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IN THIS ISSUE

VIOLENCE AGAINST DIPLOMATS

EDITORIAL ... 1
Vandalism, Anarchy and World Order

AFRICA ... 2
Politics and Religion in the Sudan
Richard Greenfield

THE ECONOMY ... 4
Ghana's Unemployment Problems
G. A. Donkor

DEMOGRAPHY ... 8
Population Growth and Family Planning
D. B. Safo

THE UNIVERSITIES ... 9
University College of Cape Coast: A Unique Experiment
K. A. Karikari

POLITICS ... 14
Ingredients of an African Ideology—The Way of Good-Fellowship
Oburoni Muntu

OBSERVER NOTEBOOK ... 16
The P.M. and the Rule of Law

LETTERS ... 17
Nkrumah's Role in History
Developing the Rural Areas
Economics of the Aliens' Order
The "Abuse of Freedom"
Ghana's Housing Problems
The Strength of African Culture
Ice in Financial Crisis
Women and the Nation
Encouraging Immorality?

BOOK REVIEW ... 21
Africa and Unity—Evolution of Pan-Africanism (Vincent Bakpetu Thompson)
The Organisation of African Unity and Its Charter (C. Hurst)
Reviewed by Yao Opong Saffu

MISCELLANEOUS ... 22
Developments in Kontopiaatkrom
Kwame Kontopiaat

EDITORIAL

VANDALISM, ANARCHY, AND WORLD ORDER

THE killing, early this week, at the hands of his kidnappers, of German Ambassador Count Karl von Spreti in Guatemala raises very poignantly a new and serious dimension in political and ideological conflicts in the world of nations. It clearly demonstrates that new avenues of social and political protest, previously unimaginable in civilised communities, are becoming increasingly popular and "proper" in the hands of those who choose to adopt them. And, with specific reference to von Spreti's brutal assassination, the question of the safety of diplomats in their accredited countries becomes all the more delicate.

But, although von Spreti's death has highlighted the gravity of this new anarchic approach to the settlement of political quarrels, we should not lose sight of equally horrible incidents of the past which have dotted the recent political history of Latin America. A few examples of such vandalism and apparent savagery would appear to indicate the level to which the world has sunk in its attempts to obtain "equity" and "order". In 1968, the American Ambassador in Guatemala, John Godwin Mein, was gunned down to his death by rebels when he was resisting a kidnap bid. In Brazil, U.S. Ambassador C. Burke Elbrick was kidnapped, and freed only after Brazil's government had released 15 prisoners on the orders of the rebels. In Santo Domingo, the U.S. Air Force Attache, Lt.-Col. Donald Crowley, was released by his captors only after 20 political prisoners had been freed in the Dominican Republic.

The discomfiture of von Spreti followed a pattern which has hardly varied. What the insurgents usually do is to capture (or try to capture) a foreign diplomat of a high ranking position. The insurgents, as in the case of the Guatemalan Rebel Armed Forces, then ask for the release of a specified number of rebel prisoners (who must surely be many!) before the captive is released. The aim in this exercise is not only to cause embarrassment to the Latin American governments, but also to draw international attention to the existence and the demands of the rebels. Obviously no amount of money would have been too high as an exchange for the life of a diplomat; and it is in this respect that the Guatemalan government has been criticized for not heeding the rebels' blackmail threats. After all, even if Chancellor Willy Brandt had not cabled to indicate Germany's willingness to pay the $700,000 demanded by the captors, it is clear that, for all their poverty, any Latin American government could readily afford this amount rather than incur

diplomatic censure.

But one understood the dilemma of the Guatemalan government. Although the lives of diplomats were at stake, one wondered how far a government could go in allowing anarchy and disorder to become a fanciful feature in one's country. What, for instance, could have prevented the rebels at a future date from asking for the release of **all** prisoners in exchange for another diplomat? Here, clearly, is where the Latin American governments are obliged, as in any other country, to ensure that the security network, especially around the lives of diplomats, is strengthened so that future repeat cases would be **prevented.**

But the kidnap complex should not, in any way, be seen as isolated. Hi-jacking of planes, another anti-norm in international relations, is apparently becoming accepted by those factions in various warfare who believe that men and planes can be disturbed in their movements, if only to publicise peoples' discontent.

Nearer home, it would be hypocritical for Africans to say that other people are more worthy of censure, and more guilty, than we are. General elections which could have brought Dahomey from military to civilian rule have just been cancelled, in a manner which raises the issue of the intentions of certain military regimes. In Lesotho, Chief Leabua Jonathan, having sensed what was an apparent election defeat, did not hesitate to suspend the constitution, arrest leaders of the opposition, exile King Moshoeshoe, and then begin to talk about "plots" to overthrow his government. Latin America has no monopoly of anarchy.

Evidently the way in which some of the Latin American governments and other governments in the Third World assumed power is not much different from the approach of the new guerilla nationalists. Thus, is the health of the entire social and political structures of these societies which deserves more serious diagnosis, as we ponder on Guatemala, Latin America, Africa and the world.

Ghana National Census
1970: Make
sure that you are
counted

Africa

POLITICS AND RELIGION IN THE SUDAN

by
Richard Greenfield

THE island of Aba has long been famous in the Sudan. It was on this islet in the White Nile that one Muhammed Ahmed spent many years in religious contemplation, in the middle of the last century, before making his dramatic entry onto the world stage. In 1881, his religious inspiration and ascetism led him to declare himself the *Mahdi*, the guided one, who would pioneer a new era of true interpretation of Islam.

The Mahdi's message was one of great simplicity. Although it is frequently not fully understood by colonial historians because they concentrate mainly on his opposition to the British, the Mahdi's teaching was essentially conservative. He stressed the simplicity of the message of the Prophet. He demanded that his followers keep women in the background. That they abstain from smoking and the drinking of alcohol. Also, of possible interest to us in Ghana, he also deplored the custom of lavish celebrations at times of birth, death, marriage and initiation. His puritism won him many staunch supporters —colonial historians call them fanatics — but also opponents for it was not only the British and the Turks (who he collectively referred to as his infidels) who opposed him.

