

It's Alan's Time, Says Omanhene Of Goaso



Baffour Asare Yamoah



Samuel Abu Jinapo, Minister of Lands and Natural Resources

GALAMSEY

Posing Serious Risks To Ghana's Cocoa, New Research Reveals

Unless urgent and concrete steps are taken to address the menace of illegal mining popularly known as 'galamsey' which is destroying farms in the hinterlands especially cocoa farms, Ghana risks losing foreign exchange from cocoa which

has been the country's mainstay for decades, this is according to a new research conducted by the Chamber

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No Imperialist Peoples, Only Imperialist States

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The paramount chief of Goaso Traditional Area in the Ahafo region, Nana Akwasi Bosompra I, has said that it is time for Alan Kyerematen to lead the New Patriotic Party (NPP). *Cont. on page 2*

Gwira Queen-mother And Accredited Elders Defend Okoben Mining ...Insist Company Not Engaged In Illegal Mining



Nana Adwoa Affiah, Paramount Queen-mother of Gwira Traditional Area

The Paramount Queen-mother of Gwira Traditional Area in the Evalue-Ajomoro-Gwira Municipality of the Western Region,

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Joseph Boadu Ashirifi

Nii Ashong Kojo III

Nii Ashong Kojo III Is Still Amrahia Mantse, Says Amrahia Shepi

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The INSIGHT

— EDITORIAL

AN APPALLINGLY BAD DEAL!

The revelation that an amount of \$11 billion from oil exploration deals was allowed to go down the drain due to inaction or a deliberate attempt on the part of some officials of state to reap 'from the back door' is highly condemnable.

Clearly, the deal is a bad one and needs to be properly investigated to ascertain complicity, if any.

It is mind-boggling that a country with so many trained experts in oil and gas management could give away as high as a whopping 11 billion dollars to a foreign expatriate company when it had invested virtually nothing in the country's oil exploration project.

This is another act of giving for free what ordinary Ghanaians need to benefit from. No one can and should attempt to justify why our officials deliberately let down the nation by negotiating off our interest in the deal. Ghana's natural resources have not for the large part benefitted the teeming masses who constitute the poor village dwellers with no means of earning a living.

It is therefore surprising that considering how nationalization of oil and gas has benefitted most countries in Europe, the Americas and Asia, Africa particularly Ghana has failed to optimize the huge benefits and opportunities that international best practices offer and is engaging in acts untoward of a sovereign nation.

This is a bad deal and must be promptly and thoroughly investigated and reversed, if not cancelled.

It's Alan's Time, Says Omanhene Of Goaso



from front page

He said this because the former Trade and Industry Minister has served the party faithfully and diligently since 1992, which has been attested to through his work that he has the qualities to lead the country. Nana Bosompra, who presided over the Goaso Traditional Council when Hon. Kyerematen called on nananom last Friday to announce his bid for the flagbearership of the NPP, noted that Ghanaians admire his competence and the rich qualities he possesses to lead the party.

Nana Akwasi Bosompra extolled the sterling leadership qualities of Hon. Kyerematen, including his ability to churn out results for productivity, his humility, and patience, as making him capable of leading the party. As a result, the Omanhene urged delegates of the NPP to elect the former Trade and Industry Minister as their presidential candidate for 2024 as the Ghanaian electorate will

willingly accept him.

The Goasomanhene blessed the presidential hopeful and assured him of his support invoking the support of Asanteman and nananom of Ahafo region and further reiterating the backing of the Golden Stool for Alan's candidature for the flagbearership of the NPP.

THE INSIGHT

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GALAMSEY; Posing Serious Risks To Ghana's Cocoa, New Research Reveals

from front page

of Small Scale Mining Industry in Ghana (COSSMIG).

Already, it takes between 3 to 5 years for a cocoa plant to mature and yield fruits and the chamber is worried that galamsey activities are threatening to wipe off most cocoa plants in the Ashanti, Central and Eastern regions of Ghana. Baffour Asare Yamoah, Coordinator of the Chamber of Small Scale Mining Industry in Ghana who carried out the research wants the government to take urgent steps to address the galamsey menace. A report issued on the research findings show that pumping Water Under Cocoa Trees by illegal miners who use water pumps to channel large volumes of water into roots of cocoa trees cause the soil to be saturated with water, while reducing the amount of oxygen available to the tree, leading to the yellowing of the leaves, root rot and ultimate death of the cocoa tree.

“When this happens, these malicious actors visit the owners of the cocoa farms to offer them money in exchange for the lands to be used for mining. In Kutukrom in the Western region, we observed several of these. Farmers are then left with no option than to give their lands out in return for money”.

“Just like the gold illegal miners are looking for, the soil they are collecting is also non-renewable. The top layer of the cocoa lands contain rich nutrients that support the growth of the plant. When the quality of this declines, the soil's capacity to support the cocoa plants also diminishes. This is a major concern. It takes thousands of years to form an inch of topsoil and even more time before the soil can be fertile (Begum, 2021).

“The activities being carried out by these illegal miners are not only detrimental to the growth of cocoa but disturbs the entire biodiversity of the soil”, the report warned. “Illegal miners in cocoa farming communities are using metal detectors and other equipment to bore holes on cocoa lands in search for precious minerals. Although the

metal detector itself does not necessarily pose any specific environmental risk, the punching holes under the cocoa trees destroy the plants. More so, the intent of this act is that the searcher finds gold and persuade the cocoa farmer with money to give his or her land out for mining. Once a mutual agreement is reached, the miner takes over the entire land and repurposes it for Galamsey activities”.

