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EDITORIAL

IS THE N.L.C. DECREERING ITS OWN ECLIPSE?

IN LAUNCHING the first Ghana "Press Week" at the Ghana Institute of Journalism in Accra on the 23 October 1967, Brigadier A. A. Afrifa made a speech which is full of hints for the future of this country. Brigadier Afrifa refreshingly raised a number of very important political issues: that politics and not economics must have primacy in our national calculations this year; that the NLC has not come to any conclusion on the question of disqualifying certain categories of officers of the proscribed C.P.P. (thus contradicting Gen. Ankrah and making the NLC speak with discordant voices); thirdly and most courageously, that the 24th February Revolution has lost its momentum and that it is about time the soldiers returned to the barracks and Ghanaians started "thinking seriously about a return to civilian rule"; finally, he warned that "Ghanaians are becoming too tribalistic in their outlook". Brigadier Afrifa devoted some time to defending the appointment of Dr. Busia as the Chairman of the Centre for Civic Education. As a member of the NLC Brigadier Afrifa was committed to defending this appointment, even though Dr. Busia may find the defence a little embarrassing. However, the significance of the speech lies elsewhere.

Brigadier Afrifa is right in emphasising that our society is tending towards disintegration because we are becoming too "tribalistic in outlook". Careerists and men on the make who were frustrated under the old regime are exploiting the centrifugal forces of tribalism to achieve their ambitions. But it must be emphasised that the NLC should be squarely blamed, for they have not only succumbed to such weak-minded men but also have failed to provide the leadership which makes it impossible for tribalism to have free play. Tribalism is evil and has been, and continues to be, the bane of African politics. All our national leaders—Casely Hayford, Danquah and even Nkrumah—always resisted the temptation to pander to tribal sentiments. Future generations of Ghanaians will hardly forgive the NLC if they ever allow tribalism to disintegrate our society.

On civilian rule, Brigadier Afrifa was being faithful to the original NLC promise to hand over power to civilians "as soon as possible". This challenge thrown by the Brigadier to Ghanaians to put the emphasis on politics should be taken up seriously for the whole speech shows the frustration of one of the authentic architects of the coup groping his way through the intricacies of modern government. With the death of Gen. Kotoka it is hardly wise for the enthusiasm and idealism of a close, popular ally to evaporate. This may

SUPPLEMENT

The Future of Politics in Ghana

By

Brig. A. A. Afrifa

spell danger for the nation.

All this implies that the Constitutional Commission and all Ghanaians connected, in any way, with speeding up the return to civilian rule are to intensify their efforts in this direction. All those Ghanaians who are associated with NLC, and have consequently become much more impressive personalities than before should realise that this is our second "try" at political stability and progress.

We cannot afford to fail. Stability, progress and economic growth are grinding to a complete halt in Africa, as the evidence shows in all black African countries. The forces of fascism and reaction are becoming firmly entrenched in South-Central Africa. For the more historically-minded African the fundamental of political organization, approach to African unity and the models of African economic development have to be reformulated. The soldiers in power in Africa have been sincere enough to assert that they are now involved in rescue operations. If they now sincerely believe that the rescue operations are coming to an end, we have to take them on their words and begin to undertake the more fundamental task of planning for economic progress and political stability. It is a crude over-simplification to say that we are not ready for civilian rule because we are still "corrupt and deceitful". Strong civilian political leadership can stamp out these evils.

On the disqualification of ex-C.P.P. functionaries, the Brigadier's speech shows that the NLC members have not come to a firm decision. The question of disqualification is not the issue at the moment; what is important is that two important members of the NLC hold different views as to whether ex-C.P.P. functionaries should be disqualified or not. Gen. Ankrah is reported to have said in London that disqualification is ruled out. But Brigadier Afrifa's speech seems to be biased in favour of disqualification. So far the NLC has worked admirably as a team, and this seems to be the only public evidence of sharp disagreement. It is better for civilians to disagree than for soldiers to do so.

We are not attaching exaggerated importance to this speech. The speech needs to be seriously considered as a speech of great national and historical importance for three reasons. First, he knows what he is talking about for he is right in the inner counsels of the NLC. Secondly, he is one of the idealistic and authentic architects of the 24th February coup. Finally, since he began giving his "State House Speeches" he is fast becoming not only the public relations officer of

the NLC but also the spokesman of the NLC. He has hardly been contradicted in any of his public utterances.

It is to the eternal credit of the Ghana Journalists Association that they made it possible for Brigadier Afrifa to engage in this dialogue with the nation at the appropriate time.

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Africa

LIBERIA'S ROLE IN AFRICA

By
Yaw Saffu

LIBERIA, more than Ethiopia, has been the object of intense emotional and sentimental effusion on the part of several African leaders. Liberia is the one black country, truly black, and sub-Saharan, which has existed as a *de jure* independent and sovereign entity for any length of time. Until very recently, generally, until the turn of the sixties, Ethiopian's abroad tended to raise doubts in the minds of most people about their identification with Black Africa. Liberia, on the other hand, did not have to affirm or deny any such identification: She is as black as they come. And that fact alone could elicit from people like Azikiwe, Nkrumah and Toure some of the most emotionally-charged eulogies for a symbol that one can associate with normally hard-headed politicians.

Toure

Sekou Toure, for instance, is, admittedly, an intensely emotional man. With him, large, flamboyant emotional gestures appear almost congenital. But Toure is also very shrewd about power. He is not likely to be easily deceived about where power lies, in any political relationship. Yet, he allowed himself to utter the following: "In the history of this new Africa which has just come to the world, Liberia has a pre-eminent place because she has been for each one of our peoples, the living proof that our liberty was possible and nobody can ignore the fact that the Star which marks the Liberian National Emblem has been hanging more than a century—the sole star which illuminated our night of dominated peoples". The largely unexamined symbolic role which Liberia is alleged to have played in African history is so important to some people that even Sekou Toure can permit himself the indulgence of glossing over the virtually client status which Liberia has occupied all through her one hundred and over years of independence.

That Liberia managed to survive the concerted and determined efforts of European powers to partition and subjugate the whole of Africa must certainly be regarded as an impressive achievement. However, mere survival, as the sole achievement of over a hundred years of history, seems to me to deserve little praise.

I passed through Liberia in July 1964, from one end of the country to the other. However, I cannot pretend to know the country at first

hand. But one book, R. L. Buell's *Liberia: A Century of Survival*, (Penn. Univ. Press, 1947) and two articles, one by George Dalton, *History, Politics and Economic Development in Liberia* (Northwestern Univ. Progr. of African Studies, Reprint Series No. 3) and the other by J. Gus Liebenow, "Liberia" in Guendolen Carter, (ed.) *African One Party States*, (Chicago University Press) seem to me a fairly adequate basis for a modest indictment against Liberia; for a reconsideration of her allegedly inspiring role in Africa's history.

I find it particularly significant that all the three Authors I have cited are Americans. This is because it is America, her Governments, and a large Finance Corporation shielding itself under the umbrella provided by American Governments, that has been in the uncommendable position of a Patron State to Liberia. American arms helped Liberia to preserve her territorial integrity. But they also helped the small Americo-Liberian oligarchy put down Native revolts, for instance, the Kru rebellions of 1915, and 1931-32 and, consequently, Liberia has not enjoyed a single day of a democratically-elected government.

Liberia's independence was generally recognized in 1847. Yet, in 1879, the French Government offered to place Liberia under its protection! In 1919, Liberia's delegation to the Paris Peace Conference consisted of both Liberian and American nationals. I suppose as a *quid pro quo* for the U.S. grant of \$18,000 which enabled Liberia to send the delegation. Between 1921 and 1926 the U.S. worked to oust all other nationals from Liberia in favour of exclusive American control of Liberian Affairs, both domestic and foreign. In 1922, for instance, Liberia had to accept 22 American officials, in whose hands she agreed to place the collection of all Liberian revenue, the administration of native and military affairs and the control of virtually all government expenditures in return for a \$5 million loan. When Liberia showed signs of resisting this thrust at her independence, the U.S. threatened that it might be necessary for her "to reconsider her objections to the establishment of a mandate over Liberia"

American-Liberian Relations

Again, in 1925, the U.S. government blackmailed Liberia, this time, into granting extensive and ultra generous concessions to Firestone to produce "rubber and other agricultural products". President Barclay of Liberia showed signs of making the negotiations for the concession tough for Firestone. Then, meanwhile, there was a boundary dispute between Liberia and France (in

Guinea). The American minister in Liberia wrote on July 2, 1925, to President Barclay: "It is believed that an indication from the U.S. to France that the American Government would look with disfavour upon any further aggression by the French Republic . . . would once and for all put an end to a long standing difficulty and settle a question of territorial sovereignty." The U.S. Government, true to its word, used its good offices with success: the Liberian Government came to terms.

Going hand in hand with the Firestone concession, was a Firestone subsidiary Company loan, a loan from the Finance Corporation of America to the Government of Liberia. On these transactions, R. L. Buell has commented: "The grant of land made by the Liberian government to Mr. Firestone was more generous than he could have secured in any other part of the world. And the terms of the 1926 loan were severe". Service charges on this loan and the salaries of the advisers who came with the loan amounted to a fixed charge of nearly \$270,000 a year. In 1928, it is estimated that this constituted 20 per cent of the Government's revenue.

To be fair to the Americans, it must be said here that some of her enormous influence over Liberia was sometimes exerted to the good of the broad majority of Liberians. For instance, the U.S. used her influence to stop the slavery in Liberia, in the 1920's and 30's. It is one of the 'cruelest' ironies of history that the Americo-Liberians, considering their background, indulged in slavery. A 1930 League of Nations International Commission enquiring into Slavery in Liberia reported that slavery and forced labour were indeed indulged in extensively by Americo-Liberians, including some occupying the highest offices in the land. The condemnation of the report was really wholesale, and uninhibited in language: "Intimidation has apparently been and is the keyword of the government's native policy. Not only have the native village classes been intimidated and terrorized by a display of force, cruelty and suppression, but the chiefs themselves, men whom the people not so many years ago looked up to . . . have been so systematically humiliated, degraded and robbed of their power that now they are mere go-betweens, paid by the government to coerce and rob the people."

The enormous influence of the U.S. over Liberian affairs was the result largely of two things: (a) the need of the rulers of Liberia for American arms to resist European imperialist expansion, and also native rebellions (b) the excessive impecuniosity of the Liberian Treasury. The Liberian Government was constantly hovering around the

brink of bankruptcy. The two causes may not be unconnected.

The need for American support to preserve the territorial integrity from European "Marauders" one must admit, was inevitable; and it does not seem to have had either a necessary or historical connexion with the second cause. But the need of the Americo-Liberian ruling class for American support to keep the native in his place may have had something to do with the perpetual "brokage" of the Liberian Government.

Ruling Class and the Indigenes

The attitude of the Americo-Liberian ruling class to the native Liberians was profoundly like the attitude of the worst colonialists, i.e. the settler colonialists. Like the latter, the Americo-Liberians were an alien minority, perpetually haunted by the deluge which would sweep them away as soon as the least crack appeared in the dam holding the disaster at bay. This fear can partly explain the lack of development in the long period of stagnation in Liberia. Development would mean greater consciousness on the part of the natives of their right to participate in government, and at the same time, greater difficulty, on the part of the rulers to deny this right. In place of colour which the Afrikaaners in South Africa, for instance, use to deny the native of this right to participate meaningfully in national politics, what could the Americo-Liberians employ? The lack of development obviously had something to do with the constant financial embarrassment of the Liberian government.

