 4TH MARCH, 1957

The House—after the adjournment on the 15th February, 1957—met at 9 o'clock in the forenoon.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

PRAYERS

OBITUARY SPEECHES

Ministerial Secretary to the Prime Minister (Mr. Kofi Baako): Mr. Speaker, I beg to move, That the condolences of this House be conveyed to the family and relatives of the late John Gideon Awuah.

In the midst of felicitations for the achievement of national independence, we pause to mourn. We mourn to-day for the loss of one of our number—one of the able actors in the drama of national reconstruction. The world, we are told, is a stage and all of us are actors, and so was the late J. G. Awuah. How true it is that in the midst of life we are in death:

“ . . . These our actors,
As iforetdoldyou, wereallspritsand
Are melted into air, into thin air:
And, like the baseless fabric of
this vision,
The cloud-capp'd towers, the gor-
geous palaces,
The solemn temples, the great
globe itself,
Yea, all which it inherit, shall
dissolve
And, like this insubstantial pa-
geant faded,
Leave not a rack behind. We are
such stuff
As dreams are made on, and our
little life
Is rounded with a sleep.”

So it is that our friend and compatriot Gideon Awuah has fallen into eternal and restful sleep. May he rest in peace.

9.20 a.m.

It is true that the hon. J. G. Awuah is no longer with us but we can take consolation from the poet who warns us that:

[MR. KOFI BAAKO]

“Dust thou art, to dust returnest,
Was not spoken of the soul.”

Gideon's body is not with us but his soul is not dead; and as we mourn for him, let us pray for his soul for,

“ . . . More things are wrought by
prayer

Than this world dreams of.”

I am definitely sure that before Gideon passed away, he must have sang *Nunc Dimitis*:

“Lord, now lettest thou thy servant
depart in peace, according to thy word:
For mine eyes have seen thy salvation,
Which thou hast prepared before the
face of all people;”

Gideon was a Member of the Legislative Assembly since 1951 and the fact that his people always re-elected him is an indisputable indication that he was loved by his people, because he served them well. He is no more here but those of us who are here now must take a leaf from that which was good in his life and use it for the welfare and upliftment of our race.

Mr. Speaker, we mourn. May he rest in peace and may the soul of Gideon and the souls of all other patriots departed through the mercy of God, rest in peace.

Mr. B. K. Adama (N.P.P.—Wala South): Mr. Speaker, I rise to second the motion expressing our condolences to the family of the late J. G. Awuah. It is indeed a pity that on the eve of independence, a gallant fighter for the liberation of mankind has passed away. It is indeed a fitting tribute that we assembled in this Assembly should express our appreciation and gratitude to God that when a man, after all his toils, should go back finally to his Maker, his Maker may receive him with an open heart. The ultimate goal of every man is to go back to his Maker and we hope that if a man goes back to his Maker, his Maker may be satisfied that, that which He created on earth here, has done its duty faithfully. We cannot express any more sentiments than to say that may the Lord have mercy on the late J. G. Awuah.

Question proposed.

Minister of Agriculture (Mr. B. Yeboa-Afari): It is with deep sorrow that I rise to pay tribute to the late John Gideon Awuah. He was the hon. Member for the Berekum Constituency. As one who was associated with the late hon. Member, I think it is my duty this morning to inform this House about the activities of the hon. Member who has departed.

My first contact with the hon. Member was in about 1931 when he often came to my father's village to persuade him to sell his cocoa to his firm, Messrs. Cadbury and Fry. In those days I saw him as a young gentleman who was very keen on his business. He became a friend of my late father. And since then the late Mr. Awuah had been a personal friend of mine.

Hon. Members may be aware that the late Mr. Awuah was born in 1907; he had his primary education in the Northern Territories, at Gambaga, and completed his education at the Sunyani Government School. He was employed by Messrs. Cadbury and Fry as a Produce Buyer and stationed at Wamfe; he was transferred later to Berekum—his home town.

The late Mr. Awuah was a true socialist; everything in his house was at the disposal of the community. Every stranger, high or low, found hospitable reception at Mr. Awuah's house. Government officials and other personalities who came to Berekum were guests of Mr. Awuah or were entertained by Mr. Awuah.

In 1951 the late hon. Member was elected as Member for the Sunyani North Constituency. In 1954, he was returned as the hon. Member for Berekum and in 1956 he was again returned as Member for Berekum.

After he had resigned from Messrs. Cadbury and Fry, he took appointment under the Berekum Native Authority as a Land Officer. He was the representative of the Berekum Native Authority on the Asanteman Council Finance Board. He was again a Member of the Berekum State Council and when fortunately he became a chief of his village, as the Dabehene of Berekum, which means that he was the aide-de-camp of the Berekumhene, he became closely associated with the affairs of the State. In fact, by the passing of the late hon. J. G. Awuah, the Berekum State and the Brong Region and the country at large have lost a compatriot.

At this juncture several things come into my mind about statements made

by this gentleman. One of them has come prominently into my mind this morning; that is, he used to say in the heat of a debate, when probably we were fighting over a question, "Hey, Joe, look here, no-one can determine my fate. When I was saying good-bye to my God, you were not there." I thought he was joking but to-day I do realise on contemplation of his death and the circumstances surrounding it that what he was saying had reference to his death, that no-one can determine another man's fate. It reminds me of what James Shirley wrote—

"The glories of our blood and state
Are shadows, not substantial things;
There is no armour against fate;
Death lays his icy hand on kings;
Sceptre and crown
Must tumble down,
And in the dust be equal made
With the poor crooked scythe and
spade."

If it were possible we would plead with the Creator and say: "Let this man stay for a little while yet to see the birth of Ghana." I have confidence in stating that the late hon. Member is not dead, although he is supposed to be dead. I think he will one day come back to enjoy the fruits of his labour. If it is true that the ancient Ghana which was destroyed by her enemies many years ago is going to be reborn on the 6th of March then there is nobody here who will doubt that the hon. Member who is now dead and all the gallant compatriots who have fought and died for freedom will one day come back to enjoy the fruits of their labours.

9.30 a.m.

Rev. S. A. Dzirasa (C.P.P.—Upper Tongu): It was Longfellow who wrote—

"Lives of great men all remind us
We can make our lives sublime,
And, departing, leave behind us
Footprints on the sands of time."

I think death, although a logical consequence of the decay of the human body and sin in the spiritual sense, is a fitting doxology to a life nobly and victoriously lived.

Though we mourn our departed brother, we are consoled by the fact that he fought a good fight and saw the dawn of the new day. His life had been nobly lived. I knew this gentleman intimately only during the last Session. I found that he was a wise and good-natured person in this House. I was sitting with him when a message came that his lorry was involved in an acci-

[REV. DZIRASA]

dent. He went out and I never met him again, but while at home I often rang him on the telephone and talked to him. He reported to me at one time that he had a fever. Even during those very last hours he had around him a lot of people from his constituency trying to offer him their services as their representative in this House. I never thought then that he was going to breathe his last.

When I heard that he had died I was sorry. But I took great inspiration from the life of this dear son of the country, and I was filled with admiration for his tender and kindly nature. I learned to respect him always. He spoke very gently and he never rushed in doing anything. He played a remarkable part in the great history that we are making. The late Mr. Awuah was a member of this House since 1951 and he was one of those people who laid the great foundation of the new nation that now emerges.

We pray God to bless his soul. Although I do not believe that he will reincarnate to see what is happening in Ghana, I sincerely hope his soul will share with us all the blessings of the new age.

Ministerial Secretary to the Ministry of Works (Mr. A. Asumda): It gives me great pleasure to have to add to the deserving tribute so ably paid to the memory of the late Mr. Awuah who can be described as an honest and loyal servant of his country. He died while on active service. There is nothing more honourable than dying in the service of one's country. The late Mr. Awuah was always sensible and constructive in his criticism. He was honest and loyal to his constituents. His devotion to the service of his employers was such that they will find it hard to fill the vacancy his death has created. It goes without saying that if he were to live to contest a seat in another general election he would be elected to this House with ease. May he rest in peace eternally.

