

# DANGER!

## Kidnappings On The Increase In Ghana



**Ambrose Dery, Interior Minister**



**Albert Kan Dapaah, National Security Minister**



**COP George Akuffo Dampare, IGP**

**D**r. Kwesi Biney, a Security Analyst has warned Ghanaians to take their personal security and the safety of their family, relatives and loved ones seriously since kidnappings are now on the ascendency in the country. According to him kidnappings for ransom, rituals and medical purposes through the incision of kidnapped persons for their liver, kidney and other

body parts by some criminal elements appears to be the stock in trade currently and has thus, appealed to the public to prioritise their safety and security. Dr Kwesi Biney who gave the warning when he shared some security and safety tips in a post urged Ghanaians and foreigners in the country not to let their guards even as the security agencies also

intensify efforts to apprehend such criminal gangs.

These are some basic security tips the security analyst wants the public to study and practice; **The following measures are to be taken note of as a citizen of Ghana and foreigners within for safety.**

The only way to be your brother's keeper in Ghana today, is by

*cont. on page 2*

### 'Oyiwa!' IMF Forces Government To Review Free SHS Programme

*...But Education Ministry Snubs Claims By GES*



**Dr. Yaw Osei-Adtwum, Minister of Education**

**T**he Free Senior High School programme is currently undergoing review which will make parents to absorb some costs and pay for some essential services. The Director-General of the Ghana Education Service (GES), Prof. Kwasi Opoku Amankwah, has disclosed that the government is currently reviewing the Free Senior High School (Free SHS) policy. According to Prof Opoku Amankwah, the review is to

*cont. on page 5*

## NDC Worried About Happenings In The Judiciary

# The INSIGHT

## EDITORIAL

### EMPLOY THEM!

The recent call by the Ghana Registered Nurses and Midwives Association for government to give financial clearance and employ all the graduate nurses is in the right direction.

It is disturbing that thousands of these graduates have completed school and still it is said that no vacancy exist for them when dozens of completed hospital projects have been abandoned and are deteriorating. Only recently there were reports that newly trained nurses and midwives had resorted to other means of livelihood because they could not secure placements in public hospitals. Surprisingly, several health facilities are awaiting official commissioning while a few only need medical equipment to start operations. It is sad if not regrettable to state that apart from the abandoned hospitals, trained nurses and midwives who should have been placed in these facilities after the taxpayer's money has been used to train them are also at home with many adopting various means of survival as they struggle to put body and soul together. It is in view of these sad occurrences that The Insight believes the government should listen to the nurses association and address their plight. The nation is already grappling with the effects of lack of ambulance, no bed syndrome, and lack of health posts and many other challenges and the time to act is now. What is happening is sad if not deplorable and the government needs to act fast.

# DANGER!

## Kidnappings On The Increase In Ghana

*from front page*

sharing any security tips that can be of help like this.

I wish to share with you, some few security tips to guard your daily activities henceforth because the current state of insecurity in the country is really alarming which we need to face reality and confront it squarely.

The only person to trust now in this country is yourself and your God! Therefore, to avoid being a victim of kidnapping, please study and practice the following security tips and share with your loved ones now to save them from harm.

- Tip 1. Never use car stickers that say where you work, especially if you have a prestigious job.
- Tip 2. Never share pictures of your kids in their school uniforms or badges. Protect your kids!
- Tip 3. When you attend parties, don't let the band get you so high that you start spraying money. Use an envelope.
- Tip 4. Don't be the one that tries to empty the ATM machine by making large withdrawals ...You don't need 50k in your wallet to feel like a man.
- Tip 5. Always delete your bank transaction notifications, especially SMS, you really can memorize your bank balance Shred ur POS/ATM receipts.
- Tip 6. Don't go jogging while it's dark, you really should be smarter than that. If you can, get someone trusted as company.
- Tip 7. Always lock your doors, even if you're only going out to switch off your generator.
- Tip 8. NEVER NEVER, NEVER EVER WEAR YOUR ID outside your work place. No one needs to know where you work
- Tip 9. Be accountable to your spouse or parents, let someone know where you are at every point.
- Tip 10. As much as you can, don't send kids alone on errand outside your house, they are soft targets.
- Tip 11. Don't try to show that you are the richest in the neighborhood by making

large donations in your estate meetings, learn modesty.

Tip 12. When you give, give with modesty and privately, learn to say "I can't spare that amount now".

Tip 13. Don't stay late in your office long after closing hours. That deadline work can be done later or at home if you wish.

Tip 14. Make safety the number one factor in your decision always!

Tip 15. Mind what you post about yourself on social media. 16. Never make any attempt to open your gate/door to even your child, brother or any relative in the night particularly dead nights, they might be used to get you easily. \*NO MATTER WHAT JUST TELL THEM, TILL IN MORNING. SIMPLE PROTECT YOURSELF.

God will keep and protect me/you/us as we also apply discretion.

Share this to save a brother, sister, mum, child, dad.

It is important you share this now, someone somewhere may need this today, please keep sharing.

You are saving someone by sharing this today!!!'

**Dr Kwesi Biney is a (Security Analyst)..0203624596**

## THE INSIGHT

**ACTING EDITOR** - BENJAMIN AKUFFO  
(0244669960)  
benjaminakuffo65@yahoo.com

**Secretary** - Gifty Agyemang

**Design and Graphics** - Godwin K. Attah

**Production Manager** - Kweku Menz

### PUBLISHERS

**Militant Publications Limited**  
P. O. Box NT 272  
Accra-Newtown, Accra  
Tel: 0244379344/0242836930  
Email: theinsightonline20@gmail.com  
LONDON CONTACT  
5A Wesminster Bridge Road, London SE 1- 7XW  
Tel: 0171-6201430  
E-mail: prattc22@aol.com

# NDC Worried About Happenings In The Judiciary



## PRESS STATEMENT BY JOHNSON ASIEDU NKETIAH, GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC CONGRESS ON CERTAIN DEVELOPMENTS WITHIN GHANA'S JUDICIARY

### A. INTRODUCTION

1. The National Democratic Congress (NDC) has carefully considered certain recent developments within Ghana's judiciary and is gravely concerned that if immediate steps are not taken to nib these negative developments in the bud they will fester with serious harmful effects on our democracy and the public's confidence in the judiciary.