Development of Rivalry

His followers, or 'helpers', were known as the *ANSAR*. Through them, as is well known, he gained control of the Sudan. Muhammed Ahmed outlived his adversary Gordon, who fell at Khartoum in January 1885, by only a few months. But his movement outlived him. Before he died of typhus later that year, he appointed successors or *Khalifas*, after the manner of the Prophet himself. But rivalry developed not only between the Mahdist and the other religious groups, but also within the Ansar movement itself. Despite a courageous stand against Kitchener, the Sudan was occupied by the British and Egyptian forces and the resulting Condominum came increasingly to be dominated by the British. Their attitude to the leaders of the Sudan can be seen to be consistent only from their own view point. The Mahdist leaders of the Ansar were on occasions favoured — they were opposed to

Egyptian influences in the Sudan for instance.

The Mahdists were led for 30 years by Seyyid Abdel Rahman al-Mahdi, the youngest son of the Mahdi and when he died in 1959 his son Seyyid Sadiq al-Mahdi, led the movement. He played a considerable part in the development of modern politics as leader of the Mahdist *Umma* party between 1945 and 1958. But he also spent much of his time and energy developing the fortunes of his own family and in encouraging the careers of his kinsfolk. In this sense his family became typical of a small wealthy group of Sudanese landowners.

On January 1st, 1956 the Sudan had become an Independent Republic. In the years which followed, although there were considerable developments particularly in the sphere of education and land utilization — witness the Gezira Scheme — there was no basic reform of the ownership of land. Many of the more progressive and radical members of the Sudanese elite began to resent the constant reshuffling and political coalitions which ensued. They pointed out new wealth and obvious corruption among the politicians. However, apart from the communists, murmurs against the landed families were muted, though many resented them.

Enter: The Military

Problems were legion. Tensions between religious and secular emphases in politics, between the factions of Islam and between the North and the South of this very large country resulted in November, 1958, in an apparent military coup. But actually it was by general consent of all the power groups and factions that a supreme military council took over the government. It was headed by General Ibrahim Abboud.

Although unsuccessfully challenged several times by younger military officers and intellectuals, this military regime lasted until 1964. Then disillusion with its false promises of national cohesion led to its replacement by another civilian government. However, constitutional debate rather than social progress, again proved the key-note. At one stage Seyyid Sadiq al-Mahdi, who was Oxford educated, actually became prime minister at the rather young age of 30. However, his position and comparatively progressive views led to disagreements with his own uncle, the Imam al-Hadi al Mahdi, spiritual leader of the Ansar. Their quarrels led to internal divisions and a decline in the national position of the Umma party but they always remained influential in the wings.

Exasperation again mounted and a new leader of Young Radical officers and intellectuals, Major-General Jifaar al-Nimeiry took over last year. The Revolutionary Council ordered the dissolving of all political parties. Seyyid Sadiq al-Mahdi was detained but his uncle, the Imam al-Hadi al Mahdi, spiritual leader of the Ansar, was allowed to live on unrestricted on Aba island.

The Young officers banned political acitvity and declared themselves committed to the development of the Sudan as a progressive nation. They made clear their intention of playing a more prominent role in the struggle of Islamic countries against Israel. Also, they committed themselves to a serious attempt to end the chronic state of rebellion in the South of the country.

Trouble over Land Reform

Some of their actions, such as the removal of the head of the University of Khartoum's department of political science, were felt by some to be high-handed. But to the delight of the more radical intellectuals and the majority of the students and trade unionists they committed themselves to a programme of meaningful land reform. This led inevitably to confrontation between the Revolutionary Council and the Ansar — the focus of Islamic conservatism since the Umma party had been dissolved.

The new regime, like that in Libya, was not well received in Washington and London. The *New York Times* is pro-Israel and appeared to fear the rise of officers more friendly disposed to President Nasser. *The London Times* commented: "Mahdist feeling, like those of other sects, has been opposed to Egypt and Nasserism, to communism, to growing secularism and to policies which would encourage the southern provinces to secede".

In Khartoum this head-shaking and implied disapproval was seen as interpretation straight out of the old colonial book. What mattered was what the Ansar leaders were *for* not what they were against. Of this the *Times* made no mention. But in the eyes of the new government and many others Ansar stood for traditional land ownership patterns, for family (almost dynastic) monopoly and for conservatism.

When the Head of the Revolutionary Council recently visited the Island of Aba he was not well received. This is not surprising since the Umma was banned. However, Intelligence reports advised the Council of caches of arms and reactionary foreign support. He at once committed his military to flush out this Ansar stronghold

on the famous island in the White Nile. Other smaller sweeps were conducted around Khartoum and Omdurman. Quantities of anti-tank weapons, bren-guns, rifles, ammunitions and armaments were seized.

The *Times* has commented that the Ansar was "the strongest single force in Sudan politics more cohesive than the Army, the trade unions and the students". It seems they were wrong, for the Imam had to sue for peace. He asked time to prepare himself for surrender. But in the lull which followed, he slipped away in one of two cars and headed for the Ethiopian border where doubtless he expected conservative sympathy and even support. The cars refused to stop when challenged by border guards near El Karmess. Doubtless, the guards did not see who were in the cars which attempted to crash their barriers. However, they had their orders. They opened fire and the Imam al-Hadi al Mahdi was killed.

Thus the essential conflict between the Sudan of yesterday and the Sudan of tomorrow was highlighted. *The London Times* comments, perhaps with Nigerian precedent in mind, that the "violent removal of the spiritual head of the Ansar could raise tension to a new point of explosion". Maybe. That is one traditionalist viewpoint. But another is that the new regime has consolidated itself for Force is also traditional!

Fulfilling a Sense of Mission

The Imam's property has been seized. His bank assets are frozen. A retired senior army officer, Brigadier Ahmed Abdulla Hamad has been arrested and charged with the training of the Ansar rebels in weaponry. When Major-General Jafaar al-Nimeiry recently visited rural areas people greeted him with shouted slogans in favour of the revolution and the Revolutionary Council. Not a seeker of charisma, he demanded quiet. "I have not come here to listen to slogans", he said, "but to work!"

