

# MAHAMA

## He Accuses Akufo-Addo Of Running Ghana's Economy Bankrupt



**Former president, John Dramani Mahama**

**F**ormer President John Dramani Mahama has accused the Nana Akufo-Addo administration of running a vibrant economy he inherited from him [Mahama] in 2017 bankrupt.

According to him the situation is demoralizing that Ghana will for the first time, celebrate its independence anniversary under the worst economic situation in the country's history. He lamented that the country is

bankrupt and unable to pay its domestic and external debt due to the incompetence and mismanagement of President Akufo-Addo and his team.

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## Minority Hints Of More Damning Revelations On COVID-19 Expenditure

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### Alpha Lotto Gives Cash, Food Items Worth GH¢100,000 To Coach Silas Tetteh And Weija Leprosarium



**Silas Tetteh(middle) receiving the cash donation**

**A**lpha Lotto Limited has presented a cash donation and some food items to the tune of GH¢100,000 to the Weija Leprosarium and renowned football

*Cont. on page 3*



### Monkeypox: Ghana Records 4 Deaths, 116 Cases

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# The INSIGHT

## — EDITORIAL

### FIGHTING CORRUPTION

**R**ecent revelation that some public and state institutions are perceived to be the most corrupt though unsurprising should be a wakeup call and a matter of concern to all.

Clearly, there is the need for institutional reforms and image cleansing to restore confidence in the generality of Ghanaians. Over the years these issues have been swept under the carpet, or officers held for various offences left off the hook, a development that appears to have emboldened many to perpetrate or deepen the rot in the system. Quite apart from the perception index, the country also loses a whopping 14 billion cedis annually through corruption.

This is in spite of the establishment of several anti-corruption agencies and institutions both private and state-owned to fight the cancer in the country.

The taxpayers' money is increasingly spent on these anti-corruption agencies annually by the government and other international organisations but the problem keeps worsening.

There is the need to build a strong public opinion against the canker if it is to be eradicated.

It is also important that the laws of the country are carried to the letter if any official or individual is found to be complicit in any corruption related offence.

Most importantly, prosecution of corrupt public officials has to be devoid of partisan politics or colourisation.

# MAHAMA

## He Accuses Akufo-Addo Of Running Ghana's Economy Bankrupt

*from front page*

"In a little under six weeks from today, Ghana will mark sixty-six (66) years of nationhood. Far from being an occasion to celebrate independence and the successes and achievements of nationhood, we will mark this day under the yoke of the worst economic situation in decades, he said.

"We are currently bankrupt and burdened with national debt we are simply not able to pay. You may have learnt over the past few weeks that the Ghanaian government has defaulted on servicing both external and domestic debt.

"There is currently a huge uproar over a controversial debt restructuring programme under which the middle class of Ghana could be wiped out if plans to have them forfeit proceeds of government bonds on which they rely for investment and sustenance are followed through.

"In absolute terms, up to about six (6) million people could be deprived of their life savings and investments. Ghana's banking and financial sector could also be under threat of insolvency if no suitable adjustments are made to the debt restructuring plans," the former President said while speaking at Chatham House in London on the theme, "Africa's Strategic Priorities and Global Role", he said.

In a lecture on 'Africa's strategic priorities and global role' at Chatham House, London, Mahama said President Nana Akufo-Addo's government has destroyed the bustling Ghanaian economy he

inherited from the last administration.

Mr Mahama said: "Our present economic situation, underscored by our bankrupt status, sharply contrasts with our fortunes a little over a decade ago. At the time, our economy posted some of the highest growth rates in the world with a robust and fast-growing non-oil sector".

"Today, many of our economic indicators are pointing south. We have in the last month entered the hyperinflation era with an inflation rate of 54%. Our currency has in the past few months been counted among the worst-performing in the world, plummeting by as much as 54% in value within the first ten months of 2022. Widening budget deficits have characterized economic performance since 2018".

"A severe cost of living crisis fueled by ever-rising prices of basic goods has imposed extreme hardship on Ghanaians as the government struggles to meet some of its most basic commitments in areas like education and health. Unemployment stood at a staggering 13%, the highest in recent memory".

"It would be no hyperbole to assert that our present state bears an uncanny resemblance to the late seventies and eighties".

"How was a country with such bright prospects,

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## THE INSIGHT

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# How Police Nabbed Wassa Agona Filling Station Robbers Who Killed Security Guard

**F**our robbery suspects have been arrested by the police after a patrol team responded to an incident in the early hours of Saturday, January 28, 2023.

According to a police statement posted on social media, the suspects attacked a fuel station at Wassa Agona in the Western Region, making away with monies and other valuables belonging to victims of their attack.

The attack also led to the death of a security guard at the station. Three of the suspects, Francis Ebuka, Wisdom Justway, Samuel Chibuzor, were arrested after the police chase while the fourth, Kingsly Okechuku alias Kofi Kingsly, was picked up at a hotel in Bogoso.