But a connexion between settler attitude and the lack of money may also be found in the absence of democracy. The natives were effectively prevented from intervening in both the political and the governmental processes. A self-perpetuating oligarchy of the most favoured Americo-Liberians enjoyed power without interruption. The true whig Party has not lost power in Liberia since 1847. Government of a whole country became virtually the family property of not more than half a dozen families. Corruption, nepotism, inefficiency and all the other cankers, which John Gunther so inimitably portrayed in his usual journalistic style of a caustic wit, are the result.

Liberia, in my view, was not exactly the inspiring antecedent of modern Africa that people have made out, either in its domestic affairs or in international affairs. On the international scene, Liberia was, most of the time, the very epitome of a client state. On the domestic side, unfreedom and stagnation seemed its basic features. If ever a genuine adulation was misplaced, it seems to me that Liberia is a case in point.

The Economy

ANIMAL HEALTH AND DISEASE CONTROL IN GHANA

By
E. N. W. Oppong

SOMETIME before the beginning of the rainy season this year the last herds of cattle in Ghana were vaccinated against rinderpest for the third time in three consecutive years. This marked the end in Ghana of a joint international disease control venture, Joint Project 15. The aim of this project is to control and ultimately eradicate rinderpest from that part of the African continent where the disease is enzootic. The phase which has just ended in Ghana involved the Republics of Togo, Ghana, Upper Volta and Ivory Coast. The significance of this to Ghana is that a major disease, one of the foremost, in limiting the cattle population in these places has been brought under control. Ghana in the nineteen fifties was able to completely control the disease within her borders, but the disease was reintroduced in the early nineteen sixties.

The work of controlling diseases of animals in Ghana devolves on a small band of dedicated men who in spite of the excellent work they have done since the inception of the Animal Health Department in 1910, are little known outside the circle of livestock owners.

The cattle population of Ghana (Gold Coast), in 1930 was only about 137,500, due mainly to the devastating effect of rinderpest which was responsible for as much as 40 per cent to 60 per cent mortality a year in the national herd. With increasing veterinary activity based on the small Veterinary Laboratory at Pong Tamale, the ravages of rinderpest were contained, and the hundreds of outbreaks of the disease which meant hundreds of deaths each year, were reduced. By 1946 the cattle population had increased to 300,000 and in 1966 to over 500,000, that is, by 118 per cent between 1930 and 1946 and 66 per cent between 1946 and 1966. Up to 1955 it was almost impossible to keep poultry in any large numbers to make it commercially worthwhile due to the fatal poultry disease known as Newcastle disease. But, since then, with increasing veterinary interest and activity, it is now possible to set up mammoth hatcheries and large poultry units in the country. One important result of this is that the country no longer imports table eggs and, probably soon, will not import day-old birds. These are very impressive achievements indeed by

any standard, which unfortunately have not been publicised by the Animal Health Division.

Agricultural Disorganization

In 1961 two events caused the Animal Health a very severe setback. One was the new salary structure which the government introduced making the veterinary surgeon in Ghana comparatively the least paid by the standards of most countries. The other event was the decision of making a technician the head of the division over the professional veterinary surgeons under some of whom unfortunately the new head had been serving. The results of these two episodes were the resignation of 16 experienced expatriate veterinary surgeons within 14 months, to be followed by that of 5 of the remaining 12 Ghanaian veterinary surgeons in the next 12 months. Such was the situation that when Ghana accepted to participate in the Joint Project 15, the United States of America had to be approached for help in procuring the services of two Canadian veterinary surgeons to supervise the scheme. It must be recorded to the credit of the gallant Canadians that they rose above the occasion and did an excellent job of work.

In spite of the setbacks, the division carried on with its work of disease control admirably. In the chaos that followed the reorganisation of the country's agriculture in 1962 and the resignation of a large number of the professional staff, the Animal Health's Livestock Farms established, some as long ago as 1926, were given to a newly created Animal Husbandry Division with the excuse that animal production took precedence over animal health and disease control and that the Animal Health Division had done nothing to increase livestock production in the country. Unfortunately, top ranking advisers of the ex-President who should know better supported this fallacy. The United Ghana Farmers Co-operatives and the State Farms also managed to obtain and hoard large stocks of drugs, some of them dangerous for use, without veterinary advice or supervision. Even to-day such drugs are still being freely used without the knowledge of the Animal Health Division, the Government's own division created to handle such problems. This practice, if not stopped, will have serious effects on animal disease control as well as human health in the future.

Importation of Large Numbers of Livestock

The country was saved from a major disaster by the coup, for cattle were going to be imported

in large numbers at considerable cost into this country from areas in Africa known to be enzootic for fatal livestock diseases such as Rift Valley fever, East Coast fever, etc, which are yet unknown in this country. Not only would most of the imported animals have died on arrival but they would also have introduced their numerous diseases and parasites into our own animals, which have no experience whatsoever of those diseases and would have died in large numbers. The Animal Health Division of the Ministry is in no way ready to cope with such a problem, apart from the fact that, once introduced into this country, such diseases will be permanent.

Even now one still hears of mumbblings from certain quarters that the livestock population in Ghana could be doubled in a few years if a few more million New Cedis were made available for large scale importations. One hopes that this dangerous approach will be resisted, for we have the experience of not long ago when nearly all the sheep imported into this country against veterinary advice died shortly after arrival.

With rinderpest, a killing disease, now under control, other diseases in the country that suppress to a lesser degree the livestock population, but to a greater extent their health and well-being, must naturally be tackled by the Animal Health authorities. To be able to do this the scientists of the division will require proper facilities such as their own well-equipped laboratories and livestock farms as well as adequate funds. One of the unfortunate decisions of the former regime was the establishment of research organisations independent of the government departments responsible for the initiation and execution of policies pertaining to their work. Research into animal diseases therefore was not within the purview of the Chief Veterinary Officer of the Government but rather under the Academy of Sciences who did not for instance number any of the pressing cattle or poultry diseases in their research schedules. The government's own veterinary officers are the best people to know which livestock disease problems need priority in research and control. The Animal Health Division of the Ministry of Agriculture should therefore be given the facilities and the responsibility which is rightly theirs to carry out research and control of animal diseases.

One of the setbacks to the Animal Health Division has been resolved, and a professional head of the division appointed; it is hoped that the other obstacle to recruitment, that is, the unattractive salary offered to the veterinary offi-

cers, will be improved. This should attract young Ghanaian men and women into the Division. It is hoped too that the present archaic policy of the division to offer scholarships to male Ghanaians only, thus excluding women, will be debunked for there is no valid excuse to justify the continuing exclusion of Ghanaian women from the profession.

Now that sanity seems to have been restored it is hoped that utopian policies will be carefully screened. It is hoped too that when policies affecting research in Animal Health and Diseases or involving large-scale importation of farm animals are being evolved, and decisions regarding these are being taken, the qualified government veterinary officers will be consulted.

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Education

AFRICAN UNIVERSITIES AND THE WESTERN TRADITION

By

L. H. Ofofu Appiah

AFRICA, especially the northern portion, was in the mainstream of the ancient academic tradition long before the Muslims established a university in Spain. The ancient academic tradition in Asia, Africa and Europe stressed the importance of the celebrated teacher and libraries and scholars. It was in this tradition that Plato established his Academy and Aristotle his Lyceum. It was in this tradition that the famous library at Alexandria was built. The Muslims began a new tradition by building upon the ruins of the Greco-Roman civilisation and saved some of the learning of the Greeks and the Romans from oblivion. The Muslim tradition of university education was not confined to North Africa. It reached as far as Timbuktoo in the Middle Ages. But by the beginning of the 19th century when Africa had become the hunting ground of European adventurers, the tradition had ceased to have any influence outside North Africa. In West Africa, where contact with Western Europe had been longest, no effort was made by the independent kingdoms and states to imitate the educational system of Europe and Asia and North Africa before the era of colonisation. So by the beginning of the 19th century when the new era begins, there was no academic or scholastic tradition in the sense in which we find it in certain parts of Asia which the European had earlier colonised.

Missionary Lead

The long association of West Africa with Europe however, made it possible for groups of literates brought up in the European educational tradition to emerge, and it was largely through the efforts of some of those men that the idea of establishing a university in West Africa was accepted. But no university institution could have been established anywhere in West Africa if the European missionaries had not taken the lead in education at all levels. In criticising the type of education which Africans have been receiving for over a century, we must not lose sight of the fact that the initiative came from foreigners, and that, with all the goodwill in the world, they could only give Africans what they themselves possessed.

Africanus Horton

The first of the three Africans to press for the

establishment of a university in West Africa was a Creole from Sierra Leone called James Africanus Beale Horton, who was a medical doctor. He proposed in 1861 that the British government should establish a medical school in Sierra Leone to train young Africans in the preliminaries of medicine before they went up to Britain to continue their studies. He thought they would make better progress if they were taught by Africans. One feature of his scheme was that the students should attain some proficiency in mathematics, Latin and Greek before studying Anatomy, Physiology, Botany (of Africa), Natural History, Hospital Practice and Pharmacy. His suggestion was not accepted. But he later campaigned for a University for West Africa and urged the government to turn the College at Fourah Bay into a University. He proposed that several subjects should be taught at the University, but did not mention any specifically African studies. He did stress, however, the study of languages and the physical sciences. He is an apostle of the importation of the purely European curriculum to Africa and he has had many followers in the English and French speaking countries in Africa until the present day. For example, the study of Classics in West Africa dates from this period. It did not, however, exclude the study of the natural sciences and mathematics, as some people still imagine.

Edward Blyden

The second of the three Africans was Edward Blyden, who was an apostle of a distinctive African University. It was largely to prevent his idea of a university from gaining acceptance with the British government that the Church Missionary Society decided to turn Fourah Bay College into an institution affiliated to the University of Durham. Blyden had taught at Liberia College, and there conceived the idea of a distinctive African university which he tried to sell to the Governor, Pope Hennessy. It was not only to give advanced instruction, but also to "free the whole educational system from the grip of the despotic, Europeanising influence which had warped and crushed the negro mind". It was to restore the negro's self-respect and make him develop qualities required for running self-governing institutions. Among the subjects to be taught were Greek and Latin, for the curious reason that the Classics would give the negro "nourishment without race poison"! Arabic was to be taught, as well as oral traditions and music—subjects which have now found a place in the curricular of Institutes of African Studies after nearly a century. Blyden's ideas were opposed by the missionaries, and to prevent

the setting up of what they regarded as a godless institution, the Church Missionary Society applied to Durham University College for affiliation with Fourah Bay in 1875. The relationship with Durham began in 1876 when the University College, Durham, at a Convocation of the 16th of May, passed unanimously the resolution to affiliate the Fourah Bay College, Sierra Leone. The main feature of the affiliation was that the students of Fourah Bay College on matriculation were considered full members of Durham University and took the same examinations. There was no adaptation of syllabuses. The subjects studied were mainly the Greek and Latin Classics, Christian Theology, Mathematics, History, French and German. Natural Sciences did not feature much on the curriculum.

J. E. Casely Hayford

The third of the Africans to press for a university for West Africa was the Gold Coast politician, J. E. Casely Hayford. His aim was to establish a university free from foreign influences, and one in which the vernaculars would be the medium of instruction. Casely Hayford was more interested in the political emancipation of the Africans, and thought this could be achieved best by having a different type of university. The Mfantsipim National University was the result of the agitation started by the Aborigines Rights Protection Society. It was a university to be affiliated not only with the University of London, but "in working correspondence with some of the best teaching institutions in Japan, England, Germany and America". His idea of Mfantsipim University was later transferred to his proposed University for the Gold Coast. The main feature of that university was the use of the vernacular in teaching, and an emphasis on the important historical role played by Africans in the world's history. Though no action was taken by the British government to establish the type of university that Casely Hayford wanted before the end of the First World War, the idea of establishing institutions of higher learning in West Africa was not abandoned.

