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EDITORIAL

OUR CIVIL SERVANTS

In any change of political administration, one expects changes, of one kind or the other, in the upper echelons of of the country's permanent civil administration. Men who became closely identified with the policy formation and execution of an erstwhile regime thus come to find that they are no longer required in the previous locations in which they worked.

Although this switch of positions may appear distasteful to top-level administrators who may have had psychological — if not material — investment in their previous positions, it enables a new government to begin its administration quite afresh.

Of course the nation benefits from the democratic ideals which ensure the permanency, political neutrality, and continuity of tenure of its civil servants. Their permanency and continuity help to offset the vagaries of political fortunes. But, clearly, there are certain positions in the civil service which are politically sensitive, and a government has a right to determine the criteria for holding such positions.

A case in point is the office of Chief of State Protocol. Towards the latter stages of Nkrumah's rule, this office was held, at one time, by a minister of cabinet rank. Whatever one now has to say about Nkrumah and his regime, it appeared the protocorial aspect of his government was unimpeachable, if for purposes of evaluating efficiency only. After the coup d'etat of February 1966, when political activities were banned, this politically important office fell to a high ranking civil servant.

Under the National Liberation Council, the office of Chief of State Protocol apparently functioned with superb, military efficiency and candour. Not all Ghanaians had the opportunity of dining and wining at the expense of that office, it is true. But certainly no shocking stories emerged which tended to expose the country as lacking in mannerism and courtesy. It was surprising, therefore, to discover that the first few performances of the office, under the new Progress Party regime, became extremely distasteful.

Two of these performances deserve special mention. On the occasion of the launching of the civilian government, it was discovered that the gadgetry and electrical aspects for the occasion were horrible, delayed, and confusing. On another occasion, during a State House dinner, things were so bad that some of the foreign dignitaries and ambassadors were seen to be without food or the proper wine, while certain gate crashing "invitees" of questionable standing had actually already had their fill. It is said that matters became

so bad owing to the shortage of stewards, that a minister of the governmen: had to go to the kitchen to dish out food with which to serve some of the invited guests.

A committee of enquiry was subsequen:ly appointed to probe especially the State House dinner affair. Its report has been allegedly sent to the Prime Minis:er on whose prompting the committee was set up. But, while the report has not been published as yet, there are disturbing s:ories about some events which have probably arisen from the findings of the committee.

Mr. K. B. Ayensu, the Chief of State Protocol in question, has apparently been "fired", in a manner which raises the whole principle of the proper relationship be:ween politicians and civil servants. This gentleman was said to have been first asked to go on an indefinite leave; later, a minister was appointed to take his place; now, it is difficult to know Mr. Ayensu's present position in the civil service.

Although one makes the usual allowance for human frailty, it is not the intention of the **Legon Observer** to hold a brief for civil servants whose behaviour has merited dismissal, or enforced transfer. In the interest of democracy the decision of politicians — if they are the genuine represen:atives of the people — must hold sway over that of bureaucrats, however high-powered.

But one becomes worried if :he exercise of a governmental privilege appears to border on arbitrariness. If a committee of enquiry has been set up to probe the affairs of an office, the public is surely en:itled to know its findings. If the revelations in the findings are seen by :he government to be unpublishable, a subtle way must be found for informing the public; and if a top civil servant is to be dismissed, i: stands to reason that the public is entitled to know the facts of the case, so tha: the public can learn from what is required of top level civil servants.

Unless the normal decisions and deliberations of the government are made public, the government will have difficulty in answering popular charges of tendencies towards dictatorship and high-handedness.

L.S.N.A. Communication

AT THE general meeting of the Legon Society on Na:ional Affairs, held on 23rd January, 1970, the following officers for the Council were elected: President, K. A. B. Jones-Quartey; Vice-President, E. J. Thompson; Secretary, Kwame Afreh; Treasurer, J. M. Hyde. **Members:** I. K. Tufuoh, Kwame Arhin, J. M. Assimeng, J. A. Peasah, A. A. Boahen, E. Amu, Kwame Adjei, and S. O. Gyandoh, Jnr. **Editorial Board:** Chairman, K. A. B. Jones-Quartey; Editor, J. M. Assimeng; Asst. Editors, Kwame Arhin and A. K. P. Kludze. **Members:** A. A. Boahen, J. E. A. Manu, J. A. Peasah, S. O. Gyandoh, Kwame Afreh, Kwame Adjei (Business Secretary), J. M. Hyde (Treasurer), I. K. Tufuoh, Jawa Apronti and E. Ofori Akyea.

CORRECTION

The **Observer** apologizes for the numerous proof-reading oversights and typographical errors in the issue of January 16, 1970. The article on "Jehovah's Witnesses and the Millennium" suffered particularly badly. In fairness to the Watch Tower Sect, our readers, and the author of that article, we reproduce below, the correct version of paragraph 20, which began on page 14, column ii, of that issue. — The Editor.

> Worshippers of science, and "the new priesthood of medical men" (the latter is an apparent reference to the blood transfusion question) usually get their usual share of indictment during such divine assemblies, though this is consistent with the world-view of the Witnesses. The Society teaches that secular knowledge brings danger, and that the involvement of scientific men in decision making is a threat to democracy. Also, at a time women compete with men for positions of responsibility, Witnesses admonish that genuine Christian women will do well to conform to their "God assigned" positions at home, as enjoined by St. Paul. By such "willing subjection" to their husbands, women will thereby escape many psychiatric problems which, Witnesses believe, arise from discontent with traditional sex roles. Witnesses do not ignore secular arguments altogether.

In our next issue

The Need for Legal Aid in Ghana

by Kwame Afreh

Africa

THE NEED FOR REVIVING PAN-AFRICANISM

By

J. K. Obatala

(An Afro-American Student at Legon)

DURING the course of a conversation, I once suggested to a fellow student at the University of Ghana that servants should be sent to trade schools, and that students should do for themselves what the servants were doing for them. His reaction was that I was not a "Ghanaian" and, furthermore, that I was not even an African, and thus had no right to make such a suggestion. The underlying proposition, of course, was that I should either accept things as they are here or else go "home".

His reaction illustrated to me (1) the insufficiency of tribal and parochial, i.e., "national", histories, and (2) the need for a revival of the Pan-African ideal. For, it was obvious that he did not understand that Africans and American negroes were one people. As the dialogue developed, he asked me what my political convictions were and I told him that I believed in Pan-Africanism. What I *didn't* tell him was that it was *he* who had just converted me!

Indeed, when I left the United States I was a dedicated Afro-American "Nationalist" and had always thought of African Nationalism as an end in itself. But my encounter with this colleague revealed to me openly and clearly the utterly reactionary and self-defeating nature of nationalism. For, in his own mind, the fact that I was not "Ghanaian" had everything in the world to do with the usefulness of my ideas.

Faulty Conception of Africa

While I have been well treated by most people here, I must say that I have encountered a large number of "Ghanaians" (especially in the university environment) who have seemed to me to be conceptually ill equipped to relate to me as a fellow African. This, of course, means that such individuals have no conception of what Africa really is, other than a geographical entity bounded by the Atlantic Ocean, the Pacific Ocean and the Mediterranean and Red Seas. This strictly geographical conception, however, does not take into account the dispersal of African people abroad since the 15th century. Indeed, the slave trade alone—not to mention colonialism, war and imperialism—is responsible for the existence of over a hundred million Africans outside the geographical boundaries of continental Africa.

Yet it is not the mere existence of Africans outside Africa that renders any geographical or cultural definition of Africa and its people inadequate. For, if geographical Africa ends where the Atlantic begins, and cultural Africa ends South of the Mason-Dixon line (which divides the Northern from the Southern Region of the U.S.), politically and economically speaking, *Africa can be found wherever black people exist and are conscious of Africa as their home land*. (Thus both Afro-Americans and Afro-Canadians settled in Sierra Leone in the 18th century, while freed slaves from the Southern United States settled in Liberia in the century that followed).