**POLICE STATEMENT: POLICE ARREST FOUR SUSPECTS FOR ROBBERY AND MURDER AT WASSA AGONA**

The Police have arrested four persons who attacked a filling station and murdered a security guard in the early hours of Saturday, 28th January 2023 at Wassa Agona in the Western Region.

The suspects, Francis Ebuka, Wisdom Justway, Samuel Chibuzor and Kingsly Okechuku alias Kofi Kingsly in the course of the robbery also subjected the fuel attendants to severe beatings and made away with an unspecified amount of money together with the filling station's CCTV Digital Video Recorder (DVR) and mobile phones belonging to the victims. Upon receiving information concerning the robbery attack, Police patrol teams within the catchment area mobilized and proceeded to the scene and in the course of the operation arrested suspect Francis Ebuka,



Wisdom Justway and Samuel Chibuzor who were fleeing the robbery scene on a motorbike. A search conducted on them led to the recovery of a black hood, a handbag containing two mobile phones and an amount of Twenty Thousand, Seven Hundred and Twenty-Two Cedis (GH¢ 20,722.00).

The Police team further pursued the fourth suspect, Kingsly

Okechuku to a hotel near Bogoso where an amount of Forty-Four Thousand, Eight Hundred and Fifty-Two Cedis (GH¢44,852.00), suspected to be part of their booty, was retrieved from him. Other items recovered from the suspects include the DVR components of the CCTV setup stolen by the suspects together with two pinch bars and a Ghana Card belonging to one of the

victims.

All four suspects are currently in Police custody and will be put before the court to face justice. We would like to assure the public that we will continue to work tirelessly to keep our communities safe.

# Alpha Lotto Gives Cash, Food Items Worth GHc100,000 To Coach Silas Tetteh And Weiija Leprosarium



*from front page*

personality, Sly 'Borboo' Tetteh.

A member of Alpha Lotto team, Mr Emmanuel Senanu first presented the cash of GHC 20,000 and the Food items worth GHC30,000 to the Weiija Leprosarium.

Speaking during the brief

presentation, Mr. Senanu said the gesture formed part of their Corporate Social Responsibility which they regularly undertake by donating to Orphanages, the aged and the needy. This year, Alpha Lotto Limited he noted, decided to share their love with fellow human beings, at the WEIJA Leprosarium. Apart from the GH 20,000 Cash donation, some food items were also donated and that included 20 Bags of Rice, 10 cartoons of Soyabean cooking oil, 15 cartoons of Mackerel and 20 cartoons of mineral bottled

water.

"Our widow's mite is to cushion our "family" members here and bring smiles on your faces." Mr. Senanu added.

The Administrator at WEIJA Leprosarium, Madam Esther Geh received the items and asked for God's continuous blessings on Alpha Lotto.

**Alpha Lotto Gifts Coach Sly 'Borboo' Tetteh Gh 50,000**

The second donation by Alpha Lotto Limited was an amount of Gh 50,000 to former Black Stars Coach, Silas Borbor Tetteh. A member of the Alpha Lotto team, Raymond Nukamewor presenting the cash to coach Silas Tetteh said

Borbor is a household name in Ghana and one of our national heroes and a World Cup winning coach.

"We at Alpha Lotto were heart broken when we heard our coach and national asset lamenting in the media of hardship" he added.

He reiterated that 'As our Corporate Social Responsibility, we present our cheque of Gh 50,000 to "Borboo". We hope our widow's mite will go a long way to help in paying his medical bills and general well-being.'

"We take this opportunity to call on other well-meaning

Ghanaians, both individuals and corporate bodies to come to Silas Tetteh's aid" he added.

Finally, Mr Raymond Nukamewor called on individuals and Corporate Institutions to honour our heroes while they are alive. An elated coach Silas Tetteh thanked Alpha Lotto for coming to his aid.





# INTERNATIONAL NEWS REPORT

## Compiled By Peoples Dispatch

### Protests In Tunisia Against Persecution Of Political Activist Ayachi Hammami



*The protests were organized by political groups in the country in collaboration with lawyers and judges who have also opposed the dismissal of 57 judges by President Kais Saied last year. (Photo: TAP)*

Hundreds of people have participated in a protest in front of the Tunis Court of First Instance against the continued persecution and harassment of Ayachi Hammami, coordinator of the Committee for the Defense of Dismissed Judges. The government under President Kais Saied had dismissed 57

judges through a decree in June last year. The protesters denounced the state intimidation and harassment of political dissidents under Saied's rule, and demanded the restoration of the 57 judges who were dismissed. Hammami was summoned to

the court after he was accused last week of "spreading rumors with the aim of undermining the rights of others and harming public security" and "spreading misinformation," according to TAP.

TAP reported that a case was filed against Hammami after his appearance in a radio show where he claimed that the judges dismissed last year were "wronged" by the government. He also alleged that the Ministry of Justice had "committed an offense" by not following court decisions.