If the new Government of the Sudan can fulfil this sense of mission, support will not be lacking. Of vital importance it will have to come to terms with the problems of the south which have defied all governments so far. It will have to carefully explain its programmes of land reform in the countryside — but "land to the tiller" is seldom an unpopular cry with peasants. Undoubtedly, it will also have to withstand the blast of pro-Israel and cold-war-conscious foreign newspapers but from a distance it might seem fitting for those with the best interests of the people of the Sudan at heart to suspend over-critical judgement and even to wish the regime well.

The Economy

GHANA'S UNEMPLOYMENT PROBLEMS

by

G. A. Donkor

UNEMPLOYMENT is one of the major problems facing the world today, but in the underdeveloped countries of the world the problem is becoming increasingly difficult. Surprisingly enough, the type of unemployment found in the advanced nations differs substantially from that of the poor nations of the world. In the sort of analytical process to be given in this essay, it is essential to look at two unemployment theories, the 'classical' and the 'Keynesian', and to examine which of them is applicable to the Ghanaian experience.

It will then be necessary to make a close study of the nature of unemployment in Ghana by looking at the under-utilization of labour, which is the result of underemployment and disguised unemployment. Next, there will be a consideration of the extended family system of social security and its effects on labour utilization. This also involves the subsistence level of the economy and the immobility of labour. The age, sex and sectoral distribution of employment in the Ghanaian economy over the years will be reviewed. Finally, some solutions to the unemployment problem in Ghana will then be recommended; at the same time a discussion of some of the problems involved in the implementation of such schemes will be presented.

Lack of Effective Demand

John Maynard Keynes, in his *General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money*, attributed the case of unemployment to the lack of effective demand. The implication of this theory was that failure to buy the commodities produced by industry resulted in unemployment. In this type of unemployment, it was not only labour which became unemployed but also the factories or machines which were used to produce the goods and services in short demand.

This was contrary to the views held by the classical economists, who saw unemployment as

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generating from the supply side, being the result of inadequate supply of the co-operant factors of production: land, capital, technology, etc. Different solutions are, therefore, required for each of the two types of problems thus described.

In Ghana, land is not as much a problem as in other underdeveloped countries, such as India and Pakistan, where there is an acute shortage of it. Unemployment in Ghana stems from the inadequacy of capital, technical knowledge and entrepreneurial and managerial personnel. The unemployed in the western economies consist of persons who are without jobs but are prepared to offer their labour at the ruling wage rates, and who are at the same time actively looking for jobs. The application of this notion to underdeveloped countries does a lot to obscure the whole problem involved.

Some observers who visit Africa often see a lot of people sitting under trees doing nothing during certain periods of the year; these observers immediately put down such people as unemployed. Most of these, however, are seasonal workers who have been laid off during the off-season.

Underemployment

In the dry season, some parts of the country experience water shortage, thus making it impossible for farmers to work throughout the year. This is the type of unemployment known as "underemployment". In such a situation, workers either voluntarily or involuntarily engage in work that takes up only a part of their work potential.

Another example of underemployment in Ghana is found in the cocoa farming communities. The early stages of cocoa cultivation require quite a considerable amount of labour for at least four years. As soon as the cocoa begins to yield fruit, the amount of work needed decreases tremendously. Beckett, in his pre-war study of the cocoa village of Akokoaso in Ghana, found that about 25.8 man-days were applied per acre of cocoa farm land during the year, of which 10.8 were applied in October and November alone. This further throws light on the seasonal nature of most farming activities in Ghana.

Disguised unemployment, in which workers are forced by circumstances to engage in work with low marginal productivity, is also found in Ghana. Simple types of work, such as car washing and house-cleaning, are often performed as full-time occupations. Most of the petty trading, if done as full-time work, invariably becomes a special form of disguised unemployment.

Very often, our elementary school leavers look for only white collar jobs. The problem here is that this type of work has few vacancies. Again, they are not quite suitable even for this type of work. The influx of these middle school leavers to the urban centres in search of jobs accentuate the unemployment problems existing in the country. The unemployment of these types of people is due to lack of demand for their labour. Figures given in *Contemporary Ghana* by E. N. Omaboe and others indicate a high degree of unemployment among our youth. The table below makes this point clearer:

TABLE I*

Age	Labour	unemployed	unemployed as percentage of the labour Force
15-29	1,152,530	125,970	21.4
30-49	1,114,250	28,710	4.8
50 +	458,070	9,130	4.1

***Source: Census 1960**

The middle school leavers, mainly in the age group 15 to 29, are unwilling to undertake any type of manual work, and, therefore, remain unemployed.

In Ghana, unemployment is essentially an urban phenomenon. Although 23% of the total population in 1960 lived in urban centres, 44% of the unemployed in the country were urban dwellers. This is, however, not particularly informative, because the definition of unemployed given by the 1960 census of population was mainly appropriate to wage labour, and wage labour is predominantly found in the towns.

Disparity in Wages

Most of the middle school leavers referred to above receive assistance from their families, and some of them often seem not to be affected by the unemployment situation in which they find themselves. The extended family system of social security can therefore affect to some extent any measures designed to attract labour to where it is mostly needed. If the unemployed are given the basic necessities of food, shelter and clothing, the desire to look for employment will not be great. This explains, at least partly, why they are able to stay unemployed or underemployed for a considerable length of time.

There is great disparity in the wages and salaries paid to skilled and clerical workers respectively. The pay to labour in Ghana does not represent the true opportunity cost which is involved.

The sex distribution of the unemployed in Ghana shows that the traditional system operating in the country contains bias against female labour. This is borne out by the 1960 census figures, which revealed that about 19.3% of our wage labour force at that period who were males were unemployed. This compares unfavourably with a corresponding 60.3% who were unemployed females. This is due mainly to the high birth rate existing in the country, with a great percentage of the female population engaged in child bearing. This has resulted in many women of working age unable to take up full time wage labour. Retail trading is therefore the major part-time occupation of the females, with about 75% (3/4) of them engaged in petty trading, as revealed in 1960.

One of the characteristics of underdevelopment is that a relatively greater percentage of the population is engaged in the provision of the basic necessities of life: food, shelter and clothing. In Ghana, about 60% of the economically active population is engaged in agriculture. Again there is great preponderance of labour in the tertiary industries of commerce, transport and services, with services topping the list.