Mr. B. F. Kusi (N.L.M.—Atwima-Nwabiagya): We mourn to-day the death of our hon. Friend, the late Mr. Awuah. I have known the late Mr. Awuah for over six years. I have known him to be a very good friend and a true lover of justice and democracy. Mr. Awuah was independent in thought and he did not allow his decisions to be influenced by any other consideration whatsoever. He served his country with eagerness. Mr. Awuah did a lot of service to that part of the country which

[MR. KUSI]

elected him, namely, the Berekum Constituency. To-day the whole of the country mourn the death of Mr. Awuah, but we the people from Ashanti in particular mourn him more. This is the second time we have suffered such a sad blow and we pray that God may have mercy on us. Mr. Speaker, it is regrettable that our friend the late Mr. Awuah did not live long to see this country emerge into independence. Though he has departed to his eternal home, I believe his soul lives among us. We mourn the death of Mr. Awuah.

Mr. Speaker: Before I put the question, I desire to associate myself with what has been said here this morning in tribute to the memory of the late Mr. J. G. Awuah. I feel I need not add to what I told hon. Members about two months ago when I announced to them formally this sad event.

Question put, and agreed to.

Resolved:

That the condolences of this House be conveyed to the family and relatives of the late John Gideon Awuah."

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE

Leader of the House (Mr. Kojo Botsio): Mr. Speaker, with your permission, I should like to inform the House of the business arranged for tomorrow, Tuesday, 5th March, 1957.

The Sitting will commence at 10.30 p.m. and there will be a speech by the Prime Minister on the motion for the adjournment of the House.

The Assembly will be prorogued shortly before mid-night.

9.40 a.m.

MOTIONS

Address to Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Kent

Leader of the House (Mr. Kojo Botsio): I beg to move—

That on the 6th of March, 1957, as soon as possible after reading of the Speech from the Throne, Mr. Speaker do present, on behalf of this House, an Address to Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Kent in the following terms:—

“ TO HER ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUCHESS
OF KENT:

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS:

We, the Speaker and Members of the National Assembly of Ghana, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer to Your Royal Highness our most hearty thanks for coming to Ghana as the Special Representative of Her

[Mr. Botsio]

Majesty the Queen, Commissioned to open the First Session of our First Parliament, and for the gracious manner in which you have been pleased to discharge your Commission.

May the Parliament so graciously opened by Your Royal Highness become a Home of True Democracy wherein Freedom shall always find expression, and may our deliberations in it result in securing for the peoples of Ghana peace, prosperity and happiness.

We beg to wish Your Royal Highness health and happiness and a safe return home."

The Address is to be signed by Mr. Speaker.

I am sure that it is the wish of all Members that after Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Kent has opened the First Session of Parliament, this House should give thanks to her for her act. The text of the proposed Address has been informally agreed to by the Deputy Leader of the Opposition and myself, and I am sure the Deputy Leader of the Opposition will join me in commending it for approval by the House. In accordance with the time-honoured tradition in this country of presenting illuminated Addresses, the Address to be presented to Her Royal Highness will be suitably illuminated.

I beg to move.

Deputy Leader of the Opposition (Mr. S. D. Dombo): I beg to second the motion. This is a really good motion in that every grateful person must express thanks to whoever does anything good for him. Therefore this House will be privileged to extend our thanks to Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Kent for coming here, in place of Her Majesty the Queen, to open the first session of the first Parliament of independent Ghana. I therefore wish to commend for the acceptance of the whole House, the Address to be presented to Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Kent. [*Hear, hear.*]

Question put, and agreed to.

Resolved accordingly.

Address-in-Reply to Speech from the Throne

Leader of the House (Mr. Kojo Botsio): I beg to move, That on the 6th of March, 1957, after the election of the Deputy Speaker the Prime Minister

[Mr. Botsio]

do move, without notice, an Address-in-Reply to the Speech from the Throne and that, upon the same being seconded by the Leader of the Opposition, the question be put.

This motion is necessary in order to regulate the special procedure to be adopted in dealing with the Speech from the Throne on Wednesday next. I must, first of all, explain that in future instead of approving an ordinary motion of thanks in respect of the Speech from the Throne, an Address-in-Reply will be presented or sent, as the case may be. It is true that both methods convey thanks, but an Address-in-Reply is more elegant and therefore more suited to the new status this House is about to acquire.

An Address-in-Reply is normally moved and seconded by back benchers of the Government Party, but on the occasion of the Opening of Parliament by the Queen or her Special Representative it is normally moved by the Prime Minister and seconded by the Leader of the Opposition, and the question put without debate. An opportunity is later given to the Opposition to consider and, if they so wish, criticise the policy of the Government; and it is the intention of the Government to provide such an opportunity.

I beg to move.

-Ministerial Secretary to the Prime Minister (Mr. Kofi Baako): I beg to second the motion.

On the Question being put—

Mr. M. K. Apaloo (F.Y.O.—Anlo South): Unfortunately it appears that the question was not put as to whether or not we wish to have it debated.

Mr. Speaker: Have what debated ?

Mr. Apaloo: We want to debate this extraordinary motion, Mr. Speaker, to see whether we can make it in such a way as to suit the convenience of all sides of the House.

Mr. Speaker: This is only a motion informing the House that the Prime Minister will move a motion of thanks in reply to the Speech from the Throne as will be read by Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Kent. That is all.

Mr. Apaloo: Mr. Speaker, that depends upon the text of the Speech. If the text of the Prime Minister's Speech has been approved of by the Leader of the Opposition then—[*Uproar.*] Normally all these speeches are debated.

[MR. APALOO]

On this occasion when the speech is not going to be debated, it is proper for the Leader of the Opposition to be aware of its text; we merely want to be aware of the text of it, so that we can second it, because we want it to be as non-controversial as possible. We are asking for an opportunity to debate the Address itself. This Address, of course, is going to be a policy statement of the Government for the beginning of this Session, and I am sure that it is the wish of all Members of the Opposition that the Address should be approved of by the Leader of the Opposition, if the text is going to be acceptable to all.

Mr. Kojo Botsio: I should not blame the Member for Anlo South (Mr. Apaloo) for the remarks that he made. These procedural matters have been discussed with the Deputy Leader of the Opposition and I wonder whether Members on the opposite Benches have had the opportunity of consulting with their Leader before coming here.

9.50 a.m.

Mr. Dombo: I think the point raised by the hon. Member for Anlo South (Mr. Apaloo) is on the Speech from the Throne. The Government has assured me that I will be shown the text of the Speech and I hope that I will see it before the time.

As regards the Prime Minister's Address-in-Reply to the Speech from the Throne, I have got a copy of it and we are dealing with it. I shall give our own reply to the Government, so that both sides of the House will come together without any controversy. What the hon. Member is saying refers to the Speech from the Throne, a copy of which is not at present in our hands.

Mr. Botsio: As regards the Speech from the Throne, the Deputy Leader of the Opposition was asked to collect a copy and acquaint himself with the text thereof. The Address-in-Reply has also been promised to the Deputy Leader of the Opposition. In fact, he was to have called at the office on Friday or so for it. The main point in the motion I moved is that on that special occasion whatever be the text, the Prime Minister should make—

An hon. Member: Whatever be the case?

Mr. Botsio: Whatever be the case, the Address-in-Reply should be moved by the Prime Minister and that the Leader of the Opposition should second it. If the Opposition so wish, another opportunity will be provided for a debate on it.

Mr. Apaloo: The Opposition would make it quite clear that the Speech from the Throne would be fully debated. It is not a question as to whether we are going to be derelict in our duty or not. As to the Prime Minister moving an Address-in-Reply to the Speech, no-one has any objection. All we are saying is that if immediately that Address is seconded, the question is put and is not open to debate, it is essential that the Leader of the Opposition should know the content of the Speech. Now I am glad that the Leader of the House has undertaken to provide him with a copy.

Mr. Botsio: No.

Mr. Apaloo: The Minister has said so and that will answer any objection.

Mr. Adama: One point which I should like to mention is that we do not dislike the idea that we should express our thanks to Her Royal Highness the Duchess for the Speech from the Throne. What I do not agree with is that the present procedure may be made to apply to all other Speeches from the Throne apart from the one at this ceremonial opening of the Ghana Parliament. All other Speeches from the Throne outlining the Government's policy should be debated, and it is no use for the Assembly to approve of any policy without debating it. I would suggest that this special procedure should only be applied to the first opening of the Ghana Parliament and that on all other occasions we should have the right to debate fully the Speech from the Throne.