Nations as Artificial Entities?

The main problem then, is this: tribal, national and even continental conceptions of Africa fail to take into account the historic role played by New World Africans in determining Africa's destiny. My "Ghanaian" brother, for example, could not possibly have known that it was displaced Africans from the West Indies ("Afro-West Indians") who introduced avocado pears, mangoes, cocoyams and coffee into the "Gold Coast" back in 1847, a full one hundred years before "Ghana" came into existence (see Fred M. Agyemang, *The Story of the Middle Boarding Schools in Ghana: 1867 to 1967*, Waterville, 1967)! Nor could my "Ghanaian Nationalist" brother have appreciated the fact that many a great "Ghanaian" (Kwegyir Aggrey among them) were trained in institutions of higher learning in America which were owned, supported, controlled and operated by New World Africans. Suppose we had said to such great **Africans as John Chilembwe** of Nyasaland, Nnamdi Azikiwe of Nigeria and Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, all of whom were educated in our universities. "No! Why you are not even Afro-American"!

I am not by any means implying that continental Africans owe us anything: indeed, my innermost convictions are that just the opposite is true. What I *am* saying is that "Ghana", like all other African "countries", is an artificial entity—created out of a misunderstanding of the real objectives of national struggle—and should not be allowed to stand in the way of African liberation which can only be achieved through co-operation and relentless struggle on the part of *all African people*, at home and abroad. Neither is it my position that the interest of the people here should be neglected

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[Continued on Page 5]

[Continued from Page 4]

taken some courses in Statistics.

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in the interest of international affairs. I am simply saying that the historic ties which bind Africans and their brothers abroad transcend any presently existing "national state"—with the exception of Ethiopia—and that it is detrimental to the cause of African progress and development to allow nationalism to come between us.

For, Africans in America ("Afro-Americans") are over 25,000,000 in number and, although largely backward, we still have among us a greater concentration of doctors, carpenters, chemists, bricklayers, mechanics, teachers, etc. than any other single grouping of African people on or off the continent. If somehow continental Africa could manage to harness this vast reservoir of talent, skill and technological training, Africa's degrading dependence upon the charity of the white western world could be accomplished through a revival of the Pan-African ideal.

Task of Black Intellectuals

Africans at home and abroad must be made to understand that they are historically and politically one people, engaged in a common struggle against the common enemies of poverty, backwardness and economic exploitation. Africans in America in particular—since they have never been and will never become an integral part of that country—must be made to feel at home on this continent, the place of their origin.

This is the task of the black intellectual community, especially the historian and the artist, at home and abroad. The black historian, for example, must relegate to a secondary importance such superficial issues as who carved the best ivory knife handles, or which tribe was the most efficient exploiter of other Africans. Instead, the dominant theme in African history must become the African Liberation Struggle, a theme which is much broader and much older than Ghana as a nation state. For, the struggle was in progress long before "Ghana" came into existence and will probably continue long after it has assumed its rightful and more realistic position as a state or district under a unified African government. Moreover, the struggle has not been carried on exclusively by continental Africans in the past and, in view of the new wave of Pan-African consciousness that is sweeping across America, there is no reason to believe that this will be the case at any point in the future. African history must therefore be a history of the African *people* at home and abroad, rather than a tribal history of the African continent. The acceptance by African historians of the African diaspora (the African abroad) as a legitimate branch of African historiography is a primitive but significant step in this direction.

Themes in African History

Similarly, it is from this new Pan-African history that the artist must draw his themes. The heroes of his novels and plays must be the heroes of the struggle for African liberation, and not master exploiters and committers of fratricide. That some king, for example, could field an army of 200,000 men is not worthy of artistic interpretation if he used his forces to conquer other Africans rather than resist the encroachment of European imperialism upon the territorial integrity of the African people. If dealt with at all, the Pan-African artist—as a secondary historian—must expose such a ruler for what he actually was: either a coward, an opportunist and/or a black imperialist exploiter. He must not be glorified before the eyes of the people. At the same time, the Pan-African artist must not neglect the struggle of Africans in the New World as a source of inspiration for his art. He must be careful, however, not to confuse integrationist opportunism with the struggle for African liberation. Men like Marcus Garvey, George Padmore, Joseph Cinque, W. E. B. Du Bois and Malcolm X were of a radically different tradition from that of men such as Frederick Douglass, Whitney Young and Roy Wilkins. The former were concerned with the liberation of African people, and the latter simply wanted to be admitted into the "mainstream" of American life.

In conclusion, I would simply like to suggest that African governments devise some type of scheme whereby African talent could be removed from the New World, especially America, where it is being exploited, abused and wasted. The scheme should be Pan-African in nature and the "countries" in the greatest need should receive precedence over all others.

Before such a scheme could be successfully carried out, however, the psychological groundwork must be well laid by black intellectuals, both in Africa and abroad.

Social Problems

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT — TIME TO ABOLISH IT?

By
Ben Adam

"AN EYE for an eye and a tooth for a tooth". This is probably the sole argument that those who favour capital punishment can muster to strengthen their case. Now that we are in the process of building a new nation, we have to turn our attention not only to economic, social and cultural reforms but also the abolition of the death penalty in our criminal laws. The aim of this article is to provoke public discussion on this major social issue: whether it is not yet time to abolish capital punishment in Ghana.

What arguments can one put forward to support the abolition of the death penalty? Briefly five arguments can be advanced.

First, the proponents of capital punishment maintain that one of the purposes of retaining it is to deter others from committing the same crime. But several years of investigation by sociologists and other interested groups have come to the conclusion that most murder cases involve people who have had no previous criminal experience, and who commit the crime after a violent quarrel or in the heat of passion, obviously without considering the consequences. As for the professional criminals, they are likely to be deterred by a long prison sentence as by anything else. This in effect means that capital punishment cannot be a deterrent, and the point is supported by a number of studies. In 1954, for instance, the British government appointed a Royal Commission to study capital punishment; after extended hearings the Commission concluded that there was no clear evidence that the abolition of the death penalty led to an increase in the number of murders committed, or that its retention led to a fall.

Secondly, advocates of the death penalty maintain that abolition would expose law enforcement people to considerable danger, and that if a criminal knew that he would be hanged for killing a policeman he would think twice before using his gun. The argument states that the only fear a criminal has in avoiding the use of his gun against a policeman chasing him is that of his own consequent execution. This has, however, not been the case in countries where the death penalty has been abolished. For instance, in Australia, the police themselves initiated a move to end capital punishment, asserting that the death penalty offered such a threat that certain criminals would go to the extreme in attempting to avoid capture.

Thirdly, one important factor which calls for the abolition of the death penalty is that the law is not infallible. There is no doubt at all that innocent people have been hanged for crimes they never committed. The irrevocability of such a miscarriage of justice is clear, and terrible: the states of Maine and Rhode Island in the United States abolished the death penalty upon discovering that they had murdered some innocent people. In 1953 the British Home Secretary admitted that an error had been made three years previously when a man was executed for a crime he denied, and which was later confessed to by another. It is true that this country has never had such a shocking experience; but who is there among us who can say with confidence that each of the people the State has hanged in our history committed the crime with which he was charged?

Fourthly, is it not true to argue that the State sets a bad example when it takes a life? The state takes the place of the criminal in doing to him that which it calls murder when he does it to another; this obviously removes the sanctity of life from our concern and brutalizes all society. Moreover, this legalized bloodletting may have adverse, if not contagious, effects on the rest of us.