Distribution of Employment

The table below shows the distribution of employment among the various sectors of the economy. The table, taken from *Ghana Economic Survey 1967*, does not give a true picture of the number of persons employed in the (agricultural) primary sector, because of the census definition of the employed person, which relates more to wage labour than to farming activities. It does serve, however, to give a rough picture of the distribution of employment among the various sectors of the Ghanaian economy.

TABLE II

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RECORDED EMPLOYMENT IN ESTABLISHMENTS EMPLOYING MORE THAN 10 PERSONS

Sector	1965%	1966 %	1967%
PRIMARY	21.1	20.8	21.7.
SECONDARY	30.3	26.9	28.2
TERTIARY	48.6	52.3	50.1
Total	100	100	100.

The solution to the unemployment situation in Ghana is still more complex. The Keynesian solution, which is mainly applicable to the advanced economies, can as well be relevant to some areas of the Ghanaian economy, where there is under-utilization of the limited capital resources available because of the limited size of the market. Textile production in Ghana is a good example of this. It will not be long before the textile manufacturing factory at Tema starts to reduce its labour force because the size of the market is too small unless the market problems are solved.

The major solution to the unemployment problem in the country lies in the provision of the co-operant factors of production referred to in the introductory stages of this essay. There is need for capital investment and the supply of high level manpower. In most instances, labour remains unemployed because it is untrained or unskilled.

A survey undertaken in 1963 as a prelude to the 'Seven Year Development Plan' revealed the great need for middle or high-level personnel. This requires an effort in education and training. These requirements would be difficult to satisfy unless the pricing conditions are geared towards the supply of skilled labour, as opposed to white collar jobs. It will also be necessary to effect methods which would make the payments to labour and capital reflect their true opportunity costs to the economy.

Trend of Unemployment

The survey of high-level manpower in 1960 revealed the significant number of vacancies, especially in the professional group of occupations. In the Seven Year Plan referred to above, the planning commission found that the country would require within the period of the plan about 109,000 high-level workers. The most serious bottlenecks of all would be at the top of the structure, in the administrative-managerial category. This level was estimated at about 6,900 persons, of which the universities were supposed to provide about 1,500, whilst the rest would be found somehow within industry or in other countries.

A study of the trend of unemployment in the country shows that in 1967, almost a year after the military take over, the unemployment figures went up. This was due to the fact that many persons were laid off because their productivity rate in the various industries was said to be zero. The trend of economic activity in the country has not as yet revealed a fall in productivity as a result of the laying off of these persons.

Many governments in Africa, anxious to maintain their political power, increase employment with no corresponding increase in output. Such measures result in inflation and can be dangerous to the growth of the economy. The problem facing the bureaucracy, then, is how to keep people in gainful employment. Some trade union move-

ments often advocate the setting up of labour-intensive industries to combact the problem of unemployment. Many politicians feel that the answer to the problem is a 'go back to the land' plea.

If labour is to keep active throughout all the seasons of the year, then it is necessary to break the prevalent seasonal unemployment. Northern Ghana is known to suffer from acute water shortage during the dry season. Incidentally, this is the area in Ghana where the tractor and other farming equipment could be better used. Water from the Volta dam project could be used in providing irrigation facilities in the north. This, apart from alleviating a type of underemployment, would increase employment substantially and would serve to attract labour into the agricultural industries. The problem involved in not making use of these facilities may stem from the bottlenecks in other sectors of the economy connected with the entire dam project.

Growth of the Labour Force

Recent population projection figures released by the Ministry for Economic Affairs in 1968 show the following trend in the growth of the country's labour force:

TABLE III

YEAR	LABOUR FORCE]
1960	2.4 Million
1985	6 "
2000	11 "

The statement further says that about 144,000 persons in the country would be found work each year between 1968 and 1985. This release was made as a prelude to the launching of a family planning week in Ghana. The aim of the family planning scheme is to reduce the burden on the Ghanaian economy as a result of the pressure of population increase, which is now between the rates of 2.7 and 3.1% per annum. Much of the unemployment problem originates from this increase in population.

The release further states that employment opportunities would have to be opened up for about 311,000 persons yearly between 1985 and 2000, if the present rate of population growth is to continue. If methods initiated by the bureaucracy in Ghana to reduce the birth rate become successful, then the unemployment problem would also be considerably minimized. An increase in per capita national income which results from such a reduction in the birth rate would make it possible for the country to achieve extra resources for the purpose of capital formation and the training of the country's manpower needs.

To solve the unemployment problem, it will become necessary to break the vicious circle of poverty. The low income is also due to low savings. There is need, however, to differentiate between short term solutions to the unemployment problem in Ghana, as opposed to long term solutions. The latter is the better method; but it is also the more difficult to implement.

Demography

POPULATION GROWTH AND FAMILY PLANNING

by

D. B. Safo

IN ECONOMIC development, there are socio-economic costs associated with the rapid growth of population. It could be demonstrated that if the rapid growth of population could be arrested, the savings resulting from this could be channelled into other needed development projects.

For a given country or region, the state of population growth is a function of three factors: (a) the birth rate, (b) the death rate, and (c) the rate of migration. Any attempt to alter the rate of increase of population would therefore necessarily involve some or all of these factors. For instance, one way of checking population growth is to expel aliens from a country. This solution, it should be pointed out, offers only a temporary relief; it is essentially short-run and short-sighted; it involves unnecessary human suffering, and should not be advanced by those of us who are often guests of other nations. Another unacceptable solution is a rising in the death rate through warfare, infanticide, genocide, epidemics and mass starvation. The instrument advocated in this discussion is *birth control*.

What are the costs associated with population growth? For ages there has been a contest between population and the availability of food, and between the birth and death rates. Needless to say, up till now population and the birth rate have been winning the race.

Let us consider the doubling time (the time that a population takes to double its size) for some countries. The Population Reference Bureau has estimated that as of 1968 the doubling time for Nigeria was 28 years, Kenya 24, El Salvador 19 and Brazil 22 years. For the United States of America the doubling time has been put at 63 years, for Britain 140, Austria 175 and

apan 63. For most developing countries it anges from 20 to 35 years, while for most of he developed countries the doubling time falls between 50 and 200 years. Thus it could be seen hat it is the families in countries with very small gross national incomes, high illiteracy, very high unemployment, and inadequate food supplies who ironically choose to have more mouths to feed.