President Saied had [dismissed the 57 judges](#) after alleging that they were indulging in corruption and sheltering people involved in

terrorist activities. Saied claimed that the dismissal of the judges was part of his larger project of "political reform" to rid the country of corruption and inefficiency. Days before he sacked the judges, he had appointed himself as the head of a [new watchdog](#) with powers of appointing and dismissing judges without any opposition. Speaking in the court, Hammami claimed that the case against him was "politically motivated" and revealed the state of freedom of expression and right to dissent in the country. He also accused President Saied of trying to take control over the Tunisian judiciary and reduce its powers, TAP reported. President Saied had dismissed

the elected government in the country in July 2021 and ruled for months before also dissolving the parliament. He adopted a new constitution in July 2022 despite an extremely [low voter turnout in the referendum on the issue](#) amid calls for boycott. He also issued a new electoral law under which the first round of parliamentary elections were conducted last month. The elections saw a historically low voter participation of [nearly 10%](#) amid widespread calls for boycott. Opposition groups in Tunisia have called Saied's moves illegitimate and demanded his resignation, terming his power grab a 'presidential coup'.

### 2,000 Metal Workers To Go On Strike In Turkey

In Turkey, approximately 2,000 workers affiliated to the United Metal Workers Union (Birlesik Metal-is) have decided to go on a strike after talks to increase wages and fix wage rate hikes with the Metal Employers' Union of Turkiye (MESS) failed, *Bianet English* has [reported](#). The strike will be observed in 11 factories located in Istanbul, Manisa, Kocaeli, and Bandirma. Union members have already posted strike notices in front of these factories.

"A decent wage and working conditions are the most basic rights of all workers and metal workers. Workers are in severe poverty and it is not possible for them to live on these minimum wages and meet their needs," said a [statement](#) issued by Birlesik Metal-is.

The union questioned the practice of fixing the minimum wage according to the official inflation rate, which it claimed was not reliable. Turkey has seen an unprecedented rise in prices of basic commodities over the past one year. High inflation has made life of workers extremely difficult as their wages have not increased at par with the rise in prices. The official inflation rate in Turkey crossed 84% last year. However, unofficial sources claim that the actual inflation rate was above 170%.

Even in December, when the government celebrated a drop in the official inflation rate to 64%, independent institutions claimed that the actual inflation was still [close to 135%](#).

Based on the official inflation

rate, President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan recently [announced](#) a hike in minimum wages by nearly 55%, which unions slammed as inadequate.

Unions claim that even after the revision, the majority of the country's workers are getting wages only slightly above the poverty line, and that this was not sustainable as prices are increasing every day.

#### No to 'strike ban'

The statement also warned employers against using a "strike ban," a [legal provision in Turkey](#) which allows government and employers to declare a strike illegal and ban it. Article 63 of Law No. 6356 on Unions and Collective Bargaining Agreements allows the president to declare a strike as "disruptive and a threat to

national security" and ban it. The Birlesik Metal-is statement asserts that such a strike ban would yield no benefit. "We will use our constitutional right" and fight against such a move, the union said.

Last month, Erdoğan had imposed a similar ban on the metal workers' strike at the Bekaert company in the province of Kocaeli, asking them to postpone the strike by 60 days. The unions, however, decided to continue the strike, and finally won an over [80% wage hike](#). Various [courts](#) in the country and almost all opposition forces have been critical of the policy of "strike bans" adopted by the Erdoğan administration.

Birlesik Metal-is is affiliated to DiSK, a confederation of



*(Photo: Birlesik Metal-is/Twitter). Unions have questioned the policy of linking wage hikes to inflation, claiming that official inflation rates are unreliable. They also warned against government attempts to impose a "strike ban"*

progressive trade unions in Turkey. DiSK has been [demanding a thorough revision](#) of tax laws in the country as a way to address the problems of high prices and low wages by instituting higher taxes for those who earn more. It has also demanded more frequent revisions in the minimum wage rates in the country, from the current two times a year to at least four times.



# Monkeypox: Ghana Records 4 Deaths, 116 Cases



**G**hana recorded four deaths and 116 confirmed cases of the Monkeypox disease in 2022, in 14 out of the 16 regions. Two deaths were recorded in Upper East and one each in the Greater Accra

and Central regions. The Savannah and Ahafo regions did not record any cases, Dr Farida Abdulai, the Deputy Director, [Ghana Health Service](#) (GHS), disclosed during a community stakeholder engagement at Ningo-

Prampram in the Greater Accra Region. It was organised by the GHS, in collaboration with the USAID Breakthrough Action-Ghana programme, to educate the public on measures to overcome the disease.

Dr Abdulai said Monkeypox could affect anyone despite the age, disclosing that a 13-day old baby got infected and died. However, more than half of the confirmed cases were aged between 16 and 39 years. In August, 2022,

Monkeypox was renamed 'Mpox' to stem stigmatisation, she said, and that the virus spread through respiratory droplets and close contact with the rashes of an infected person. Dr Abdulai mentioned the symptoms to include acute fever with a body temperature of more than 38 degrees Celsius, coughing, cold, backache, sore throat, weakness, and rashes. "Therefore, seek immediate medical attention anytime you experience these

symptoms," she said, and that a free lab test would be run to determine whether one had the infection or not. The result is then taken to the National Public Health Reference Lab for confirmation. Dr Abdulai advised against the intake of alcohol or bathing in the sea as treatment of the disease as those were mere myths. "Those are not the remedy for the sickness, rather seek proper health care services," she stated.