2. Our decision to publicly address these concerns has not been taken lightly. We are aware of the auspicious role our judiciary plays in our democracy, the sometimes lonely and solitary lives of our judges, their traditional reserve and no comment policy on certain matters of national importance. These attributes of our judges require that we exercise great restraint in our public comments on the judiciary. We are however convinced that constructive criticisms of our judiciary, particularly the apex court, is a national duty, and as the largest opposition party in Ghana, we will be remiss in our duties to the nation and the people of Ghana if we remain silent about these developments. Accordingly, our duty to our national constitution and obedience to our national motto of "Freedom and Justice" compel us to speak.

3. The NDC observes that our democracy cannot operate efficiently and deliver the values of freedom, justice, development and equality of opportunity for all citizens, regardless of political affiliation, if our judiciary, particularly, elements within the Supreme Court, become or are perceived to be the rented agents or the political wing of a political party. In recent times, certain happenings at the apex court, in particular, have dampened our faith in the court and it was this loss of faith that had provoked our petition to the Secretary-General of the Commonwealth of Nations regarding various acts of human rights violations, criminal persecutions and harassment of the members and supporters the NDC by the Government of Ghana headed by His Excellency, President Nana Addo Danquah Akufo.

4. The NDC wishes to outline and share with the good people of Ghana some of the negative developments within our judiciary, particularly, the Supreme Court with the view to seeking remedial action promptly and effectively.

### B. NO REASONS ASSIGNED FOR JUDGMENTS

### AND RULINGS

5. One disappointing, if not scandalous development, that is likely to make our justice system the butt of jokes among other democracies in Africa and the world at large is the phenomenon of court judgments without reasons. In recent times, our Supreme Court has handed down some judgments and rulings that do not make any legal or factual sense because the court failed to assign any reasons for these judgments. Two examples will suffice. It is instructive to note that in the recent case of Abdul Malik Kweku Baako vrs Attorney General, \*(Suit No. J1/225/2018), which had raised certain important constitutional questions about the impeachment proceedings of Mrs. Charlotte Osei the then Chairperson of the Electoral Commission, the apex court simply declared that:

"After listening to counsel in the matter on the question whether the instant action is a proper invocation of our original jurisdiction and also having regard to the processes filed in this matter, we are of the view that the action does not raise any issue of interpretation or enforcement. Accordingly, we strike out the action which in our view is unmeritorious".

6. This cryptic judgment fails in many respects to meet the basic standards of a reasoned judgment. It is devoid of an analysis of the facts of the case, the case and arguments presented by the parties, the legal principles upon which the judgment is based, and how those legal principles apply or do not apply to the facts of the case. As to be expected, this judgment cannot form the basis of any legal precedent, suggesting that it was a judgment of convenience fashioned out solely to deny justice to Mrs. Charlotte Osei, and once its immediate intended purpose has been achieved the judgment ceases to have any legal relevance in subsequent cases.

7. True to form, the apex court again applied this scandalous technique in the case of the Republic vrs High Court, (Criminal Division) Accra; Ex parte: Stephen Kwabena Opuni & Anor (Civil Motion J5/15/22). The justice hearing the criminal case involving Dr. Stephen Kwabena Opuni, Mr. Justice Clemence Jackson Honyenuga, had in a recent ruling on an application to recuse himself on ground of real likelihood of bias accused Dr. Stephen Kwabena Opuni of "hallucinating", "malicious lies", "engineered to court public support". In its ruling on this matter, the apex court stated that: "It is our considered opinion that the record does not reflect a personal interest by the trial judge in the matters in issue and the making of discriminatory orders to

warrant the grant of an order of certiorari to quash the proceedings and orders of the trial court dated 16th December 2021. Regarding the application for prohibition we have thoroughly examined the processes filed by the parties and do not find the existence of a real likelihood of bias on the part of the trial judge such as would prevent the conduct of a fair trial by the judge. Accordingly, we dismiss the application in its entirety."

8. This ruling is also devoid of the factual matrix of the case, the case and arguments presented by the parties, the legal principles upon which the judgment is based, and how those legal principles apply or do not apply to the facts of the case.

9. The NDC notes that the phenomenon of unreasoned court judgments has become so commonplace especially in cases with high political stakes. The NDC wonders how the apex court could engender public confidence in the administration of justice and remain accountable to the people when it assumes a calculated posture of rendering unreasoned judgments. The NDC believes that unreasoned judgments violate fundamental principles of justice and fair trial, and we wonder whether this phenomenon of unreasoned judgments is a clear manifestation of dereliction of judicial duties.

### C. TRESPASSING INTO DOMAINS RESERVED FOR THE LEGISLATURE

10. The NDC is also greatly concerned by the unholy haste of the apex court in trespassing into domains reserved for the legislature by the 1992 Constitution. We note that one entrenched principle of our legal governance since 1993 has been the recognition by our courts that it is not their business to get into certain matters that by law have been assigned to other branches of government. Contrary to this principle, we have observed a creeping tendency of the apex court to trespass into domains reserved for parliament. In the process, the court has demonstrated legal or institutional hubris and thrown overboard the restraints the court has exercised in the past over matters that fall within the domain of Parliament.

### E. ADMINISTRATIVE ABUSES BY THE CHIEF JUSTICE

11. Quite apart from the above, the Honourable Chief Justice, Justice Kwasi Anim Yeboah, is likely to go down in history as the worst Chief Justice of Ghana since the Inception of the 4th Republic. His reign as Chief Justice has been characterized by unimaginable administrative abuses. These abuses are thrown into sharp relief when the conduct of the current Chief Justice is measured against the professionalism

and conduct of former Chief Justices. We recall in particular the words of Chief Justice Kwasi Apaloo at his send-off ceremony that: "The one great quality I would wish to see in my colleagues is courage that is to say they should be in a position to defend to the death positions they believe to be right....I charge you to keep or help keep the flag of the judiciary flying and may the profession as a whole provide leadership and best counsel on these professional matters which we have all held in trust for the benefit of generations yet unborn".

12. It would appear that this wise counsel of Chief Justice Apaloo has no resonance with our current Chief Justice, who has failed to show leadership and to "keep the flag of the judiciary flying" by abusing his power to empanel the courts. It has been our understanding that the setting up of divisions of the High Court in Accra such as the Criminal Division, Land Division, the Human Rights Division, and the Commercial Division were all meant to ensure that these specialized courts deal with matters that directly fall within their competence and jurisdictions. In fact, these courts started very beautifully and many were those who hailed the establishment of the court. Incidentally, in recent times these beautiful arrangements appear to have been thrown into a state of utter confusion where we could now witness even land cases being sent to commercial courts, clear-cut commercial court cases being sent to the human rights court and criminal cases sent to the judges at the Land Division. Sometimes the assignment of cases to particular judges is done in a manner that makes one wonder what is the motivation for the case assignment. Recently, the case involving Dr. Cassiel Ato Forson was originally assigned to Justice Solomon Oppong Twumasi only for the judge to announce in open court that the Chief Justice had reassigned the case to another judge in another division of the High Court. This development is quite mind-boggling and we wonder why for us in Ghana, we start everything with so much aplomb and funfair only for us to ruin it along the way.