The implications are clear. For example, just in order to enjoy its present (low) standard of living, Kenya has, every 24 years, to double its food supply, its classrooms, roads, railways coaches, jobs, etc. Britain, with its already high standard of living, has as much as 140 years in which to carry out the same exercise. This need to devote much of the hard earned national savings to the construction of facilities that would enable a people just to maintain the same living levels hinders rapid advancement, in the face of rising expectations in most developing countries. For them mass starvation and riots caused by unfulfilled aspirations are real and imminent possibilities.

Stabilizing Population-Size

Another cost associated with the rapid growth of population is over-crowding, especially in urban centres. The over-concentration results in the rise of slums, over-utilised public restrooms, crowded parks and beaches—simply in the urban crush.

In the face of these facts, we would advance the plea that the government and people of Ghana should consider seriously the possibility of adopting population planning through the birth control method as a long-run solution to some of the country's problems. All the political parties should endorse birth control and make it a cardinal policy.

To stabilise the population-size at a predetermined level there must be a law to limit the number of children that any couple could have. To make such a law effective, ample supplies of safe and cheap contraceptives must be made available and readily accessible to all. Forced sterilisation of men who repeatedly break the law should be instituted.

Again, the Ministries of Health, Education, Finance, Agriculture and Economic Affairs, among others, must be convinced of the need for family planning on a national scale. Some of their agencies, such as organisations of mass education and self-help, could be utilised to teach the rural populace about the need for family planning.

The Government should set up a population planning agency (if one does not already exist) and should provide such an agency with sufficient funds to carry out its functions satisfactorily. There should be high salaries for the workers of any such agency. Money spent today towards population control could mean substantial savings in the future.

Campaigns in the press, on radio and television, and through posters should begin at once on a massive scale to help make the public aware of the threats and costs arising from uncontrolled population expansion. All the people of Ghana should be fully exposed to the exercise. Any reader who accepts population control is urged to write to his member of parliament to endorse, introduce and support bills aimed at checking the population explosion.

Finally, birth control as a subject should be introduced, as soon as possible, into the curricula of middle, secondary and vocational schools, as well as those of the training colleges and universities.

The expulsion of aliens might be one way of solving some of Ghana's problems. But, then, why not consider birth control too? It might prove a much more effective panacea, in the long run.

The Universities

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF CAPE COAST: A UNIQUE EXPERIMENT

By
K. A. Karikari

For eight years it has looked out for existence and recognition. For eight years it has pioneered the study of education. Now, Oguaa University, with its achievements and with students' grievances gnawing away at its very foundations, has had to turn a close look at itself.

The other two universities, Legon and Kumasi, have had their share of student discontent, but it has been the University College of Cape Coast which has been consistently hitting the headlines since July 1968.

Agitations against the mass failures in the Science Faculty; the suspension or dismissal of third year science students; the very insistence on academic standards; the finances of the university; shortage of staff accommodation and the high cost of living in Cape Coast—these are some of the many problems facing this infant university. Why are the bases of all these difficulties at Cape Coast? The reasons are complex, but one reason

usually agreed on by all factions is Oguaa University's uniqueness.

Unlike the other two Ghana universities, the University College of Cape Coast has, as its primary purpose, the production of "graduate teachers in arts and science subjects for the secondary schools, teacher-training colleges, polytechnics and technical institutes in Ghana". This makes it perhaps the most important institution of higher education in this country. For, it is the only institution of higher studies in the whole country created purposely for the very important and specific task of educating the educators of that section of the population, from whom normally will come the future leaders of our country.

The Decree establishing the University College also specifies the aims generally of the university as to "provide higher education, to undertake research, to disseminate knowledge, and to foster relationships with outside bodies and persons".

No doubt, as the years have gone by, the number of elementary and secondary schools, teacher training colleges and technical schools have increased. With this increase, the university has also responded favourably to the provision of trained graduate teachers for the pre-university institutions in this country; about 300 graduates have been turned out by the university college so far.

Defining the Proper Function

However, in spite of this impressive figure of graduate turnover of the university college, it appears that the university has not yet defined its proper function in the Ghanaian society. If the university is still concentrating on a type of crash-programme for the production of graduate teachers, then it may very soon cease to be of usefulness to the nation. If, on the other hand, it is going to fulfil its secondary function of providing higher education, undertaking research and the dissemination of knowledge, then it must dedicate itself towards academic excellence. Yet, if the university is to insist on the latter, then the result may be duplication of what is being done at Legon, and the tax-payer may well question the wisdom of the expense of having two institutions of higher learning which are engaged in the same or similar exercise.

It seems that at present the university is combining both its primary and secondary functions without serious consideration of short and long-term roles of the university within the national context. Indeed there is a need now for redefinition and redirection of the purpose of the university college.

The Faculty of Education is a pivot around which all the other faculties and departments revolve. And the Faculty of Education is fraught with many problems. In fact, all the other faculties and departments are servicing agents of the Faculty of Education. The degree structure is that the undergraduate takes Education as a compulsory subject which he studies with two other options, depending on whether he is an arts or a science student. The undergraduate is then saddled with a general degree course structure, in which he devotes more of his time to the study of Education, and less to the study of his other minors.

The content of the syllabuses provided by the Faculty of Education in itself seems adequate for a glorified honours degree course. For example, a final year student of the B.Sc. (Education) degree attends seven one-hour periods in Education a week and twenty periods in his other science subjects. The result is that the student finds himself, throughout the week attending so many lectures and classes, that he has very little time to devote to reading his basic text-books, let alone other specialized books. And yet, the faculty seems to be doing very little about the students' academic problems in the university. At present the Faculty of Education is engaged in very little research into the needs of the university college.

There is no doubt that the faculty has attempted in recent months following the mass failures in the Science Faculty to define some needs, but these are not backed by any meaningful research. For example, some of the Faculty's answers to the mass failures in the Science Faculty have been given as poor entry qualification of students, student-teacher ratio, and the recruitment of qualified teaching staff. But these are mere catalogues of isolated problems facing not only the Faculty of Science but the Arts Faculty as well.