Mr. Kusi (N.L.M.—Atwima-Nwabiagya): We want to debate the Speech from the Throne but the Government has given us an assurance. As we know this Government we cannot take its word. [*Interruption.*]

Hon. Members: Order! Sit down!

Mr. Kusi: If on the 6th of March the Government has not given us the copy, we on this side of the House will not commit ourselves, because this Government has many times given assurances and has failed to honour its word.

Mr. Kofi Baako: It is rather distasteful that this should happen now.

I want to give an explanation. When the Prime Minister finished writing his speech which is to be the Address-in-Reply to the Speech from the Throne, he and the Leader of the House asked me to contact the Leader of the Opposition. As the Leader of the Opposition was

[Mr. KOFI BAAKO]

reported ill, I saw the Opposition Chief Whip and the Deputy Leader of the Opposition. The two gentlemen came to my office and I gave them a copy of the Reply which the Prime Minister will make to the Speech from the Throne. The Deputy Leader of the Opposition later on told me that he had studied the Speech and was satisfied with it. He also promised to let me see his own reply after the Prime Minister had made that Speech. He also wanted to have a copy of the Speech from the Throne, and I told him that I should like to find out whether it was advisable that the Speech from the Throne should be given to him. At any rate, I gave him an indication or a rough idea of what the Speech from the Throne was going to be and assured him that nothing more or less than what I had told him would come from the Throne.

The important fact is that the Government has taken the Opposition into confidence and has consulted them on these issues. If it is afterwards found that it is practicable or it is parliamentary to give the Speech from the Throne itself to the Leader of the Opposition, the Government will not hesitate to do that.

Mr. Botsio: I am afraid the Opposition Whip has misunderstood part of the motion which I made in this House. I have used a new term—Address-in-Reply—instead of a Motion of Thanks. That is the only new thing I have done. The only point is that on occasions when Her Majesty the Queen or a Special Representative addresses the House this special procedure will be followed, that is, on the motion being moved by the Prime Minister and seconded by the Leader of the Opposition, the question will be put without debate. In all other respects there is no change in the procedure we have followed hitherto. This is the only thing I have said; there is no change in that respect.

Question put, and agreed to.

Resolved:

That on the 6th of March, 1957, as soon as possible after the election of the Deputy Speaker, the Prime Minister do move, without notice, an Address-in-Reply to the Speech from the Throne and that, upon the same being seconded by the Leader of the Opposition, the question be put.

ADJOURNMENT OF THE HOUSE ON
THE 6TH OF MARCH, 1957

Leader of the House (Mr. Kojo Botsio): I beg to move, That on the 6th

[Mr. KOJO BOTSIO]

of March, 1957, at the end of proceedings, the House be adjourned *sine die*, without question put.

This motion is meant to obviate the possibility of a Member claiming to speak upon the motion for the adjournment of the House as well as the unlikely event of the House itself refusing to approve the motion for its adjournment.

I beg to move.

Ministerial Secretary to the Prime Minister (Mr. Kofi Baako): I beg to second the motion.

Question put, and agreed to.

Resolved:

That on the 6th of March, 1957, at the termination of proceedings Mr. Speaker do adjourn the House *sine die*, without question put.

SITTINGS OF THE HOUSE

Leader of the House (Mr. Botsio): I beg to move, That tomorrow, the Speaker do take the Chair at 10.30 p.m.

Ministerial Secretary to the Prime Minister (Mr. Kofi Baako): I beg to second the motion.

Question proposed.

Mr. Apaloo: Mr. Speaker, I understand that there will be a reception by Mr. Speaker tomorrow, and if the ceremony which is going to take place at the Assembly is going to be short, then I think 10.30 p.m. is too early a time for us to be here since we will be here until shortly after midnight. I would suggest that we start here at 11 o'clock and go on until a little after midnight. I am sure that as Mr. Speaker's reception is starting at 9 p.m. we will require a little more than one and a half hours to enjoy the hospitality of Mr. Speaker. [*Hear, hear.*] If the meeting starts at 11 p.m., we shall have at least half an hour to move from Mr. Speaker's reception, go home and change, and arrive at the Assembly for the ceremony.

Mr. Botsio: The Prime Minister intends to speak for about one hour and therefore we must give him sufficient time to make that important statement to the House.

Mr. R. R. Amponsah (N.L.M.—Sekyere West): We would like to know whether provision is made for a speech by the Leader of the Opposition in reply to the Prime Minister's statement. We

[MR. AMPONSAH]

learnt this morning that the Prime Minister was going to speak for about one hour; if that is so, I think it is only fair that time be given to the Leader of the Opposition to reply.

Mr. Kofi Baako: The Business Statement has been made in the House and we are all aware of that. After Prayers tomorrow, there will be a motion for the Adjournment of the House when the Prime Minister will speak. Since it is a motion for the adjournment anybody in the House, including the Leader of the Opposition, can have his say afterwards, if there is time.

Mr. Apaloo: Discussions on the motion for the adjournment are usually short, and if the Prime Minister is going to speak for one hour as a special case, then we on this side of the House also require one hour in which to reply.

Mr. J. A. Braimah (N.P.P.—Gonja East): I wonder why the Leader of the House did not make this announcement first or did not move this motion before moving the motion asking the House to adjourn *sine die*. Since the Prime Minister is going to make a policy statement which will take him about one hour, I think it is very necessary that immediately after that, without any point raised, the Opposition should have an opportunity to reply to the speech that the Prime Minister makes. That is very important and we would want to know how long the Government thinks it will take before an opportunity is given to the Opposition to debate the policy statement by the Prime Minister.

Mr. Kojo Botsio: I am sure the Opposition will agree with me that when the Prime Minister makes that important statement of his, they will require some time really to digest it before they open any debate on it, and sufficient time will be allowed for that at a subsequent Meeting of this House. As I have already said, the Prime Minister intends to make an important statement regarding the policy that his Government intends to pursue after the attainment of independence, and the Government thinks that it is fair and proper for this statement to be made first to this House before it is made to the general public. The Prime Minister is going to make several important speeches at various functions, and he thinks it is better for him to make this policy statement here before he makes those public speeches. I think that Members of this House will appreciate this and listen carefully to what he is

going to say; and afterwards we shall find a convenient time to debate the speech.

Mr. Apaloo: There is only one point about this. This Assembly is going to be prorogued and thereafter we will be going into a Parliament. This policy statement by the Prime Minister is being made to the last Meeting of the Assembly, and I am only wondering about the propriety of the new Parliament taking over a job which should have been completed at the last Meeting of this Assembly. I would suggest that if necessary, we should have two sittings tomorrow, one in the morning and then the last one in the evening, so that we can deal with this matter: otherwise an important statement like that can follow after Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Kent has officially opened Parliament, and we can stay behind and listen to this policy statement and carry it over and discuss it at a later stage in this House.

Mr. Kofi Baako: On the question of whether the new Ghana Parliament can properly take over the business being conducted by this Legislative Assembly, I wish to remind the hon. Member for Anlo South (Mr. Apaloo) that the money which this Assembly has voted will be used by the Parliament of Ghana after the 6th of March.

Mr. Amponsah: The question has not yet been settled. All we are saying is that if the Government finds it necessary for the Prime Minister to make a statement before this Assembly is prorogued, then we feel that opportunity should be given to the Leader of the Opposition to reply to or support that statement.

Usually when the Prime Minister is going to make a statement, it is so arranged that a copy of that statement is given to the Leader of the Opposition in advance so that he can prepare his reply to it, show it to the Prime Minister, and then as soon as the Prime Minister makes his statement, he the Leader of the Opposition gets up and replies forthwith.

I therefore suggest that opportunity should be given to the Leader of the Opposition to reply to the Prime Minister's policy statement before the Assembly is finally prorogued.