**Source -- GNA**

## EduWatch Decries Inequities In Education Budget Allocation

**T**here are significant inequities in education spending among the various levels with more attention going to secondary education to the detriment of the other levels, Africa Education Watch has said. The education policy research and advocacy organization stated this in its analysis of the 2023 education budget made available to the Ghana News Agency by Mr. Kofi Asare, the Executive Director of EduWatch. The analysis noted that the inequities were evident in the proportion of the government's discretionary budget from Goods and Services and Capital Expenditure (CAPEX) that was going into secondary education, compared to basic education, special and inclusive education, and the other sub-sectors. It said with the exception of



*Kofi Asare, the Executive Director of EduWatch*

the free SHS/TVET that received an increased allocation of about 30 per cent, basic education, special education, and tertiary education all experienced significant reductions in their Goods and Services budgets. It added that basic education and special education were experiencing about a 40 per cent decline in allocation as compared to 2022. EduWatch stated that a similar decline of 30 per cent in the management budget of the Ministry of Education and

by extension, Ghana Education Service offices implied fewer funds for providing Teaching and Learning Resources and managing education at the district, regional and national levels in 2023. This, it noted, has implications for quality assurance in the teaching and learning space. On the distribution of CAPEX, it observed that it continued to discriminate against basic education, where the highest infrastructure deficit was recorded. "This negatively affects the government's ability to remove the over 5,000 schools under trees, sheds, and dilapidated structures, and provide desks for the 40 per cent of pupils without desks in basic schools."

**Source -- GNA**

## Minority Hints Of More Damning Revelations On COVID-19 Expenditure

**T**he Minority in Parliament has hinted at more damning revelations on how the government expended COVID Funds when Parliament resumes in February. It comes on the back of revelations in the Auditor General's Special Report on Ghana's [COVID-19](#) expenditure which revealed serious procurement breaches and financial misappropriation. According to the report, the Ministry of Health paid over 10 million cedis in insurance premiums to cover 10,000 frontline health workers and allied health professionals without a life insurance policy document. But Ranking Member on the Health Committee of Parliament, [Kwabena Mintah Akandoh](#) said this is the tip of the iceberg, adding that more damning revelations will come out when Parliament reconvenes. "Nothing in this report is surprising, I think that there's more to it than we are hearing or seeing at the moment. For me, it doesn't come as a surprise at all. Let people get this clear, it is not as though the Auditor-General set out



*Kwabena Mintah Akandoh, Ranking Member on the Health Committee of Parliament*

himself to uncover certain rot or to audit COVID expenditure. This is something we on the Minority side have fought for all this while. If you'll recall there was a point in time when the Deputy Speaker was presiding and a motion in that regard was thrown out. "We on the Minority side have control over what we can do to contribute to the development of this country. I can assure you on that note that we'll do our best, very soon, the five-member bi-partisan committee will start sitting in public. We are inviting memoranda and we'll do what we think must be done as a Parliament."

# Rwanda Accused Of 'Act Of War' As DRC Fighter Jet Is Hit Mid-Air

The Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) on Tuesday denounced Rwanda's accusation that a Congolese fighter jet violated Rwandan airspace, alleging the aircraft was attacked by Rwandan forces in a "deliberate act of aggression that amounts to an act of war."

Rwanda's government communications office released a statement on Twitter Tuesday which said: "Today at 5:03 pm, a Sukhoi-25 from DR Congo violated Rwanda airspace for the third time. Defensive measures were taken. Rwanda asks the DRC to stop this aggression."

The Congolese government later issued a statement disputing Kigali's version of events, alleging the jet was "attacked while it was

beginning its landing on the runway of Goma's international airport."

"The Rwandan fire was directed at a Congolese aircraft, flying inside Congolese territory. It did not fly over Rwandan airspace. The aircraft landed without major material damage."

It continues to say "the Government considers this umpteenth attack by Rwanda to be a deliberate act of aggression that amounts to an act of war" with the "sole objective of sabotaging" ongoing efforts to restore peace in eastern DRC, where a rebel insurgency has fractured relations between the two countries.

CNN cannot independently verify

either version of events.

A video shared widely on Congolese social media showed a projectile shooting toward an airborne military plane, before exploding in the air near the plane, which continued to fly. CNN could not immediately verify the video.

Rwanda is accused by the Congolese government, the United Nations, and Western allies of supporting the notorious armed M23 rebel group in its violent insurgency in eastern DRC, which Kigali denies.

Regional leaders brokered an agreement in November under which the Tutsi-led group was meant to withdraw from



Flag of Rwanda

recently seized positions by Jan. 15 as part of efforts to end the fighting that has displaced at least 450,000 people.