The report among others proposed measures to tackle the challenge which included finding alternative and legal source of livelihood which it said must be provided by the government. This is the full text of the report.

Ghana Gold and Cocoa - The Danger ahead.

Baffuor Asare of Chamber small scale mining industry in Ghana

October, 2022.

Background

In the mid nineteenth century, Ghana began to see modern type of mining and direct investment moving into its richest mining area, Obuasi. This was the period when the country saw the formation of Ashanti Gold Corporation, which was acquired from European investors by E.A. Cade (Anon., n.d.). By the beginning of the twentieth century, almost all the gold mined in Ghana were coming from the Western Region, and 10% from Ashanti and Central regions. As the years went by, the proportion of gold mining has been shifting, with Ashanti region currently hosting most of the large mining companies. Since 2010, gold mining has produced up to a quarter of Ghana's tax revenue, as high as 27% in 2011 and 2012, according to data from Ghana Chamber of Mines. On the other hand, it has been reported that between 2014 and 2016, 101,179kg of gold worth approximately \$3billion were shipped out of Ghana to India alone without going through necessary processes (Asiamah, 2021). It is not surprising that from 2013, the tax revenue from gold has reduced from 27% of total IRS to as low as 10% in 2018. Certainly, a huge part of this

problem is illegalities in the sector, including illegal mining. Aside from the revenue missing yearly due to lack of ability of governments to monitor the mining of gold and its export effectively, there have been reports of residents of local communities being used by foreign investors and citizens with capital requirement to mine illegally, putting lives of miners and the entire community at serious risk. On top of that, these days, we are seeing a massive industrial exodus from cocoa production to illegal mining. Ghana may not be able to afford the continuous decrease in mining revenue, combined with increasing environment hazard and the loss of the most important crop in terms foreign exchange. This report will focus on the spread of Galamsey and its effect on cocoa production.

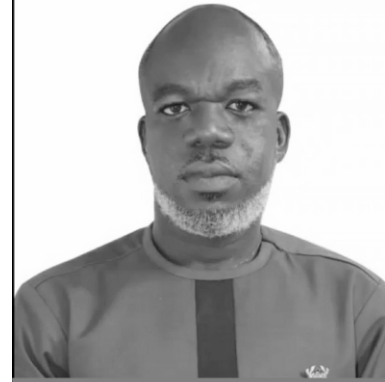
Galamsey, the Virus without a Vaccine

After the 1989 Small Scale Gold Mining Act was passed, people could by hand dig and wash gold, as permitted by the law (Marisa & Kevin, 2018). Although the rationale behind this law was to delimit the sector from not only companies with huge capital, the consequences in hindsight however has been grossly detrimental. Individuals mine but without license, and licensed small-scale miners are transferring their license to others, an act not permitted by the law. Through these, we have seen the birth of Galamsey, initially, Gather-and-Sell, but now considered as criminality.

Galamsey has been one of Ghana's biggest socio-economic problems within the last two decades. The people of Ghana are only becoming aware of it because of the advent of alternative media and advanced devices like the mobile phone. Having spent significant amount of time mining communities and embarking multiple operations with law enforcers to stop illegal mining, we have seen first-hand, why the people engage in such risky activities, how they get the equipment, and the entire value chain of illegal mining. We have ceased countless equipment but like a virus without a vaccine, it never stops. The problem is extremely complex and complex problems require complex solutions.

The Why

We have interviewed hundreds of



Baffour Asare Yamoah



Samuel Abu Jinapo, Minister of Lands and Natural Resources

locales in mining areas and the most dominant reason for their engagement in illegal mining is lack of alternative source of income. It is obvious that nobody would risk their lives on a venture that brings no brings no economic benefits. At the individual level, it is more about survival. We have seen kids of school going ages, together with their parents engage in Galamsey as major source of livelihood. The mystery here is, how did these people survive before Galamsey?-Farming. Many of the residents in mining areas were first into mining. In the Western Region, rubber and cocoa. The same can be said of the Ashanti region and the Eastern region.

However, the indigenous people have been convinced enough that farming is not profitable enough. If they wanted a better life, mining was the way, but they do not have the capital requirement, hence help many foreign invaders who have little capital to undertake illegal mining. That said, we can say that although unemployment is the biggest factor, greed on the side of the people cannot be ruled out.

Hotspots

As mentioned earlier, we have visited a number of mining communities. Throughout our visits, we have observed that the communities posing most risk to cocoa farms are Osino, Akantin, Anyinam, Kwaben, Sabronomu, Bibiani, Manso, Tontokrom, Fomena, Kutukrom and Prestea Huni-Valley. These communities are in the Ashanti, Eastern and Western regions. Activities of Galamseyers on Cocoa Lands Pumping Water Under Cocoa Trees:

We have observed that illegal miners use water pumps to channel large volumes of water into roots of cocoa trees. This causes the soil to be saturated with water, while reducing the amount of oxygen available to the tree, leading to the yellowing of the leaves, root rot and ultimate death of the cocoa tree. When this happens, these malicious actors visit the owners of the cocoa farms to offer them money in exchange for the lands to be used for mining. In Kutukrom in the Western region, we observed several of these. Farmers are then left with no option than to give their lands out in return for money.

Collection of Topsoil:

Just like the gold illegal miners are looking for, the soil they are collecting is also non-renewable. The top layer of the cocoa lands contain rich nutrients that support the growth of the plant. When the quality of this declines, the soil's capacity to support the cocoa plants also diminishes. This is a major concern. It takes thousands of years to form an inch of topsoil and even more time before the soil can be fertile (Begum, 2021). The activities being carried out by these illegal miners are not only detrimental to the growth of cocoa but disturbs the entire biodiversity of the soil.