Limits of Retaliation

Finally, capital punishment is based on the law of retaliation, lex talionis, and those who quote the Scriptures to support their case should be more circumspect. "An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth", appearing in both Exodus and Deuteronomy, has been interpreted by Bible scholars as indicating the limit of repayment for any grievance as being the extent of the grievance itself. It is merely a measure of evaluation for compensation monetarily. Talmudic scholars state, with unanimity, that the phrase does not mean that because a life is taken, the life of the taker must be sacrificed as well.

In any case those who invoke the Biblical injunction to support capital punishment tend to forge that retribution is not within what is regarded by Christians as the divine plan: "Vengeance is mine, saith the Lord; I will repay". Why should we arrogate to ourselves the legal power to take away a life? The crime may be as horrible as one can imagine, but are we sure

that in hanging a criminal the society is protected thereby?

Many complex psychological emotions are responsible for making a person a murderer, and it is the duty of the state and the society at large to find remedial solutions rather to kill such a person. The point is that there is much more to it than the mere hanging of a murderer; the arguments marshalled in support of the death penalty have not proved valid in the course of the history of mankind. As the "great awakening" catches on in the country, we should expect more vicious forms of crime; and we should begin to find more accepted ways of dealing with such crimes than merely hanging such criminals, just because this is the usual legal solution.

I am personally not convinced that capital punishment serves any useful purpose in our society; it should therefore be abolished.

Observer Notebook

Nuisance in the Streets

GHANA is quietly but visibly becoming an international scandal; any Ghanaian of responsibility who does not know it does not deserve his responsibility. But then it is not possible that any responsible citizen, let alone a responsible official or functionary, can be unaware of or insensitive to the problem of our primitive lack of public toilet facilities and the public nuisance that grows daily from this shortage. In plain words, an appallingly fast rising number of males — **and** little girls — are using the streets of Accra and every other town in Ghana as one vast urinal. **In open view of anybody!**

When the American Peace Corps girl, Miss Michelmore, lost her famous postcard in Nigeria some years ago and "won" a moment of world-wide notoriety for her indiscretion, Africans — black people — everywhere wanted to chew her head off, raw. Miss Michelmore's crime was not that she had maligned the African people by accusing them of using "sidewalks", gutters, hedges, open fields, and beaches to "go to the bathroom" — as they say in America and as she put it — but that she had been stupid enough to have written her subsequently world-shaking "'Letter' from Africa" on an open postcard, and careless enough to have then lost it somewhere in the street in Ibadan, or on the campus at the University, or some other public place — we forgot which, and it doesn't matter.

From the Cape to Cairo, from Dakar to Nairobi, and in Jamaica and Harlem and Rio and Georgetown, wherever else the blackman lived, they went after her ... It got so bad that Dr. Azikiwe, then President of the then Federal Republic of Nigeria, had to rescue the poor girl from her hunters by inviting her to State House and being gracious to her publicly. And all because Miss Michelmore had carelessly made public her private truth ....

Well, that truth is still here with us: black Africa's cities and towns still lack, among other things, decent places of convenience for public use; so a large number of males, in Ghana especially, — one year old to 100 — "go to the bathroom" in public. This is repeating Miss Michelmore, but we do not expect to suffer her fate. We are part and parcel of the national embarrassment, not aliens.

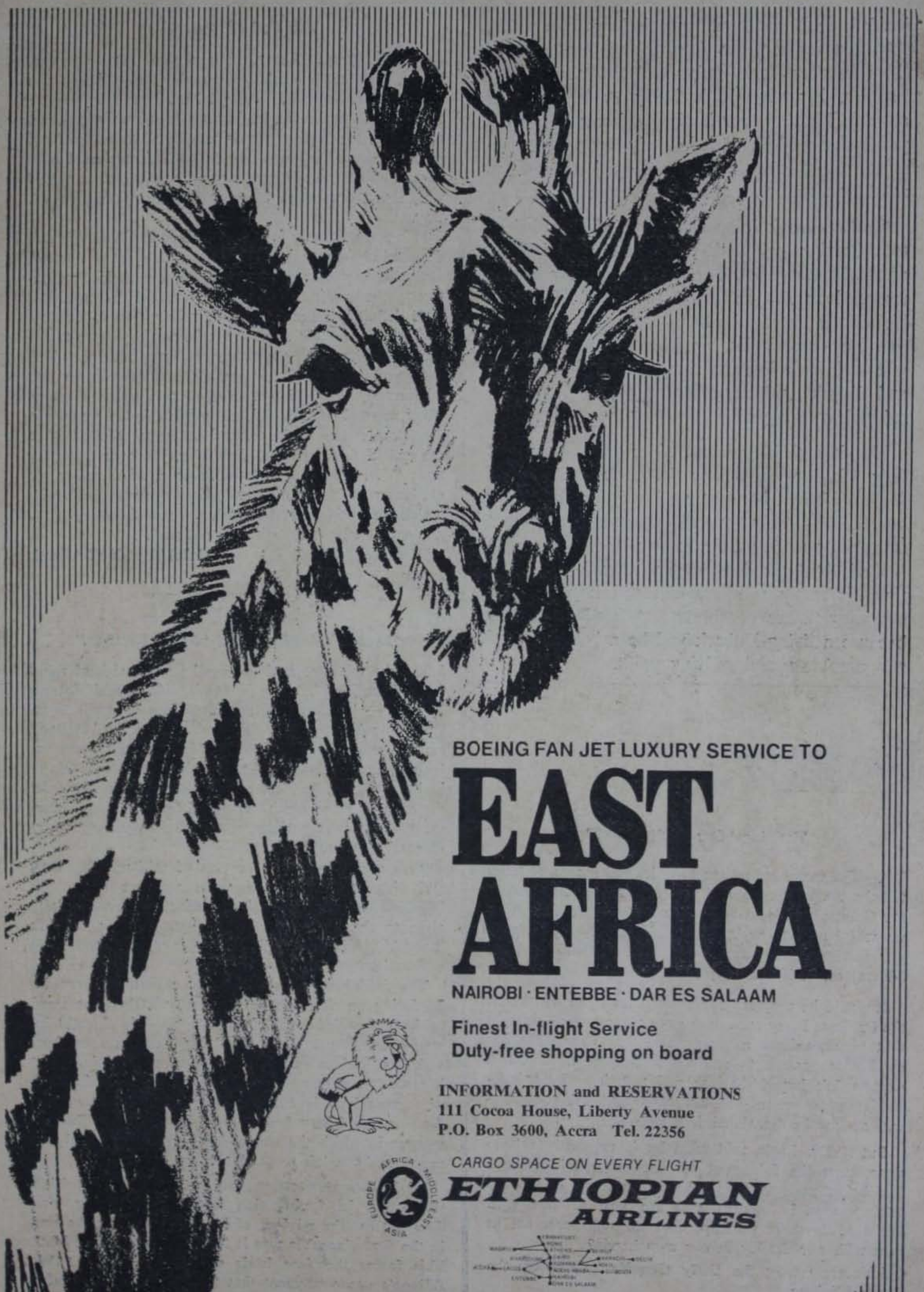
Containing Dubcek

POLITICAL regimes differ in the way they treat their ideological "heretics". In some areas such deviants are incarcerated, often to the point when only the will to survive sustains them. Milovan Djilas, the former vice-president of Yugoslavia, is a case in point. The extreme punishment of execution, through pressurized self-confessions to imaginary crimes, has also been adopted in cases when it is thought that the very mention of the heretic's name would continue to have a polluting influence on the ideological purity of the living.

Thus, such human beings become "unpersoned". A mere removal from political office, in the event of a person's unpopularity, is regarded as a democratic ideal. But the varieties are many, and not all regimes regard the ballot as an appropriate yardstick for testing popular opinion.

Early this week, Mr. Alexander Dubcek, the leader of the Czechoslovakia Communist Party until Russia overthrew him in 1968, arrived in Istanbul to assume the office of his country's Ambassador in Turkey. His leadership, after the removal of Antoin Novotny, was shortlived, because in the Communist world a leader's popularity is determined not only by those he rules directly but also — and more acutely — by those who, many miles away, determine the tenor of ideological soundness.