13. Another worrying phenomenon is the appointment of Court of Appeal Judges to preside over High Court Cases, For us these appointments are a damper and go a long way to demotivate our judges at the High Courts. By these appointments, is the Chief Justice saying that the said cases could not have any competent Justice of the High Court as currently constituted to deal with them or it is

more the case that the Chief Justice has a cadet of justices who are specially deployed to do the bidding of his political masters? Without mincing words, we state that we see the appointments of Court of Appeal justices to preside over these cases as worrying.

### D. CONCLUSION

14. The NDC is saddened by and gravely concerned about the phenomenon of unreasoned judgments, lack of fidelity to the record of cases, unpardonable factual errors that have become commonplace in judgments of the apex court as well as glaring administrative abuses by the Chief Justice. We were particularly shocked by the palpable blunders committed by the apex court in the election petition judgment. In a case of such magnitude, we expected excellence, professionalism, attention-to-detail and meticulousness from our Supreme Court. Instead, what the people of Ghana obtained from the court were these unpardonable blunders, which have the potential to affect people's confidence in the administration of justice.

15. We therefore call on the Judicial Council to institute an internal inquiry to ascertain the reasons for these blunders and appropriate recommendations made to the Chief Justice to forestall their recurrence until appropriate legislation, such as a Judicial Proceedings Bill, is passed by Parliament to regulate the writing of judgments by our courts. The NDC will also petition Parliament for the Judiciary Committee of the House to conduct a public inquiry into the reasons for the blunders committed by the Supreme Court in the 2020 Presidential Election Petition and other cases with the view to proposing appropriate remedial legislation.

16. The NDC remains committed to Ghana's democracy and the promotion of the Rule of Law. Accordingly, we shall endeavor at all times, in line with our social democratic ethos, to ensure that the justice system performs the role assigned to it by the 1992 Constitution by serving the interest of all Ghanaians devoid of any political or partisan considerations.



# INTERNATIONAL NEWS REPORT

## Compiled By Peoples Dispatch

### Protests Break Out In Italy Against Persecution Of Trade Unionists

Working class sections in Italy have registered strong protest against the state-led persecution of trade unionists. Only last Wednesday, July 20, trade unions including Si Cobas, ADL and USB organized a national strike at logistics warehouses across Italy protesting the arrest of eight trade unionists. Aldo Milani, the national coordinator of SI Cobas, was among those arrested on July 19. Progressive political groups like Potere al Popolo (Power to the People), Communist Youth Front (FGC), Communist Refoundation Party (PRC), Young Communists (GC), Italian Communist Party (PCI), and others denounced the arrests and participated in the protest. Major mobilizations were organized in Milan, Turin, Rome, Naples, Bologna, Piacenza, Genoa, and other cities. Protesters have demanded the immediate release of the arrested trade unionists.

According to reports, on the morning of July 19, eight trade unionists were put under house arrest on the orders of the Piacenza Prosecutor's Office. They are accused of organizing strikes and disrupting work at warehouses of multinational logistics companies.

Earlier, trade unionists and workers were subjected to police repression for protesting against poor working conditions in logistics warehouses. Workers in the logistics sector have been organizing dynamic mobilizations in defense of jobs and workers' rights in various warehouses and units of logistics giants like Amazon, Nippon Express, Fedex TNT, and others in Piacenza under the leadership of Si Cobas and USB. In April this year, the national gendarmerie of Italy, the Carabinieri, raided the national headquarters of USB, allegedly in search of weapons. The raid took place in the aftermath of protests organized by USB against the use of Italian ports and airstrips to dispatch arms and ammunition to be used in imperialist wars.

In response to the police action on July 19, Si Cobas stated, "it's a very heavy assault on the freedom of union

and the right to strike, brought on by a sector of the judiciary that has already distinguished itself over the years for its anti-union [action] with complaints, arrests and residence bans. With accusations of "violence" and "extortion" they want to suppress workers' struggles against exploitation and for wages, at a time when Italian and international owners and speculators are robbing wages, while prices have increased 8% (10% for low income families) and more. A generalized fight to defend the purchasing power ...is urgent." Potere al Popolo said, "what do the prosecutors really want to punish the unionists for? For having defended workers' rights, for having created organizational tools and, above all, for winning. Thanks to basic union struggles the lives of many workers, often treated as



Photo: via FGC) On July 19, eight trade unionists were apprehended by the police on the orders of the Piacenza Prosecutor's Office for organizing strikes and unionizing

slaves, have improved."

The FGC said, "The message is clear. Organizing in a union to improve ones own living and working conditions, is not a crime."

The unions called for a protest mobilization at Piacenza on July 23.

### Latest Prison Riot In Ecuador Leaves 13 Prisoners Dead And Two Injured



A new riot at the Bellavista Social Rehabilitation Center in Santo Domingo city in Ecuador on July 18 left thirteen inmates dead and two injured. (Photo: Rochex Rababel Robinson Bonilla/Twitter). Ecuador's prison system has been going through a severe crisis since 2021. According to official data, since February 2021, over 400 prisoners have been killed in seven prison massacres

A new riot was last Monday recorded at the Bellavista Social Rehabilitation Center in Santo Domingo city in Ecuador. In this latest episode of violent confrontation between rival gangs in the country's prisons, thirteen inmates were killed and two were injured.