Congolese President Felix Tshisekedi said last week that the rebels had not fully withdrawn from those areas.

In December, Rwanda said another fighter jet from Congo had briefly violated its air

space.

An unarmed Congolese warplane also briefly landed at a Rwandan airport in November while on a reconnaissance mission near the border, in what Congo said was an accident.

Source: [edition.cnn.com](https://edition.cnn.com)

## Why Ruto's Government Should Put The Pain Of Our Freedom Fighters To An End



**PHOTO COURTESY: President Jomo Kenyatta with Mau Mau leader Field Marshal Mwariama. The colonial government led the torture against the Africans who championed for Kenya's liberation. The African governments have continually denied the freedom fighters what they shed blood for.**

By Dominic Ihomba

In January 26, 1963, M'Marete M'lkandi (Field Marshal Baimungi) died at the hands of government forces. This was despite the fact that the Mau Mau warrior was instrumental in the achievement of independence.

This was just among the impunities that the African governments meted on the freedom fighters. Many

freedom fighters continue to die poor in a country they tirelessly fought for its liberation. Jomo Kenyatta was among the Kapenguria six that were jailed in October 1952 by the colonial government. They faced the allegations of supporting an outlawed Mau mau organization. When Jomo Kenyatta became president, freedom fighters were hopeful of 'Uhuru'. However, oppression from their own

government became the order of the day. Their crucial role in the struggle towards independence went unrecognized since the Kenyatta's and Moi regimes never lifted the ban on the freedom fighters' movement.

The post independent African governments alienated them from the land that made them sacrifice their energy and blood. The various settlements set apart for the freedom fighters ended in the hands of the few and those who collaborated with the colonialists and new government authorities. The freedom fighters remained squatters in their independent country.

Hope was, however, revived in 2002 when H.E president Mwai Kibaki took office. In 2003, he championed the legalization of the Mau mau movement. He further, in February 2007, unveiled the Dedan Kimathi' bronze statue monument. This, he said was a way of honoring the freedom fighters.

In 2013, surviving freedom fighters' and their descendants' hope for compensation for the injustices that the colonial government meted on them was revived. This came after a legal contest between the freedom fighters and the colonial masters. In June 2013, Britain announced that it would pay some \$31 million to some of the Mau mau victims. According to The

Guardian, the money was actually paid out in cost and compensation. This came after several other occasions where the colonizer had expressed willingness to compensate the freedom fighters. However, the failure of the government to follow up has seen no victim compensated so far. In February 2016, during H.E Uhuru Kenyatta's government, a proposal was presented by the Mau Mau War Veteran Association (MMWVA) which sought for among other things, the registration of the surviving freedom fighters into the National Health Insurance Fund (NHIF). They also grieved for establishment of settlement schemes for the many landless ageing war veterans. The president then promised to actualize the requests by the time he would leave office. However, by the time of leaving office, 6 years later, none of the demands had been actualized.

The deputy president, Rigathi Gachagua, has in more than one occasion identified as a descendant of the freedom fighters. In one incident, during the cabinet retreat in Nanyuki, he hiked Mount Kenya and even

repeated that he is a son of Mau Mau. The few surviving freedom fighters and their descendants are expectant that the DP will deliver the 'Uhuru' to the oppressed fighters.

Report has it that the wife to Dedan Kimathi, Mukami Kimathi, has been detained in a hospital for failure to clear a pending medical bill. On Jamhuri day, Mukami Kimathi expressed her fear that she would die before the country presents her with the hero's body. Kimathi was captured in 1956, executed in 1957 and his remains buried in an unknown place.

The government has failed to present the body despite the many demands by the family and other freedom fighters. Many others of the descendants and the freedom fighters continue to languish in poverty as squatters in a country they bleed for.

The government should end the oppression on the Heroes and Heroines of the county who shed their blood for us to get the freedom we are enjoying today. A fund should be set aside to cater for the health of the freedom fighters and their descendants. This will be the only way of serving them justice.



# Mail & Guardian - How Cabral, Fanon And Freire Shaped The Struggle Against Apartheid South Africa — And Still Inspire

By Richard Pithouse

In January 1973 there was a significant political awakening in Durban. At the same time, a generative political life came to an end in Conakry, Guinea. On 9 January workers at the Coronation Brick and Tile factory in Durban struck, beginning what came to be known as the Durban strikes.

On 20 January the same year, Amílcar Cabral, the revolutionary Pan-Africanist, was assassinated in Conakry.

The Durban strikes opened the way to rebuild the black trade union movement, which became a formidable political force by the 1980s. They also began the process of building democratic forms of popular politics that would move out of the factories and, by the 1980s, bring millions of people into often self-organised forms of resistance that centred the agency of the oppressed.

Cabral, the foremost leader of the struggle for the independence of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde from Portugal, is often primarily remembered as a military strategist and theorist, and as a leader who moved in the same circles as people like Frantz Fanon, Patrice Lumumba and Kwame Nkrumah.