Metal Detectors:

Illegal miners in cocoa farming communities are using metal detectors and other equipment to bore holes on cocoa lands in search for precious minerals. Although the metal detector itself does not necessarily pose any specific environmental risk, the punching holes under the cocoa trees destroy the plants. Moreso, the intent of this act is that the searcher finds gold and persuade the cocoa



INTERNATIONAL NEWS REPORT

Compiled By Peoples Dispatch

Massive Workers' Rallies Across UK Defend The Right To Strike



Mobilization at Newcastle upon Tyne on February 1, 2023. (Photo: Vyshakh Thaliyil). The Tory government in the UK has been waging a war against the working class through its austerity-ridden policies and anti-worker legislation

Over half a million people last Wednesday joined the 'Right to Strike' rallies called by trade unions across the UK to protest the austerity-ridden anti-worker policies of the Tory government, including a legislation which intends to curtail the right to strike. More than 40,000 people marched in London alone. Rallies were also held in

cities like Glasgow, Sheffield, Liverpool, Bristol, Manchester, Cambridge, Nottingham, Newcastle, among several others. The rallies were attended by activists and leaders of unions including the National Education Union (NEU), Public and Commercial Services (PCS) Union, University and College Union (UCU), Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen (ASLEF), and National

Union of Rail, Maritime and Transport Workers (RMT). Teachers formed the largest contingent in the rallies, raising banners that read 'Save Our Schools,' and calling for an increase in wages, staff, and funds for schools. The demonstrators demanded that the Tory government withdraw the anti-strike bill and the notorious Scabs' Charter.

The Tory government introduced a controversial Strikes (Minimum Service Levels) Bill in the UK parliament on January 10, which would enable the state and employers to force workers to ensure minimum service during trade union strikes across eight key sectors including health, ambulance, fire and rescue, security, education, and transport. The bill would empower bosses to sack workers who refuse to provide a

minimum level of service during walkouts across key sectors, as well as sue trade unions in court both to prevent strikes and claim damages. It has gone through the House of Commons and currently awaits its second reading in the House of Lords on February 23. The bill has outraged the working class across Britain, who are already at loggerheads with the Tory government over pay restoration, the untackled cost of living crisis, and the 'Scabs Charter'.

In his statement on February 1, Communist Party of Britain (CPB) General Secretary Robert Griffiths greeted the protesting workers and said that "union action is stronger when we are together. Today is a living testimony to working class principles of unity, solidarity, and not crossing a picket line. There is a rising tide of rage at the attack on wages, conditions, pensions, and

services, and at a government that simultaneously blocks negotiations in some areas whilst conducting sham negotiations in others. They should come to the table or clear out of the way." Kevin Courtney, joint general secretary of the National Education Union (NEU) said that "taking strike action is very much a last resort for our members. Knowing that parents and members of the community support them taking a stand to 'Save Our Schools' will give educators huge confidence in taking this action, not just for fair pay, but in defense of children's education." The Trade Union Congress (TUC) has called for another round of mobilization on the budget day of the Tory government, March 15.

Iran Blames Israel For Last Week's Attack On Isfahan Military Site

Iran's ambassador to the UN, Amir Saied Iravani, in a letter to the UN Secretary General and the president of the Security Council has claimed that a preliminary investigation had proved that Israel was responsible for the "attempted act of aggression in Isfahan."

On Sunday, the Iranian Ministry of Defense announced that one of its workshop complexes had been attacked late on Saturday night by three Micro Aerial Vehicles (MAVs), or mini drones. It also claimed that its

air defense system had been able to thwart the attack.

The ministry added that the attack did not cause any human or material damages and that the workshop was functioning as usual.

On Wednesday, one of Iran's official news agencies, *Nour News*, claimed that the drones were launched by "terrorist" elements within the country who were working on the orders of Israeli intelligence agency Mossad. It also alleged that the drone parts had been smuggled into the country through the Iraqi Kurdistan region. Iran's Islamic Revolutionary

Guard Corps (IRGC) has been carrying out attacks inside Iraqi Kurdistan for some months now, purportedly to destroy "terrorist bases" in the region. Iran claims that the region is being used by anti-Iranian forces to provide training, weapons, and other support to forces causing trouble within the country. It also claims that Mossad is active in the region.

Iravani cited recent public utterances of Israeli President Isaac Herzog and Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu in which they supported attacks on Iranian nuclear and other military sites. He also noted that Israel has been involved in "sabotage and terrorist attacks" inside Iran in

the past.

Iravani urged the UN Security Council to act against Israeli warmongering and make it comply with international law. "The Islamic Republic of Iran reserves its legitimate and inherent right, in accordance with international law and the United Nations Charter, to defend its national security and respond resolutely to any threats or wrongful actions by the Israeli regime, wherever and whenever deemed necessary," the letter reads. Though Israel has officially neither confirmed nor denied its involvement in the Isfahan attacks, major US newspapers such as the *New York Times* and



Iran's ambassador to the UN Amir Saied Iravani. (Photo: Press TV). Iran asserted its right to defend itself after the failed drone strikes at the military workshop complex in Isfahan late on Saturday night

Wall Street Journal have cited senior intelligence officials to report on Sunday that it was very much behind them. Iran has in the past accused Israel of various attacks on its nuclear sites, such as in Natanz in July 2020, and for the assassination of its nuclear scientist Mohsen Fakhri-zadeh in November 2020.