The National Comprehensive Care Service for Adults Deprived of Liberty (SNAI), the

agency in charge of Ecuador's penitentiaries, reported on Monday afternoon that "a fight broke out inside the center" and that "upon learning of this fact, the support of the National Police, Armed Forces, and Ministry of Public Health was immediately requested." About two hours later, the SNAI reported that with the help of personnel from the National Police and the Armed Forces it managed to retake control of the prison, and that

"unfortunately, Center staff currently reports 13 PPL (persons deprived of liberty) dead and 2 injured." The SNAI added that the Attorney General's office would carry out a verification of the deceased and injured victims. According to Ecuadorian newspaper *El Comercio*, clashes were also recorded in the El Inca prison, in the capital Quito. The situation was brought under control and apparently did not escalate. In the past months, similar riots and fights have been recorded in both prisons. On April 25, a riot alert was generated in the El Inca prison. According to the Interior Ministry, 15 inmates

were injured in that incident. Meanwhile, in the Santo Domingo prison, 44 prisoners were massacred and 13 were injured in a riot on May 9. The majority of them were killed with knives or sharp weapons in cells and wings. During the riot, 220 inmates escaped from the prison amid the chaos, although almost all of them were recaptured. Ecuador's prison system has been going through a severe crisis since 2021 due to riots and massacres of prisoners, resulting from clashes between rival drug trafficking gangs vying for control of prisons as well as territory and drug trafficking routes

outside prisons. According to official data, since February 2021, over 400 prisoners have been killed in seven prison massacres. The Inter-American Commission on Human Rights has said that Ecuador's prison system is affected by the abandonment of the state and the absence of a comprehensive policy, as well as the poor conditions for inmates. The country's prisons house about 33,900 inmates and exceed their maximum capacity by 12.5%, according to official figures.

# 'Oyiwa'! IMF Forces Government To Review Free SHS Programme ...But Education Ministry Snubs Claims By GES



**Dr. Yaw Osei-Adtwum, Minister of Education**

*from front page*

determine which benefits of the Free SHS will be relinquished by the government and transferred to parents to pay, and this is based on myjoyonline.com reports. "...we can do the analysis and

then come up and say that, ok, to give Raymond quality education, it will cost this much. Within that cost, these are the items in the cost. "Then we will all put it out there and say this item, we can make do

of it, and it will not affect quality, this item, I think we can get parents to pay," he told the host of JoyNews Upfront programme, Raymond Acquah.

Many stakeholders in the educational sector in Ghana, including teachers and headmasters, have called for a review of the policy, but the government has been adamant. Following the recent financial bailout meeting with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) team, it thus appear that the fund has made the Free SHS review one of the conditionalities or prescriptions for the Ghana government to implement before any funds could be given.

The Ministry of Finance, in a statement earlier this month, indicated that the Free SHS policy would not be affected despite the fact that the

government is seeking an International Monetary Fund bailout. "Free SHS, the School Feeding programme, among others, are good social intervention programmes and it is the lack of financing and unsustainable debt burdens that could constrain a government's ability to maintain its level of spending, including social or investment spending. "In our situation, the IMF may ask Ghana to consider curtailing lower priority or non-productive spending (such as "white elephant" projects) as part of its fiscal adjustment but to preserve priority social spending, including on health and education," parts of the statement said. Meanwhile, the Ministry of Education has shot down the claims by the Ghana Education Service that it is reviewing the government's

flagship project, the Free Senior High School policy. In a response to Prof. Kwasi Opoku Amankwah's assertions, the Deputy Spokesperson of the Ministry of Education, Yaw Opoku Mensah said, "The Ministry's attention has been drawn to some publications making the rounds which suggest an ongoing review of the Free SHS policy by the GES.

"According to the story, the said review is to determine how much parents can pay so far as the policy is concerned. For purposes of clarity, the Free SHS policy is not under the purported review," he wrote in a statement made available to the media.

## Suspected Robber Burnt To Death In Front Of Juaboso Police Station



*The suspect was lynched after confessing to stealing*

A young man suspected to be one of the members behind robberies in the Juaboso and its surroundings in the Western Region has been burnt to ashes in front of a police station by some angry youth. The three suspects were arrested but one escaped, the police rescued the second, but the third was lynched before police intervention. "The angry youth descended heavily on the police and threw stones at them and damaged their vehicles when the law enforcers attempted

to rescue the suspects," Graphic.com reports.

An eyewitness said the lynched robber was exposed after he was seen with 6 phones while trying to board a vehicle at the main Bonsu Nkwanta Lorry Station to Kumasi in the Ashanti Region. He was then confronted by some of the youth to unlock the phones but was not able to do so. The youth then removed the SIM card and inserted it into another device, it was at this point they noticed the phone belonged to a popular member of the community after they attempted to make a mobile money transaction.

The suspect was taken to the house of one of the victims whose name appeared on the phone as the owner, and he then narrated the circumstances of how he lost his phone. The suspect, upon sensing the danger ahead of him, confessed to being a member of a robbery syndicate and led his apprehenders to the house where the remaining members of the gang were. Upon reaching the location of the gang, one member of the gang jumped a wall and escaped, while another was apprehended. The other was set ablaze on reaching the police station, while the third

## Minority Foils Government's Attempt To Amend BoG Reserve Figures

The minority in parliament is resisting an attempt by government to amend portions of the report by the finance committee on the \$750 million AfreximBank facility. The committee's report quoted finance minister Ken Ofori-Atta as having told the committee the reserves of the BoG have dwindled from US\$9 billion in December 2021 to US\$3 billion at the end of June 2022. But at today's sitting, on the floor of parliament, the Chairman of the committee Kwaku Kwarteng moved the motion for amendment of the committee's report to indicate the reserves rather dwindled from over \$9 billion to \$7.68 billion and not US\$3 billion as earlier reports indicated. He said, "Mr Speaker, on 19th July 2022, I laid a report on behalf of the Finance Committee before this house on the loan facility agreement between the Government of Ghana and African Export-Import Bank for a maximum of \$750 million to finance capital and growth-related expenditures in the 2022 Budget Statement." "In that report, we reported that the international reserves of the Bank of Ghana had declined from US\$9 billion to US\$3 billion. Mr Speaker, this was an error. It was an unfortunate oversight." He explained that according to Bank of Ghana, "the Gross International Reserves of the

country was US\$9.70 billion at the close of December 2021. This declined to US\$7.68 billion at the close of June 2022. "In terms of Net International Reserves, the country closed December 2021 with US\$6.08 billion. This position declined to US\$3.58 billion at the close of June 2022. Mr Speaker, the error is regretted, and I request the Clerk at Table to ensure that all the records are accordingly corrected." The minority, through a ranking member of the finance committee Cassiel Ato Forson, and Minority chief whip Muntaka Mubarak rejected the move. They argued that if the government wants to correct the figures, they would have to withdraw the entire report of the committee which will include the approval of the \$750m loan agreement. The amendment was however shot down by the intervention of the majority leader, Osei-Kyei Mensah Bonsu who said the house cannot amend an approved report with a statement. He said the Finance Minister will make a statement on the matter when he appears on the floor of the house on Monday, July 25.