Fog of Confusion?

Nevertheless, it is the Faculty of Education which sustains the University College of Cape Coast. If you scrap the Faculty of Education, the university college automatically ceases to fulfil its unique role. And yet the problems facing this university are largely as a result of the fog of confusion existing in the Faculty of Education. In the immediate years ahead of the university, it may be very necessary to straighten things in that Faculty.

The Faculty of Science is improving considerably from its record in the last two years. The Faculty is getting rid of some of its Indian and East-European lecturers who could hardly com-

nunicate in English to undergraduates. At the same time the Faculty is recruiting competent teaching staff. The Arts Faculty seems to have escaped the crisis of student discontent, possibly because things seem to have been better organized from the beginning of the university in that faculty.

However, there is very little research being done in the Arts and the Science Faculties. The Social Studies Project seems to have made a modest beginning in the field of research, yet on the whole little money has been devoted to research in the university; and, for all intents and purposes, the university seems to have taken on a permanent character of remaining as essentially a teaching university.

Perhaps the administration occupies the most important place in the power structure of the university college. Indeed the Administration possesses much power and influence in the entire university administration which has made a cynic remark of it as "Faculty of Administration". Possibly this balance of power in favour of the Administration is the result of academic impasse between the Faculty of Education, on the one hand, and the other two Faculties, on the other.

An Expensive Administration

Nevertheless, the cost of university college administration at Cape Coast is about one of the highest in the world. The number of Administrative Assistants and Assistant Registrars makes the Administration a complete Faculty. Thus, if one takes the university pay-roll—Administration plus the Academic Staff, one may arrive at a ratio of about 1:3—one staff to three students. This, of course, is very expensive for this country. In fact the ideal ratio for most universities is between1:50 and 1:100. Thus in terms of the economics of education the university college is a very expensive proposition.

The university campus is spread over a large land area. This results in further expenditure of maintaining roads, college buses and vehicles. The university is also isolated from the Cape Coast community. Although there are villages around the university college, there seems to be very little social relationship between the university and the townsfolk.

Social mobility among staff of all grades appears very good in the university college. Possibly, unlike Legon or Kumasi, the university college mode of organising social life makes for easier social relations between the junior and senior members of the university.

Unlike Legon and Kumasi, intellectual life in Cape Coast is rather dull. The university does not as yet provide a forum for intellectual discourse. Most of the staff still live in town and distances tend to separate them after a day's work. Although there is the academic staff association of the teaching staff, most of their meetings are either devoted to social functions—such as organising parties, and seeking a review of policy-making in the university. Here one does not encounter the regular meetings and discussions in the senior common rooms of Legon and Kumasi. Though one finds the occasional gossips of the academic staff when crises do emerge from time to time, it is true to say that the university College is starved of active intellectual life.

The college's new Principal appears to be favourably disposed towards students' representation on important university committees as a means of student participation. The Students Representaive Council is always welcomed by the Principal on matters which affect the very life of the entire student body. Thus unlike the other two universities the student-staff relation appears very cordial.

In the very ensuing months the university college may have to redefine its role in the Ghanaian society. Such a redefinition should be made in the context of the socio-economic needs of Ghana Especially in the drive towards social and economic development of this country, the University College of Cape Coast will continue to be unique among the other two sister universities.

Observer Notice

We wish to give notice to our reader-writers as follows:

1. The *Observer* does not accept syndicated material, and rejects at sight any copy in carbon duplicate, mimeographed form—except official releases from recognised establishments—and material in any other forms of duplication;

2. Should we inadvertently publish any material which then appears elsewhere, or which we later discover to have already appeared in another publication, we shall put an immediate and permanent ban on all future contributions from the author or authors of such material;

3. We remind our writers of our reservation of the right to reject overlong manuscripts, or to treat them in any way that makes them acceptable to our editorial rules.

KINGSWAY STORES OF GHANA LIMITED

(Incorporated in Ghana)

Report of the Annual General Meeting, 8th April, 1970

STATEMENT BY THE CHAIRMAN

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

It is my very great pleasure to welcome you to this Annual General Meeting on behalf of the Board of Directors of Kingsway Stores of Ghana Limited. This is the third meeting to be held since the Company made the first public issue of shares in Ghana and I am delighted to see so many members here who have attended our previous meetings.

Our original list of shareholders has shown little change but I would like to consider this meeting as an opportunity for new members to be introduced to your Board of Directors and this opportunity will be available to you after the formal proceedings have been completed.

RESULT FOR THE YEAR

It is extremely gratifying for me to be able to report continuing improvements in our business throughout the past year. Our sales have shown a steady increase in spite of the fact that competition is just as keen as ever. Merchandise purchased by the Company during the past year has become relatively more expensive, due to our own poor licence allocations and the need to buy from third parties and some of this has had to be absorbed by the Company. In this connection I wish to congratulate the Government on the bold and imaginative step in placing certain basic commodities on Open General Licence and without commitment forms. Last year, for instance, we only received milk licences to the value of NC100,000 and had to buy from third parties milk to a value of NC200,000. We do, of course, sell milk direct to the consumer at the controlled selling price and this has resulted in queues in our Supermarket from people who are not normally our customers so that they can re-sell at inflated prices in the local market. Now that we shall have the supply of these vitally important commodities under our own control, we can act as a stabilizing influence and so protect the Ghanaian consumer from humiliating exploitation.

Nevertheless the results on Trading for the are satisfactory and you can be sure that every is being made by your Board of Directors to co to develop and diversify the range of products throughout the Company's stores to provide a g return on the capital investment.

DIVIDEND

The Report and Accounts which have been s you show that your Directors recommend a dividend be paid of 40Np per share which is maint at the same level as for the year previous.

I made it clear to members in my statement a last meeting that it was the wish of your Directo maintain dividends at a consistent level and this, happy to announce, has been possible in view o encouraging results of the Company in the past

Before each Annual General Meeting, your Dire are required to give serious consideration to the of dividend which is to be recommended to mem and you will all realise that for any business to tinue to prosper and expand a proportion o profits must, of necessity, be re-invested to pro capital for further development, financing of stock. It is only after due consideration on these matters a decision on the level of dividend can be made.