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farmer with money to give his or her land out for mining.

Once a mutual agreement is reached, the miner takes over the entire land and repurposes it for Galamsey activities.

Recommendations Everything that would be recommended in this paper has been mentioned countless by civil societies and well-meaning Ghanaians. Since they are still yet to be done, it is not out of place that they be re-echoed.

- Firstly, alternative and legal source of livelihood must be provided by the government. Usually, when this is said, it is misconstrued to only mean creating new employment for indigenous people. Inasmuch as that is a critical part of the matter, one other aspect is to make current legal economic

engagements of the people more meaningful. Cocoa farmers must be given benefits that are due them as citizens producing the main cash crop for exports. The average cocoa farmer in Ghana makes \$1/day, becoming the lowest earners in cocoa supply chain (Anon., 2020). Same source says that more than 700,000 children are working on cocoa farms. This indicates high level of poverty in cocoa communities, although the cash crop is earning the country \$2B in foreign exchange annually. There is a dense mismatch between the benefits the country gets from cocoa and the compensation the farmers at the beginning of the supply chain get. Meanwhile, locales who engage in Galamsey activities say they earn between Ghs300 to Ghs500 a day. This means that

illegal miners are earning approximately 5000% more than cocoa farmers. Cocoa farming is a business, not a patriotic voluntary activity. Therefore, considering the massive difference in profitability between Galamsey and cocoa production, combined with neglect of families of cocoa farmers, it will be difficult to not switch paths. We therefore recommend that government set up a programme that seeks to exclusively address poverty in cocoa communities. What's more, a certain percentage of cocoa revenue from exports must be set aside to invest directly in cocoa areas and providing preference for families of cocoa farmers, all implemented with the highest level of integrity. Other income earners such as rubber

production and bamboo must also be given serious attention in order to expand the revenue options available to the youth of the communities.

- Secondly, the government must take radical measures that may involve the banning of importation of some mining equipment into the country. A stringent regulatory framework must be set up to control movement of frequently used Galamsey equipment such as changfan machines and metal detectors into the country. This may include the collection and storage of biodata and other relevant information of dealers in these equipment as well as the buyers. Generally, law enforcement when it comes to the issue of Galamsey has not been satisfactory. There has been recrimination between politicians, chiefs and alleged Galamsey financiers, but nobody in particular has been made to face the law. Without law, chaos thrives. Not until the country sees big names being thrown under the bus, the menace of illegal mining will incontrovertibly remain. The continual politicization of the issue is being taken advantage of by those who perpetrate this illegality. The decry of the people therefore must be taken as of urgent necessity and be acted upon to curb Galamsey.

- Finally, the Chamber of Mines, in conjunction with Chamber of small scale mining and the Mineral's Commission must set up a Mineral's Data Directory or Repository Centre. This is one of the most critical things that must be done in order to maintain our mineral deposits and have control over "special lands" and reserves. Currently, Ghana does not have a real-time web-based monitoring systems after many years of mining gold and other precious metals. Part of revenue that is gained from the export must be allocated into research, machine learning, data engineering and the installation of sensors in selected areas to give real-time feedback to a single control centre whose annual findings must be made available to the Ghanaian public. This is the conversation that has never been had. While writing this



Fig 1. Picture of Cocoa farm destroyed in Kutukrom.

paper, it was extremely difficult to find extraneous data that had not been gathered directly from the communities we had physically visited. We cannot begin to take control of our lands and resources, and protect our people and water bodies if we do not have the most infinitesimal details of them. There must be effective management information systems to inform decision making at the Mineral's Commission, the Ministry of Lands and Natural Resources and the Chamber of Mines. In our view, this is the most important aspect of the conversation that is lacking.

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Nii Ashong Kojo III Is Still Amrahia Mantse, Says Amrahia Shepi

Nii Shepi of Amrahia, Joseph Boadu Ashirifi has stated that, Nii Ashong Kojo III is not dead but is still the legitimate Chief of Amrahia and also, Head and lawful representative of Nii Amoah Okromansah family of Amrahia in the Greater Accra Region. He disclosed this at a press conference organized to set the record straight and to make the people of Amrahia and the entire nation to be aware that, Nii Ashong Kojo III is still the only Amrahia Mantse and is alive. Nii Shepi therefore, entreated the general public to disregard rumors on the airways that, Nii Ashong Kojo III is dead and that, one Ashirifi Mensah with the tittle Nii Ashong Kojo IV is the new chief saying, it is never true. He pointed out that, it was only few days ago that they got to know that some elders who have been promised 10 plots of land each, took the law into their own hands and installed Ashirifi Mensah as chief of Amrahia whilst Nii Ashong Kojo III is still alive. Nii Shepi explained that, the self-imposed chief is a brother



Joseph Boadu Ashirifi

to Nii Ashong Kojo III and are from the same family but due to greediness, he is going round telling people that the legitimate chief is dead. He said the motive behind the installation was that, they submitted a document in connection with a land for Nii Ashong Kojo III to sign but, refused with the explanation that, if trouble comes they would all run away. The said document according to Nii Shepi, is in connection with the release of Dairy farms by government for which, Nii Ashong

Nii Ashong Kojo III

Kojo III wants to put proper measures on them and they are not happy. Nii Shepi however, called on President Nana Akufo Addo and the IGP to call the family together for a meeting to ensure amicable settlement. He said, the issue at hand is not anything that they cannot settle and assured that, they would do everything possible to bring a lasting solution to it. Nii Shepi further said, all efforts to call their brother on phone in other to talk to him, yielded nothing because, he has refused



Fig 2. An image showing monitoring systems and control room (Anon., 2022).