# PROF. ATUGUBA SPEAKS ON GHANA AT CROSSROADS: WHERE “DO OR DIE” MEETS “BREAK THE 8”

from page 7

political lines. In the same vein, “Do or Die” is patiently waiting to take-over power, and seize all the monies and properties that they believe were stolen in the previous 8 years, replace all persons in the regular public services who were brought in to replace their own, reverse all the legal and administrative actions that led to the collapse of banks and businesses of their supporters, not thinking that in the way economies and institutions function, mindless reversals like that could collapse economies and disintegrate governance.

Finally, “Do or Die” is consistently taking note of all persons in academia, civil society, religious leaders and others who were critical of them when they were in government and who have suddenly gone quiet now, and are waiting to physically shut their mouths up if they dare to be critical of them when they are back in government.

Ghana is indeed at crossroads, and it does not look good. Ghana at the Crossroads simply means that we have a government that cannot hand-over power to an administration other than themselves and that intend to do this by hook or crook, because anything else will be to press a self-destruct bottom, and over the last decades, the willingness of any Ghanaian to self-destruct for the commonweal is all but non-existent; and we have an opposition that verily believes it won the 2020 Vote and that has the Vote in 2024, and will insist, in “Do or Die” mode, that the Vote as recorded at the Polling Stations, no matter their transmogrification at the constituency, district, regional, national collation centers, even in the announcement of the Electoral Commission and the decisions of the courts, must reflect in the final Election Results. If this is not a recipe for disaster, tell me what is.

WHAT SHOULD WE DO IN THE NEAR TERM

It is all well and good to paint doom and gloom; but what should we do about it? I have two sets of proposals; one in the near term and one in the medium-term. There are no long-term solutions proposed here. If we do not do anything in the near term and in the medium term, read my lips, there will be no Ghana to save in the long-term.

In the near term, we must ensure that Ghana does not descend into chaos in the run-up to and after Election 2024. In Kenya and Malawi, courts have reversed election results in the not too distant past and against incumbent Presidents. In Anglophone West Africa, where Ghana sits, we have at a formal and technical level, very competent election laws, courts, judges and lawyers for the resolution of election disputes. This has

happened successfully in all Anglophone West African countries in the last decade, with quite excellent results: The Gambia, Ghana, Liberia, Nigeria, Sierra Leone.

We need to note, however, that Determining electoral disputes, is not the same as Resolving them. Whilst we must praise ourselves for effective management of electoral disputes thus far, we must quickly move to the point we are able to resolve them productively. In this regard, I would like to leverage some 8 points to watch. These factors ensure that electoral disputes are never productively resolved and in many cases, they ensure that there is no election at all.

The first, your guess is as good as mine, is the new wave of coup d'états on the continent. Africa is no stranger to coups. There have been over 200 coups and attempted coups in the continent since 1960. Remarkably, close to half of all Coup d'états on the continent occurred in the West African Sub Region. What is particularly worrying, as I have endeavoured to show earlier, is the rapid succession of these coups. This year, and we have run only half the year, we have had a coup d'etat in Burkina Faso, just above us; and a failed coup d'etat in Guinea Bissau. These coup d'etats are pretty close to Ghana, and if we remember the snowballing effect of these coups, we should be very worried.

The second matter we need to watch is the reality of Violent Extremism and Terrorism. Nigeria leads the pack here, but also Benin, Togo, and Burkina Faso, immediate neighbours to Ghana. All these countries have experienced attacks this month and last month. Burkina Faso, which is just 115 miles from here, and over the last 17 years, has had over 2,000 killed and 1.8 million displaced due to violent extremist. Over 10% of all those killed in 17 years were killed this year, and we have run only half the year. I have already noted that aside the destruction to life and property, the spread of terrorism and violent extremism could be used as an excuse to restrict freedoms and steal the 2024 Elections. Also, there is suspected smuggling of weapons into Ghana from Burkina Faso, and various national security alerts about suspected terrorist activities at those borders, constituting additional fuel for increasing ethnic and other conflicts in the northern tip of Ghana, both in the Bawku area and the Paga area.

We must remember, and this is the third factor I need for us to watch, that underlying violent extremism are usually many factors bordering on injustice, marginalization, poverty, limited constitutionalism and poor governance. Unfortunately, these terms are often bandied around without thinking deeply enough about

their deeper meanings, and their very real capacity to lead to violent extremism. To help my students appreciate these terms, I often equate the thirst for justice to the thirst for water. But again, many of them have never been thirsty before. And here I am talking about that thirst for water that you have to carry from 8am when you arrive in school, across 2pm when school closes and to 4pm when you arrive back at home to drop your school bag, peer into the drinking water pot and realise it is empty, and then head to the dam to fetch muddied water for a drink. I also define poverty in the language that a man a Dabayo used. When asked by a World Bank project researcher “what is poverty”, he responded after a while “poverty is like heat, you cannot see it, you can only feel it”. When we realise that the thirst for justice is more dire than the thirst for water, and that poverty is like heat, then we would be at a point where we can begin to understand why a person who suffers from injustice and poverty may so easily engage in violent extremism.

The fourth factor we need to consider in the near term, in order to save Ghana's democracy, is the role of the US, UK, EU, AU, and ECOWAS in installing and maintaining regimes that cater to their interests and not those of their domestic populations. John Bolton has made it slip on CNN that countries like the US do this all the time. Any critical observer of world affairs knows that already, and declassified documents of the CIA establish this beyond doubt. We need to ensure that these interests do not undermine governmental transitions, buy installing or keeping in place regimes that have lost legitimacy and that the people want out.

The fifth matter we need to watch is the growing divide between the Vote and the Election in Africa. In this, we are learning fast from the US and other places. We all know that Vote 2000 in the US was won by Al Gore, but Election 2000 was declared for Bush. Similarly, after winning some 3 million more of the Vote in 2016, Hilary Clinton lost Election 2016 to Trump. This schism between The Vote and The Election is what one skeptical Nigerian woman described thus, when asked why she did not vote in an Election: “ooh, that Election, the one that you plant Yam and harvest Cassava”. When the Vote and the Election are so discordant, you may DECIDE an electoral dispute, but you cannot RESOLVE it. In the words of a former Chief Justice of Ghana: “Preventing the free exercise of the right to vote is tantamount to fettering free speech. But it is worse than that; it is a denial of the validity of the vote of the individual; it is a denial of the

worth of that vote, it is a violation of the dignity and collective will of the people to give full weight or effect to every single voice expressed through the vote”. We pray that tying the vote to the Ghana Card for Election 2024 does not do just that.