Mr. Botsio: I do not see how the hon. Member for Sekyerè West (Mr. Amponsah) can say that an important statement of policy of the Government should first be shown to the Opposition. In fact, such a statement contains differences between the Government and the Opposition and when the Govern-

[MR. BOTSIO]

ment has made that statement it is up to the House, the Opposition or for that matter any other person in the House, to bring it up for debate. This is a prerogative of the Government, and it is the right of the Prime Minister to make this statement; and such a statement cannot be shown to the Opposition before it is made.

Mr. Kusi: What we of the Opposition are suggesting is that after the Prime Minister has made his policy statement, an opportunity should be given to the Opposition to reply to it. But since the Leader of the Opposition has no idea of the text of the Prime Minister's policy statement, it will be very difficult for him to reply to that policy statement. We are therefore suggesting that if possible, the Prime Minister should defer making this policy statement until the Budget Meeting when we hope to have the opportunity of debating such an important statement. If we examine the practice adopted by other democratic countries, we will see that normally such important policy statements are followed by a debate. We must therefore be given the opportunity to debate the Prime Minister's policy statement.

Mr. Kojo Botsio: Members have been supplied with copies of the official programme for the celebrations and they will find that it is impossible to arrange another sitting tomorrow or to arrange one before the mid-night sitting of the Assembly. I have also said that the Prime Minister has been billed to speak at various functions where he will have to make important statements of policy. The Government considers it fair that this House should first be apprised of the policy statement before it is made outside. At the Budget Meeting, after the Speech from the Throne, hon. Members will have the opportunity of debating the Speech. I have also said that in matters of this nature, it is not expected, and in fact it will be improper, for the Government to disclose its policy statement to the Opposition or to the House before it is made. I have also said that adequate provision will be made for this House to debate the statement at a convenient time.

Mr. Kofi Baako: The hon. Member for Anlo South (Mr. M. K. Apaloo) made a point about motions for the adjournment taking thirty minutes. There are two types of motions for the adjournment, and I think the hon. Member was referring to the type that comes under Standing Order No. 9 (3). The other

[MR. KOFI BAAKO]

type comes under Standing Order No. 10 (1) which reads:

"A motion for the adjournment of the Assembly shall not be made at any Sitting before the conclusion of Questions, and thereafter no such motion shall be made except by a member of the Government, unless a Member rises in his place at the time appointed under the provisions of Standing Order No. 20 (Order of Business) and asks leave to move the adjournment of the Assembly for the purpose of discussing a definite matter of urgent public importance."

The Prime Minister, therefore, being a member of the Government and in fact the head of the Government, can make that motion and it need not take thirty minutes.

Dr. I. B. Asafu-Adjaye (N.L.M.—Juaben-Edweso): The issue before the house is this: shall the Opposition be denied the right of making any comment, however short, on the very lengthy policy statement that the Prime Minister is going to make? We are very much aware of the importance of the Prime Minister's statement. It is hardly fair that the Leader of the House should expect the Opposition to listen to this very important statement of policy to which references will be made by the Prime Minister outside this House, and deny this House the right of registering right at the very beginning certain comments on that policy statement. We appeal to you to give us the right and the freedom to state our case as soon as the policy statement is made. I think we are entitled to this initial right.

Mr. Speaker: This is a matter which can easily be settled by a meeting between the Opposition and the Government. The Prime Minister and the Leader of the Opposition and the two Whips can meet and settle the question. This is not a matter to be debated here at all.

Deputy Leader of the Opposition (Mr. S. D. Dombó): I have already made contact with the Government as regards how we are going to deal with this matter. We are only sorry that it has taken us so long to argue on this matter, but we shall have an opportunity to debate the policy statement of the Government. As it is a Government statement, the Opposition are entitled to move an amendment to it or to move a motion for a full debate on it.

Mr. Speaker: Until the House is prorogued any hon. Member can make any statement.

[MR. BOTSIO]

SUSPENSION OF STANDING ORDER
NO. 37

Leader of the House (Mr. Kojo Botsio): I beg to move, That Standing Order No. 37 be suspended to enable the House to deal direct with the motion for the amendment of Standing Orders standing in my name on the Order Paper.

The motion for the amendment of Standing Orders which I propose to move covers 33 amendments, 31 of which are purely formal and designed to bring our Standing Orders up to date as at Independence Day. The 31 amendments could not have been proposed until after the publication of the Ghana (Constitution) Order in Council, 1957.

If this Standing Order is complied with, the motion will, upon being seconded, be referred to the Standing Orders Committee and no further proceedings can be taken upon it until the Committee has reported to the House. I would have been unwilling to move the suspension of this Standing Order if it were not for the fact that time is not on the side of the House. I trust that the Standing Orders Committee—of which, Mr. Speaker, you are the Chairman and of which I am myself a member—will pardon my attempt to deprive it of what would have been the last exercise of its function in this Session which is about to come to an end. I beg to move.

Mr. Kofi Baako: I beg to second the motion.

Mr. Speaker: As the rules are, these amendments to the Standing Orders are not to be debated until they have passed through the Standing Orders Committee. This motion is being moved to enable the amendments to be placed before this House without going through the Standing Orders Committee.

Question put, and agreed to.

Standing Order No. 37 suspended accordingly.

AMENDMENT OF STANDING ORDERS

Leader of the House (Mr. Kojo Botsio): I beg to move, That with effect from 6th March, 1957, the Standing Orders of this House be amended as follows:—

1. S.O. 1, page 7 lines 2, 3 and 4, delete "Legislative Assembly constituted under the Gold Coast (Constitution) Orders in Council, 1954 and 1955" and insert "National Assembly constituted under the Ghana (Constitution) Order in Council, 1957".

2. S.O. 1, page 7, line 9; delete "Legislative" and insert "National".

3. S.O. 1, page 7, line 13, delete "1 of the said Orders" and insert "1 of the said Order".

4. S.O. 1, page 7, line 16, delete "Orders" and insert "Order".

5. S.O. 3, page 8, line 43, delete "Ministerial" and insert "Parliamentary".

6. S.O. 4, page 9, lines 8 and 9, delete "47 of the Gold Coast (Constitution) Orders in Council, 1954 and 1955" and insert "44 of the Ghana (Constitution) Order in Council, 1957".

7. S.O. 6, page 9, lines 31 and 38, delete "Ministerial" and insert "Parliamentary".

8. S.O. 7, page 9, lines 40 and 41, delete "49 of the Gold Coast (Constitution) Orders in Council, 1954 and 1955" and insert "46 of the Ghana (Constitution) Order in Council, 1957".

9. S.O. 7, page 9, line 42, delete "Orders" and insert "Order".

10. S.O. 8, page 10, lines 15 and 17, delete "Governor" and insert "Governor-General".

11. S.O. 18, page 12, line 38, delete "Governor" and insert "Governor-General".

12. S.O. 23, page 14, line 12, delete "Ministerial" and insert "Parliamentary".

13. S.O. 39, page 19, lines 39 and 41, delete "Ministerial" and insert "Parliamentary".

14. S.O. 41, page 21, line 8, delete "Governor's" and insert "Governor-General's".

15. S.O. 41, page 21, line 15, delete "Governor" and insert "Governor-General".

16. S.O. 51, page 25, line 27, delete "Governor" and insert "Governor-General".

17. S.O. 51, page 25, line 30, delete "Attorney-General" and insert "Minister introducing the Bill".

18. S.O. 52, page 25, line 41, delete "Governor" and insert "Governor-General".

19. S.O. 63, page 30, line 18, delete "Governor" and insert "Governor-General".

20. S.O. 64, page 30, line 26, delete "Gold Coast" and insert "Ghana".

21. S.O. 65, page 32, lines 4 and 5, delete "65(5) of the Gold Coast (Constitution) Orders in Council, 1954 and 1955" and insert "59(5) of the Ghana (Constitution) Order in Council, 1957".

[Mr. Botsio]

22. S.O. 66, page 32, lines 21 and 22, delete "65 (3) of the Gold Coast (Constitution) Orders in Council, 1954 and 1955" and insert "59 (3) of the Ghana (Constitution) Order in Council, 1957".