19th Century Education

Education in Africa in the 19th century was mainly in the hands of missionaries. In the early 20th century, however, the governments of the various territories began to take an increasing interest in education at all levels. At the end of the First World War an Advisory Committee on Education for the Colonies was established under the chairmanship of W. Ormsby-Gore, and in 1925 it published a memorandum which outlined

British policy on education. It stated that government reserved to itself "the general direction of educational policy and the supervision of all Educational Institutions". It asserted that "education should be adapted to the mentality, aptitudes, occupations and traditions of the various peoples, conserving as far as possible all sound and healthy elements in the fabric of their social life". It urged that suitable textbooks should be prepared for Geography and History for Africa. It also referred cautiously to higher education by stating that "as resources permit, the door of advancement through higher education in Africa must be increasingly opened for those who by character, ability and temperament show themselves fitted to profit by such education". It was during this period that the Hussey report on Makerere in Uganda was submitted to the Colonial Office, and Guggisberg's proposals for the founding of Achimota College in the Gold Coast were approved. Fraser, whom Guggisberg appointed to head the new College, planned to build an institution starting from kindergarten to the degree stage. He proposed that at the University end the College should be linked with the University of London. The proposal met with some opposition in the Committee, and a compromise was reached by accepting the London University standard of matriculation and intermediate examinations, and postponing a decision on the degree courses. When the time came in 1932 for a similar decision to be taken on Makerere, the arguments about adaptation and importation were repeated again. But the question was then referred in 1933 by the Advisory Committee to sub-committee under the chairmanship of Sir James Currie.

Currie Report

The Currie report, which was never published, is a very imaginative document. It made certain recommendations which were adopted in modified form after the Second World War. It recommended that universities should be developed in the British territories. Achimota and Yaba with Fourah Bay should serve West Africa, Gordon College and Makerere should serve the Sudan and East Africa. It recommended an initial affiliation with a British University, particularly with London. "We envisage", it states, "a stage when the African institutions in question would be recognised schools of the University of London, their teachers being recognised teachers and working for the London internal degree." The report shows the concern of the committee for the social, political and economic advancement of Africans, though there is no talk of self-govern-

ment for Africans. "We believe," it states, "that the passion of the African for higher education, properly guided, may prove a boon to the economic, social and cultural development of the country, and an advantage, support and ornament to British rule. Neglected it must create social and political confusion." The report expresses concern over the fact that Africans have to go abroad for higher education, and hopes the trend can be checked by establishing local institutions. It is also concerned over the education of women at the higher level, since they cannot be expected to go abroad in the same numbers. It also suggests that "medicine, engineering, agriculture, veterinary work, commerce and the applied sciences generally, have special claims for consideration together with law." Purely academic subjects would come later after a good base in economic stability had been established. Although the report was circulated to the governors of East and West Africa for their views, they did not give much encouragement to the proposals, and it was not till early 1936 that all the replies were received. The difference between the attitude of "the men on the spot" and those at home on higher education was so great that the recommendations were found unacceptable, especially in West Africa.

De La Warr

It was in Uganda, however, that the Governor welcomed a review of the work of Makerere, which had, by 1934, reached the standard of the London matriculation. The Colonial Office agreed to appoint a commission under Earl De La Warr in 1936 to examine the whole question of the future development of Makerere. The De La Warr report was published in 1937. Although it deals mainly with higher education in Uganda, it is a very important document, and the first published document on the British Government's policy for university development in tropical Africa. It stresses adaptation in its opening statement by quoting Ormsby-Gore's view that "one of the essential aims not only of every university, but of every school, should be to preserve and enhance indigenous local tradition and culture." Recognising the changes brought about by contact with European culture in Africa, the report states: "The infiltration of European culture, whether good or bad, has irretrievably occasioned a new and additional state of mind . . . Is it optimistic to believe that this enhanced awareness of the nature of our difficulties . . . may enable Governments to plan an educational system which will give to Africa the opportunity to fashion an indigenous culture which would be no less African because it represented a synthesis of both African

and European elements?" It stressed the need to teach English as a foreign language, and the inclusion of African studies in Arts courses. Medical studies, it urged, should be concerned with local problems.

Though the Commission did not receive much encouragement from the East African governments on the necessity for establishing a university institution in Uganda, and though secondary education was far less advanced in East Africa than in West Africa, the Commission did not waver in its conviction that Makerere must become a university college.

It recommended high entry standards, and suggested an East African School leaving certificate of comparable standards with the British one. Unlike West Africa, the Commission rejected the teaching of Latin in East Africa. "The conception of Latin as a magic privilege which is being withheld from the African is one which should be resisted," it proclaimed. It recommended that Makerere should begin with its own diplomas to be followed later by London external degrees and finally by its own degrees. It made a bold suggestion by recommending the American system of Junior Year Abroad Study. It also recommended co-operation between Achimota, Fourah Bay, Khartoum, Makerere and Yaba in approaching examining bodies and Universities in Great Britain with a view to securing special syllabuses and concessions. The Colonial Office approved the report and financial aid was given to the Higher College at Makerere. But the authorities in Uganda stressed the vocational needs of the country in carrying out the recommendations, so academic courses were neglected, and African Studies were not introduced. Thus, after the Second World War, when the University Colleges were established, Makerere lagged behind in academic subjects, especially in foreign languages.

(To be concluded)

To our Contributors

We would like to remind our prospective contributors about some of the rules governing contributions:—

The MAXIMUM length of articles is 4 pages quarto, typed double-space; letters should not exceed 1½ pages quarto, and should be exclusive to the "Legon Observer".

Lengthy contributions are likely to be delayed or not published at all. Contributions not exclusive to the L.O. will not be published.—Editor.

Observer Notebook

American Negroes, Western Radicals, African Students and Nkrumah's Overthrow

OUR correspondent who has just returned from America, Canada and Britain enjoyed the stimulating intellectual company of American Negroes, Western Radicals and African students. To Western radicals, especially in America, Canada and Britain, Nkrumah's overthrow is one of the greatest setbacks to the black man's historical attempt to raise living standards to assert his dignity, human worth and value. The coup d'état of 24th February 1966 is not only unintelligible to them but a stab in the back of all those who believe in the pride of "Africanness". To the American negro—the left wing—Nkrumah's anti-western, anti-colonial, anti-imperialist rhetoric and stand fitted in perfectly with his own struggle for equality and dignity in America. Nkrumah was continuing the work of Marcus Garvey and W. E. B. du Bois—men who did so much to give the black man confidence in himself. To them Nkrumaism has to be seen as a universal phenomenon and not as a Ghanaian phenomenon. To Western Radicals Nkrumah was trying to change the feudal basis of Ghanaian society, infusing some measure of egalitarianism in our essential colonial, political and economic institutions, and was also a tower of strength for their radical commitments in their various countries. To say that Nkrumah failed in this enterprise is to make their positions in their countries intellectually uncomfortable. However, this second group is much more amenable to evidence of Nkrumah's failure. African students, especially those who come from countries which are distant from Ghana, like East Africa, are surprised by the coup because to them Nkrumah was the tide of African history—the leader of a country that was the first to win independence, the leader who popularised the concept of African Unity—which no African leader seriously questions. To overthrow such a man is to turn the tide of African history. Furthermore, most African students come up, every now and then, against subtle and open forms of racial discrimination. On such occasions it is very easy for them to merge their reactions—which are perfectly understandable—in Nkrumah's militant Africanism, anti-Westernism (hardly distinguishable from "anti whiteness") and anti-imperialism (also hardly distinguishable from "anti-whitism"). On occasions when these students confront what they construe as racialism they begin to develop a nostalgia for Nkrumah. He

gave them psychological consolation whenever he uttered militant anti-western slogans and doctrines. If evidence of corruption and mismanagement and megalomania are opposed to this attitude, the sharp riposte of the students is that Nkrumah should be seen in African terms; he is the child of the African Revolution and Ghana is part but not the whole of Africa.

The common ground of all these three groups who are opposed to the Ghanaian overthrow of Nkrumah is that they all take an ideological position. A position of ideology is not easily amenable to evidence of any kind. It is divorced from reality. An effective answer to all these groups is to take an equally ideological stand based on the facts of the Ghanaian situation, and which can provide an intellectually attractive alternative ideology, based on the facts, incorporating some elements of the ideological positions of these groups and more appropriate to post-independence Africa.

The Problem Car

GHANA is dotted with many Nkrumaist white elephants—Job 600, Peduase Lodge, Black Star Square and many unused factory buildings. But, perhaps, the most uncalled for of all is the 1966 Model 53A Lincoln Continental Saloon Limousine (lengthened for 7 passengers) Nkrumah ordered from the Hess and Eisenhardt Company of Cincinnati, Ohio, U.S.A. The car cost \$47,275.00 (about NC48,000). Our Correspondent examined this car in a garage near the Ghana Embassy in Washington D.C. In appearance it is not an extraordinary Lincoln Continental; it is not very much different from, for instance, the Lincoln Continentals used as Airport Limousines in America or those which upper middle class Americans own. However, the fittings, the comfort accessories and the interior upholstery make it an unnecessary luxurious car. The fittings and comfort accessories in the rear compartment include television, comfort air conditioning and heating, dictating machine, writing desk, front to rear speaking system, AM-FM radio, beverage compartment, beverage cooler and ice storage, and silver beverage service. All windows of the rear compartment are fitted with $\frac{3}{4}$ in. bullet resisting multiplexed glass for personal protection and silence. Retractable side steps are located under the car ahead of the front doors and may be used for traffic control guides or personal body guards. There are two rear steps fitted at rear bumpers for special service, and there is a concealed

revolver compartment in the Rear Door Arm Rest. The Limousine Partition—a one piece, stationary clear glass partition which separates the driver and the passenger compartments, the tinted special size rear side door glass, the tinted back window glass, the rear Quarter Glass and the chrome frame, tinted Centre Body Glass are all bullet-resisting. The beverage tray contains glasses, bottles and a water container. It is an eight cylinder car with Automatic Turbo Transmission and an engine of 462 cubic inches (86 octane).

The technical data apart, the car is now deposited in a garage and the Ghana Government is paying \$30.00 (about NC30.00) a week in garage charges. The Ghana Government is now trying to sell the car as part of our new "austerity" policy. However, we are finding it difficult to sell the "luxury" car. The highest offer to date—so our correspondent was authoritatively informed—is \$15,000.00 (or about NC15,000.00) This is a serious offer; there have also been humorous offers. A gentleman offered to buy the car at \$5.00 (about NC5.00)!! We are finding it extremely difficult to dispose of our "problem" car at an economic price, and it appears highly probable that the car is going to depreciate further, for 1968 models came on the American market in September when our correspondent was in Washington. By all accounts then, it does not appear that we can ever sell this "Nkrumaist white elephant" at an economic price. What then do we do with it? It seems the best way out of this problem is to air-freight the car to Ghana, make it a museum piece and charge every Ghanaian who wants to see the car 30np. The car can be on show in all the regions and we can all pay for it, we are sure, in a matter of months; after paying for it we can either sell it at any price or leave it at the Ghana Science Museum as a concrete "museum piece" evidence of Nkrumah's megalomania and folly. I am sure Ghanaians will enjoy seeing some of the excesses and folly of the dictator they helped to emerge and dominate the country for fifteen years. In the words of the manufacturers of the car, "... it is an excitingly different, one-of-a-kind car—not a production car but custom-built to the world's highest standards of craftsmanship and materials ... interior is spacious and luxuriously upholstered in the finest glove finished black leather. Interior floors are carpeted in luxurious deep pile carpet and mouton with heavy under-cushioning. Doors and cabinet are finished in rich, handrubbed American walnut". What an excellent car to see!