Flowing from the above, and am on the last but one point now, the new ICTs and New Media, and the ultra-transparency and accountability they implicate, make it more difficult to conceal the Vote and announce something else as the Election results. Information, including videos and images are capable of being sent instantaneously across the country and the world, exposing electoral fraud, making the difference between the Vote and the Election more palpable, and populations more restless and liable to be mobilized to resist electoral fraud. This is part of the arsenal of “Do or Die”.

The last thing we should be wary about is that there are no longer any credible democracies in the world to learn from. The way the US messed up their elections in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, leading to the attempted coup d'état, beamed live on TV, has made Ghanaians realise that they are not a proper act to follow. The misgovernance of the UK under Boris Johnson, our colonial master, and from whence we have aped a lot, has only made this situation worse. The Russia-Ukraine/EU/US war has established for Ghanaians that the peaceful resolution of conflicts is no longer the in thing, and that war and fighting are a legitimate way to resolve disputes. Western advocacy of democracy and the international Rule of Law stand heavily discredited. We are on our own. We are now our own standard.

Being our own standard means that we must build credible institutions. These institutions must be credible in Deed and in Outlook. For example, to ensure proper resolutions of electoral disputes; resolutions that Ghanaians will, in the famous words of our current President, ACCEPT, even if they DISAGREE, the courts must be credible in Deed and in Outlook. The Legitimacy of the courts and their decisions relate directly to the READINESS and WILLINGNESS of people to accept their decisions. We have seen how the US Supreme Court is fast losing its legitimacy in the face of primitive decisions on reproductive rights, climate change and the environment, voting rights, gun rights, and vaccine mandates. *A Reuters/Ipsos poll this week showed that 57 per cent of Americans had an unfavourable view of the Supreme Court after it overturned Roe, putting it on par with Congress, a partisan institution. At a protest outside the Supreme Court the day after the decision, a 27-year-old woman holding a sign that*

*read “Reform the Court” said this was the first time she “felt moved to share my anger”.*

*The conservative majority “made it very clear that the court is quite biased . . . we need to look at how our court is running, and that it's not running the way that it's supposed to”, she added.*

In Ghana, we say “a word to a wise, is in the North”.

The fact that we have to work in the near term on 8 big issues in order to simply achieve a peaceful transfer of power in Ghana in 2025 should tell us something. There is a deeper problem with our democracy. The real problem is that most Ghanaians are giving up on electoral processes, elections, resolution of electoral disputes, and electoral democracy at large. As I said at the beginning of this address, the liberal idea and liberal democracy are dead, as the majority of Africans, Ghanaians, have lost faith in it. They are returning to coup d'état and violent extremism in their frustration. What is worse, countries that used to be the standards for democracy for us, who used to guide us, are faring in relatively worse terms. This leads me to the concluding part of my Keynote Address.

WHAT SHOULD WE DO IN THE MEDIUM TERM

Here, permit me to pillage heavily from a paper I delivered at the National Open University of Nigeria a few months ago. In the medium-term, we need to redo our National Constitution.

African constitutions, from which the Rule of Law springs, carry at their core, in their spine, and within their DNA, Euro-American principles and values, swallowed, sometimes hook, line and sinker. That is the problem. At their core, African constitutions contains the following incidents of Western-Liberal constitutional democracy: Two-party democracy, euphemistically called “Multiparty Democracy”; Vote-buying, christened “Electoral Democracy”; the Rule of the Powerful, nicely styled “Rule of Law”; Executive Dominance, called “Separation of Powers and Checks and Balances”; Judicial Activism, Adventurism and Populism, named “Judicial Review”; and sporadic and tokenistic overtures to subalterns, dressed up as “Constitutionalism”.

Perhaps the greatest evidence of the inappropriateness of this unproductive constitutional mimicking is how African constitutions remain political documents, rather than developmental documents. On a continent where the sustenance of a constitutional order is directly tied to its capacity to deliver economic development and social progress, constitutional texts and practices

cont. on page 9

# PROF. ATUGUBA SPEAKS ON GHANA AT CROSSROADS: WHERE “DO OR DIE” MEETS “BREAK THE 8”

from page 8

continuously and consistently push Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (ESCRs) and Directive Principles of State Policy (DPSP) to the realm of “unenforceable” rights.

And so, the first point I seek to make in this final part of my Keynote Address is that we must identify and isolate the key elements of Western-Liberal democracy that populate the interstices of African constitutions, and that are intensely disruptive of them, and preside intelligently and methodically over their collapse.

I have already noted the spate of coups in the continent and the rise in terrorism and violent extremism. Even countries that appear to be politically stable in Africa are not so in reality. The dramatic turn of these events resurrects the various weaknesses that are characteristic of African states and the need to re-evaluate our constitutions.

The Second point I seek to make in this last part of my Keynote Address is that the current democratic reversals all over the Continent, are natural developments from constitutions that that are not ours and that are intrinsically problematic to the African situation, world view and cosmology.

Flowing from this, the third point I seek to make is that we need to revisit the attempts that were made during the various processes of constitution making in Africa and revive the debates on indigenous African traditional constitutionalism that took place then, as a pathway for returning to authentic African constitutionalism.

There is a retained measure of peculiarity of identity in African constitutions which is largely traceable to our unique experiences as a people. First is the recognition of customary law as a source of law and second is the retention of the institution of Chieftaincy and the system of traditional constitutionalism associated with it.

It appears that we can only make progress as a people, if we develop our political systems, rooted in indigenous African customs and standards that serve the needs of her children. Contemporary Western-Liberal democracy is characterized by a form of radical individualism, insulated from the social understandings of human nature. This is completely un-African and incapable of forming the basis of nation building in the African context.

It is significant to note that the key opposition elements who were a part of the project of a new Constitution in Ghana in 1992, including the Ghana Bar Association and the Catholic Bishops Conference, did not forward

any argument on the africaness or indigeneity of the draft constitutional text. In fact, they took as a given, the fact that the Constitution would be modelled along the tenets of those of their colonial masters.

It was only when the butchers and hairdressers were allowed into the room that real sense prevailed. Throughout the constitution-making process, perhaps the most contentious questions that generated so much heat in the political space were two. The first was on the place of the economic and social rights or what may be conveniently called the Directive Principles of State Policy in our national constitution and the second question bordered on the system of government—pro-western or pro-traditional.