23. S.O. 67, page 32, line 42, delete "Governor" and insert "Governor-General".

24. S.O. 67, page 33, line 9, delete "Governor" and insert "Governor-General".

25. S.O. 67, page 33, lines 11 to 19, delete all the words and insert—

"(3) The Assembly shall not proceed upon any Bill or Motion which, in the opinion of Mr. Speaker or the Attorney-General, relates to or affects any matter the responsibility for which is vested in the Attorney-General by virtue of section 15 (1) of the Ghana (Constitution) Order in Council, 1957".

26. S.O. 80, page 37, lines 3 and 4, delete "Ministerial" and insert "Parliamentary".

27. S.O. 82, page 37, lines 22 and 24, delete "Ministerial" and insert "Parliamentary".

28. S.O. 84, page 38, lines 13 and 14, delete "one Ministerial Secretary" and insert "the Government Chief Whip".

29. S.O. 84, page 38, line 14, delete "Ministerial" and insert "Parliamentary".

30. S.O. 85, page 38, line 28, delete "Ministerial" and insert "Parliamentary".

31. The Appendix, page 40, lines 6 and 7, delete "Legislative Assembly of the Gold Coast" and insert "National Assembly of Ghana".

32. The Appendix, page 41, line 1, delete "Legislative" and insert "National".

33. The Appendix, page 41, line 15, delete "Legislative Assembly of the Gold Coast" and insert "National Assembly".

All the amendments set out on the Order Paper, except Nos. 17 and 28, have been proposed in anticipation of independence, and, since all of them, except those two, are purely formal, I trust that unanimous support for them will be forthcoming.

Amendment No. 25 has been proposed because under the new Constitution the Governor-General will not have the same responsibility which the Governor has under Section 17 of the present (Constitution) Orders in Council. I refer to the responsibility of the Governor for certain special subjects.

Amendment No. 17 is necessary because it is considered that after independence it will be proper for the statement of the objects and reasons of a Bill to be signed by the Minister introducing the Bill instead of by the Attorney-General as is at present the case.

Amendment No. 28 seeks to make the Government Chief Whip a member of the Business Committee. Under the present Standing Order No. 84 the Government Chief Whip has been serving as a member of this Committee in his capacity as a Ministerial Secretary. The Government Chief Whip is no longer a Ministerial Secretary and it is necessary to provide for his membership of this Committee in his capacity as Government Chief Whip. The "Usual Channels" must be made available to the Business Committee and while the Opposition are always at liberty to put forward their Chief Whip for membership—which they invariably do—the Government does not have the same facility. I beg to move.

Mr. Kofi Baako: I beg to second the motion.

Question proposed.

Mr. Mumuni Bawumia (N.P.P.—South Mamprusi East): We are very grateful to the Government for bringing this amendment to the Standing Orders at this time. I think as the Minister himself has pointed out, it is to be in conformity with the new Ghana Constitution which the Ghana Parliament will be using after the 6th of March. This is a very good gesture on the part of the Government and we hope that with this same spirit the Government will see to the implementation of the other provisions in the Constitution.

Mr. M. K. Apaloo (F.Y.O.—Anlo South): There is only one point I should like to make and it is in connection with the title of Ministerial Secretaries as Parliamentary Secretaries. As their designation will imply I am sure they will do their best to take over lesser duties off the shoulders of Ministers so that when urgent questions are put up they will find the answers to these questions in their capacity as Parliamentary Secretaries.

Mr. J. A. Braimah (N.P.P.—Gonja East): I do not think there is anything to quarrel about, but we are sorry that the Government has not been able to let us have the proposed amendment in good time. We know that preparations for independence went ahead long ago and if we had had this for about a week or even two weeks before this time

[MR. BRAIMAH]

it would have been all right. We accept this amendment and forgive the Government for not giving us notice in good time but it should not think that next time we are going to have that. Perhaps after going through the amendment we will find a few mistakes to correct. I hope there will be an opportunity if that happens for Members to bring them up.

Mr. Kojo Botsio: What the hon. Member has suggested can always be done and I should say that really it was not possible to bring this amendment earlier because as hon. Members are all aware, the Orders in Council were avail-

able only the other day; they were signed only a few days ago.

Question put, and agreed to.

Mr. Kojo Botsio: Mr. Speaker, I do not intend to proceed with the other motion; it is unnecessary.

ADJOURNMENT

Motion made, and Question proposed,
That this House do now adjourn.

[MR. KOFI BAAKO]

Question put, and agreed to.

Adjourned accordingly at Thirty Minutes past Ten O'clock in the forenoon till Tuesday 5th March, 1957, at Thirty Minutes past Ten O'clock in the evening.

THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY
FOURTH MEETING, 1956-57

TUESDAY, 5TH MARCH, 1957

The House met at 11 p.m.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

PRAYERS

GOVERNMENT POLICY STATEMENT

Motion made, and Question proposed,
That this House do now adjourn.

[MR. KOFI BAAKO]

The Prime Minister (Dr. Kwame Nkrumah): Mr. Speaker, we have assembled on this happy occasion to honour the new status of a Nation. When the day dawns we shall have left behind us the chains of imperialism and colonialism which have hitherto bound us to Britain. By twelve o'clock midnight, Ghana will have redeemed her lost freedom.

In 1951 the Convention People's Party was returned to power under the Coussey Constitution. In 1952, through negotiations with the British Government, further changes were made in the Coussey Constitution to bring it more into line with the aspirations of the people of the country.

In 1954 we had, for the first time in the history of Colonial Africa, the first all-African elected Legislature with an all-African Cabinet collectively responsible to that Legislature.

During the period of transition, which was necessary for certain administrative and technical arrangements to be effected, our country enjoyed what was known as internal self-government. Defence and External Affairs remained the responsibility of the Governor assisted by an Advisory Committee of three Cabinet Ministers.

Two years later acute constitutional differences on the question of whether the constitution of the country should be a federal or a unitary one, culminated in the General Election of July, 1956, which resulted in the return to power of the C.P.P. [Hear, hear.]

In August of the same year, the Legislative Assembly unanimously supported my Motion calling upon Her Majesty's Government to fix a firm date for the independence of Ghana.

The British Government, after consultations with our Government, eventually fixed the date of the 6th March for the final transfer of power from the United Kingdom Government to the Govern-

ment of Ghana and her chiefs and peoples. [Hear, hear.]

Mr. Speaker, how solemn it is that we, the representatives of the people, are here tonight to witness the passing of the old days and the birth of the new days of Freedom and Independence. For, within the space of a few minutes, our colonial association with the British will disappear. [Hear, hear.]

Let us join with the Poet to sing :

"Ring out the old, Ring in the new . . ."

As we are all aware, our admission into the Commonwealth has, without any difficulty, been unanimously endorsed by all the Member countries, and I should like to take this opportunity to extend to these older members of the Commonwealth the sincere thanks of our country for the expression of confidence and goodwill towards us. Ghana reciprocates these good wishes.

This is a decisive moment in our history and it is fitting that we, as representatives of the people, should assemble here in Parliament on the eve of Independence to take stock of our present position, to take a peep into the future and to declare boldly to the world what, in broad terms, our domestic and foreign policy will be when, one hour from now, we join the other independent States of the world as a free, sovereign and independent nation. [Hear, hear.]

In the modern world, independence also means interdependence, for such is the technological and scientific advance in this age that the world appears to be smaller than its own prodigious size. What happens in one country may have repercussions—both favourable and otherwise—in another country.

This naturally leads to the very important subject of Ghana's foreign policy after independence. Our foreign policy shall be based on three words: Dignity, Peace and Friendship. [Hear, hear.]

Before I go on to discuss the foreign policy of the Government, that is, after midnight, I should like to inform hon. Members that on the attainment of Independence, I, as Prime Minister, propose to take over the Portfolios of Defence and External Affairs. [Hear, hear.]

Mr. Speaker, as Ghana achieves Independence, it observes a world torn and divided in its political relationships. We of Ghana feel, therefore, that at this stage, our country should not be committed in any aspect of its foreign policy and that it should not be aligned with

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any particular group of powers or political bloc. But at the same time, our new State does not intend to follow a neutralist policy in its foreign relations. It is our intention to preserve our independence and to act as we see best at any particular time. [Hear, hear.]