Thoughts from the North

IT IS not realised by many people how at the moment one section of the country is, in any general sense, almost completely isolated from the other. The position of the Northern half of Ghana today, in this respect, is quite serious. It needs the immediate attention of our Government.

The first major element in this situation is the present closure of the Yeji ferry. Owing partly to floods resulting from heavy rains in an area about seven miles from the ferry site itself, and partly from the Volta Lake developments, this all-important link between North and South has for some time now been cut. The river is uncrossable, in short, at Yeji, so no-one now goes overland to Tamale and the Upper Region by this route. (You could, of course, cross by canoe, but only if you wouldn't mind death by drowning too much.)

The alternative route is of course the one through Kintampo, on the other half of the elongated circle which these two routes describe between Kumasi and Tamale. But the Kintampo road is next to impossible except in dire necessity. Only the biggest trucks—petrol, timber, cattle, and the like—can use it, crawling at 10 to 20 miles per hour and taking numberless hours from point to point. The pot-holes they dip in and out of are described as being almost as deep as the height of their tyres. Yet the Kintampo road is at the same time well supplied with good bridges, at Yapei (or Tamale Port, as it is known) and Buipe. It is, in addition, some seven to 10 miles shorter than the Yeji route.

It is obvious that what needs badly to be undertaken immediately is the reconstruction and/or renovation of the Kintampo route to the North. The more so as, even without rain floods at Yeji, there is the future of the permanent lake factor to think about, in respect of this river link between North and South. Whatever is done or not done, and how soon or how late, the fact is that at the moment the only sure means of getting to Tamale and Bolgatanga from Kumasi or Accra is by air: the Government bus service and passenger lorry traffic have virtually ceased to operate, and thousands of ordinary people who habitually use these cheap transport services have been stopped from travelling between the two major divisions of the country. Round-trip air fares even between Kumasi and Tamale are prohibitive for such travellers, as is obvious.

The situation, we repeat, is serious, and from any point of consideration, especially the economic.

Ultimately, of course, from the political too.

* * *

A verbal picture was painted the other day to illustrate the length to which the English carry their love of animals. It was the picture of a middle-aged woman pushing a pram along the pavement on a busy London street, which on examination reveals a little spaniel puppy dressed up and lying contentedly on silks and velvets. People notice what kind of "baby" this pram is carrying, but show little or no interest. Or some just smile indulgently.

In many other countries of the West these extremes in animal love are laughed off as English eccentricity. In undeveloped and hungry countries people who hear about the treatment of dogs, cats, and canaries in Britain get angry or depressed about it . . . Neither of these extreme reactions is necessary in considering the plight of cattle travelling between North and South in Ghana. It certainly is not unnatural sentimentality to protest against the terrible way in which these animals are transported between the two points, especially since the remedy is so relatively simple.

The complaint here is against the rubbing of the animals' sides and limbs against the wooden slats and posts of the open trucks in which they ride, standing up, for so many hundreds of miles, at the end of which trips their bodies are often a mass of bruised and bleeding parts. Sometimes it is not merely a case of bruises and bleeding, but of chafed flesh. If one stops any of the drivers of these mobile torture chambers and remonstrates with them about the (obvious) pitiful conditions of the animals, they either just laugh or else declare themselves completely unable to do anything about the situation.

There is no active society for the prevention of cruelty to animals in Ghana, and perhaps in view of all our other, greater, miseries there is no need for one yet. But there are at least veterinary authorities in this country who could so easily make this a matter of routine business, that is, seeing to it that large animals in transit are at least protected by a **bit of padding** on the wood of their travelling cages. It is as simple as that, but it is also certain that if cows and sheep could talk their thanks for such consideration would be profound.

* * *

The previous regime really outdid itself in some things. In the North it dotted white elephants all over the place: oversize and mysterious airports, factories for which there had been no feasibility surveys and which are unlikely ever

to be viable, except on reconversion at further tremendous cost, etc.

One of the outstanding examples of this happy squandermania is the Ghana Commercial Bank building now nearing completion in Bolgatanga. The thing is so magnificent and so out of place that even the most patriotic but intelligent Bolgatangan—for not all patriots are intelligent, of course—gazes at it and shakes his head in complete bewilderment. For any sensible Ghanaian at all the obvious question is: What is this building doing here?

Some Northerners declare vehemently that there aren't a hundred potential deposits in Bolga for the strongrooms of this Bank, and that to get 500 names into their books they would have to raid even Tamale for customers. And Tamale is 100 miles away, with its own full complement of banks. Indeed the Bank of Ghana itself has just opened an Issue Branch in this Northern Region capital.

But, there it stands, the Ghana Commercial Bank, Bolga: all glass and concrete and terrazzo, all silver and white and black and shining—and all very likely to stand empty, like some of the other White Elephants of the North. Unless other people hire their superscale rooms, of course—and of course at superscale loss to them.

* * *

Overhead Between Bolga and Tamale

First Speaker: That Geoffrey Bing! He is such a dishonest man. But he met his match in Victor Owusu. Did you read the report of their TV confrontation in London the other day?

Second Speaker: Victor Owusu was only wasting his precious time, as far as I am concerned. Because to me Geoffrey Bing is not a man, he is just—rubbish!

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The Future of Politics in Ghana

BY

BRIG. A. A. AFRIFA

FUTURE POLITICS IN GHANA

By

Brigadier A. A. Afrifa

BRIGADIER A. A. Afrifa, N.L.C. member responsible for Finance, was the guest speaker at the opening of the Ghana Press Week held at the Ghana Press Club in Accra on the 23rd October 1967. The speech is full of hints, in our view, because of what the Brigadier had to say on the timing of civilian rule, tribalism and the spirit of the 24th February Revolution. The full text is printed below:—

I WISH first of all to thank the Executive of the Ghana Journalists Association for inviting me to launch the first Press Week of the Association. I feel very much honoured by this invitation and I can only hope I shall justify this honour.

Mr. Chairman, I understand that this ceremony which we are performing today is the outdoor of the first purely professional organisation of journalists in Ghana. Until recently most of our best journalists have been people who never began life as journalists. We are now fortunate to have in existence in Ghana the Institute of Journalism which is charged with the responsibility for training young men and women who wish to take up journalism as a profession. My information is that this Association is meant for this new type of professional journalists, although it has room to accommodate practising journalists as well, whether they be amateurs or not. I hope all those engaged in journalism will find the Association useful and contribute to its success.

Role of the Press

It is not for me, Mr. Chairman, to tell you of the important role that the press has to play in a country like ours which is in the process of reconstruction. We have only recently had experience of a press which was controlled by one man and one man alone and we are very much aware of the harmful effect of such control. Since the Revolution of the 24th February, 1966, we of the National Liberation Council have endeavoured to restore to the Ghanaian press the freedom that it lost during the dark period to which I have just referred. We have done this because we know that a free press is a pre-requisite for the building of a truly democratic society to which we are irrevocably committed.

But whether this freedom which we have restored to the press will be cherished and upheld depends on you ladies and gentlemen of the press. You can surrender it if you like, but you must remember that you will let our beloved country down if you do that. We who love Ghana, and

who effected the coup d'état of 24th February, 1966 did so in order to bring liberty to our people. We believe that the foundation of true freedom lies in parliamentary government. And until such time that this is achieved in this country, we do not consider our task as fully accomplished, or our primary aim achieved.

Thinking about Civilian Rule

In recent weeks I have come across Ghanaians who advocate that we should remain in power for as long as possible and that our people cannot tolerate a parliamentary government now or in the immediate future because of their suffering under the old regime. I do not share this view. If it is dictators that our people want, let them give us the mandate through voting to dictate to them. We have now reached the stage where the press and the people of Ghana must start thinking seriously about a return to civilian rule. If they fail to do this they will have failed in their duty to this country and they will have shunned a national responsibility. I try to make time to read the national press every day. It is a useful avenue to get information, to find out what people are talking and thinking about, and to learn how people come to their conclusions on important national issues. There are times when I am amazed, or startled by the reasoning revealed to be behind such conclusions. I have an illustration of this ready to hand in one such conclusion reported in the Press only last Saturday.

N.L.C. and Disfranchisement

A Dr. Ephson, a barrister, was reported to have given a lecture on "Disfranchisement and disqualification" under the auspices of the Accra branch of the P.E.A. at the Arts Centre in Accra. He dealt with the burning question as to whether or not certain categories of officers of the prescribed CPP should be disqualified from holding public office. As far as I know, the National Liberation Council has not come to any conclusion on this matter. It is still pending for discussion. I would like to repeat: the matter is still pending before the National Liberation Council for discussion. No doubt, the Council's decision, when it has been taken, will be made known in an appropriate manner. The subject is therefore a fitting one for the public discussion and debate which is going on.

Dr. Ephson's own conclusion, according to the Press reports, was against disfranchisement and disqualification.

I need hardly tell you, Ladies and Gentlemen

of the Press, of the facts which have to be taken into consideration in coming to a decision on this subject. Your own Press has been telling the country daily of the proceedings of the various Commissions of Enquiry, and the Courts. We have mounting, indisputable facts of the abuse of power and party and government officials of the CPP. They preached and practised an ideology which led to the establishment of an oppressive and unbearable dictatorship. They practised deceit, bribery and corruption, and the selfish and shameless misuse of public funds, and brought our beloved country to the verge of bankruptcy and economic and political disaster. Nevertheless, Dr. Ephson is reported to have stressed that it would be undemocratic to ban any of the people responsible for all this from holding public office, unless they have been found guilty before a court, under the laws they themselves so flagrantly tampered with.

Centre for Civic Education and Dr. Busia

What startled me was that in contrast to his position on this question, Dr. Ephson called for the removal of Dr. Busia as Chairman of the Centre for Civic Education, because as the Press quoted Dr. Ephson to have said, "Dr. Busia was identified with a political party—you could as well appoint somebody belonging to the proscribed CPP to the post". This is startling reasoning and logic. Dr. Ephson says because Dr. Busia identified himself with a political party, he should be removed. Incidentally, let me say that as far as I know as Commissioner for Finance Dr. Busia has drawn no salary or remuneration for any of the offices he has held, or any of the many duties he has performed for the country since his return after the coup. He has regarded his services as a voluntary contribution to the political and economic reconstruction of our country. Dr. Ephson seems to be saying that because Dr. Busia led the opposition to the CPP, because he warned the country repeatedly of the dangers of the corruption, deceit, and dictatorial tendencies of the CPP, because in his lectures, pamphlets and books he not only exposed the CPP, but also expounded and made clear the sort of democratic society to which we should aspire, because Dr. Busia has done these things, Dr. Ephson says the NLC should not entrust him with a task for which he is undoubtedly the best qualified person in the country.

Inspiration for the Coup

Let me for the first time make one thing public. I have already stated in my book on the Ghana Coup the part I played in initiating and executing

the Coup. I can reveal that I was responsible for the planning of the military strategy of the coup. What I wish to acknowledge publicly today is that I was encouraged and inspired in my resolution to help to overthrow the corrupt and oppressive regime of Kwame Nkrumah by the lectures and writings and the sustained campaign which Dr. Busia carried on within and outside this country in opposition to the CPP, by his exposures of the wrongs its leaders were perpetuating against our country, and by identifying himself with all those who stood against the malpractices of the CPP.