As a military leader in the Pan-African movement for national liberation, he is a figure closer to Umkhonto weSizwe intellectuals like Chris Hani or Jabulani “Mzala” Nxumalo than the worker leaders who emerged after the Durban strikes, people like Jabu Ndlovu and Moses Mayekiso.

But contemporaneous events in Southern and West Africa were connected in many ways. The Durban strikes were retrospectively understood as part of a wider Durban moment that included the emergence of the Black Consciousness Movement with the formation of the South African Students' Organisation (Saso) in 1968.

Steve Biko and the charismatic academic Rick Turner — the leading personalities in the Durban moment — opened new vistas of thought that enabled new forms of practice. They were both banned in 1973, after the initial Durban

strikes.

The following year the Young Turks in the Black Consciousness Movement in the city organised a rally in support of the Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (Frelimo), the national liberation movement in Mozambique.

## An electric moment

The rally was a direct challenge to the state. Its organisers — among them Saths Cooper, Muntu Myeza, Aubrey Mokoape and Strini Moodley — were arrested, tried, and eventually jailed, putting an end to the Durban Moment. In 1976 the Soweto Uprising shifted the locus of struggle to Johannesburg. Biko was murdered in 1977 and Turner was assassinated in 1978.

But, for an electric moment, the armed struggle against Portuguese colonialism seemed tantalising close to Durban. There were other kinds of connections outward too. One was to the Algerian struggle. At some point after 1973 — there is no public record of the exact dates — Josie Fanon, Frantz Fanon's widow, visited Durban, staying at Turner's home, presumably under some sort of cover.

In the wake of the Durban strikes, Paulo Freire, the radical Brazilian intellectual, became a theoretical lodestar for many university-educated radicals willing to take a reflective approach to the question of praxis.

As I have noted in this publication before, Biko had introduced Freire's thought to Durban, where it was taken up by Turner and other university-trained intellectuals. Freire's most famous book *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, first published in Spanish in 1986 and then in English in 1970, drew inspiration from many sources, including African anti-colonial struggles.

Fanon's last book, *The Damned of the Earth*, published shortly after his death in 1961, is often reduced to its opening remarks about anti-colonial violence. But the book is profoundly concerned with the question of praxis, of uniting theory and action in struggle.

It takes ideas very seriously. For Fanon, productive encounters between university-trained intellectuals and oppressed people were critical for building popular democratic power. He affirmed the imperative for the development of “a mutual current of enlightenment and enrichment” between protagonists from different social locations.

Fanon insisted that political education should not “treat the masses as children” and described this approach as “criminal superficiality”. Freire, who swiftly grasped Fanon's thinking, wrote: “Leaders who do not act dialogically, but insist on imposing their decisions, do not organise the people — they manipulate them. They do not liberate, nor are they liberated: they oppress.” In 1987 he recalled that “I was writing *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, and the book was almost finished when I read Fanon. I had to rewrite the book.”

## The common wind

Cabral's thought was also in the air, floating in what William Wordsworth, writing about Toussaint L'Ouverture — the leader of the revolution against slavery in Haiti — called “the breathing of the common wind” that carries the aspiration for emancipation across the planet.

Like Fanon, Cabral was fundamentally committed to the idea of praxis grounded in mutuality, to careful and empathetic listening and “the use of a direct language that all can understand” as essential to the development of revolutionary reason and practice.

He understood the collaborative development of thought in the struggle to be fundamental and insisted that it should be “the consciousness of a man that guides the gun, and not the gun that guides his consciousness”. His first biographer, Basil Davidson, described him as “a supreme educator in the widest sense of the word”.

Cabral wrote that education was “the fundamental basis that

underpins the work of the emancipation of every human being”. The movement led by Cabral, the African Party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde (PAIGC), took education as central to its work. Beginning in 1963 schools and libraries were established in the liberated zones, territories reclaimed via armed struggle.

After the April 1974 Carnation Revolution in Portugal the independence of Guinea-Bissau, which had been declared in September the previous year after 10 years of war, was accepted and in September 1975 Freire arrived in the country having been invited to collaborate with the new state on popular education projects. In *Pedagogy in Process: The Letters to Guinea-Bissau*, first published in 1978, he demonstrates a keen interest in Cabral's thought and practices, and the practices of the PAIGC.

He gives a sense of the political meeting constituted in emancipatory commitment and held in the shade of a tree that resonates with Fanon's earlier formulation of such meetings as “privileged occasions given to a human being to listen and to speak. At each meeting ... the eye discovers a landscape more and more in keeping with human dignity”.

Freire's ideas retained their significance in South Africa through the tumult of the 1980s. They are still, although at a lesser scale, engaged in new forms and sites of struggle. They are central to the Frantz Fanon School in the eKhenana Commune, a land occupation in Durban affiliated to Abahlali baseMjondolo.

Freire's ideas remain a vital force elsewhere in the world, such as the Florestan Fernandes National School outside São Paulo. The school is run by the Movimento dos Trabalhadores Rurais Sem Terra, the Brazilian movement of the landless. Fittingly, given Freire's own internationalism, the movement of people and ideas between these and similar political education projects enables ongoing and mutual learning across borders.