It is significant that his "despatch" has co-



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incided with renewed speculations concerning demands for a more humiliating treatment of the reformers. It is understood that the present premier, Mr. Cernik, is likely to be removed soon. If his successor is chosen from among the pro-Soviet hard-liners, it is likely that the government would accede to a Central Committee resolution to begin trials of some sort.

Gustav Husak is apparently being regarded as too liberal, and is perhaps not to the total liking of the Russians. His normalization policy is now regarded as too soft, and too slow. If Husak himself is removed, then one can predict a dangerous pro-Stalin, pro-Novotny revival. This will obviously lead to more political discontent and disquiet, until another round of "heretical" reformism emerges.

Husak and his present aides were, thus, not only playing diplomacy in their removal of Dubcek from the centre of political storm at home. They probably had other motives for not completely exiling their former leader. Although Dubcek is silenced presently, there is no doubt that his many admirers will still hope for the flickering flames of liberty and freedom, if only because a living Dubcek will be a better symbol and a more useful rallying point.

Letters

Training "Our Intellectuals?"

SIR—The world seemed to have heaved a sigh of relief tell the twelve directors of the International Association for Cultural Freedom "that now that you are in Africa, we will be glad for help you give in the training of our intellectuals", as reported in the *Daily Graphic* (Accra) on 12th January, 1970.

It would be very sad for some of us if he did. When the Progress Party came into power, some of us thought that now we have a government that apparently has confidence enough to end the racket of the so-called experts. We hoped that the real meaning of the independence movement—self-assertion and self-reliance—will at last be translated into action.

But if Dr. Busia said what he is reported to have done, then the fulfilment of these expectations looks like being postponed. Is Ghana, then, not to end its tutelage even in matters that are part of our own heritage? Is there no hope that we shall ever act as men with our destiny in our own hands?

I sincerely trust the *Daily Graphic* misquoted the Prime Minister.

Institute of African Studies **Kwame Arhin**
Legon

The End of Secession

SIR—At long last the war in Nigeria has come to an end. There were many non-Nigerians who took sides in this civil war. Though a few might have been disappointed that the war has ended in the way it has, it should come as a relief to all peace-loving people all over the world—that at least the bloodshed on both sides should have come to an end once and for all. Only a maniac would wish that the war should continue until it came out *his* way.

It is not necessary to re-state the untold suffering and destruction the war has brought to the "giant of Africa". However, a greater task remains in the period of reconstruction, rehabilitation, reconciliation and re-integration. It is definitely more difficult to repair than to destroy, and it is hoped that Africa and the world will go to the aid of Nigeria in her post-war reconstruction programme.

But to win the peace also, General Gowon and his advisers should display a sense of tact and diplomacy. They must always be guided by what Lincoln told the American nation in his second inaugural address after the end of the American Civil War, just over a century ago: ". . . With malice towards none, with charity for all, let us . . . bind up the nation's wounds . . . and do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations".

Commonwealth Hall **Abdul Razark El-Alawah**
Legon

On the Extinction of the "Biafra Republic"

SIR—The world seemed to have heaved a sigh of relief when hostilities between Federal Nigeria and Eastern Nigeria — heretofore known as Biafra — came to an end a few days ago. For thirty months the Ibo heartland was the venue of one of Black Africa's most gory spectacles. And no doubt Lt.-Col. Effiong stands on a higher pedestal, for it was he who (ironically?) dealt the coup de grace which completed Gowon's dismemberment of the whole edifice constructed single-handed by General Ojukwu.

Very soon it will be the turn of military observers, and chroniclers alike, to write volumes about the Nigerian civil war — a phenomenon which was totally alien to the continent. Before that, however, I think it would not be out of place to offer some **ex post facto** rationalisations.

The initial exhibition of such unparalled bravado, bordering on jingoism on the part of Ojukwu seemed to have instilled some fear into us. We thought he would be able to keep his "ship" on an even keel and thus lead to sure disintegration of Nigeria. What is more, we were concerned with the number of people who would have been killed (since if that had happened the war would have been bloodier than it was) But the manner in which the war ended — so unnoticeably — seems to have left some doubts in our minds.

If Ojukwu was aware that arms and ammunition would not be forthcoming just for the asking, one does not see the wisdom of his embarking on the war in the first place. Or was it lack of military foresight? This factor therefore lends some support to Lt-Col. Effiong's pronouncement that "The Republic of Biafra hereby ceases to exist", for under those circumstances that was the most sensible thing to do. (In any case

UNIVERSITY OF GHANA

Registrar's Offices

ADMISSION TO DEGREE COURSES IN OCTOBER 1970

Candidates wishing to be considered for admission to Degree Courses (other than in Administration) of the University of Ghana should write for application forms which should be completed and returned not later than *31st March, 1970.*

Applications for admission to courses in Administration should be addressed separately to the Secretary, School of Administration, Legon.

To be considered for admission to the first year course, a candidate must:

(1) have obtained passes at Credit (or higher) level at the West African School Certificate Examination or passes at the London General Certificate of Education Examination (or an approved equivalent) in English Language and in at least four (4) other subjects of which not less than THREE (3) must be at the Advanced Level. At least one of the Advanced Level passes should be grade 'D' or above. (In exceptional cases candidates who have taken three (3) Advanced Level subjects at one and the same sitting and have obtained two (2) passes not below grade 'C' *may* be considered for admission, provided they also satisfy the requirement in 2 below).

(2) have obtained a pass in the General Paper set by the West African Examinations Council for Advanced Level candidates.

In addition, candidates shall be expected to satisfy the requirements of the particular Faculties and Departments in which they wish to study. These requirements are outlined in a pamphlet issued with application forms.

Candidates who hope to satisfy the minimum requirements at examinations to be held in January or June, 1970 *must* also complete application forms and return them not later than *31st March, 1970. No late applications will be considered.*

ENTRANCE EXAMINATION—LAW

The entrance examination for admission to the Law course will be held on Tuesday, 31st March at the GREAT HALL, LEGON.

NOTE (IMPORTANT)

1. Letters for application form must be addressed to the *SENIOR ASSISTANT REGISTRAR (ACADEMIC), UNIVERSITY OF GHANA, P.O. BOX 25, LEGON,* and must be accompanied by a self-addressed foolscap envelope to which must be affixed a 9 New Pesewa (9NP) stamp.

2. Forms will not be sent to applicants who do not send stamped envelopes as indicated.

3. Candidates still in attendance at 6th Form Schools need not apply individually as forms will be sent to the Heads of all 6th Form Schools.

20TH JANUARY, 1970.

what could he (Effiong) have done with "home-made" land-mines?)

To Ojukwu, however, this "unconditional surrender" would certainly appear as a betrayal of trust. Like Chinua Achebe's Okonkwo, he may be thinking that the great fire he lit has now been put out, leaving only "cold, impotent ash". Meanwhile he has gone, leaving behind a tale of woe.

As put by the "International Herald Tribune" of 12th January, 1970, ". . . the problem before Nigeria, as before so many other African states, is to make a nation out of the tribal miscellany which was one of imperialism's dangerous legacies to the continent". The overwhelming question then is, can "statesmanship conquer tribalism" in Nigeria?

Gowon seems to have started the task of reintegration well (except that he is lamenting over the fact that "the birds have flown"). All the world will be watching and praying, and if he is able to do just that, we shall be beholden to him indeed!

Legon Hall **Felix A. Asiedu**

The Nigerian War

SIR — With the cessation of hostilities and formal surrender by Biafra, the gruesome war in Nigeria has ended. The Federal leader has announced a general amnesty for the Easterners. Whether subsequent events will demand a qualification of the amnesty is a matter of detail.