A fellow soldier Major Alex Duah, received a copy of one of the pamphlets he used to get into the country. This one was entitled "NO". My colleague travelled all the way from Takoradi in person to bring me his copy. You will recall that in those days it was a risk which only a brave man would take, for, as some of you know, some people were detained because copies of the pamphlet were found in their possession. In the pamphlet, Dr. Busia called on us Ghanaians to "Set Ghana free to achieve Prosperity" and to join in saying NO to Nkrumah. May I quote him:

NO to oppression and suppression
 NO to denial of Freedom of speech, of Association, and of Movement
 NO to Imprisonment without Trial
 NO to spying
 NO to a Police State
 NO to Deceit and Cheating whereby many Toil for Few to "Chop"
 NO to Wasteful Projects
 NO to Scarcity of Essential Goods and Drugs
 NO to Crippling Controls
 NO to Neo-colonialism.

Under my master, the late Lt.-General Kotoka of revered memory, we said NO in a more effective and decisive way than Dr. Busia dared to ask, and we have "Set Ghana Free for Prosperity".

This is one reason why I am happy to launch your Press Week, Ladies and Gentlemen, when your theme is "the Press as a Force for Progress". You of the Press can play a unique role in helping us to establish the kind of democratic society Dr. Busia has expounded in his books, and has maintained that we in Ghana are capable of establishing. I invite you to study his latest book on the subject, entitled "Africa in search of Democracy" which he has dedicated to "the Youth of Africa to whom will fall the opportunity and the honour of building in Africa democratic societies wherein

every man and woman may live a life of dignity in freedom". As a soldier, I have a great admiration for this man, whether he be alive or dead.

The Press and CPPism

May I suggest another study to you ladies and gentlemen of the Press. There are journalists, both Ghanaian and Foreign, who keep telling us that the CPP won elections because their campaigns were organized by a man who had a genius for organization. I would invite you as Pressmen dedicated to unearthing the truth of every issue, and making it available to the public, to investigate this claim. Is it not a myth and a humbug? The Jibowu report told us that the CPP used public vehicles, public funds, and public officers to conduct their election campaigns. It was abuse of power. More recently the Electoral Commission has been given evidence of the malpractices of the CPP at elections. These included the selection of election staff only from the CPP, the use of government agencies to canvas support for the CPP, the enforcement of laws designed to suppress political opposition, the last-minute creation of polling stations so as to confuse electors, intimidation and undue influence by CPP election officials, corrupt practices like impersonation and multiple voting, infringement of the secrecy of the ballot, the destruction and tampering with ballot papers for candidates opposed to the CPP, and discrimination in the provision of amenities against areas known to be opposed to the CPP. Under the CPP dead men came from their graves to vote. What has been represented to the world by some journalists as genius for organization is being increasingly revealed as the use of fraudulent and dishonest methods to undermine democracy in Ghana. Those who claim this as a mark of honour and distinction which entitles them to lead this country again should be exposed for what they are. It is important that the spotlight is turned on this matter to make sure that future elections are fair, clean, and honest; only so will the results of elections reflect the will of the people as is expected in a democratic society. The Press as a force for progress should help in uncovering all humbug, and particularly when it is likely to prove pernicious to the freedom of society, as in the instance to which I direct your attention. I now come to what I suggest should be the main focus of your attention this Press Week—the question of return to Civilian Rule.

Emphasis on Politics

Ladies and gentlemen, last year, in our efforts

to rebuild Ghana, we laid emphasis on our economic problems. In the closing days of the NLC, my opinion is that emphasis now should be on our politics. It is in this direction therefore that I would like to direct the attention of the press this "Press Week". I have said many times that a coup d'etat is a bad thing; in our case we were reluctantly forced into it. We subscribe to the belief that resistance to a tyrant is obedience to God. For my part therefore nothing short of a decent democratic rule will satisfy my aspirations. Because I believe that this is the best assurance for our future prosperity and happiness. This consideration is contained in our master plan for the 1966 exercise. And with the passing away of my master, the late Lt.-General Kotoka of blessed memory, I will be the last person to depart from the cause for which we fought and for which he and the men died. We must achieve quickly the primary aim which motivated us in our exercise.

Tribalism and Disintegration

Our country now is passing through a most critical and challenging moment, and we can only survive it if we face facts with truths, courage and absolute honesty. Our society is tending towards disintegration and the unity of Ghana as one nation is facing its greatest challenge; the reason for this, as I see it, is that we are becoming too tribalistic in our outlook. Herein lie grave dangers for the future. This is why I want to see the opening of our house of parliament, the soul of our freedom, as soon as possible. And this is what the press should assist the NLC to achieve. Do we want the true freedom we hope to achieve through a popularly elected parliamentary government? Our revolution has lost its momentum. This I believe, as a soldier, is an indication that our military regime must come to an end. I do not suppose that we can bluff our way through. Pressmen and women, whatever you print, think about our country above all. Let us face our shortcomings and set-backs, for, whatever they are, ours is a great country.

Lift high the flag of Ghana

And make our nation great and strong . . .

Again, I thank you for the honour you have done me. You are now launched on your Press Week. May it be a momentous landmark in our quest for progress and freedom.

Letters

General Ankrab's Reception in London

SIR—If you were invited to a Ghanaian reception, would you expect, on arriving, to be announced by a European usher who, to your disgust, could not pronounce your name properly? But this is exactly what happened at a reception given on Monday, 16 October last by the High Commissioner for Ghana in honour of Lt-General Ankrab to enable Ghanaians in London to meet him.

On arriving you were asked your name by a European in scarlet tail-coat who then announced your name to the host and hostess—Major Anthony and his wife. I found this not only out of keeping with the kind of gathering, but also amusing—let alone the embarrassment in which many of the invitees found themselves. A few invitees ignored him and simply bowed to the host and hostess without shaking hands.

Was it at all necessary to employ a European to announce Ghanaian invitees at a Ghanaian reception? Couldn't an official of the Ghana High Commission have been appointed to perform this kind of job? What is the new Ghana coming to in such matters? We seem to be losing respect for and confidence in ourselves; we must employ a European even for announcing Ghanaian names to a Ghanaian High Commissioner at a Ghanaian reception. This is nothing less than going European *ad absurdum!*

The reception was well attended and the invitees enjoyed themselves very well with drinks and small chops, but though the reception took the form of a cocktail party, it lacked the usual informality expected from the host and hostess and the guest of honour at such functions. Many of the invitees expected the guest of honour, accompanied by the host, would be walking among the invitees and engage some of them in informal conversations and thus acquaint himself with a cross-section of Ghanaians in London and form some idea of what their thoughts and feelings are about affairs at home, or something like that.

But it was otherwise. After the host and hostess had received a considerable number of the invitees they retired to another room which, it appeared, was set apart for the guest of honour. Then anyone who wished went into that room to shake hands of the guest of honour and members of his entourage, but before one could do so, there again one was to be announced by our scarlet tail-coated European.

Not an appreciable number of invitees went into the inner chamber, and besides the hand-shake was too formal, straight-jacketed and wooden. Therefore Lt-Gen. Ankrab cannot be deemed to have met in fact a cross-section of Ghanaians in London.

K. Africanus Essell

109 Moray Road
London N.4.

External Affairs Annex and Dissipation of Funds

SIR—In the light of the economic conditions of this country, it is strange that the Annual Estimates for 1967-68 show under Foreign Relations, aside from Foreign Service Allowances, a subvention of NC60,400 Duty Allowance for Officers of the Ministry of External Affairs Annex.

This Duty Allowance is not paid to all Foreign

Service Officers but only to officers of the Annex which euphemistically used to be called Research Bureau, an office of very doubtful and dubious functions. Just a few weeks ago a Director of the Bureau who has been imprisoned for perjury, appeared before the Jigge Commission and told the whole world the part the Bureau played in disseminating the false news that Gbedemah stole £10 million. This is the kind of work the Bureau does for which NC60,400 of our hard-earned money is being wasted as an incentive for 'hard' work.

Under the cloak of security that office, the Annex, formerly the Research Bureau, during the old regime, indulged in acts for which it should have suffered the same fate as its partner in crime, the Bureau of African Affairs. Having mysteriously escaped the executioner's axe, the Research Bureau Officers apart from their fantastic salaries and other allowances are now being paid Duty Allowance in some case of up to £40 a month.

This country has had too much of careless, reckless and senseless dissipation of public money. This Allowance should be stopped forthwith and the money put to better use like purchasing drugs. By the way, is the Research Bureau, whatever they are researching into, an important organisation for which the Budget Secretariat should allot NC2,124,000?

Swan Mill
Accra.

Kwesi Duku

Whither is the Bus Service Drifting

SIR—It is evident that one of the important problems facing the country is poor transportation. The Bus Service is in a sorry state due to poor management. Only a few buses are in service and most stations are overstuffed. The result is that they are running at a loss.

Why not divert the control of the service to a more competent body? This will encourage the public to patronise the service. In the morning one has to wait for hours before getting a bus to his or her place of work. Consequently most people take the "tro-tros", but one has to struggle to get on one. Failing that you are at the mercy of the taxi drivers whose exorbitant charges are too much for the average worker.

If the NLC has undertaken to put things right it seems obvious that the Bus Service should receive priority. It should be placed under a competent body which can cater for the public. We are fed up with poor management.

New Tafo
Kumasi.

Kwaku Asempa

Bus Service Report

SIR—At long last an important report has been presented to the National Liberation Council for approval. The report by the Omnibus Service Committee is one of the most important reports and must be given top priority because of the present transportation problem in the country.

You will undoubtedly agree with me that the Bus Service which at the moment is in a chaotic position should be reviewed. If one takes time to visit the various stations in the country one will see that the majority of the buses are standing idle. On enquiries about the reasons why these buses are off the road, the only answer one gets is lack of spare parts.

Though it cannot be disputed that there are no spare parts, it seems clear that if qualified and competent Mechanical Engineers are seconded to manage and control the service, some minor repairs could be made which will enable some of the idle buses to be on the roads.

A thorough scrutiny of the management and operation of the Bus Service in the country today will reveal that almost all the men with top posts are unqualified and incompetent.

In order to save the Bus Service from total collapse and in order to save the public from lateness to attending to their businesses utmost priority should be given to the Prah Report which should be released with the absolute minimum of delay.

It is hoped that the Bus Service will be placed under an appropriate body and qualified men seconded to reorganise the service.

Asawase,
Kumasi.

Akua Serwah

Omnibus Politics

SIR—At a conference in Accra recently the workers of the Kumasi Bus Service advocated the transfer of the management of the Bus Service from the Ministry of Local Government to the Ministry of Communications. This suggestion was made because the Ministry of Local Government has proved inadequate to the task. Naturally, certain top men and their supporters see this as a threat to their undeserved posts, and they have resorted to threats of transfer to remote places or in some cases outright dismissal of those workers who have the courage to point out how the Bus Service has deteriorated. This is undermining the already low efficiency, and it should be checked without delay.

Ashanti New Town
Kumasi.

Joe Abiri

Rewards to N.L.C.

SIR—It is urgent that all patriotic Ghanaians suggest rewards to be given to the members of the N.L.C. when the period of military rule ends. What the 1966 coup has taught us is that some soldiers can be brought in politics to enrich our political life. We must therefore in future allow soldiers who are so inclined to stand for election to Parliament. If they fail they can return to the Army, as is the practice in the U.K. Experience in England is that not many soldiers get elected, but those who do enrich its political life.