President Rawlings and his team appeared clear in their initial choice that they did not favour multiparty democracy, although they indicated that they had an open mind on the matter. Indeed, as recently as 2016, while addressing a durbar at T a d z e w u i n t h e

Volta Region to mark the mini-Hogbetsotso festival of the people of Anlo, the late Mr. Rawlings, who was President then, re-echoed these earlier sentiments in his speech as follows:

“I have stated on several platforms that we adopted the language of the West without its integrity. We have used the English language as a symbol of authority and power but not as a symbol of respect and integrity. In the same vein, we have adopted democracy from the textbook without recognising and appreciating the intrinsic values of democracy in our own culture. The West is today getting a taste of the weaknesses of multi-party democracy that we have to put up with in our part of the world. While our old traditional culture of democracy was able to contain such weaknesses, the Western multi-party democratic practice appears almost incapable of containing corruption in its various forms. We have adopted the worst out of the West and used it to pin down and suppress the good qualities in our culture”.

Rawlings hoped to adopt a political system influenced by positive aspects of both Western democracy and our traditional governance. By pursuing this tangent, we would have bravely mixed the sleepy informal traditional sector with the hugely awakened formal ex-colonial neo-liberal Western democratic orthodoxy, that would have

brilliantly opened up the vast indigenous and informal sector for fuller progress, providing a better sense of inclusion and progress for the average Ghanaian. In a sense, the average Ghanaian would have owned Ghana's democracy and helped, in a sense, a dispersal of democratic values to all corners of Ghana, driven by their indigenous traditional values and norms, and not values subscribed to by a few elite. These intentions, as it turned out, did not materialize, as clearly made manifest by the political system eventually adopted in 1992.

The result: in Ghana today, as in all of Africa, we do not live the constitution, we only try to abide by it.

A constitution is a cultural product which reveals the character and ethos of a community. The sad truth remains glaring. Our constitutions, as Nana Nketsia asserts strongly, cannot be taken to be “derived from an indigenous African cultural reality.”

To him, the whole constitution is a revelation of what W. E. B. Du Bois perceived as: “double consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of the world that looks on in amused contempt and pity.”

The idea of people being the government, provides the ontological framework for ensuring people live the constitution as opposed to abiding by the constitution, in Nketia's words. Thus, the question then becomes, as Tiky asked, how does Africa build a modern democratic political system that reconciles volition and communal determinism? The answer seems to lie in what Gyekye calls “critical sankofaism.”<sup>8</sup> This is when one approaches their traditional past with critical eyes to select those elements that could be adopted for one's present life and could also be helpful to building a better life in future.

This idea of a cultural revolution that is indigenous to Africa and is the basis for building a new political system, is the solution to the problems of unconsolidated democracy, bad governance and underdevelopment.

There is still a zone of twilight that African constitutions may one day find identities of their own. It is not a completely lost situation yet. Indeed, most of our constitutions contain the seeds and incipient criteria for really African constitutions.

At this point, you are entitled to ask

how this may be done in practical terms. There are three broad ways of Africanizing our constitutions: through substantive institutions created in and by those constitutions; through language; and through the process of making the constitutions. It is to these seeds and incipient criteria, that we shall now turn, as I conclude.

The first note of substance is the recognition of the place of traditional governance in our constitutions and also of Customary Law. The second note of substance is the

constitutionalisation of a National Development Plan. Closely related to the second note is the place of Economic and Social Rights in African constitutions. As the Ghanaian constitution provides in part:

“The state shall in particular take all necessary steps to establish a sound and healthy economy whose underlying principles shall include:...The recognition that the most secure democracy is the one that assures the basic necessities of life for its people as a fundamental duty”.

As one of the midwives of Ghana's 1992 constitution cautioned: “we should not be taken in completely by the western media which ascribed the people's wrath mainly to denial of freedom.” What underlines the real frustration of the people has a lot to do with the “lack of jobs and other necessities [which] were mentioned by some demonstrators but [which for some reason] was not highlighted enough [by the western media]”.

There is enough of such protests and agitations happening around us now, if only we care to look. They are happening in Ghana and in Nigeria. The lesson is simple: “that important as human rights, democracy and the like are, they cannot replace food, shelter and the other simple necessities of life.”

Another way of making our constitutions carry an African identity is through language. This may be done in two stages. The obvious one is to write the constitution in African languages, the people's own languages. But this is rather too simplistic an approach to dealing with the problem. The second stage of language is to use African concepts like Sankofa, Ubuntu, and so forth to convey the values and visions that imbue African constitutions.

According to Nana Nketia, understanding and appreciating the Chieftaincy institution, for example, requires that we understand first of all the concept of a “Chief”, away from construction through the prisms of foreign imposed concepts. As such, the Dalai Lama

is the Dalai Lama, and the Chief, a Chief. Any reference or rather interrogation as to whether a chief is a King smacks of western imposition and fails to register with indigenous ways of thinking. We need to appreciate these concepts only through indigenous cultural frameworks if they are to be truly appreciated and the use of African concepts is the way to do this.

Finally, to produce the types of constitutions that will deliver the Africa we want, we must start by addressing the fundamental weaknesses in the constitution making process. As the grundnorm from which all other laws are born, and by which their validity is tested, it is imperative that the process by which the constitution is gotten is taken very seriously.

That process must be rooted in the understanding that the Constitution is not in itself an end but a means to an end; resulting ultimately in the pursuit of happiness and the guarantee of human development in its truest sense and in all of its manifold manifestations. The entire constitution making process cumulatively, must “move the Constitution from a political document to a developmental document, shifting from the politics of democracy to the economics of democracy, so that [Africans] may look at it as the source of a better life.”

The starting fundamental principle or assumption should be that the constitution making process belongs to the people and they must therefore own it. This can be achieved through a methodology that ensures wider consultation with and the participation of as many people as possible. Consultation, people-participation and consensus building have the advantage of producing forward-looking constitutions that the people can relate well to and that are more easily accepted and defended. Consensus-building as opposed to majoritarian rule is an important African value we must return to.

In a typical African community, everyone matters; so are their opinions. Consensusbuilding ensures that voices, even of the least powerful, skillful, or known are heard and considered in decision making in governance. The latest Kenyan constitution making process offers us

cont. on page 10

# PROF. ATUGUBA SPEAKS ON GHANA AT CROSSROADS: WHERE “DO OR DIE” MEETS “BREAK THE 8”



from page 9

all a good example of this. So too is the Constitution Review exercise in Ghana that followed closely the Kenyan experience.

And so, the final point I seek to make today is this: the kernel for the evolution of African traditional constitutionalism exists in our various constitutions and should be allowed to grow and evolve. The seeds and incipient criteria for a really African Constitution include substantive content; language; and the processes for constitution-making.