Gwira Queen-mother And Accredited Elders Defend Okoben Mining...Insist Company Not Engaged In Illegal Mining

from front page

Nana Adwoa Affiah together with the principal kingmakers and accredited elders of the Amanrakpanyim Family has stated that the Okoben Mining Company Limited which is owned by Ghanaian business tycoon, Nana Okoben Amponsah is not engaged in any form of illegal mining popularly known as *galamsey* anywhere on their lands. The Paramount Queen-mother of Gwira Traditional Area in the Evalue-Ajomoro-Gwira Municipality of the Western Region, Nana Adwoa Affiah together with the principal kingmakers and accredited elders of the Amanrakpanyim Family has stated that the Okoben Mining Company Limited which is owned by Ghanaian business tycoon, Nana Okoben Amponsah is not engaged in any form of illegal mining popularly known as *galamsey* anywhere on their lands.

The principal kingmakers and accredited elders of the Amanrakpanyim Family are the custodial owners of Gwira Traditional Stool.

Some chiefs led by the current embattled Paramount Chief of Gwira Traditional Area, Awulae Angama Tu-Agyan II recently called on the government of President Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo to withdraw any license granted to Okobeng Mining within fourteen (14) days. According to them their action was because the company was undertaking illegal activities as its operational works have degraded their land and polluted their river bodies which included River Ankobra, streams and other river bodies on the said concession. Speaking at a news conference held in Accra, Awulae Angama Tu-Agyan II, hinted that when Nananom and the people started complaining about the company's Managing Director, Mr. Amposah, he started using some methods to intimidate Nananom and the people of Gwira Traditional Area with armed land guards using offensive weapons. He stated that the company has failed to compensate cocoa and other farmers whose farms have been destroyed depriving them their livelihood. When the elders demanded for land compensation, the company allegedly issued dull cheques to defraud them. "In view of the above, the chiefs, queen mothers, elders, the youth and entire people of Gwira Traditional Area are making this statement to bring this development

to the attention of the general public, ministry of lands and natural resources, the minerals commission, EPA and Ghana Police Service that as a matter of urgency within fourteen days withdraw any license granted to Okobeng Mining Company to operate in any part of Gwira Traditional Area lands", the chief said. However, in a counter press conference held on Saturday February 4, 2023, Nana Adwoa Affiah and the elders of the area stressed that "we want to state categorically that Okoben Mining is not engaged in any such illegal mining activity anywhere in Gwira as we speak."

She noted that Nana Okoben Amponsah has become a prime target of attack by these chiefs including thousands of illegal small-scale miners, who are indiscriminately mining gold from communities including Bamiankor, Ayinase, Gwira-Ampasie, Akango, Dualle and Akosono among others in the Evalue-Ajomoro-Gwira Municipality. The Queen-mother of Gwira and the elders stated categorically that the illegal small scale mining activities of these *galamseyers* in these communities were rather destroying river Akonbra and other water bodies but not the company of Nana Okoben Amponsah.

"Since Nana Okoben Amponsah secured his concession at Dominase in Gwira from we the traditional authorities and got the necessary legal license and permit from the state mining regulatory institutions including Minerals Commission and Environmental Protection Agency, we have been monitoring the gold mining activities of the miner and can attest to the fact that Nana Okoben Amponsah has been using legal means to work on his gold mining concession and put in place measures to fight *galamseyers* from destroying the river Akonbra and environment including the forest range reserves," the queen mother said.

She pointed out that the evil plots being hatched by these chefs to the effect of accusing the company of engaging in illegal mining activities which they claimed had polluted River Ankobra, streams and other river bodies on its gold concession at Dominase is a complete cocktail of imaginary tales, potential libel and a one-sided vicious trial by media.

She expressed surprise at the allegations published against the company by these chiefs of Gwira and came out publicly to explain their innocence.

Nana Adwoa Affiah on behalf of kingmakers and accredited elders of the family who are the custodial owners of the area noted that the company has acquired its gold mining concession at Dominase in Gwira through legal, lawful and genuine means.

According to her, Nana Okobeng Amponsah's company has been mining gold resource on its 31.5 kilometers square legally acquired gold concession as being prescribed in the Minerals and Mining Act, 2006 (ACT 703) in Ghana.

She pointed out that "since Nana Okobeng Amponsah has legally secured a 31.5 kilometers square gold mining concession at Dominase and subsequently secured the legal environmental license and permit from the state mining regulatory institutions including Mineral Commission and Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), there were a clear evidences on the area that the miner has not violated the law and regulations regulating the activities of mining gold resources." Nana Adwoa Affiah who gave a historical perspective to the issue, challenged a gazette being held by Angama Tuagyan as the document that legitimizes his supposed rulership.

Nana Adwoa Affiah stated that the claim by Angama Tuagyan that the traditional council has banned Okobeng Mining Company Limited cannot hold as the council has taken no such decision.

Flanked by some accredited elders and kingmakers of Gwira, Nana Adwoa Affiah said they learnt with shock and utter dismay the said ban and stated without equivocation that Okobeng Mining Company Limited has not been banned from mining in its concession at Dominase in Gwira. Nana Adwoa Affiah stated that although the traditional authorities had given the land to the company to mine the gold, the company for the past two years now has stopped working on its legally acquired gold



Nana Adwoa Affiah, Paramount Queen-mother of Gwira Traditional Area

mining concession due to some challenges. But according to Nana Adwoa Affiah the Ghanaian illegal small scale miners including scores of chinese nationals have taken advantage of the that and managed to invade the concession of the company. She disclosed that these illegal miners had used earth moving machines to carry out their illegal gold mining activities on the company's concession without recourse to the law of the country. She pointed out that these allegations were the attempts being made by these chiefs and their paymasters who invited all these chiefs from the Gwira to Accra to provide evidence to their claims which she stated that they believe is non-existent.