1966 Coup has to be our first and last. It was a necessary act of deliverance and men who had the courage to carry it out must be rewarded. In other advanced countries deserving soldiers are made Field Marshals who even though not in active service receive remuneration for life; others are appointed to highly paid administrative posts with government agencies.

100, High Town Road,
Luton, U.K.

Dr. K. A. Taylor

"Kontopiat on Judicial Secretary"

SIR—I very much thank you and all who made the "Observer" a reality for in the annals of journalism in Ghana there is none to equal it. Your stand on vital national issues is admired by many and I wish you all the best of luck.

In your latest edition there was an article by Kontopiat which makes interesting reading and I have only this contribution to make. I know of a motor traffic case which has been pending in a District Magistrate's Court in Accra since December, 1966, and which has not yet been mentioned for hearing. The case is always adjourned, and the unfortunate driver has to report every time. If this and many others do not go to prove Kontopiat's case then I am yet to know what the Judicial Secretary meant in his letter to your esteemed journal. How long must a case be pending in our courts before it is disposed of?

Accra

K.B.

Stop these Unnecessary Arrests

SIR—While we appreciate and fully support the good works of the National Liberation Council in its efforts to put right the malpractices of the old regime, we have also observed with regret that certain elements mostly those who were in exile in some parts of the country are trying to bring the NLC to disrepute.

The most common activity of these selfish people is the causation of the arrest of innocent persons, some of whom were detained by the old regime for years, with the charge of concocted stories of subversion.

For instance, Mr. A. ignoring the police in his locality goes to the Headquarters to contact senior officers in Accra to say that Messrs B, Z, D, K, M, G and others were having secret meetings in Mr. B's house with the aim of overthrowing the NLC.

It is usual for Mr. A to have no concrete evidence whatsoever of such meetings, but the stories are usually so frightful that the police are alerted and these persons are arrested for "investigations."

However, after the accused are proved innocent by the police nothing is done to Mr. A. Mr. A. therefore thinks he has the licence and goes on causing the arrest of other persons with his unsubstantiated stories.

This is scandalous. The people are given the impression either that there is no justice in Ghana or that the law allows people to tell lies on others and go free.

To keep the NLC clear from all doubts I suggest that such people after they have been proved liars be brought by the police to justice.

P.O. Box 8
Bawku.

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Opinion

AN OPEN LETTER TO MATERNITY HOSPITAL DOCTORS AT KORLE BU

By

A Disappointed Father

IT IS just a week (though it seems more like a year) since you saw my wife, A., at your prenatal clinic, and requested that she be admitted into the Korle Bu Maternity Hospital as a P.E.T. case. She did not expect the baby for another 11 days or so, but labour began the following morning and after a very painful delivery in which she lost much blood, a baby boy (our first), arrived.

At 4lbs 12oz. he was premature, but nevertheless well-formed and healthy, and was so described in the report on the birth. Throughout Sunday he was well, but during the following night A. became worried when he cried for a long time, for no apparent reason. The nurses paid no attention to him, and when A. appealed to the junior of them to do something, this person after a cursory look declared that the baby was all right. A. did not have the nerve to disturb the slumbers of the senior night nurse, in the hope of a more experienced opinion. The latter had earlier in the evening shown her determination to enjoy her rest by informing the patients in the ward that they were too troublesome—and that tonight she had brought a stick to beat those that worried her, a macabre jest perhaps; but scarcely a remark to give comfort and confidence to the anxious A. had other worries too. The stench in the ward was such that she had to ask for the windows to be opened to clear the air a little. She could vividly imagine the germs being swallowed by her baby at each breath. And what would happen if any of the women who had lost their babies should suddenly become hysterical? These by no means illogical fears combined to deprive A. of any sleep that night. But the entry against her name in the night's nurse's log reads something like "Mother and baby slept soundly; both in good health." In fact the only one who slept soundly was the night nurse.

Next morning baby's breathing had become erratic. A. was even more alarmed and entreated the nurses to do something about it. A doctor appeared about 9 a.m., looked at the baby, mumbled something to the nurse, said nothing whatever to A. and went off. The nurses said that another doctor (presumably a pediatrician) would soon come. She asked repeatedly, always

getting the reply "He will soon come." Well, he did come—around 1 p.m.—and it was only after this time that they started giving extra oxygen to the baby. I came in at visiting time, 4.30 p.m. to find A. sitting on the edge of her bed weeping, saying that baby wasn't well, and telling me the things I've just recounted. Numbered and sick at heart, I went to make my useless complaints to the nurse. She showed me the log book and its fantastically distorted account of the previous night's events in an attempt to prove that baby's illness had only started very recently. Another doctor appeared at about this time. He went into the nursery with the nurse, presumably looked at the baby, but when he came out said nothing to A. or to myself, and moved off to more pressing business elsewhere. Some ten minutes later I came back to see the nurse writing something at her desk. I asked how the baby was. She went in to see, came back looking at her watch (it was 5 p.m.) and uttered the chilling words: "The baby's dead. Very sorry. Come back tomorrow to collect it," and returned to her writing.

That's a bare account of our experiences in your hospital. It is no doubt new and beautiful when viewed from the outside, but the cockroaches which scamper through its modern bedside lockers are a symbol of the dirt and confusion within. We were appalled by the indifference, callousness and/or incompetence of almost all the officials with whom we came in contact, from watchmen to doctors. (The exceptions were two or three nurses whose kindness brought great consolation). And, may the Lord save us, this is where the new generation of doctors is being trained.

Trouble begins for the Maternity Hospital patient with the first encounter at the Cards Desk. The spectacle of the saucy girls who adorn this place insulting women old enough to be their mothers is disagreeable in the extreme. I'm sure this kind of behaviour would not be tolerated were it not so commonplace. Then comes the interminable wait for the doctor. Interminable, that is, for those not fortunate to be of a different race from A. or to know the doctor personally. The amount of help and sympathy which the great man, once reached, will be prepared to bestow is unpredictable, but likely to be disappointing. Eventually the day may come for admission to the wards. The lucky few are let into Heaven, up near the sky, on the Sixth Floor. We made repeated enquiries about this fabled Paradise and in the early part of A.'s stay received assurances from various people that A. would soon be moved up—but

the promised ascension never took place. Now of course I blame myself that I didn't pester the life out of the remote authorities to force her removal from the proletarian Third.

The unfortunate majority drift into Purgatory and are thereafter very hard to find. A's name never appeared on the ground-floor chalk-board at any time during her stay. I wondered whether the names displayed there, purporting to be those of the inmates, in their respective beds, are not imaginary names thought up by some nurse to impress the visitors to some hospital occasion, and subsequently left there through inertia. At a time when my son was within half-an-hour of death a nurse on the same floor as A. couldn't tell me where to find her. She had been moved, her former bed was empty, and for all I knew she might have been anywhere in the hospital. Fortunately A. saw me going past the door of her new room, and called me.

The quality of the food came as an unpleasant shock to A. Don't the planners of the so-called "diet" ever look at those nice cheerful posters that the Nutrition Board used to publish: "Eat some of each of these foods every day"? Probably nutritional advice has been abandoned. One gets this impression from the empty rejected-looking desk in the ground floor waiting room; labelled "Nutrition", and "A well-balanced diet". I wonder whether anyone ever goes there, and if they did, what on earth they would be told. Meanwhile in the hospital kitchens it's kenkey and stew, koko and bread, or kontomire and kenkey. (One day, as a treat, each patient had half a boiled egg.) No fruit. No milk, except at the rate of one drop per gallon in the tea. No variety. Nothing to suggest an awareness that the women in the Maternity Hospital are in a condition where they need better food than at any other time in their lives. The warder who guards the lift, searches bags to make sure that no food is brought in; perhaps this might give an unfair advantage to some women over others in the struggle for survival.

The Sisters should not escape mention. There seem to be a disproportionate number of these people—so many of them in fact that none of them has enough nurses to give orders to. They consequently are reduced to congregating in little groups where their loud and raucous conversation detracts from the splendid impression given by their immaculate white uniforms. To be fair, some of the Sisters are helpful and competent. When A. was to be given a blood transfusion, a number of nurses tried their luck at getting the tube into

her vein. They tried the inside of her elbow without success, and then her wrist and forearm. Her veins, apparently, are slippery. Soon she was beginning to feel as full of holes as a well-used dart-board. A Sister interrupted this display of inferior marksmanship, and with great skill, hit the bull's eye first time!

Now it's visiting time and along comes Daddy with the small children who have been worrying about where Mummy is, and want to make sure she is alright. He is frustrated by an illiterate watchman who pulls out a crudely-chalked notice telling him to take the children away. He can't leave them by themselves; he can't get in touch with his wife to tell her of his predicament; there is no superior authority within reach that he could appeal to. Nothing for it but to go back home and try again alone, next day. A woman who is kept in hospital for a month or more presumably never sees her children throughout the whole of this time. Is this total ban on children really necessary? There may be some medical justification, but the psychological results for mother as well as for children can only be deplorable.

It is standard practice in more hygienic hospitals (for example Takoradi) to wash the babies and wrap them up well immediately after delivery. But at Korle Bu, A. was shocked during her long stay in the labour ward to see one new baby after another being dumped, fresh and naked onto the same sheets, in the same cot, sometimes before the previous occupant had been removed, and being left there uncovered for considerable periods of time. Perhaps the staff share the philosophy of the ancient Spartans—newborn babies who cannot withstand hardship do not deserve to live.

Which brings me to premature babies. Are there no special cots, incubators, germ-proof rooms etc. for these babies at Korle Bu? If not, the lack seems scandalous in a supposedly modern hospital. If there are—why was my baby not put into one? I came away with the distinct feeling that premature babies are not expected to live anyway, so no particular care is taken of them. My baby's death certificate states that he died of pulmonary obstruction due to atelactasis (failure of lungs to expand, or collapse of expanded lung.) I am perhaps not qualified to quibble over the diagnosis of the learned doctor who signed the form, but the baby's lungs certainly expanded sufficiently after birth to enable him to live for two days, and to cry for a great part of one night. I can't imagine why they should later collapse. In any case, there was no post-mortem.

To end on a brighter note—I was happy eventually to find at least one commodity which is still cheap in modern Ghana. A complete grave, dug out and ready for the coffin, is yours for only ten new pesewas!

WHAT TYPE OF TEACHER?

By
E. K. Asamoah

THERE is much talk nowadays about the present type of teacher we find in our schools. The remarks are often about teachers having either low moral or low academic standards or both. We often split hairs in an attempt to find the underlying causes. The simple question to ask is: who has produced such teachers? Our teachers are a reflection of our society, for every human being is a product of his society. Nor can we look at society differently from the government which directs affairs of a country.

Serious men cannot help but observe the great damage that governments at various periods in history have done to their people. The damage is greater in those countries where the government is completely ignorant and relies mainly on so-called experts to direct affairs for them. The government of Ghana has in the past drifted along an ignorant path with regard to Teacher Education, and it is time this was halted.