I have in this final part of my Keynote Address discussed the critical role of indigenous institutions to the evolution of robust constitutional identities on the African continent. In other words, how do we identify, isolate and integrate productive African traditional principles and institutions to modern African constitutions, in order to give them a distinctive African identity?

Many ideas and experiments on constitutional ordering on the African continent focus on how to achieve constitutional democracy and constitutionalism. The vehicles for these ideals are often named as multiparty democracy; free and fair elections; the rule of law; separation of powers; and more recently, human rights protections; judicial independence; decentralization; participatory governance; and participatory development.

With the failure of third wave democracy in Africa, and a return to authoritarianism in many African countries, mimicking a global trend of democratic

reversals, many are questioning the constitutional orderings that Africans continue to imitate from their former and current colonial masters.

I trace the failure of constitutional orderings to produce “the Africa we want” to a disregard of indigenous customary constitutionalism and governance practices, and a corresponding increase in unconscious mimicking of extraneous constitutional learning.

I illustrate the schizophrenia embedded in African constitutions and conclude that only a decolonization of African constitutional law can lead to authentic African constitutional identities and “the Africa we want”.

In Africa today, democratic reversals, the narrowing of civic spaces, and in an increasing number of cases, the forceful overthrow of governments, means that a fourth wave of democracy and constitution-making is imminent and, in some cases, ongoing.

This quest for new constitutional orderings on the continent must engage with design and content questions that have subsisted for the last seventy-five years: the legitimacy of extant constitutional design; the possibilities for unearthing and utilizing rehashed indigenous governance mechanisms; the propriety of options at independence that were not followed; the practicality of hybrid and variegated constitutional design; and the capacity of the new forms of constitutional design and

content to deliver “the Africa we want”.

This is the only way we can arrive at a true Rule of Law, in the terms of Diane KalenSukra's definition of “Good governance [as] the art of putting wise thought into prudent action in a way that advances the well-being of those governed”.

It is also the only way we can arrive at the point where Africans live their constitutions, rather than attempt to abide by them.

And in this enterprise, we must be wary of looking to lawyers for salvation, to lead the constitutional reform agenda and to monitor its implementation, as we have sought to do since independence. Trained in “trade law schools”, set up to train lawyers exclusively for accessorising the colonial state, these lawyers are not cut out for and are often incapable of assisting the agenda of the developmental state that the Nkrumahs, Lumumbas, Kenyattas, Nyereres, Senghors, Modibo Keitas, and Sekou Toures, conceived of.

One day, in 2009, I read in the New York times about a world famous, Harvard trained architect who had died. J. Max Bond Jr., was “long the most influential AfricanAmerican architect in New York and one of a few black architects of national prominence”. One of his most remarkable architectural designs, was the Bolgatanga Regional Library, located just 100 miles from here. For the first time, I understood why that Library was our favourite place to learn when we were in High School. He had designed it, given the environment of sometimes up to 42 degrees Celsius or 107.6 degrees Fahrenheit, so that it was still very cool, with no need for air-conditioning. Of course, without knowing this, after a while the Regional Library built up all the open areas he had intentionally created, and fixed air conditioners in the library! This story somehow depicts our constitutional history in Ghana and Africa.

The original design, based on the local environmental conditions, drawing on learning and experience from abroad, and the critical perspectives of outsiders,

is the library the people want and is the equivalent of the constitutions we should have. The caricatured, air-conditioned, expensive, frequently breaking down, stuffy library, represents the constitutions we have in fact.

## CONCLUSION

Our current Minister for Finance, whilst delivered the second William Ofori-Atta Institute for Integrity Lectures at the British Council Hall on 12<sup>th</sup> March 2013 called on Ghanaians to stop being cowards and to express outrage at some governance issues of the time. He charged Ghanaians, “including the youth, teachers, NGOs, journalists and clerics to stop being quiet and neutral in the search for justice and show some courage and outrage in the face of attacks on integrity in our democracy and the way the nation's finances [were] being mishandled”...

*He accused clerics, civil society groups, journalists, Ghana's middle-class and other important organisations, such as the National Peace Council and the Ghana Bar Association of cowardice and hypocrisy and reminded the nation that it was this kind of culture of silence in the face of impunity that forced a young*

*Jerry John Rawlings and his colleagues to stage their revolution of June 4, 1979.*

*'For me we can cause a revolution with our lack of outrage, with what Rawlings did in 1979, you will realize that this is not merely hyperbolic,' Mr. Ofori-Atta cautioned.'...*

*...To be apathetic toward issues that can destroy our country is to be negligent of the present and inconsiderate towards the future; to be indifferent when your voice can make a difference, or to be silent when those without voices count on you to voice their yearnings, their fears, their aspirations, and their hopes does not amount to being a peaceful person.'...*

*The Bar Association is quiet, the Clerics are quiet, the think tanks are quiet and the radios have*

*been abandoned to mostly propaganda...we appear to have walked backwards into that culture of silence, without being prodded by the butt of an AK47.*

*He accused Ghana's growing middle class of becoming silent accomplices to the culture of impunity and the assault on integrity within our governance space... No cause of our time is greater than the cause of boldly speaking the truth...*

*Yet, all around us there is apathy of a most debilitating kind -- the apathy of the educated middle-class and the celebrated, top-notch NGOs of our country. At this critical period of our history, it is as if there is no learning, no scholarship, no courage, no vision, and no voice in our beloved country! Even the hitherto muchrevered Peace Council appears to be buried in a very convenient and self-serving passivity and near-docility...*

*...to be so is to be a coward. And as Shakespeare reminded us over three centuries ago, cowards die many times before their death...*

*He charged the young people of Ghana, 'look around you, you will see enough that make you probably angry. These will provoke you to act as a real citizen... but you must arise to assume your birth right.'*

I would like to end my speech by repeating the words of Hon. Ken Ofori-Atta as quoted above, and for those who do not realise it, those are not my words. I call on all the persons, institutions and groups that Hon. Ken Ofori-Atta called upon in 2013, and who heeded that call in 2016, to once again speak up and act up, and in the near term, save this country from the imminent disastrous clash of “Break the 8” with “Do on Die” and in the medium term launch an afro-centric review of our constitution, the better to ensure sustainable people-centred governance in our nation. If we do not do anything in the near term and in the medium term, read my lips, there will be no Ghana or Africa to save in the long-term, and therefore, no Ghana for Ghana Studies to study.

I thank you for your attention.