The Queen-mother pointed out that they "were surprised to hear that Angama Tuagyan was currently leading the chiefs to attack the integrity of the Okoben Mining Company Limited, forgetting that he is the one who brought Nana Okoben Amponsah to Gwira to secure 31.5 kilometre square mining concession at Dominase in Gwira.

She mentioned that Angama Tuagyan seeing the legitimacy and truth in Nana Okoben Amponsah, he came to organize meeting to officially introduce Nana Okoben Amponsah to the various elders, and youths in the area.

She told the journalists that Nana Okoben Amponsah has the necessary legal and lawful documents covering the land at

Dominase and that he has been paying the mandatory royalties to the owners of the Gwira Stool periodically as it was stated in the contractual agreement with the land owners in the area. The queen mother given an account of the numerous social and infrastructure intervention contributions that Nana Okoben Amponsah has made to the development of the people in the Gwira community and that the business mogul deserves to be commended.

For his part, the Principal Head of the family, Nana Alumenza III said Angama Tuagyan has his chieftaincy status challenged in Senkodi High Court and that he has not been recognized as the Paramount chief of the Gwira Chief as far the traditions and customs of the area are concerned.

He added that the embattled chief has no chieftaincy and traditional capacity to ban Okoben Mining Company which has been mining legally and lawfully in the area for almost 25 years without violating Minerals and Mining Act, 2006 (ACT 703).

He said per the traditions and customs of the area, when the chief was installed, it is the prerogative of the Gwira Traditional Area to first give him chieftaincy gazette clearance forms to fill with the necessary endorsements of the registrar and some key chiefs and elders before such a chief can have power to present the forms to the National House of Chiefs in Kumasi for final approval.

No Imperialist Peoples, Only Imperialist States

By Adam Mayer

Adam Mayer praises a new collection, *Liberated Texts*, which includes rediscovered books on Africa's socialist intellectual history and political economy, looking at the startling, and frequently long ignored work of Walter Rodney, Karim Hirji, Issa Shivji, Dani Wadada Nabudere, A. M. Babu and Makhan Singh.

Liberated Texts is a magnificent, essential, exciting to me that feels like a bombshell. This incredibly rich collection is a selection that is deep, wide, as well as entertaining. The book focuses on twenty-one volumes from the previous one hundred years, with a geographical range from the UK, the US, Vietnam, Korea, the Peoples Republic of China, the Middle East, Ireland, Malaysia, Africa (especially East Africa), Europe, Latin America, and the former Soviet Union, focusing on books that are without exception, foundational.

The collection is nothing less than a truth pill: in composite form, the volume corrects world history that Howard Zinn's *The People's History of the United States* offered for the sterile, historical curriculum on domestic (US) history. The volume consists of relatively short reviews (written by a wide collection of young and old academics and activists from every corner of the globe) but together they reflect such a unified vision that I would recommend *Liberated Texts* as compulsory reading for undergraduate students (as well as graduates!) Although the text is a broad canvas it speaks to our age (despite some of the reviewed book having been written in the 1920s).

Each review is by default, a buried treasure. The writer of this very review is a middle-aged Hungarian, which means that some of the works and authors discussed were more familiar to me than they would be to others. For example, Anton Makarenko's name was, when the author grew up in the People's Republic of

Hungary, a household word. Makarenko's continued relevance for South America and the oppressed everywhere, as well as his rootedness in the revolutionary transformations of the Soviet experiment, are dealt with here marvellously by Alex Turrall (p. 289). In loving detail Turrall also discusses his hero the pedagogue Sukhomlinsky's love for Stalinist reforms of Soviet education (p. 334).

There is one locus, and one locus only, where death is given reign, perhaps even celebrated: in a Palestinian case (p. 133) the revolutionary horizons are firmly focused on the past, not on *any* kind of future. The entire problematic of Israeli society's recent ultra-right-wing turn (a terrible outcome from the left's point of view) is altogether missing here. Yet it is difficult to fault the authors or editors with this (after all, they painstakingly included an exemplary anti-Nazi Palestinian fighter in the text, p. 152) but it might be in order to challenge a fascination with martyrdom as a revolutionary option on the radical left. In every other aspect, *Liberated Texts* enlightens without embarrassment, and affirms life itself. Imperialism is taken on in the form of unresolved murders of Chinese researchers in the United States as a focus (p. 307), and in uncovering the diabolical machinations of the peer-review system – racist, classist, prestige-driven as it is (p. 305).

The bravery of this collection is such that we find few authors within academia's tenure track: authors are either emeriti, tenured, very young academics, or those dedicated to political work: actual grassroots organizers, comrades at high schools, or as language teachers. This has a *very beneficial* effect on the edited volume as an enterprise at the forefront of knowledge, indeed of creating new knowledge. Career considerations are absent entirely from this volume, in which thankfully even the whiff of mainstream liberalism is anathema.