STORE DEVELOPMENT

The Accra warehousing extension was brought use during the year and all stocks, previously loc in stockrooms in outlying districts of Accra, centralised in the new warehouse. This now means our Merchandise Controllers are all housed in the A Store which provides for much better communica and control.

already noticed that some internal
been carried out within the Accra
continue over the present year.

at Burma Camp is being extended
nd there are advanced plans for a
abi. Your Directors are now looking
of re-designing and rebuilding the
Kumasi, which is one of our larger
and now in need of re-development
dern Departmental Store standards.

velopment of new stores clearly dis-
ce of your Directors in the future
Company in Ghana. The success of
ds largely upon the type of merchan-
any is able to procure for sale. The
ed goods has not increased to any
ing the year under review and addi-
again been generated largely from a
of locally produced goods. Your
cerned that the stores will continue
d selective range of quality merchan-
ly seek for new markets and sources
of supply. This requires that we must look for adequate import licences for goods of overseas manufacture and a substantial amount of senior management time is devoted to this.

STAFF

The prosperity of your Company is derived from the efforts and loyalties of every employee in the Company. The progress that has been made during the past year is indicative of the growing confidence, harmony and spirit of team-work that is evidenced through all areas of the Company's operations, whether it be selling, clerical or administration. I, therefore, take this opportunity to express my sincere thanks to them all. I must also mention that we continue to enjoy the best of relations with the representatives of their trade unions whose benefit and advice is regularly sought on matters of good human relations.

Finally, Ladies and Gentlemen, I must direct my closing remarks to you, the shareholders of the Company, to thank you for the confidence you display to your Directors and the Company. Your Directors will do all that is within their power and ability to ensure that your investment is managed wisely and for the continuing prosperity of the Company as a whole.

A. W. R. WOOD



Politics

INGREDIENTS OF AN AFRICAN IDEOLOGY—THE WAY OF GOOD-FELLOWSHIP

By

Oburoni Muntu

THE slogans and catch-phrases which were heard on all sides during the first heady years of independence have now almost passed into obscurity. When we still thought that our countries could become rich simply by deciding that **that** was what we wanted, and when it was supposed that our continent could become united simply by declaring that it must be, we could be impressed, intoxicated indeed, by such word-mongering. Nowadays we are more likely to treat the promises and the inspirational speeches of the politicians with a weary cynicism, even to turn away from them in contempt. We have seen, all over the continent, how the words and fine phrases have brought us, at best, into confusion and disenchantment and at worst into a condition of helplessness where the word-mongers could rob us as they liked and dissipate our precious resources.

Nevertheless, the inspiring phrases were not entirely without meaning. If we re-examine them calmly we will find that very often they reflected, not only feelings and wishes which were strongly held, but also some sort of perception, however dim, of basic realities.

The African Personality

Such is the case with that well-worn expression "the African Personality". From the time when, on the eve of independence, Kwame Nkrumah was able to say no more about it (in his speech to the Legislative Assembly of what was still the Gold Coast) than that his Government's aim was "to work with others to achieve an African personality in international affairs," it was used again and again, in speech after speech, with increasing frequency — but never with any explanation or even indication of just what it was supposed to mean. In one major speech, for example, opening the All-African People's Conference at Accra in December 1958, he mentioned it four times:

> There have been great Empires on this African continent, and when we are all free again, our African personality will once again add its full quota to the sum of man's knowledge and culture . . . The African Personality in Liberty and freedom will have the chance to find its free expression and make its particular contribution to the totality of culture and civilisation.
>
> And that is the burning desire among all the peoples of Africa: to establish a community of their own, to give political expression in some form or another to the African Personality.
>
> Some of us, I think, need reminding that Africa is a continent on its own. It is not an extension of Europe, or any other continent . . . We want, therefore, to develop our own community and an African Personality.

What is one to make of all this? We were told that this African Personality was to be developed ("achieved," in March 1957), that it was to have the chance to find its free expression and that it was to contribute to the totality of man's knowledge, culture and civilisation — but *what* it was that was to do all this, we were not told. It seems that it had something to do with great African empires of the past, with having a community of our own (or "establishing" and "developing" this) and being in a continent on its own, but the exact nature of the connection was not made clear.

What Ideology?

Well before he was finally deprived of the opportunity of making long speeches to us without fear of being challenged as to what he was talking about, Nkrumah had given up "the African Personality" in favour of "the ideology of the African Revolution", an expression with even less meaning. (**What** ideology? Of **what** revolution?) Maybe he himself had despaired of finding out what this "African Personality" was. And yet, we should not just brush it aside as just nonsense, or empty talk. It does express, at bottom, both the wish to stand and to be seen to stand for some distinct set of principles and values and the sense, however vague, that Africa and Africans do already embody a definite outlook or viewpoint or style of life of their own.

The reason why nobody was ever able to say in what this outlook, style of life, etc. consisted, is that nobody — Nkrumah least of all — ever thought about it in sufficiently fundamental terms. As with practically all African thinking of our time, Nkrumah's political thoughts failed to penetrate beyond superficialities because it remained preoccupied with the immediate show. "The African Personality" was what reborn Africa was to *show* to the outside world, the

tinct impression it was to make. If once we ept that appearances are, at best, of quite ondary importance, and that what we need to ow about and to understand is what we *are*, in selves, we begin to see the whole question in te a different and a far richer light.

For there *is* an African personality, a distinct ican way of doing things and of approaching problems of life, which most African peoples e in common and which mark them off n others. It embraces much more than communal traditions and the concern with continuity of the living with the dead those yet unborn, of which Julius Nyerere others have made so much, for there is hing uniquely African in these. It is not a stion of morals, or of consideration for ers, for Africans are not particularly kind to another, and can indeed be quite ruthless in r mutual dealings. It is, rather, that distinc- style which goes with living in great numbers more successfully than any other peoples in ast and enormously diverse tropical domain. s that quality of African life which enables it support great human diversity without physical riers and to avoid destructive violence.