From pertinent examples we may agree with an educationist who said recently that most of the underlying causes of our present educational problems may be attributed to "unrealistic proposals which previous governments have foolishly accepted but have found impossible to implement". It was Mr. J. R. Kwakwa, the Chairman of the Association of Training College Teachers (A.T.C.T.) who is also chairman of the National Teacher Training Council (N.T.T.C.), and his remark appeared in a paper on Teacher Education read at the Second Annual Delegates' Conference of the Association which was held at the Advanced Teacher Training College, Winneba, from the 12th to the 15th August, 1967. Here are examples of the proposals referred to:

1. The Education Ordinance 1887 which attempted to secularise primary schools, that is, to open all primary schools to all children regardless of religion "was, however, not accompanied by a restatement of the aims and purpose of this secular type of education and primary school education, and since then has drifted aimlessly along, and the Training Colleges with them". Before then all education was in the hands of churches and the chief aim of education was to train teacher-catechists. Rev. M. Sunter, the first inspector of schools appointed by the colonial government remarked in 1882 that "teachers were forced to subordinate their teaching to their work as catechists".
2. The 1951 document, "The Accelerated Plan of Education", has brought untold headaches. "The first products of this plan are the stone-throwing/rioting students who constitute a new problem for our society". In spite of one of its chief aims which was "to provide a sound foundation for citizenship, an elaborate system was set up outside the classroom to pervert the youth and corrupt the young". Now we

are back to civic education. In spite of the estimation in the document by the so-called educational experts that with an addition of ten new training colleges to the eighteen existing ones in the country and the doubling in size of six of them there would be enough trained teachers for all children at schools, today there are over 80 training colleges and there are 35,000 pupil teachers in the field as against 17,000 trained teachers. Until now things have been left to drift along aimlessly. For some unknown reasons the report of the Amissah Committee in 1963 on pre-university education which was duly submitted was never published. The Kwapong Report is being eagerly awaited and it is hoped "this report will make realistic proposals that can be implemented".

Handing over Missionary Schools

It is in the light of the above aimless drift that the recent government proposals to hand over missionary schools to churches is to be viewed with dismay. As long ago as 1887 this country in theory embarked upon a secular type of education—re-emphasized by the 1961 Education Act. Whither are we drifting? One gets the impression that it is a move back to the early missionary ideas to train teacher/catechists, which is impossible under a secular type of education.

The main argument that Local Education Authorities lack personnel is unconvincing because in the past the General Managers and Supervisors of Educational Units were paid by the Central Government. Why not get such paid officers for Local Authorities? Moreover, in the past most of the so-called mission schools were built through communal labour provided by a whole town, including heathens, and regardless of religious denominations. This shows that people of Ghana themselves understand the basic idea in civilised countries that schools belong to the community and that education is quite separate from religion. It is the foreigners who have destroyed this community idea by their rivalry and denominational indoctrination. Why should we allow this to continue?

New Type of Teacher to replace the Old Teacher/Catechist

We may now indicate what type of teacher we want. Under a secular system of education, our Teacher Education should have as one of its aims to stress the social value of the teacher to the whole community and not only to a particular section, the church. France, even today, is primarily a country of small townships, and almost 50 per cent of the population is to be classified as rural. Thus, the primary school teacher is expected to organise all kinds of activities and to take a full and active part in local administration in the area he serves. He needs both social insight and good and sound general education. In Belgium all training colleges are noteworthy in that they pay particular attention to the local customs of the area in which their students are later likely to serve. It is this type of the primary school teacher we want now; not the old teacher/catechist type.

For improvement of moral and academic quality of teachers the admission of training college students may be modified to include not only aptitude tests and interviews but also confidential testimonials from previous schools. Further, to promote professional efficiency, a more careful choice of heads of institutions

should also be made, not by the "buying-post" system or by mere recommendation but by training and competitive examinations in education administration in addition to a past record of efficiency.

Book Review

THE RISE & FALL OF KWAME NKRUMAH: A STUDY OF PERSONAL RULE IN AFRICA (PRAEGER, 1966)

Reviewed by
S. Ryan

OF THE several books that have appeared on the subject of Politics in Ghana during the Nkrumah period, Henry Bretton's, *The Rise and Fall of Kwame Nkrumah* is certainly the most provocative and controversial. It is a very lively and readable book, and is relatively devoid of the jargon that characterises so much of American social science literature today. The book, an angry and forceful polemic against Nkrumah, will doubtlessly be welcomed by those who suffered or who believe they suffered during the CPP era. So radical is it in its denunciation of Nkrumah that someone has suggested, rather implausibly, that it was inspired by the N.L.C.

The book is by no means a definitive study of the Nkrumah era. Its basic weakness is its complete lack of balance and objectivity. Indeed, so heavy handed is the analysis that it may prove to be as embarrassing to critics of Nkrumah as it has been to friends. The study is for the most part an exercise in pseudo-scholarly muckraking backed by inadequate and suspect documentation. Interestingly enough, Bretton himself admits that his book lacks objectivity. In a rare moment of candour, he concedes that his "evaluation of the overall effects of personal rule on Ghana are subjective" and that his "selections were arbitrary". Bretton also warns that "neither the study nor the conclusions are meant to be definitive". But to gloss over this admission with the explanation that other accounts are equally subjective and arbitrary is by no means a convincing excuse for sloppy analysis.

To write a negatively critical study of Nkrumah is not a difficult exercise since there is so much to criticize. But by selecting for analysis only a limited sector of a larger and more complex problem—i.e. the limitations of personal rule (a concept not adequately defined by Bretton)—Bretton has been forced to distort reality, and to

neglect a host of salient variables such as the nature of the society and the economy (both domestic and international) within which Nkrumah had to function. That Bretton was aware of the pitfalls of his methodology is clear from his admission, in an apparently belated footnote, that "the emphasis on Nkrumah's impact should not be taken to suggest that he was solely responsible for all the adverse consequences of Nkrumaist rule". Yet this is precisely what Bretton proceeds to do. It is as if one were to say that the tragedy of Nazi Germany was the responsibility of Hitler alone. On more than one occasion he makes unfortunate comparisons between Hitler and Nkrumah. Nkrumah was neither a Hitler nor indeed a Lenin but a tragic child of the African revolution with all its dreams and now all its frustrations. Nkrumah's tragedy is an African tragedy, the most egregious of the many that are being enacted across the face of the third world. I agree fully with Ali Mazrui when he writes (Transition 32) that Nkrumah was a "victim of our dreams . . . the beast of burden on whom Africa piled her weighty hopes".

Bretton's book still deserves to be read if only as a long needed corrective to the propaganda that was so uncritically accepted by so many Nkrumaist fans. It also offers a frontal challenge to much of the optimistic and uncritical theorizing about the role of the single party and the charismatic leader in the nation building process in fragmented societies. Bretton flatly denies that personal rule can be functional in the nation building process since the nature of personal rule inevitably means that the leader becomes more concerned about his machine and personal survival than in the goal of nation building, as if the two are clearly separated in other political systems. Nkrumah's style of rule, Bretton argues, contributed to political and moral decay in Ghana rather than to development. Nkrumah destroyed everything worthwhile that was left by the British and left nothing but chaos in his path. Nkrumah certainly destroyed, but to say almost unequivocally, and without adequate substantiation, that Nkrumah left little that was positive is I think to be partisan in the extreme. If nothing else, Ghanaians have received an education in the relevance and significance of politics which few new nations can boast of, and it may yet be that future generations of Ghanaians will say that like Stalin, Nkrumah was a necessary evil. This may indeed be a case where, to use the words of a Canadian journalist, J. W. Dafeo, "ne'er should the living of the living judge for too blind the affection or too fresh the grudge."

Miscellaneous

THE ROAD TO AFRICAN UNITY

By

J. Mawuse Dako

University of Science and Technology, Kumasi

IT IS probably correct to assume that an overwhelming majority of Africans who care to express themselves on the subject have accepted the principle of a United Africa. The political and economic implications of a united Africa include an integrated African economy under the management of an acceptable political organization. Acceptance of a culturally heterogeneous United Africa would allow for minority interests within the confinement of an established or conventional code of civilized behaviour.

The Basis for Unity

The Pan-African concept may not be new. Like all human concepts Pan-Africanism has had its apostles. Its attainment however involves more than propaganda. Marcus Garvey, one of the earlier exponents, is dead so will present and future Pan-African activists. The significant and hopeful point however is that the idea has come to stay. So long as the concept nourishes and grows in African hearts its attainment is only a matter of time. The time and method of attainment will be determined by selfless dedication to the principle and unambiguous answering of two fundamental questions: Is African Unity a thing of NECESSITY or of CONVENIENCE? What is the BASIS for the formation of a Union of African States?

It is surprising and, indeed, disturbing that although all our leaders talk of African Unity at every conceivable opportunity most of them do not appear to have addressed themselves sufficiently to these important questions. It is firmly believed that until these two questions are convincingly and unequivocally resolved there cannot be any real progress.

A thing of necessity is indispensable. It is a *sine qua non* for success or satisfaction. It is a prerequisite to further advance or progress. It has to be attained even with the sacrifice of a lot of other things. This would appear to be the Nkrumaist conception of African Unity apparently acceptable to the so-called radical group of African leaders.

On the other hand, a thing of convenience may help in the achievement of an objective but success is possible without it. It is, therefore, employed only when circumstances are favourable. The attitude of the majority of African leaders towards African problems gives the impression of this conception although none has so far come up publicly for discarding the idea until circumstances become favourable. The so-called moderates, especially most of the French speaking states, Liberia, and post-coup Ghana in varied degrees appear to fall into this category.

The Lessons of History

These remarks do not prove the superiority of one conception over the other. The histories of other peoples and of our own past can, however, be a guide. It must be emphasized here that a Union of groups of peoples

is not an end in itself. It is a means toward the fulfilment of the promise of a better life for the peoples involved. It is imperative, therefore, that the conception of a United Africa cannot be challenged. A strong promise for Africans.

This should be the criterion determining the common destiny. The political, economic and military promises of a United Africa cannot be challenged. A strong United Africa is a respected Africa. Honour and dignity are the greatest need of Africans in the world today.

History, like the Bible, can be quite misleading when quoted, since there are quotable events to suit different motives. However it appears hardly possible to find in history a large effective political union which was founded with the approach of convenience. It seems the formation of such a Union always involves a good element of emotionalism. The two most powerful Unions of today, the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, under different circumstances, would appear to be formed as a matter of necessity while the projected Western European Union is following the line of convenience. Africa can probably learn from them irrespective of the different economic and political ideologies and backgrounds.

Both the original United States of thirteen and modern Soviet Union came in the aftermath of bloody revolutions. Slogans which today continued to be their unifying forces were used. The Americans fought for and have been united in the defence of "freedom and liberty", and the Soviets fought to overthrow the imperialism and feudalism of the Czars and have been united for the creation of a "classless society". Whether the promises of the revolution have been or will ever be fulfilled in each case is debatable. The fact remains, however, that they have kept the peoples together. The slogans were suited for their historical and prevailing circumstances.

The attainment of a United Europe by way of the European Common Market awaits convenient circumstances. This includes when it becomes convenient for France to accept the challenge of Britain's economic competition. The Europeans are yet to find the unifying war cry.

The Way to Successful Unity

The above observations would indicate that two elements are necessary for the successful launching of a United Africa: a slogan for the masses supporting a rational objective, plus the will and capacity. Centuries of exploitation and the threat posed to African dignity by Salazar, Voster, Smith and others should have been enough to provide a fitting slogan. Africanness must be preserved; but the will and capacity to preserve and be just Africans is pathetically lacking. Even under the severest threats to Africa's survival, Africans vacillate and, indeed, betray themselves. We hopefully chase the mirage of full stomachs, understandably but misleadingly quoting Napoleon that an army marches on its stomach.

Events generally on the African continent suggest that circumstances and motives of the days of Cecil Rhodes in Southern Africa and the Bond of 1844 in West Africa have not changed. The case of Dr. Hastings Banda's relationship with Voster provides a fitting example. A white man who cannot worship in the same church with a blackman but who can sit at the same negotiating table with him must know very well that it serves his purpose to do so. As the British used the southern

chiefs and people of the Gold Coast after the Bond of 1844 to subdue the patriotic and fighting Ashantis, Voster sooner or later will use Banda to destroy other Africans and Africanness.