I can say with certainty regarding the collection's Africanist chapters

that certain specialists globally, on African radical intellectual history, have been included: Leo Zeilig, Zeyad el-Nabolsy, Paul O'Connell, Noosim Naimasiah and Corinna Mullin all shed light on East African (as well as Caribbean) socialist intellectual history in ways that clear new paths in a sub-discipline that is underfunded, purposely confined to obscurity, and which lacks standard go-to syntheses especially in the English language (Hakim Adi's celebrated history on pan-Africanism and communism stops with the 1950s, and other works are in the making).

Walter Rodney, Karim Hirji, Issa Shivji, Dani Wadada Nabudere, A. M. Babu, Makhan Singh are the central authors dealt with here. Rodney is enjoying a magnificent and much deserved renaissance (but this collection deals with a lost collection of Rodney's 1978 Hamburg lectures by Zeilig!) Nabolsy shows us how Nyerere's Marxist opposition experienced Ujamaa, and Tanzanian 'socialism'. Nabudere – a quintessential organic intellectual as much as Rodney – is encountered in praxis as well as through his thought and academic achievements in a chapter by Corinna Mullin. Nabudere emerges as a towering figure whose renaissance might be in the making right at this juncture. Singh makes us face the real essence of British imperialism. Nabudere, Babu and even Hirji's achievements in analysing imperialism and its political economy are all celebrated in the collection.^[1]

Where Shivji focuses on empire in its less violent aspect (notably NGOs and human rights discourse) powerfully described by Paul O'Connell, Naimasiah reminds us that violence had been as constitutive to Britain's empire, as it has been to the United States (in Vietnam or in Korea). An fascinating chapter in the collection is provided by Marion Ettinger's review of Richard Boyle's *Mutiny in Vietnam*, an account based entirely on journalism, indeed impromptu testimony, of mutinous US soldiers tired of fighting for Vietnam's landlord class.

Many readers of this anthology will identify with those veterans

(since the collection appears in the English language) perhaps more than with East Asia's magnificent, conscious fighters also written about in the book. Even in armies of the imperialist core, humanity shines through. Simply put, there are no imperialist peoples, only imperialist states. Zeilig's nuanced take on this important matter is revealed in Rodney's rediscovered lectures. Also, the subtlety of class analysis in relation to workers versus peasants, and the bureaucratic bourgeoisie profiting from this constellation (p. 219) brings to mind the contradiction that had arguably brought down Thomas Sankara, Burkina Faso's anti-imperialist president who nevertheless found himself opposing working class demands. Rodney's politics in Guyana invited the same fate as Sankara, as we know.

Nabolsy's review on Hirji's *The Travails of a Tanzanian Teacher* touches on very interesting issues of Rodney's role especially in the context of Ujamaa and Nyerere's idiosyncratic version of African socialism. Nabolsy appreciates Nyerere efforts but analyses his politics with great candour: Ujamaa provided national unification, but failed to undermine Tanzania's dependency in any real sense.^[2] The sad realization of the failure of Tanzania's experience startles the reader with its implications for the history of African socialism.

On an emotional and personal level, I remain most endeared by the Soviet authors celebrated in this text. So Makarenko and Sukhomlinsky are both Soviet success stories and they demonstrate that this combination of words in no oxymoron, and neither is it necessarily, revisionist mumbo-jumbo. Their artificial removal from their historical context (which had happened many times over in Makarenko's case, and in one particular account when it comes to Sukhomlinsky) are fought against by the author with Leninist gusto.

Sukhomlinsky had not fought against a supposedly Stalinist education reform: *he built it*, and it became one of the most important achievements of the

country by the 1960s due partly to his efforts. The former educational pioneer did not harm children: he gave them purpose, responsibility, self-respect, and self-esteem. The implication of Sukhomlinsky and Makarenko is that true freedom constructs its own order, and that freedom ultimately thrives on responsibility, and revolutionary freedom.

As this collection is subtitled Volume One, it is my hope and expectation that this shall be the beginning of a series of books, dealing with other foundational texts, and even become a revolutionary alternative to *The London Review of Books* and the *New York Review of Books*, both of which still demonstrate how much readers crave review collections. Volumes like *Liberated Texts* might be the very future of book review magazines in changed form. A luta continua!

Louis Allday and Mahmoud Najib (eds) *Liberated Texts: Collected Reviews* (Volume One) Ebb Books, Oxford, 2022

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Notes
^[1] Pluto Press is preparing a volume on revolutionary movements in Africa for later in 2023, where many of the authors here will also have their own chapters, elaborating on the penetrating analyses of the texts reviewed in this collection.
^[2] Indeed, the author of this review has unpublished interviews with an agricultural engineer and socialist Hungary's agronomist who (after building collectivized agriculture in Hungary) went on in the early 1970s to help design Ujamaa villages in the country. This he did with the participation of Canadian and even West German technical advisors (to his own initial utter bewilderment as a Communist).

Ablakwa Blows Lid On How Presidency Spent GH¢191m In Nine Months ...Including GH¢15m On Car Tyres And Batteries

The presidency spent over GH¢191 million cedis in a space of nine months (i.e. January to September 2022) according to official documents analyzed by [Samuel Okudzeto Ablakwa](#).

The North Tongu Member of [Parliament](#) disclosed in a January 31, 2023 social media post that he was poring over the expenditure items, 10 of which he shared on his social media handles.

In his opinion, the expenditure classification and the quantum of monies expended showed that the government was not taking seriously the call to drastically control expenditure in the face of an economic crisis.

"I couldn't agree more with the revered and celebrated Ghana Catholic Bishops' Conference following their timely appeal to the Akufo-Addo/Bawumia government to "present a posture that is consistent with the fact that the country is in dire straits or crisis" and their further demand for "drastic government expenditure control"," Ablakwa wrote in his introduction.