There are still direct lines of connection between the Durban moment and contemporary organisation and struggle in the city. Rubin Philip, who was elected as deputy president to Biko in Saso in 1972 and banned the following year, was later able to meet and engage Freire in person. He has remained extraordinarily committed to grassroots struggle throughout the post-apartheid period.

David Hemson, who was banned in the same year, and played an important role in the development of the labour movement in Durban before, during and immediately after the 1973 strikes, also remains engaged.

Freire continues to be read. Popular democratic power is still being constructed, although at a much smaller scale than in the 1970s and 1980s and under conditions of severe repression. Three leaders in the eKhenana Commune were assassinated last year.

But, in the main, and with significant exceptions, the record of the left intelligentsia after apartheid is, in terms of effectively participating in building movements, one of failure. All too often the will to dominate — to, in Freire's terms, “manipulate” — has precluded the sort of commitment to reciprocity and mutual learning that animated the thought and practice of people like Fanon, Cabral and Freire and enabled movement building.

The situation has been compounded by an insufficiently critical attitude to the ubiquity of the NGO form and its relentless substitution for the organisation of the oppressed in the name of “civil society”.

But the lessons forged in struggle from Durban to Algeria and Guinea-Bissau still float in the common wind.

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# MAHAMA; He Accuses Akufo-Addo Of Running Ghana's Economy Bankrupt

*from page 7*

investments.

Ghana's banking and financial sector could also be under threat of insolvency if no suitable adjustments are made to the debt restructuring plans.

Our present economic situation, underscored by our bankrupt status, sharply contrasts with our fortunes a little over a decade ago. At the time, our economy posted some of the highest growth rates in the world with a robust and fast-growing non-oil sector.

Today, many of our economic indicators are pointing south. We have in the last month entered the hyperinflation era with an inflation rate of 54%. Our currency has in the past few months been counted among the worst performing in the world, plummeting by as much as 54% in value within the first ten months of 2022. Widening budget deficits have characterized economic performance since 2018.

A severe cost of living crisis fueled by ever-rising prices of basic goods has imposed extreme hardship on Ghanaians as the government struggles to meet some of its most basic commitments in areas like education and health. Unemployment stood at a staggering 13%, the highest in recent memory.

It would be no hyperbole to assert that our present state bears an uncanny resemblance to the late seventies and eighties. How was a country with such bright prospects, only a decade ago, brought to its knees so quickly when it should have made far more progress? The present trouble with our economy stems from gross mismanagement and in some instances sheer recklessness.

Government failed to sustain the gains made after our last IMF programme, which brought stability to the management of the Ghanaian economy. Corruption has also contributed significantly to bring us to this distressing juncture.

Government has been quick to pass off the COVID pandemic as a reason for this poor economic record. Yet, available data shows that many of our neighbours in West Africa and further afield, posted much better economic performances than we did during and after the pandemic.

The World Bank through its Ghana Country Director has also stated unequivocally that Ghana's economy was in distress before the pandemic occurred.

The purpose of recounting these

failures, driven by mismanagement and corruption, in Ghana is to demonstrate how Africa depletes scarce resources generated from both the continent and development partners. Instead of thinking innovatively to address the fundamental economic problem, many leaders worsen it.

Using management of the COVID-19 pandemic as a case study my own country Ghana once a beacon of Africa has come up for mention for dissipating domestic and donor funds.

A recently published audit report by the Auditor General of Ghana into receipts and expenditures on COVID-19 exposes staggering instances of corruption running into billions of Ghana cedis.

Over GH¢21.8 billion was mobilised to mitigate the impact of the pandemic from the World Bank, IMF, the European Union (EU), the African Development Bank (AfDB), Ghana's Contingency Fund, and from the sale of Bank of Ghana COVID-19 Bonds.

Hiding under the "emergency situation", government jettisoned our financial and procurement laws and refused to use the GIFMIS system, which is the agreed budget and accounting digital platform to avoid thorough scrutiny. Such financial malpractices discourage delivery of grants and concessionary loans to Africa.

I have indicated that we need a forensic audit into the receipts and expenditure of the COVID-19 funds in Ghana. The forensic audit may be extended to other countries in Africa to restore investor confidence as we build the Africa we want.

Let me add that, Africa needs to build stronger institutions to address institutional and political decay. In building stronger institutions, Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) in Africa must also be prioritized. On this note, let me commend many CSOs on our Continent that are holding governments accountable.

Compounding the socio-economic malaise on the continent, is the erosion of public confidence in state institutions. Many of these state institutions set up to be independent arbiters and offer appropriate checks and balance on the executive arms of government, have in recent years served more as extensions of the government.

In many cases, as it is the case in Ghana, there has been overt efforts by government to weaken these institutions and bend them to its will.