Africa has had a unique opportunity to be united without recourse to a violent revolution. Whilst it is desirable for all Africa to be one—and that should be the ultimate aim—it is not necessary that all the states come together at once. This is hardly possible. The United States of America is a most suitable example. Most people do not have the courage and self confidence to face up to the prospect of difficulties. It takes a few resolute people to do great deeds. Others will join in only when success is obvious.

In the opinion of this writer a return to Casablanca and Monrovia types of alignment will not be detrimental. Those African countries who are convinced of the immediate NECESSITY of a politically united Africa and have the will and capacity should go ahead and make a start. The more dynamic and successful groups will eventually absorb the others so long as the desire to unite all Africa remains.

It appears, however, that if the stalemate continues and the "hopeless chase after the mirage of individual greatness" persists, an African Washington or Lenin is bound to arise. The conceivable result is a holocaust. Africa can and must avoid what the Chinese did. Unfortunately, however, one can almost feel it approaching. Many young Africans predict it and possibly Chou En Lai was right when he said Africa was ripe for a revolution. Can African leaders prove him wrong?

KWADWO KWA'S MANIFESTO

By

Kwame Arhin

I WAS last night visited by my friend Kwadwo Kwa, who came in literally shaking with excitement. He wanted to issue a manifesto. Kwa is an old classmate who was prevented from having University education by an unfortunate circumstance. He now occupies a rather low position in one of the Ministries. 'Why, Kwa,' I said, 'I did not know that you belong to a political party which, you would do well to remember, is proscribed by a decree of the National Liberation Council'.

'That's right', said Kwa, 'but this is not the manifesto of a political party. I merely wish to convey the feelings and wishes of my sort of people to the ruling authorities'.

'Who are your sort of people?' I asked.

'You should know', Kwa replied. 'However, I shall describe 'my sort of people for the general benefit'.

Kwadwo Kwa's Sort of People

Kwa said: 'My sort of people are the lower middle class who occupy the lower positions in the civil service, the state enterprises, and the commercial houses. We share with the "proletariat" the bed-sitters of the dinghy alley-ways of Accra; we compete with them for seats on the buses and on the 'tro-tro' trucks; and we resort together to the poorer, but more lively, sort of drinking-bars. Naturally we are a hybrid sort of group. We cherish the ideals of the 'elite' because we went to the same schools with them but we are, at the same time, the fellow-sufferers of the 'lower orders'. Having

neither the favourable family background nor the requisite educational qualifications for a leap for the 'good life' which in Ghana means the possession of cars, a harem of beautiful women and well-furnished houses, we pin our hopes on the realization of a just socio-economic system in which we shall be treated as respected citizens of the community and not as the pawns of politicians, or the victims of the tyranny of petty officials.

On Leadership

'I shall briefly describe the type of leadership we want. We want an active and not a talking leadership. We have heard so much talk that we are sick of it, we suspect great talkers. We have become wise to the usual divergence between men's professions and their actions. We want a firm leadership that can, for example, deal firmly with incompetent but tyrannical bureaucrats; a leadership that does not merely talk of honesty but acts honestly; a leadership that rises above family, tribe or status; a leadership that will stop talking all that stuff about tradition and would not shrink from taking stern measures to remove all traditional restraints on our economic and political progress; a leadership wise enough to realize that the true economic and political emancipation of Africans everywhere depends on the unification of the entire continent of Africa.

A Strong Government

'We want a strong government. To us any talk of devolution of powers as a check on potential dictatorships is a non-starter. In the long run, whether or not we have a dictatorship would depend on Ghanaians themselves and on the sort of deals that successive governments dish out. If future governments are unwise, and pursue sectional interests the majority of Ghanaians might be disposed to respond favourably to a mob orator and not even the most elaborately entrenched clauses within themselves prevent the emergence of a dictator.

'To us, also, the growing emphasis on 'rights' without a corresponding stress on correlative duties and responsibilities is dangerous. Do we want to give all that elbow-room to the individualist? I think not. All that we require is a machinery for peacefully changing a government whenever we wish. Even the successful operation of such a system would depend on the character of Ghanaians in general. Will Ghanaians be courageous enough to protest against injustice or will they remain amiable push-overs? Will they once again become willing clients in a patron-client state or will they become proud recipients of their due?

The Primacy of Economic Conditions

'We do not believe that any amount of lecturing will itself alter the dispositions of Ghanaians. What is required is a significant alteration in the material conditions of their existence. Hence, to us, the most important single factor in the development of our national character which will in turn determine the sort of government that we do get is the sort of economic system that we have. We do not have to acquire the affluence of America. What is important is that we distribute the leftover from the requirements of our economic development in such a manner that all Ghanaians will feel that there is a measure of economic justice.

'We believe it is no use preaching 'rights' to a man

earning six and sixpence a day. 'Rights' are not so important to a man ill-fed and indebted, who knows not where tomorrow's meals for himself and his family would turn up from. Such a man is likely to let sleeping dogs lie, to take care not to get entangled with the policeman or the bullying type of public official.

Re-thinking our Economic Policy

Thus we want a government that will re-think the fundamentals of our economic development and will realize that, in the long run, we shall have to fall back on our own human and natural resources. As far as we are concerned, the starting-point of this planning must be agriculture. Even we, 'the lower middle class', view with dismay the undeveloped character of our agricultural system which makes us go begging for rice and maize while there is so much land lying around and there is so much unemployment in the land. In this connection, we would look afresh at the state farms of the former regime and re-plan them on the basis of groups of villages in which the chiefs and elders would be the moving spirits.

This will have a double advantage. It might conceivably halt the drift of population and contribute towards the involvement of all and sundry in the national economic reconstruction.

Self-reliant Ghana

We would go slow on 'aid' and on opening our doors too widely to outside investment. For, we must not pursue economic policies that would negate our self-assertion as the equals of others (which is the true meaning of independence) by making fair Ghana the puppet of a few captains of industry.

Which reminds me. We want for the first time a government that will utilize our human resources to the full and call in, only as a last resort, the so-called experts. No one can lay claim to mature independence if he is always calling in his neighbours to settle his marital problems.

Kwa's Motto

Hence our motto would be: disciplined, forward-looking government, a self-reliant Ghana which will move, perhaps gradually, but firmly, towards the goal of economic justice, the foundation of a truly free social and political society'.

Epilogue

Kwa finished speaking. Silently we went to bed. But I lay for a time thinking that if Kwa represents the incipient lower middle class, I should like to know what the 'elite' would think. Would they be that broad in their outlook? Or is it true that Kwa's group is the real representative of the New Ghana?

POEM

NIGHT HUNTERS

Haze of a violet sky fills the heavens,
The dark, preying clouds are banked up high,
There is a soft hesitancy in the world,
And in the pause all is still.
The damp, warm earth yields its primitive smell
A fantasy of drums and pulses and a life foregone.
The air is nothing but is vitally alive,
While the sweating undergrowth guards.
A thousand insects which wake to hunt the night
And the hot blooded flesh of man
Who cools his ardour in the cool pool of night.

Bronya Maan (Miss)

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Drama

PRESERVING OUR CULTURE—THE ADZIDO DANCE TROUPE

By
K. E. Senanu

ABOUT a fortnight ago, a new group of professional dancers, whose repertoire covers both traditional and modern popular Ghanaian dances, made their debut at the Arts Centre in Accra, after a private performance at the Bukom Night Club of the Continental Hotel. The group is called **Adzido** and one understands that its work is being sponsored by Quarmyne Associates Inc. Mrs. Shirley Quarmyne, wife of one of the Directors of Ghana Television, is reported to be the live spirit behind the group.

I believe this group is the first of its kind in Ghana, and it may prove a very unique and outstanding one if the professional standards they seem to have set for themselves are maintained and developed.

There are, of course, other professional groups developing in and around Accra. There is the Legon Ensemble, associated with the School of Music and Drama, who have been doing remarkable work under Mr. Opoku. And there are a number of small-scale amateur groups connected with the Arts Centre. But what seems to be unique about the Adzido Group is, first of all, its private and untrammelled sponsorship; secondly, the apparent rigour of its commitment to professional artistic standards and, finally, its secularism, in spite of its homage to things sacred.

Let me elaborate. As the introductory notes handed to invitees at the private performance in the Bukom Night Club indicates, Adzido already has a very impressive collection of dance instruments — drums, gongs, rattle, xylophones — “which is itself a collection of Ghanaian art.” Its repertoire of traditional dances is drawn from all the main tribes of Ghana—Ashanti, Ga, Ewe, Lobi, Dagomba, Akwapim, Ga-Adangbe, etc. To have worked so quickly, so efficiently, and so thoroughly towards assembling and equipping a dance group, does not only reveal a tenacity of purpose, an unflinching commitment to an idea; it also reveals, I think, the advantages of being in a position to command private resources, even if these are limited. How far the future need to replenish such resources, through commercial success, might lead to a compromising of the rigorous standards set at present for the group is perhaps something which need not concern us at the moment. Suffice it to say that Adzido is

making an excellent success of its resources at the moment.

This comes out in both the vitality and the subtlety of the performances given at the Bukom Night Club and at the Arts Centre. Linked by an illuminating narration from Miss Drid Williams, the group offered ‘vignettes’ out of its repertoire of traditional dances.

Popular ballroom dances tend to hide their earthy and folk origins. Perhaps the Tango still expresses something of the male sexual aggressiveness of Latin America. Our Highlife, in spite of its seductive hip movements, has eschewed, through secularisation, its affinities with its predecessors the Okpii, the Kokomba, the Osibi-Saba, the Oya and, even recently, it has looked askance at its second cousin the Kpanlogo. Those who have been struck by the contagious down-beat rhythms of the Highlife, which sweep even the oldest couples onto our ball-room floors, would have discerned the links of the highlife with these predecessors as they are being presented in Adzido's repertoire. The forms are discernible; but what is more, the frenzied orgiastic medley which was associated with the cult-worship and the cult-dance “Osibi-Saba” in the late forties, throws a fascinating light on the phenomenon of the Highlife. Who would have thought the

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'sophisticated' Ghanaians yield themselves to these permanent origins of the dance when they join in the Highlife. But this is what Adzido, and its artistic directors have demonstrated with an uncanny rightness.

In demonstrating the process of secularisation in connection with the Highlife, the company offered a sufficient reason for their own ideological commitment. The group is committed to preserving the dances which it has drawn from our traditions in the forms in which they now exist. Their desire is to arrest the process of change. To preserve the classical forms of the Adowa and the Agbekor, I believe this a well-meaning, but unfortunately, a misguided, commitment. Even if this were possible within the urban and secularised setting of a hotel night club or of the commercial theatre, if it were possible to recreate the social occasions which have always circumscribed and defined, to a large extent, the meaning of these dances, the group would still have to cope with that changing structure of feeling and quality of life of the audience which make secularisation

inevitable. The clearly articulated forms of the Agbekor, for example, with body movements and positions recalling, the pitched battle, the field manoeuvre, the duel, the triumph of the conqueror are superbly rendered by the artistes of the group. But one could not help wondering whether these forms are not in fact contextually circumscribed. How much of a communication is there between the performers and their urban, night club audience? Will the group ultimately avoid making these dances museum pieces, not only for foreign audiences, but even for an urbanised Ghanaian audience?

One's hope of course is that this does not happen? But could it be that the real commitment which is needed is to using the traditional forms in order to objectify that changed structure of feeling towards life in modern Ghana? Who will have the courage or the vulgarity, to do this?

Meanwhile the Adzido group has taken its stand and one's memory of their performance is of a very rich harvest feast for those who care to participate.

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