It is our hope that Ghana may become a member of the United Nations as soon as possible, and we look forward to maintaining friendly relations with all other freedom-loving nations.

In pursuing its independent policy, the Government of Ghana will have regard, first and foremost, for the interests of the people of Ghana: in particular, their continued economic and social progress. Every step in the Government's power, both internally and in its external relations, will be taken to further the development of the nation's resources for the common good. Foreign investment will be encouraged and the Government's policy in this respect, which was first stated by me on the 1st March, 1954, will be implemented in accordance with the principles of our Constitution.

Mr. Speaker, we intend to direct our efforts to promote the interests and advancement of all African peoples in their pursuits of freedom and social progress. [Hear, hear.] The sacrifices made by the people of Ghana in their struggle for independence are only the first stage in the common advancement of their brothers all over Africa, and in colonial territories inhabited by people of African descent.

11.10 p.m.

I hope that, as a free, sovereign and independent State, Ghana can become the centre for the discussion of African problems as a whole and that with the co-operation of all other African and other colonial territories, we shall be able to foster a common attitude to local and world problems which will ensure that problems peculiar to Africa will receive the attention which they have not had for so long. Our aim is to work with others to achieve an African personality in international affairs.

Now let us turn to our domestic problems and take stock of our own position. The new State of Ghana can best be judged by looking at our national income per head. The wealth produced in Ghana each year averages just over £50 per head of the population. This may be small as compared with the

United Kingdom where the national income per head is over £300. But compared with other countries in Africa, South and Central America and Asia, our average national income is high. It is two-and-a-half times the national income per head of Nigeria and over three times that of Tanganyika. Our national income per head of population exceeds those of India, Pakistan and Ceylon, even though, on account of our much smaller population, our gross national produce is nothing like as large as those countries. [Hear, hear.]

Nevertheless, we are the sixth largest producer in the world of gold, and the fourth largest producer of manganese. Cocoa, of which we are the largest single producer in the world, comes from farms which are entirely African-owned and therefore, in regard to this—which is by far the most important of our exports—we are in no way dependent upon foreign capital. The amount of our public debt is very small and much of our development, such as the building of Tema Harbour, has been financed out of development funds and not, as in other countries, by borrowing.

Mr. Speaker, since the Convention People's Party came into power, we have always been able to maintain a budget surplus and a favourable balance of external trade. Even more notable has been the extent of public saving which has enabled us to undertake substantial development and to create new capital in the community without a corresponding increase of private wealth. In 1953-54, for example, 10 per cent of our gross national product was saved. In other words, the Government put aside for public development £1 out of every £10 worth of wealth produced.

It is important for it to be realised that the material basis for the independence of Ghana exists. We can stand on our own feet. [Hear, hear.] The foreign policy of Ghana will not, therefore, be dictated by the need for us having to seek assistance from other countries. [Hear, hear.] I mention this because during the debates both in the House of Commons and in the House of Lords on the Ghana Independence Bill, there was considerable discussion on the future of aid to Ghana and to other territories likely to attain independence. For this reason it is, I think, desirable that I should make plain the position of the Government.

Under colonial conditions there were two types of aid available. The first of these was associated with the Colonial Development Corporation. Through

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this Corporation it was possible for British public funds to be invested in commercial undertakings in the Gold Coast. The second type of aid came from the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund through which British public money could be invested in non-revenue producing development schemes in the Colonial Territories. I may point out that the Gold Coast did not in fact make use to any great extent of either of the two methods of aid. In our five-year Development Plan £124 million came from our own resources and only £1½ million from Colonial Development and Welfare Funds, and since 1951 the total we have received has been less than £2½ million.

We do not seek the continuance of any such aid on the basis of a gift from any other member of the Commonwealth. But we do believe that under certain circumstances development expenditure in Ghana by Commonwealth countries might be undertaken on a basis of equality and mutual benefit. For example, Ghana is a country in which the problems of tropical disease can be most effectively studied. A grant to enable Ghana to establish a first-rate School of Tropical Medicine open to doctors from all parts of the Commonwealth—and indeed the world—might in fact enable research to be carried out under more advantageous conditions than anywhere else in the world and provide special facilities for training doctors in tropical diseases.

Again, some organisation similar to the Colonial Development Corporation, established on a Commonwealth basis, might be of mutual assistance to members of the Commonwealth in assisting the investment of private capital of one member of the Commonwealth in the territory of another. The advantage of the Colonial Development Corporation was that in the first instance it knew, because of its experienced personnel, what investments would be likely to prove profitable. Secondly, in enterprises in which the Government and private capital were participating, there is a great advantage in having a third party to invest so as to avoid the situation where either the Government or the private investor has to have a majority share holding.

The most important issue, however, which is connected with the question of aid is the position of those Commonwealth members who, like Ghana, provide a positive gold and dollar balance for the Sterling Area.

The Gold Coast has contributed on an average 25 per cent of the net dollar earnings of the Colonial Commonwealth, not taking into account our contribution of around £9 million a year in gold. In the five years from 1951 to 1955, in which the Convention People's Party have been in power, the Gold Coast contributed a net positive balance of £153 million to the gold and dollar reserves of the Sterling Area. It will be seen therefore that though the Gold Coast is a small country it has made a significant contribution to maintaining the stability of the Sterling Area.

11.15 p.m.

Because the price of cocoa so varies on the world market, we have difficulty in planning our development because we never know what revenue we may have available, and therefore we cannot undertake those large schemes of not immediately productive development which are absolutely essential for the Northern Territories and for other under-developed parts of the country. For that reason we think we would be justified in entering into negotiation with other members of the Sterling Area for a scheme by which we are insured against any prolonged depression in the price of cocoa and other dollar-producing commodities in exchange for an undertaking on our behalf to continue to manage our economy so as to produce gold and dollar earnings for the Sterling Area. The cost to Commonwealth countries who benefit from our dollar earnings would not be large and, in fact, under the scheme we have in mind, even under the most unlikely event of the whole of the insurance guarantee being called upon, the total involved would only be Thirty Million pounds spread over ten years. So much for that, Mr. Speaker.

The most crucial problem which the world must face, to my mind, is how colonial territories can emerge as free, equal and independent nations without having recourse to violence and bloodshed.

One of the spurious axioms of colonialism is that those who carry out the policy of the colonial power, however well intentioned they may be, almost always sub-consciously seek a solution to the problems of the colonial territory in the terms of a solution which was applicable to the co-called mother country. In our view we must seek an African solution to the problems of Africa. This does not mean that Western techniques and methods are

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not applicable in Africa. It does mean, however, that in Ghana we must look at every problem from the African standpoint.

Let me give a few examples. One of the problems of Africa as a whole is that wages are low and yet the cost of labour is high. Why is it that the productivity of African labour is so much less than the productivity of European or North American labour? It is certainly not due to any inherent defect in people of African race. Under American or European conditions workers of African ancestry are as efficient as the white workers beside whom they work.

The problem is therefore not one of race but of environment. Throughout Africa, in all probability the single largest factor in the low productivity of labour is chronic ill-health due to tropical disease and to malnutrition directly caused by the restriction which tropical conditions place on the variety of food available.

Looked at from a European point of view this problem would seem to be largely a medical one. Even our food deficiencies, which mainly consist of an absence of milk and meat, appear at first sight to be a question of animal health and to depend on eliminating the diseases which prevent cattle farming. Examined, however, from an African view point, the problem is not really soluble in such European terms.

Malaria, for example, is eliminated by destroying the breeding ground of mosquito and educating the public into taking prophylactics to prevent them contracting the disease. In other words, problems of public health are often just as vital matters in terms of civil engineering and mass education as of medicine. We can only begin to plan when we accept the limitations of our situation and realise that a European solution may not be possible. For example, we have to face up to the fact that the cow and the horse, the traditional source of food and of motive power in the Western world, may never be able to play a decisive part in our economy. The effect of the tsetse fly on our history has been to make us perhaps more dependent on mechanical means of transport than practically any other nation. Seeking an African solution, therefore, means that once we abandon the traditional method of portage by head loading we are compelled by the tsetse fly to rely upon the internal combustion engine. If we are to rely upon this successfully, we cannot afford

the waste of vehicles ruined by bad roads or by bad driving or by lack of maintenance. In Europe it is sufficient for a farm to be served by a cart track and for a farmer to have a horse to draw his cart and his plough. In Ghana we must have feeder roads capable of carrying motor vehicles and our farming, if it is to be done otherwise than by hand, must be done by mechanical means. An African solution for our farming problem, therefore, is that not only must we have a high standard of roads, but also that our whole educational system must be geared to producing a scientifically-technically minded people. Because of the limitations placed on us, we have to produce, of necessity, a higher standard of technical education than is necessary in many of the most advanced countries of the Western world.