Meanwhile, U Thant has counselled the display of magnanimity in victory; the Vatican has also advised that there should be no genocide; and the French Premier has spoken of the need for massive relief supplies for the victims.

There are now millions of people in Nigeria who are sick, hungry and maimed for life. It will take years to rehabilitate them. These are the tears of yesterday. It is hoped that reconciliation in Nigeria would mean an honest and meaningful integration of the conquered. They must be made to realise that the future of Nigeria depends on all the tribes and not on some tribes alone. The fear of insecurity and any form of humiliation must be eliminated.

The problem may be "beyond Biafra" but the solution is to be sought *inside* Nigeria. The challenge of national reconstruction lies on the statecraft and the ingenuity of the Nigerians themselves.

Commonwealth Hall **P. Adu-Gyamfi**
Legon

Implementing Commissions of Enquiry Reports

SIR — Immediately after the coup, there were organizations, corporations, and individuals calling for probes and commissions of enquiry into certain sectors of our life and our economy, apart from those which the N.L.C. deemed necessary to institute. Many of these commissions finished their work and handed in their findings in less than a year. Most of their recommendations were duly accepted.

It is believed that some people who were to answer questions at the commissions of enquiry managed to run away from this country. In the name of justice, therefore, I call on the government to stop all probes and commissions of enquiry until such a time that the recommendations which the government has already accepted so far have been effectively implemented.

Achimota **F. C. Essandoh**

Aliens And Our Politicians

SIR — The rumour is fast gaining ground that some of the aliens affected by the 'Compliance Order", in a last minute effort to secure residence permits, are "buying" our big men with large sums of money. Perhaps there is no substance in this rumour. May be it has been maliciously set in motion by some irresponsible individuals, and probably calculated to discredit our political leaders. Whoever invented this disturbing rumour has done more than enough to produce a cloud upon the horizon of politics in Ghana, which our big men have to work very, very fast to dissipate.

But, in the light of the circumstances which led to the fall of Nkrumah and the honourable resignation of General Ankrah, we refuse to reject the rumour as wholly untrue. It does not serve any useful purpose, in the light of all that went wrong in the First Republic, to listen to official denials. This time we want the actions of our big men to speak louder and clearer than their words.

Therefore, the best, safest and most effective way of killing this objectionable rumour is to enforce the controversial order to the letter. After all, the majority of Ghanaians support its enforcement. It is probably true that most people see some signs of weakness on the part of the government about this order.

If our big men want to remain in their present positions of responsibility, they should not do anything that will cost them the continued respect and admiration of the governed.

Commonwealth Hall **Obeng-Manu**
Legon

Missionary Schools and Liberalism

SIR—"The taking over of an institution", says Mr. Frimpong, "does not in any way imply penalization". But some schools, as well as countries, think the loss of independence something to be avoided. To allow an educator or a missionary to open a school and go his own way is one thing which liberal Western countries do and which totalitarian countries do not.

Legon **Daphne Hereward**

Oburoni Muntu and African Ideology

SIR — May I suggest that Oburoni Muntu's important articles on African Ideology be reprinted as a pamphlet?

Having recently seen a Ghanaian girl buffeted and abused at a bus station because she could not speak the language of the drivers, I was reminded of the dangers which lie not so far beneath the surface in many parts of Africa.

I would suggest that Kontopiaat's phrase, "the revival of **cultural and regional solidarity,** or as it is popularly but **most erroneously** termed, the revival of tribalism", appear on the title page.

P.O. Box 56 **K. B. Forge**
Agona Swedru

UNIVERSITY OF GHANA

Registrar's Offices

ADMISSION TO NON-DEGREE COURSES IN OCTOBER, 1970

Candidates wishing to be considered for admission to Non-Degree Courses (other than those of the School of Administration) in the University of Ghana should write for application forms which should be completed and returned not later than *28th February, 1970*. The following Non-Degree Courses will be available in October, 1970.

1. *LICENTIATE IN THE STUDY OF RELIGIONS*

A two-year course for persons who possess a good education and at least five (5) years' experience in the teaching of Theology.
(The entrance examination will be held on Friday, 3rd April, at the Great Hall, Legon).

2. *CERTIFICATE IN SOCIAL ADMINISTRATION*

A two-year course intended primarily for candidates sponsored by the Ministry of Social Welfare and Community Development. Candidates must have had a good general education plus at least five years experience in Social work.
(Applicants to be sponsored by the Ministry of Social Welfare should apply for application forms to the Director of Social Welfare and Community Development, P.O. Box 778, Accra. Other applicants should indicate the Organisations or Departments which will sponsor them).
(The entrance examination will be held on Thursday, 2nd April at the Great Hall, Legon).

3. *DIPLOMA IN DRAMA AND THEATRE STUDIES*

A three-year course for persons who possess either the minimum entry qualifications for admission to a degree course, or the Ghana Post-Secondary Teachers' Certificate (or its approved equivalent), or the Certificate in Drama and Theatre Studies of the University of Ghana.
(The date for the entrance examination will be announced later).

4. *GENERAL DIPLOMA IN MUSIC*

A three-year course for persons who possess a certificate of proficiency in the rudiments of music (advanced or final) of an approved institution, or its equivalent
(The date for the entrance examination will be announced later).

5. *DIPLOMA IN AFRICAN MUSIC*

A two-year course for persons who have obtained a music diploma of an approved institution or have done the specialist music course of the Ghana Ministry of Education.
(The date for the entrance examination will be announced later).

6. *DIPLOMA IN DANCE*

A three-year course for persons who have:

(a) obtained the General Certificate of Education or the Teachers' Certificate 'A' and passed an aptitude test in dance;
OR
(b) passed a special entrance examination in English, African Dance Forms and Dance Notation;
OR
(c) obtained the Certificate in Dance of the University of Ghana or its approved equivalent.

(The date for the entrance examination will be announced later).

7. *DIPLOMA IN NURSING EDUCATION*

A two-year course designed to prepare State Registered Nurses for positions in teaching or administration and supervision in Hospitals, schools of nursing, midwifery schools and public health agencies. Candidates must have had at least three (3) years satisfactory post-registration experience. It would be of advantage to the candidates to have had previous experience in the clinical area in which they intend to work upon completion of the programme.
(Applicants to be sponsored by the Ministry of Health should apply for application forms to the Director of Medical Services, (Manpower and Training Division), Ministry of Health, P.O. Box M.44 Accra. Other applicants should indicate the Organisations or Departments which will sponsor them).
(The date for the entrance examination will be announced later).

8. *CERTIFICATE IN DRAMA AND THEATRE STUDIES*
CERTIFICATE IN MUSIC
CERTIFICATE IN DANCE

These courses have been suspended for the time being.

NOTE (IMPORTANT)

1. Letters for application forms must be addressed to the *SENIOR ASSISTANT REGISTRAR (ACADEMIC), UNIVERSITY OF GHANA, P.O. BOX 25, LEGON*, and must be accompanied by a self-addressed foolscap envelope to which must be affixed a 9 New Pesewa (9NP) stamp.
2. Applicants must state which particular courses they intend to pursue.
3. Persons applying for more than one course must send a separate envelope for each course.
4. Forms will not be sent to applicants who do not send stamped envelopes as indicated.

20TH JANUARY, 1970.

"Is Christmas For Christians?"

SIR — In view of the constantly printed "Observer Notice" (which, indeed, appears at the foot of the very article to which I refer), I was astounded to see that you expended four full columns of valuable space on a rather undergraduate-level catena of references to mainly secondary sources (and very repetitious ones at that)—all to prove what any reasonably well-read person knew already, namely that the Christmas festival is not Christian in origin.