A case in point was the ouster of the then Chairperson of Ghana's Electoral Commission and two other senior

officials by the President of Ghana over clearly flimsy and contrived reasons. They were then replaced with persons with noticeable leanings towards the incumbent party and whose actions have served to undermine public confidence in their independence and neutrality, two ingredients which are vital prerequisites for the sustenance of Ghana's acclaimed democracy.

Relatedly, Ghana's Judiciary has also come under public scrutiny in recent years for what is widely perceived as bias towards the government. Until the advent of this government, our judiciary had commanded tremendous public respect and confidence for their firmly independent posture. This is arguably no longer the case.

This is a worry to investors because one of the factors that boosts confidence of investors to place their money in a country, is the faith they have that in event of a business dispute, they can expect the justice system to be a fair and neutral arbiter.

For Africa to succeed in achieving her strategic priorities, we must strengthen institutions including the judiciary and grant them their deserved independence and freedoms as prescribed by law. I encourage you not to lose hope in Ghana and Africa because it is far more useful to look forward to the future with hope than to brood over the present with despair.

I am an eternal believer in the potential and positive energies of Africa and her youth.

In December, next year, what I consider to be the most important elections in Ghana's history will be held. The electioneering period will offer a scope for deeper discussions about Ghana's future and what needs to be done to get us out of the current economic quagmire and to avoid a recurrence.

We in the opposition in Ghana are very clear on our vision for the country and how to build the Ghana that we all want.

The first order of business for a new NDC administration is to restore macro-economic stability and ensure fiscal prudence while generating employment for many of our young people who are unsure of what the future holds.

Though the current economic distress is largely self-inflicted, it is very clear that unless we act to insulate ourselves from these factors, whatever gains that are made going forward will unravel because of structural weaknesses.

The National Democratic Congress therefore commits itself to immediate structural reforms based on a national dialogue and forging a broad national consensus that will lead to the diversification of our economy and its production base; and the attraction of investment into industry, farming, agribusiness, the digital sector, and tourism.

We are determined to process our natural resources like cocoa, gold, bauxite, oil, copper while we build more robust capacity to respond to global energy shocks.

I invite you to look favourably at Ghana again because there is hope ahead! I also urge you to partner Africa as we confront the challenges posed by climate change, emerging diseases, terrorism, and cybercrimes to build a safer world.

Our borders are borderless because of globalization. Therefore, we must stand in support of one another.

As we look into the near future with optimism, there are instant solutions that must be found to the crippling economic crisis, which has left a dark pall hanging over Ghana now.

At a continental level, I want to reiterate my international advocacy for a reinstitution and extension of the Debt Service Suspension Initiative (DSSI) to afford our countries some limited fiscal respite. I would similarly call for the expansion of the Common Framework for Debt Treatment Beyond the DSSI to help African countries access debt restructuring tools and mechanisms.

I have had cause to also state elsewhere, and I would repeat that the time has come for an African version of a Marshal Plan. I note and applaud the Global Gateway Programme of the EU that seeks to mobilize 300 billion Euros over the next seven years for infrastructure in Africa and the rest of the developing world.

If Africa is to survive and be a source of hope for the rest of the world, then Africa as an imperative must speedily harness the advantages it has to ensure inclusive growth for its people. With the continent boasting the world's largest free trade area along with an over 1- billion-person market, Africa is prime, as reported by the World Bank, to carve out a new developmental pathway.

Under the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA) agreement, 55 countries with a combined GDP of over US\$3.4 trillion will work together to present major opportunities for shared growth and prosperity for Africa and the rest of the world.

I expect AfCFTA not to de-emphasize the prospects of SMEs as we promote new markets and encourage foreign investments. SMEs have sustained Africa and will continue to do so for a long while. I also urge AfCFTA to secure intellectual property rights of Africans as we partner already mature businesses.

AFCTA will also need the support of the African Union for greater integration to allow for greater labour mobility across Africa to support countries in need of critical human resource.

And AFCTA must not allow businesses with political connections to be prioritized over real captains or champions of industry. Neither must innovations from the youth suffer because of lack of political connections.

All hope is not lost for Africa. Africa, including my country Ghana, has strategic priorities and is ready and willing to play its role in the global community.

To conclude, it is also of critical importance that regional bodies like the ECOWAS, SADC, EAC, CEMAC, the Arab Maghreb Union and African Union must be empowered to have a firmer grip on their member nations to address regional/ continental/ global challenges. Other international bodies like the European Union and the TANA High-Level Forum for Security in Africa, which I chair, must provide the needed support, including oversight and scrutiny of activities likely to lead to serious consequences.

I stress on this point of oversight because we observe that the laxity in supervision and oversight has given free reins to some leaders on the continent to wreak constitutional tyranny on their people with some changing their country's constitution so they could run for extended terms.

No single country in Africa can on its own attain the highest level of development when it is surrounded by neighbouring countries engaging in full scale-conflict. It is therefore important that there is stability and sustainable development in Africa, which will help lead to global security and prosperity.

With the right steps and visionary leadership as well as a willingness to dig deep and find innovative solutions to the decades-old challenges, we must emerge a stronger force to reckon with.

I thank you for your kind attention