At first-sight it might seem that the problems of an adequate educational system are beyond the resources of the country. I do not think they are, provided we approach our problems in a strictly realistic manner.

11.20 p.m.

I believe that we can turn our disadvantages to our advantage. For example, the problem of public health, animal health and agriculture is very largely the problem of the parasite. It is the intention of the Government to set up in due course in conjunction with our University, institutes for research into problems such as these. Since in all probability these problems could be better studied in Ghana than almost anywhere else in the world, we believe that institutes dealing with the problems of tropical agriculture and tropical medicine would obtain international support and that world interest would be sufficient to enable us to get help both in personnel and in finance, provided always that there was a genuine African approach, that is to say, that we studied all questions with a view to evolving new techniques to deal with African problems within the likely limitations of African resources.

I will give three examples. Very rightly, under European conditions, medical treatment can only be given by qualified medical practitioners. If, however, we are to overcome within measurable time such diseases as leprosy, yaws, hookworm, river blindness, sleeping sickness and bilharzia, we cannot await the training of a sufficient number of fully qualified practitioners and it is indeed doubtful whether the funds we have to spend on public health would enable us to pay the

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salaries which persons who have had to go to the expense of a full medical training would naturally demand. We can, however, develop the system, which is already at work in our medical field units, by which technicians, under the supervision of a highly qualified doctor, tackle the elimination of the various diseases they are treating in a systematic and ordered fashion. Proceeding on these lines, I believe that we can within a measurable time eliminate from Ghana all the main endemic tropical diseases which so lower the working efficiency of our people.

Another example is the need of evolving a distinctive form of tropical architecture. Excessive heat is one of the factors which hinders our development. It presents difficulties in the storage of meat, milk and other foodstuffs. It prevents the worker from obtaining sufficient rest and it interferes with efficiency in the workshop and the office.

In the Western world these conditions are dealt with by refrigeration, air conditioning and fans, and, of course, to some extent these provide a solution for the problem in Ghana. But they cannot be a complete solution unless there is country-wide distribution of electric power on a scale which is probably far beyond our present resources. We can, however, utilise one source of energy which we have in abundance—the heat of the sun. Already in Accra and in other towns architectural designs have been evolved which make use of the heat of the sun to produce draughts of air which, by flowing over the surface of the roof and walls of the building, keep it cool. We propose to continue experiments of this sort, combining the work of the Building Research Institute, which already exists, with that of the University.

Yet another example is the problem of language. One of the most obvious difficulties which faces Africa south of the Sahara is the multiplicity of languages and dialects. Everyone of us in this Assembly to-day has to conduct his parliamentary business in a language which is not his own. I sometimes wonder how well the House of Commons in the United Kingdom, or the Senate in the United States, would manage if they suddenly found that they had to conduct their affairs in French or in Spanish or in some African dialect.

Nevertheless we welcome English as not only providing a common medium

for exchange between ourselves, but also opening the door to us to all the heritage of the world. At the same time, however, it is essential that we do consider seriously the problem of the language in Africa. At present, such is the influence of Europe in our affairs, that far more students in our University are studying Latin and Greek than are studying the languages of Africa. An essential of independence is that emphasis must be laid on studying the living languages of Africa, for out of such a study will come a more simple method by which those in one part of Africa may learn the language of those in all other parts.

I believe that one of the most important services which Ghana can perform for Africa is to devise a system of education based at its University level on concrete studies of the problems of the tropical world. We have the resources to undertake this and I believe that we should not lack support from the rest of the world.

It will be the policy of the Government to turn the University College into a full-fledged University. This University will be the co-ordinating body for educational research, and we hope that it will eventually be associated with Research Institutes dealing with agriculture, biology, and the physical and chemical sciences which we hope to establish.

11.25 p.m.

We are very proud that to-day in a country of five million inhabitants there should be nearly half a million children enjoying primary education. We must however provide further outlets for these children and give them an opportunity to learn something of engineering, tropical agriculture and of the problems of tropical medicine and hygiene. Only with a population so educated can we hope to face the tremendous problems which confront any country attempting to raise the standard of life in a tropical zone. These problems of course cannot be solved by education alone. We must re-shape our machinery of government in order to deal with them. It is essential that we co-ordinate at every level Government activity. It is no use devising a method of dealing with an agricultural problem unless we possess means by which we can explain to the people how to apply the solution. No issue is simple. Agriculture is very often a problem of civil engineering, of preventing soil erosion or providing water. Whether or not to irrigate may itself be a medical problem as to what

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water-borne diseases may be thus introduced or spread. The extent of the risk of spreading diseases may depend on the power of mass education to persuade the population to take effective precautions against the disease involved.

It is therefore the intention of the Government to set up a central planning and development commission which will attempt to co-ordinate all the aspects of development.

A re-examination of the needs of Ghana, however, cannot stop short at merely planning development.

Quite clearly one of the first things which must follow from independence is that citizens of Ghana must play a far bigger role in the commercial and industrial life of the country than they do at present.

We must examine the root-causes of why it is that someone who comes from abroad seems able to succeed in commerce and industry in a way in which our own people often do not do. No doubt, in part, this is due to our own lack of experience which time and education are likely to cure. But this is, I think, only a part of the reason. It is also due to a shortage of African capital. When Europe began its development, commerce and industry were financed by the surplus capital of the farmer. Our farmers are, however, very often prevented from putting their wealth to good use by the nature of our land law. One effect of colonialism has been to alter our ancient methods of administering and transmitting property in land and yet not on the other hand substituting for it a wholly British system of land tenure. Once again, I think an African solution is possible.

It seems to me that it is possible for us to conserve the essentials of our own land law which affects and influences the whole of our social system and at the same time to provide that security of title which will enable land owners to raise capital in the same way as is done in more developed countries and thus finance commerce and light industry in the rural areas. Clearly, however, this problem cannot be solved merely by land reform. We must make use of the funds accumulated by public saving to assist to finance the endeavour of our own people. That is why the Government attaches such importance to the State providing credit for African agriculture, commerce and industry.

Nevertheless whatever we do to increase African participation in industry

and commerce and however wisely we deploy our own resources, it is clear that for some time to come Ghana will require the investment of foreign capital. It is of course essential that no foreign cartel or trust is allowed to dominate the economy of the country, but in any event the present economic position of Ghana is such that there is no risk of this happening. Here again is a problem to which we should seek an African solution.

In order to attract foreign capital after independence, there must be a reconsideration of the whole of our commercial and company law and our fiscal policy generally. Foreign capital invested here should not be unduly penalised by the operation of a tax system which was devised under colonial conditions. We must pause and look afresh at the whole of our approach to outside investment in order to make sure that our commercial law and our taxation arrangements are those best suited to attract the foreign investor. On the one hand we must see that no unnecessary hinderances are placed in the way of foreign investment. On the other hand we must maintain a high standard of commercial morality. The swift and efficient administration of commercial law is essential for attracting investment from abroad. Moreover, if private capital from outside Ghana is to be invested in Ghana companies, we must be in a position to show that when a company is operated under our laws the foreign investor has a real opportunity of checking its activities and of maintaining that degree of control to which his investment entitles him.

11.30 p.m.

While it is most important for us to attract private investment, it is equally important that we prove ourselves credit-worthy to national and international financial organisations. It is, among other things, for this reason that the Government proposes that immediately after independence there shall be a period of financial and economic consolidation. During this period of consolidation we would avoid committing ourselves to any major project which might interfere with some other form of development which, after a study of our situation, we might come to consider to be preferable in the national interest.