The question as to whether or not the church should embrace indigenous cultures and attempt to express the Gospel message through them is a much more interesting and open one (though most modern Christians would answer it, in principle at least, in the affirmative), but this aspect of the matter is simply swept aside by the writer, with the implicit assumption that such cultural adaptation can never be justified.

In view of the abundant and really first-class material available to you (witness **L.O.** V/I), might we not, Sir, be spared such trivial chatterings? By all means let us have occasional serious discussions on religious matters, such as Dr. Gaba's article, but not the red herrings of a crank, which may sound "topical" but will only confuse the less well-read and bore those who might otherwise be interested in religious discussion.

I am, Sir, a devoted and normally appreciative reader of your paper.

Sunnybank, High Street **(Revd.) J. D. Ferguson**
Wheatley, Oxford

An Englishwoman's View of Christmas

SIR — Mr. King Osafo, in his letter in the **Legon Observer** for the 19th December (**L.O.** IV/26) says that the average Ghanaian is tormented and confused about what to do during the Christmas season. He says Christmas should have a new meaning. Would you allow an average Englishwoman to try to explain a little of what this traditional religious and secular feast means to older people in this country?

In Northern countries where the winters are long, dark and cold, the preparations for Christmas offer a reason and an incentive for fighting the depression and gloom of the late autumn and winter by preparations for church services and for feasting, conviviality, the exchange of visits, letters, cards and presents with friends or relatives living at home or abroad but not seen — perhaps hardly thought of — during the other eleven months of the year. Many people, some of them unfortunately disabled or handicapped, are employed for months before 25th December in preparing the gifts, decorations, special Christmas numbers and programmes, so that the rest of us could have a gloriously free spending time buying or making special food and drink and in preparing gaily wrapped presents.

This is not necessarily done in an excess of greed but with an abundance that warms the memory of those who have participated, through the bleak days of January and February till Spring comes with a promise of warmer days and the completed growth of flowers, trees, fruits of the earth. For the churches the birth of Christ is followed by the austerity of Lent, the Crucifixion and finally the Resurrection. For those who have had a religious upbringing, or who are still in touch with children, it is a reminder of secure and happy days when the air tingled with excitement and mystery. The centre of this festival is simplicity: a baby poorly housed among the kindly animals, because there was no room at the inn for his parents who had travelled far. The mystery of birth, the uncertainty of travel in search of the unknown — these are ideas the human spirit must keep alive or it will perish in a morass of materialistic complacency.

It seems to me that the shepherds and wise men offered worship and gifts because they thought they had found the Creator of the Universe, symbolised in a human baby. The glitter of tinsel in homes, or lighting the dark streets in windows of shops on the earth, strives to reflect the glitter of the eternal stars in the night sky. The giving of gifts by one person or many reflects the gift of life itself and the unstinting abundance of creation. The creche reminds us of the need to care for the weak and helpless, because out of such a small, humble beginning may come all that makes the future worth hoping for: Peace on Earth and Goodwill among men.

Along with the disappointments, the jealous rivalries, the excesses of eating, drinking and spending which do often spoil the pristine innocence of the Christmas festival — as well as worse things such as are done in places where there is cruelty and war — there is always this message given in church services, carols, on cards and stamps, and in new ways of expressing old truths by art or literature, a message which helps to strengthen the peoples' determination to make the coming New Year a better one than the last has been. If hopes of better things wear thin as the year grows older, there is then the next Christmas season to look forward to, and prepare for.

Oxford, England **Lila Gough**

The Watch Tower Prophecies

SIR — Max Assimeng's article on Jehovah's Witnesses (**L.O.** V/2) made interesting reading. The Jehovah's Witnesses are pessimists. They are always prophesizing the end of the world. Once, the time was 1952; then this was shifted to 1959. Today the "probable date" is 1975. I would not be surprised if, after 1975, the "probable date" were "postponed" again to 2000 A.D.!

They think that they alone will be saved when the battle of Armageddon is fought on this earth! They could as well refuse to live as they have refused to carry out one of their civic responsibilities — the responsibility to vote.

Commonwealth Hall **Erasmus Douglas-Djarbeng**
Legon

The Significance of Guru Nanak

SIR — The 500th birthday celebration of one of the greatest spiritual leaders of India was observed on the 23rd November 1969 all over India and in many parts of the world. This great saviour was Guru Nanak (1469-1539), founder of Sikhism, a religion of the Sikhs of India. Although in the beginning his message was confined to India, it has today spread to many parts of the world. His message has helped his true devotees to realize that God is a living God who can really be experienced. His message was centred around God's realization and the brotherhood of all men.

The Christian may cast a suspicious eye on Sikhism: "Can anything good come from Nazareth (India)? Are

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MR. GEORGE F. QUARSHIE is in charge of the Pagan Road office of Barclays Bank, in Accra. He has been with Barclays for some fourteen years. Before his appointment to his present post he was the Accountant at the Bank's Knutsford Avenue, Accra branch. Earlier he had served in several other Barclays branches, having started as a Junior Clerk. Mr. Quarshie's very wide experience enables him to bring sound judgement to bear when — as happens many times a day — he welcomes into his office a Barclays customer seeking service or advice.

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they not magicians? Are they not worshippers of idols?" His Christian religion is, he believes, the only religion that can lead one to God. This is also the belief of the adherents of other religions.

But Guru Nanak and others who were greatly enlightened, and were adepts on matters concerning eternal life, never condemned religions. In our own Christian religion, it has taken us years to reason and realize that divisions and fanaticism among us are all signs of immaturity of the mind, and now we wish to come together. The Catholic is now beginning to know that the Protestant is his brother, and vice versa. The root cause of all this misunderstanding is ignorance. One may think one knows everything but there may be something else one does not know.

It is hoped that the future generations will come to realize the unity of purpose in all religions, and follow the example of Guru Nanak.

P. O. Box 44 **J. E. Bonfo Adu**
Asamankese

Book Review

THE CHOSEN TONGUE
by Gerald Moore (Longmans, 1969)

Reviewed by
E. Ofori Akyea

A FEW years back it became fashionable to "discover" African or Carribean literature. How many of the "brave" adventures really brought back any spoils worthy of note can be counted on the fingertips; Gerald Moore is in the group of the chosen few. This is a book which critically reviews the literature of the two areas, of Africa and the Carribean. The rationale of the book is very clearly set out in the introduction.

The central problem of the book is to elucidate, or try to say, what constitutes the stuff of the literature of these two areas, which have strong, historical links dating back to the years of slavery. Then the question of the way English usage by these non-native speakers has improved the language is posed as a lead-on from the first. The author also scrutinises the cultural texture of the persons in these two areas. But when the scrutiny deals in a consistent manner with the concerns that turn out to be what is culture, seen through literary eyes, the enquiry assumes real meaning outside of other considerations.

The literature of these areas of the English speaking world is normally seen in terms of the colonial situation and what it has given to or taken from the people. Moore's enquiry goes deeper than that. By a judicious selection of written work which try to give a flavour of the place treated in the most artistic manner, the literary story of the areas unfold.

There are no apologies offered about the literature; each individual work of art is critically examined as to what it says. Thus he says that although Naipal, for example, is a good writer, his very sensibilities make it impossible for him to appreciate the essential of being a West Indian. This is a writer "confusing a purely personal rejection with a historical fact".

What emerges then is a delineation of the essential life style of these people who feel no spiritual belonging to the West, and yet have to give voice to their concerns in a tongue not their own but which is a complicated vehicle of powerful communication. Within the works, then, lies a certain tension not of the writer's own making, but characterising his whole being. It could be the unsure Mr. Jagabir in Edgar Mittelholzer's *A Morning at the Office* who does not know his position in contemporary Trinidad Society in the urban, commercial world of Port of Spain; or any of Chinua Achebe's heroes, or the tensions in all the poets such as Edward Brathwaite of Barbados and the late Christopher Okigbo of Nigeria, or such dramatists as Wole Soyinka and Ama Ata Aidoo.