This is the MP's full post including the list of ten items he presented; Samuel Okudzeto Ablakwa

I couldn't agree more with the revered and celebrated Ghana Catholic Bishops' Conference following their timely appeal to the Akufo-Addo/Bawumia government to "present a posture that is consistent with the fact that the country is in dire straits or crisis" and their further demand for "drastic government

expenditure control." Expenditure documents from the Presidency between January and September 2022 which I am currently reviewing firmly justify the call from the venerable Bishops — a plea, which to be honest, many others within civil society organizations, the NDC Caucus in Parliament and former President John Mahama have been ingeminating.

1) The President's "operational enhancement expenditure" (whatever that animal is) cost the suffering Ghanaian taxpayer a mind-boggling GHS59.4million (59,486,108.91);

2) The fuel bills paid at the presidency within the 9-month period under review cost the suffering Ghanaian taxpayer a colossal GHS51.1million. (51,109,137.86). Empirical analysis conducted reveals that government failed abysmally in its promise to slash fuel expenditure by 50%;

3) President Akufo-Addo's regional tours last year cost the suffering Ghanaian taxpayer a staggering GHS16.9million (16,906,272.45);

4) Tyres and Batteries for official vehicles cost the suffering Ghanaian taxpayer an unbelievable GHS15million (15,000,000.00);

5) The last Cabinet Retreat cost the suffering Ghanaian taxpayer a whopping GHS4.8million (4,800,000.00);

6) Payment for new vehicles cost



President Akufo-Addo attends a wedding in Accra months back

the suffering Ghanaian taxpayer GHS6.5million (6,500,000.00) — this is particularly distressing considering Finance Minister Ken Ofori-Atta's announcement of a ban on imported official vehicles in March last year;

7) Payment for Networking and ICT Equipment cost the suffering Ghanaian taxpayer an impressive GHS6.6million (6,600,000.00);

8) An additional expenditure on Office Equipment/Furniture and Fittings cost the suffering Ghanaian taxpayer a fantastic GHS7.07million (7,070,315.28);

9) Telecommunications and Internet Services from January to September alone cost the suffering Ghanaian taxpayer a shocking GHS20million (20,000,000.00);

10) Vice President Alhaji Bawumia appears determined not to be left out. His office has on three occasions between

January and September 2022 demanded what is simply described in the expenditure documents as release of funds for "URGENT AND OTHER EMERGENCIES ACTIVITIES" (wondering why emergencies and not emergency, and most importantly what exactly those emergencies and urgent matters were?). For the period under consideration and from GIFMIS Code 2210909 — a whopping GHS4.05million (4,050,227.18) of taxpayer funds from suffering Ghanaians was cumulatively released for the Vice President's "emergency activities."

Quite obviously, the Ghana Fire Service, NADMO and the National Ambulance Service would wish they were as resourced for real emergencies as the Vice President's office is. In the true spirit of transparency and accountability, I expect the

Vice President's office to immediately clarify to the Ghanaian people what those emergency expenditures are. I sincerely do hope that we aren't witnessing blatant abuse of incumbency where our taxes are being funneled into the Vice President's presidential campaign under the dubious claim of emergency activities.

Moving forward, the NDC Caucus in Parliament shall be paying keener attention to these strange expenditure patterns both in the President's office and the Vice President's office. Instructively, the 10-item expenditure summary above which amounts to a massive GHS191,522,061.68 represents a tiny sample selection from more than 250 expenditure items contained in the Expenditure Documents currently under parliamentary scrutiny.

The Akufo-Addo/Bawumia/Ofori-Atta government must definitely listen to the Ghana Catholic Bishops' Conference and indeed all Ghanaians by sincerely departing from the obscene profligacy, particularly at the ostentatious Presidency where we will expect true burden sharing and frugal leadership by example at this time of government-inflicted economic crisis.

For God and Country.
Ghana First.

BoG Directs Banks To Unilaterally Roll Over COCOBOD Investors' Bonds



It has been learnt that monies paid to investors who purchased cocoa bills on maturity on Thursday, January 19, 2023 have been withdrawn from individual investors' accounts without their consent.

COCOBOD issued the bill to raise funds. Many had bought

the bills expecting to be paid back their monies with interest on Thursday January 19, 2023. JoyNews understands the monies were actually paid on Thursday, January 19, 2023, only to be reversed on Friday, January 20, 2023.

Reports say, the banks have all day been under pressure from affected customers.

The banks have pointed to a directive from the Bank of Ghana ordering them to unilaterally roll over the bonds without first seeking the

consent of investors.

In an interview with JoyNews, one of the affected investors shared his ordeal.

"It is cocoa bill and matured yesterday [Thursday]. When it matured, the funds were deposited into the account and I decided to go to the bank today [Friday], when I went there today, the money had been taken out of the account," he said.

According to him, when he queried about the withdrawal, he was informed that "it is a

directive that has come for all the funds to be automatically rolled over for the next six months."

The affected investor expressed shock at the development since the money was rolled over without his consent.

"We were told that T-Bills were not going to be touched. If T-Bills were not going to be touched Cocoa bills were even safer because they are cocoa bonds instruments so I was just

shocked."

He added that he was surprised that COCOBOD will default in payment. He noted that he had plans for the money.

"I don't know what I can even do about it because it is something that I had planned that I was going to pay my wife's fees with it. Now I don't even know how to go and break the news to my wife, because I told her that it was going to happen," he said in a disappointed tone.