The Government is conscious of the great—and perhaps decisive—contribution which the Volta Project could make

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to the diversification of the economy, and to reducing our dependence on the basic cash crop, cocoa. We observe that the world demand for aluminium is increasing at a remarkable rate, and we know that the Volta scheme is technically and economically sound. We therefore intend to do everything in our power to ensure that two of our greatest natural resources, hydro-electric power and bauxite, are exploited before they lose their real value. The Government also observes that no major source of aluminium has yet been developed in the sterling area. The capital sums involved in this vast project are inevitably very large, and are directly related to the matter of foreign investment to which I have already referred. The Government intends to hold further discussions about the Project with the British Government, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the Aluminium companies.

Meanwhile we must also consider development from another angle. We hope that our resources will be sufficient to finance any form of development which is revenue-producing. The most difficult problem which we have to face is that in order to put all parts of the country on an equality, it is necessary for us to finance development which is not revenue-producing.

I have already spoken of the problem which we face in this regard in the Northern Territories. We are determined to secure the funds necessary for developing these areas. If the plan which we have suggested of a form of Commonwealth insurance turns out to be unworkable, then we must of course look for other solutions.

Finally, the success or failure of our efforts to make Ghana into a prosperous and happy state will extend far beyond the frontiers of Ghana itself. A failure on our part would have tragic consequences for other colonial territories striving towards independence. We must not fail. We shall not fail. [*Hear, hear.*]

I am sure all sections of the House have this in view. Let us all co-operate to make this new State a success. Whatever our political differences, whatever our political affiliations or persuasions, let us all unite to work selflessly for the progress and prosperity of our new State of Ghana and her peoples.

We have fought and won the battle for Freedom. We must now assail the ramparts of all the social and economic evils that have been allowed to plague

our country all these years and to win this second battle of economic independence and social reconstruction.

Deputy Leader of the Opposition (Mr. S. D. Dombo): Mr. Speaker, before I say anything I should like to associate myself with the expression of thanks given by the Prime Minister to Great Britain and all other countries the world over for helping us to assume our present status. We are sincerely grateful to Britain and to all other countries which have taken keen interest in our struggle for independence, some of whom have managed to be here to witness the celebration of our independence at a time their countries are going through great crises.

The statement read by the Prime Minister raises very important issues. He has given the Government policy statement regarding the country's internal as well as external relations after Independence. It will be therefore wrong in our view if this House as well as the country are not given an opportunity to discuss and examine this statement. I regret that the Prime Minister did not previously give me the opportunity of knowing about his statement. I intended to suggest that this House should not be prorogued until we had been given an opportunity to debate the statement. At any rate, I am asking that the Government should give us an assurance that an opportunity will be offered to this House to debate the statement.

11.35 p.m.

Mr. Mumuni Bawumia (N.P.P.—South Mamprusi East): The Deputy Leader of the Opposition has made a very simple request, and we expect the Government to grant it.

The Prime Minister: I do not think there is need for any assurance to be given. The Opposition have every right to bring before this House a motion on the statement I have made.

PROROGATION

A Message from His Excellency the Governor together with a Proclamation having been received—

Mr. Speaker: His Excellency's speech reads as follows:

Mr. Speaker and Members of the Legislative Assembly,

To-day you are gathered together for the last Sitting of the last Meeting of the last Session of the Legislative Assembly of the Gold Coast. When next the elected representatives of the people meet here

[MR. SPEAKER]

it will be on the occasion of the first Sitting of the first Meeting of the first Session of the Parliament of Ghana.

This present Legislative Assembly met for the first time on the 20th February, 1951.

The year 1951 had given birth to a new constitution and under it a General Election was held. It was, however, found that one political party only, the Convention People's Party, had built up an effective party organisation with the result that this party won 34 of the 38 seats which were contested on a party basis.

In the year 1952 an Order in Council was made amending the Constitution of the Gold Coast and providing for the establishment of the office of Prime Minister in place of that of Leader of Government Business. The revised Constitution also required that I should consult with the Prime Minister over the appointment of other representative Ministers and the allocation of portfolios to them.

The year 1954 was a most important one in the political and constitutional development of the Gold Coast. The Gold Coast (Constitution) Order in Council, 1954, which (apart from certain special provisions) came into force on the 8th May, established a Cabinet of Ministers and a reformed Legislative Assembly consisting only of elected members.

Election Day was June the 15th and a total of 706,720 votes were cast out of a registered electorate of 1½ million. The election resulted in a clear-cut victory for the Convention People's Party who were returned with 71 seats. There were 16 Independents, 12 representatives of the Northern People's Party, and 5 representatives of other parties.

On the 31st day of July 1955, the Third Schedule to the Gold Coast (Constitution) Order in Council, 1954, came into operation, and from that date the Secretary of State ceased to have responsibility for any Civil Servant in the Gold Coast. Also, the power previously vested in me in relation to the appointment, transfer, promotion, dismissal, and disciplinary control of public officers now devolved upon the Public Service Commission.

The year 1956, next to this present year 1957, must surely be recognised as the most significant year so far in the history of this country.

In May 1956, the peoples of Togoland under United Kingdom Administration elected to unite with this country on

the attainment of Independence. This decision was approved by the United Nations General Assembly in December of the same year.

Also in May, in the House of Commons, the Secretary of State gave the historic pledge concerning the future of this country:

"If a general election is held Her Majesty's Government will be ready to accept a Motion calling for independence within the Commonwealth passed by a reasonable majority in a newly elected legislature and then to declare a firm date for attainment of this purpose".

Arising out of this, the Assembly was dissolved and a General Election was held.

The confidence of the people in the Government was again demonstrated by the Convention People's Party being returned with the same number of seats as at the 1954 election, and on the 3rd August the Prime Minister in the Legislative Assembly moved a motion on Gold Coast Independence in these words:

"I beg to move that this Assembly do authorize the Government of the Gold Coast to request Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom as soon as practicable this year, to procure the enactment by the United Kingdom Parliament of an Act to provide for the independence of the Gold Coast as a sovereign and independent State within the Commonwealth under the name of Ghana".

The motion was carried unanimously and in the House of Commons the Ghana Independence Bill was passed without one dissentient vote, and a firm date for Independence was announced, namely the 6th March, 1957.

11.40 p.m.

In a further effort to resolve the constitutional difficulties existing in the country, the Secretary of State visited the Gold Coast on the 24th January. He, however, found a far greater measure of agreement than disagreement between the Government and Opposition and the Proposed Constitution of Ghana prepared by the Secretary of State for the Colonies was accepted by both the Government and the Opposition.

The country can justifiably look back with pride upon the achievement registered since the turn of the half century. That there is not complete unanimity of opinion is surely an indication of the country's virility. If everyone was of one opinion, there would be no opposing voices to underline any possible mis-

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judgments—and surely the result would be a gradual decay through complacency.

The future is bright; and the country looks forward to independent status with hope and pride, but with befitting humility.

Mr. Speaker and Members of the Legislative Assembly,

I pray that the blessing of Almighty God may attend you.

The Clerk of the Legislative Assembly read the Proclamation, as follows:

PROCLAMATION

By His Excellency Sir CHARLES NOBLE ARDEN-CLARKE, Knight Grand Cross of the Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Gold Coast, etc., etc., etc.

C. N. ARDEN-CLARKE
Governor.

WHEREAS by the Gold Coast (Constitution) Orders in Council, 1954 and 1955, provision is made for the establishment of a Legislative Assembly in and for the Gold Coast:

AND WHEREAS by section 50 of the Gold Coast (Constitution) Orders in Council, 1954 and 1955, it is provided that the Governor may prorogue the Legislative Assembly of the Gold Coast:

NOW THEREFORE I, CHARLES NOBLE ARDEN-CLARKE, Knight Grand Cross of the Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Gold Coast, after consultation with the Prime Minister, do by this Proclamation prorogue the Legislative Assembly of the Gold Coast at 11.45 o'clock in the evening on the 5th day of March, 1957.

Given under my hand and the Public Seal of the Gold Coast, at Government House, Accra, this 5th day of March in the year of Our Lord one thousand nine hundred and fifty-seven.

GOD SAVE THE QUEEN

The Assembly was accordingly prorogued at a Quarter to Twelve o'clock midnight.

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