They are all extremely sensitive, sensible human beings who set out to examine the human condition in their own terms. These terms comprise their total experience which is their world. Their world is not the narrow confines of the islands or the continents but also the contributions, positive as well as negative, of the West. And as they grapple with the language they are like the phoenix creating a new dimension of the language.

Gerald Moore shows an acute awareness of the undercurrents of influences that go to make the various forms of literature what they are. For example, the poetry of George Awoonor-Williams becomes more meaningful if the Ewe situation in Ghana-Togo is well known. Another important quality of this work is the realisation of the verbal art traditions which inform the literature. These need fuller critical treatment, however, than has been done in the present work. The section on Okigbo shows the kind of seriousness with which such an important but difficult poet should be dealt with, rather than the wishy-washy kind of stuff which passes for critical notice these days.

This study obviously could not go farther than it did; the area is vast and needs massive treatment. But the attempt is worthy, in that a consistent critical analysis is made which will lead to a more meaningful understanding of this fascinating literature. It could also be the starting point of any course on Carribean and African literature written in the English language.

Miscellaneous

WHO IS A GHANAIAN?

by
Kwadwo Kontopiaat

In accordance with the New Year resolutions of myself and the people of Kontopiaatkrom, I was not to be heard again for at least six months. However, a delegation from the krom came to see me a few days ago and told me that such have been the revolutionary findings made by the Historical Society of Kontopiaatkrom, H.S.K., about the whole question of aliens that I was in duty bound to bring them to the attention of the Minister of Interior, in particular, and the whole Ghanaian public in general. On the eve of my departure for my six-months-plus ambassadorial course, I have to comply with the request of my people.

The first discovery is that the demand for the repatriation of Syrians, Lebanese and other aliens can

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be traced as far back as the 1920s; to be specific, to the inauguration of the National Congress of British West Africa. At this inaugural meeting, held in Accra from 11th to 29th March, 1920, the Congress adopted a number of resolutions. One set of these was entitled "Alien problems with particular reference to the Syrian Question", and so relevant are these resolutions that I have been ordered by the President of the H.S.K. to quote them verbatim, and in full:

(1) That in the opinion of this Conference the Aboriginal inhabitants of the several Colonies of British West Africa are not "Aliens" or "Foreigners" to one another, and [the Conference] advocates the avoidance of discriminatory Ordinances in that relation, and pledges itself to make representations at the proper quarter for the repeal of any such existing Ordinances;

(2) That the time has arrived for the introduction of Immigration Laws throughout British West Africa so as to keep out undesirable aliens;

(3) That this Conference, having heard the views of its members on the "Alien Problem with particular reference to the Syrian Question", is of opinion that the Colonial Office should be approached with the view of considering whether these Syrians are not undesirables and a menace to the good Government of the land, and, consequently, should not be repatriated from the West African Colonies".

(Ref: National Congress of British West Africa, Resolutions of the Conference of Africans of British West Africa held at Accra, Gold Coast, from 11th to 29th March, 1920.)

I am ordered to inform my readers that this particular meeting was attended by six representatives from Nigeria, three from Sierra Leone, one from Gambia, and over forty from Ghana, and that the following officers were elected:

President: Thomas Hutton Mills
Vice-President: J. E. Casely Hayford
Joint Secretaries: Dr. F. V. Nanka-Bruce
L. E. V. M'Carthy
[from Sierra Leone, but later domiciled here in Ghana and still very much alive]
Joint Treasurers: A. B. Quartey-Papafio
H. Van Hein.

The Congress certainly failed to persuade the Colonial Office to implement this policy, and, far from being repatriated, the Syrian and alien communities who started emigrating into West African countries in the 1890's grew in numbers with the years. In French West Africa alone — we could not find the figures for British West Africa — the number of Lebanese rose from 28 in 1897 to 276 in 1900, 1,110 in 1909, and over 3,000 by 1929. The Historical Society of Kontopiaatkrom is fully convinced that both the dead and the living members of the Congress are watching the recent developments with keen interest; they are wondering if their resolutions will be fully implemented.

The second finding, or rather issue, raised by the investigations of K.H.S. is the fascinating one of who in fact a Ghanaian is. The facts or fictions unearthed as a result of this research are truly disturbing. It would appear from it that only about 15% to 20% of the present population of Ghana are truly Ghanaians! How come? How come indeed!!

It seems clear from the investigations that the Ga (who constitute 8% of the population of Ghana); the Akan, who form 45%); the Mamprussi, Dagomba, Gonja and Nanumba, (who together form 16%); and the Ewe, (who are 13%,) are not Ghanaians at all, i.e., indigenous people of this soil! Even a Ga child will tell you that the Ga migrated to where they are now from Benin. And this is confirmed by the great historian, C. Carl Reindorf himself.

All the Ewe maintain that they came from Nuatji or Nuachi, which is now in Dahomey, and that they are brothers and sisters of the Fon of Dahomey and of the Yoruba of Nigeria, and have nothing in common with any so-called Ghanaian!

The Mamprusi, the Dagomba and the Nanumba, and incidentally the Mossi of Upper Volta, also say that they came into Ghana somewhere from the east, possibly from Northern Nigeria under the leadership of a Red Hunter called Tohajiye. (Beware Mr. Minister of Interior!) Certainly, the Kusasi would be the first people to tell you that the Mamprusi are aliens! The people of Gonja, on the other hand, are fully convinced that they are Mandingoes (or present-day Malians) and Nigerians, not Ghanaians; and that they came into Ghana only during the second half of the sixteenth century as a group of warriors under their leader Ndewura Jakpa, from the region of the ancient empires of Mali and Songhai!

The Akan, constituting as they do the largest single ethnic and cultural group in this country, are nonetheless, the most enigmatic as far as their origins are concerned. They include the Asante, Akyem, Kwahu, Akwapem, Agona, Gomua, Fante, Assin, Wassa, Twifo, Nzima, Sefwi, Gyaman and Bono peoples. Some of the Akan are absolutely certain that they migrated into modern Ghana from as far as Mesopotamia, the area of the Tigris and Euphrates, through Egypt. Others contend that they originated from Ethiopia. Many of them insist that they came from ancient Ghana or the region of the Niger bend, while some sections of them, for example the Asebu, are in no doubt at all that they came from the sea, under the leadership of Asebu Amanfi.

Now, the same Akan people are divided into clans, seven or eight of them, and each of these clans has its own story of origin. The Bretuo clan, for instance, say they descended from the sky — or is it the moon? —by a silver chain at Ahensan in Adansi; the Asenee say they came from a bead called Berewua; the Oyoko clan, the clan to which not only the Kings of Dwaben, Kokofu, Nsuta and Bekwai, but also the Asantehene himself, belong insist that they came from a hole in Asumenya Asantemanso, near Lake Bosumtwe. So you see, 80% of the Ghanaians say they came either from modern Nigeria or Egypt or Ethiopia or Mali, or from the sky or from a hole in the ground or from the sea.

The question then is: since these people say they came from somewhere outside the territorial limits of present-day Ghana or from a hole, are they aliens or not? If they are not aliens, how long does a non-Ghanaian have to live in this country to qualify to be a full Ghanaian — 1,000, or 500, or 100, or 50 or 10 years? This is the question I have been asked to put to the Minister of Interior.

The answer is crucial, for there are some people who certainly claim that they are autochthonous, or indigenous. The Guan say they have been living here

from time immemorial, and that when the Akan and the Ga came they were occupying the forest and coastal areas under their leaders the Ataalas. And the Guan of today are the Efutu of Winneba, the Senya of Senya Breku, the Kyerepong and Larteh of Akwapem, the Boso and the Anum across the Volta, and the Nchumuru people. The Kusasi, the Vagala, the Sisala, the Dagarti, the Tampolensi, the Konkomba, and the Chamba also claim that they are autochthonous and were occupying Northern Ghana long before the Mamprussi, the Dagomba, the Nanumba and the Gonja came.

Now, I hope I have been able to convince you that the question, who is a Ghanaian, is really urgent and I have been asked to call upon the Minister of Interior to answer it as soon as possible. I have been further instructed to warn him that if he fails to give a satisfactory answer, he may find himself being sent back to either Mali or Niger by the Konkomba and the Kusasi: his Ministerial Secretary may be returned to either Mesopotamia or Egypt or Ethiopia by the Guan, while the Prime Minister himself and the Ministers of Agriculture, Finance, Trade and even Foreign Affairs may all have to re-enter that hole near the lake, or join one of the Apollo crafts to the moon!!

Finally, this is really my swan-song, at least for the next six months. If I am able to go through my ambassadorial training, and if the Americans or the Russians do make it, then you may next hear from me from Mars. But these are big ifs! Adieu, my readers.

POEM:

Atenteben

Ghanaian flute, bamboo-born;
Freshly cut, you leave on my lips
The burnt taste of plantain (not too ripe)
Picked by quick fingers
From hot weldmesh on top of the coalpot.

You draw from my fingertips
(Tapping the rhythm,
White fingers over black holes)
The dance of fertility,
Skipping, knees bent, over red laterite,

Pointing you back at your mother
Who conceived you in rain,
Bore you, a finger of green,
Nourished you daily
To wind-swaying maturity;

Till your maker came,
Cut the stem,
Carried you off to his hut
To exercise ancient skills
On your severed member:

Trimming your tallness,
Slowly immersing the red-hot iron
Seven times, piercing your smooth flanks
In positions traditional;
Cutting the lip,

Inserting the wedge
To seal all but a slit.
To apply cracked lips and gnarled fingers
To your tuneless virginity:
Trying you; playing you.

The first to thrill forth
Flaming young love
With knowing touch
From your never-before-delighted
Bamboo slenderness.

Kofi Broni

News Summary

Accra January 21

Extortion from Aliens

A WARNING was issued yesterday to all Ghanaians by Mr. Kweku Baah, Ministerial Secretary to the Ministry of Interior, to cease and desist from extorting money from aliens under the pretext of helping them to obtain residence permits. Mr. Baah warned that anyone caught in such nefarious practices would "feel the full weight of the law" as it would be brought to bear on him.

Mr. Baah added, inter alia, that the government had no intention whatsover of touching the property of any departed aliens, but that neither could they sit by unconcerned if departing aliens are taking away with them large stocks of essential food items like sugar, milk, flour and sardines, which had been originally imported with hard-earned foreign exchange.

Freetown January 21

Sierra Leone into Republic?

PREMIER Siaka P. Stevens yesterday asked parliament to set up a commission which would sound public opinion about a republican form of constitution for Sierra Leone, which attained independence as a dominion within the Commonwealth in 1961 and in 1967/68 went through the experience of three rapid coups.

Accra January 21

Casely Mate Retires

MR. Casely Mate, the Ghanaian director of planning and financing of education under UNESCO, has retired and been succeeded by an American, William Platt, previously in charge of research at the International Institute for Educational Planning.

Accra January 22

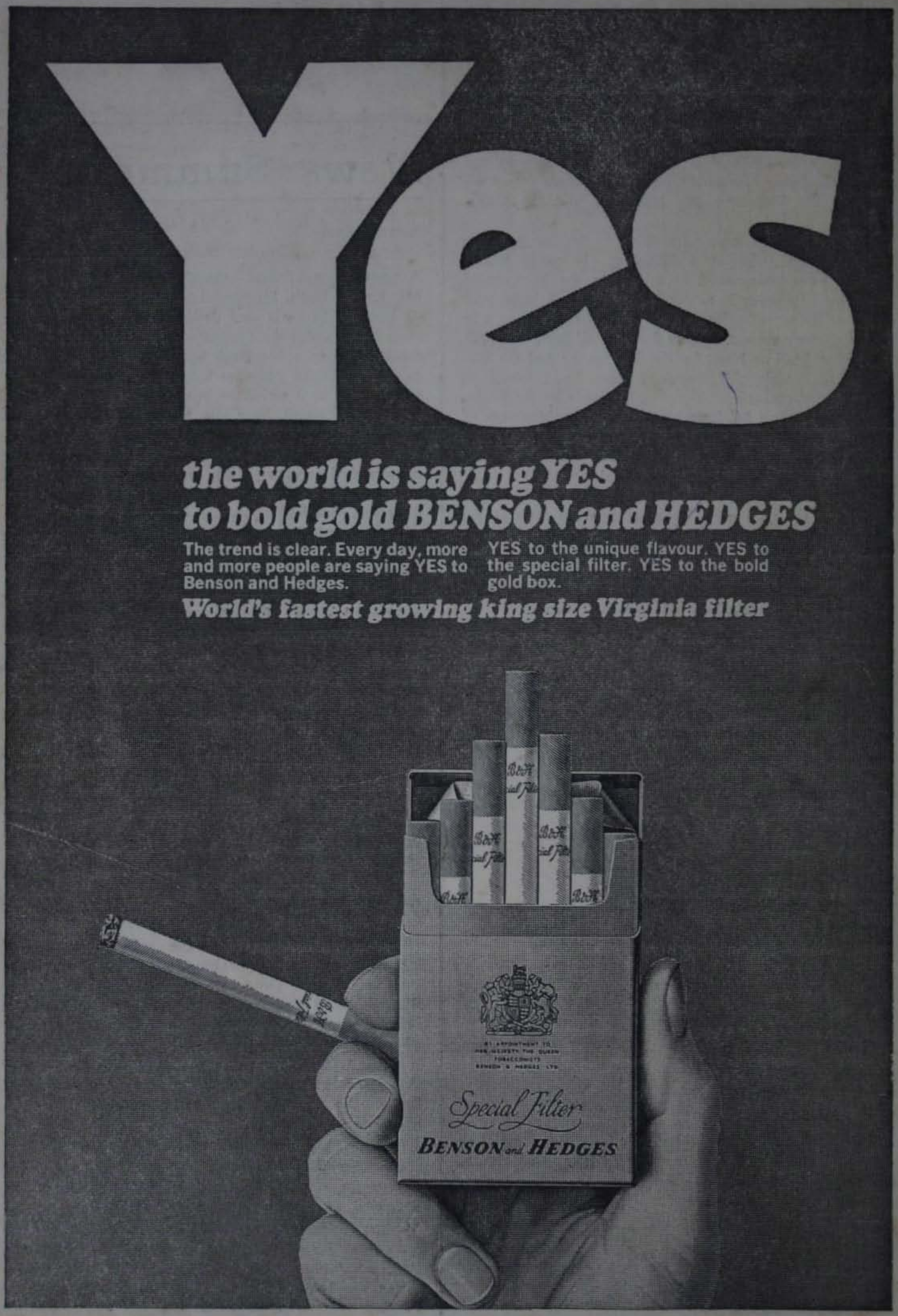
Ibos Demand Safeguards

GHANA'S Ibo community are demanding guarantees of safety and protection of life and property from the Federal Nigerian Government and friends of former Biafra, before they can consider the question of returning home to what is now the South Eastern State of Nigeria. Speaking to reporters here today, Mr. B. Emordi, who claims to be the official spokesman of the Ghana Ibo community, said it would be "foolhardy" for an Ibo to return home now without such safeguards.

Paris January 22

Mrs. Busia Entertained

THE wife of the Ghanaian Prime Minister, Mrs. Naa Morkor Busia, was the guest of honour at a dinner given last night by Ghana's Ambassador to France, Mr. Patrick Seddoh, for her and the Ghanaian party inaugurating the first regular air service between Accra and Paris.



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