Regulating Influences

Outsiders have often been struck by this Afri- style, but have usually failed to understand It has been given such names as *Joie de vivre*, illience, gaiety and cheerfulness and has even n taken to indicate a basic inability to take thing seriously, a kind of childlike quality. In t painstakingly misleading book, *The African nd in Health and Disease*, the psychiatrist, J. C. rothers, quotes a couple of his French col- gues as finding that "the African" is known "a liveliness of the emotions which is counter- anced by their poor duration. Sensations and vements comprise the chief part of his exis- ce. Intellectual life, evocation of the past, and jects for the future preoccupy him but little. parated from these regulating influences, he es essentially in the present (in this sense like a ld), and his conduct submits to influences and pulses of the passing moment . . . " By way of stration they cite such incidents

. . . as the following which each of us has witnessed many times in Africa. Two Africans have engaged in argument (an unrepaid loan, an unfaithful wife, an uncompleted bride price, a stolen kid, etc.) Beginning with bargaining, the discussion . . . becomes vehement, the tone rises, insults and abuse are exchanged . . . shouting is accompanied by frenzied gesticulation and staring eyes, and at the summit of their fury the two are about to come to blows. In a few moments a ferocious battle will begin. If at that moment someone makes a joke, the fury is instantly dissipated in an immense roar of laughter, the appearance of anger gives place to that of exuberant mirth, and our two antagonists comment merrily on the jest which has produced this surprising volte face, giving each other great thumps on the back and calling the by-standers to witness the full flavour of the joke.

This significant little story depicts a common enough scene reasonably accurately, I think; but whether it supports the interpretation here placed on it is another question. Apart from the wildly fallacious suggestion that "evocation of the past" plays no significant part in African life, can we say that the hundreds of young men who have worked, steadily and patiently, and the hundreds who are working today, often in adverse conditions, week afer week, to prepare themselves for examinations set by distant bodies, usually studying quite on their own, are not preoccupied by "projects for the future"? And what of the even more striking cases — much fewer in number, it is true, but found all over the continent — of village youths who were willing to leave their peoples behind them and walk enormous distances in search of a school that would take them, and from that point have climbed the educational ladder, often at the cost of considerable hardship, to become prominent citizens of their countries and sometimes political leaders?

Distraction from Violence

To give the devil his due, one cannot accuse either Kwame Nkrumah or Hastings Banda, for example, of lack of persistence in pursuit of their goals, whether personal or political. As for movements and organisations, if Africans were so readily distractible, the colonial powers could have dissipated the energy of nationalism simply by holding frequent comic shows or making a lot of jokes over the radio.

No, the kind of incident cited does not point to any general quality of distractibility in Africans, any light-mindedness or lack of tenacity. What it does point to is the ease with which Africans may be distracted *from violent action* — the ease with which, in the authors' own words, fury is dissipated. This is the significant thing; and it is a consistent feature of life among most African peoples. With few exceptions (I would

regard the Yorubas as the most striking exception), Africans do not bear grudges for long; instead they attach more importance to good-neighbourliness than to keeping quarrels going on and on. African laughter is often baffling to Europeans, too, because they do not see that it is used to dissipate anger or to soften the force of a verbal attack.

The broad smiles which so impress visitors to this continent for the first time, do not, as is often supposed, necessarily mean that Africans are any happier than anyone else; behind them is as much fear, anxiety, envy, greed and malice as might be found anywhere else in similar circumstances. But these do lubricate the machinery of social intercourse; they do make it on the whole easier for people to get on with one another; they do help to turn the edge of feelings which might otherwise engender violence. And the music and dancing for which our peoples are justly famed are important for relaxing bodily tension and thus removing the bodily foundations of persistent anger and the nursing of grievances. Why else should the music of a slave minority have become so universally popular in North America and the West? Industrial society breeds anxiety, tension and violence; the blues, Jazz, rock and roll, the "pop" music of today — the whole tradition of music, or rhythm and song, which the descendants of African slaves gave to Western societies — have made a greater contribution to rendering life in such a society bearable than almost anyone has recognised. In our continent, together with the use of laughter and the repertoire of values and usages which promote social peace and neighbourliness, they sustain our rich human diversity.

Our Value of "Good-fellowship"

If we want one word to describe the essence of this African style—this "African Personality", if you like — which enables such a great concourse of peoples to live together, unprotected from one another by mountain ranges or stretches of sea such as have been important in making European diversity possible, without destroying one another in the way that Europeans or Arabs would almost certainly have done under the same circumstances, we would perhaps talk of "good-fellowship" as being a central African value. It embraces conviviality, good talk, music-making and dancing and song, the exchange of jests, and even perhaps the exchange of witty abuse, and it includes the broad smiles with which people greet one another and the censure which the indefinite perpetuation of ill-will attracts.

I proffer, then, as another significant ingredient of an African ideology:

To build a modern African civilisation, to make our impress on the world, we must base ourselves on our most truly African quality: our traditional skill in the arts of good-fellowship.

Observer Notebook

The P.M. and the Rule of Law

THE Prime Minister was recently reported in the local press as having made a couple of important points about his governing party's attitudes and reactions to certain trends within the political community. Dr. Busia was speaking at a party rally outside Accra. Naturally, his words made the headlines immediately; they also gained importance where, in the mouth of a lesser political mortal, they would have been merely interesting, in certain senses even a little curious . . . The occasion was one on which Dr. Busia was taking the opportunity to comment upon the spate of court actions involving the government, especially those in which the government was the plaintiff (and often became the appellant too).

According to the reports, the Prime Minister made three interdependent points, or perhaps four. The first was that the government (in other words his party) was, so to speak, merely allowing itself to be taken to court by all sorts of litigant parties; this was, in effect, because of the Progress Party's tolerance, not because of its weakness. The corollary, as Dr. Busia himself is said to have pointed out, was that in fact the government could resist this trend of a freedom which allowed anyone to "take the government to court"; even more fundamentally, the government and the party could so easily demonstrate the power it obviously possesses — simply by changing the constitution itself, the touchstone of all the litigation etcetera. But, concluded the Prime Minister, they, the party authorities, not only had no wish to emulate Nkrumah's famous "showing-where-power-lies" practices, but actually were anxious to prove the validity of the opposite principle: the democratic principle of the rule of law.

Now there are at least two ways of receiving these comments of the Prime Minister's, one positive and one negative. We choose to accept the positive approach. In other words, we are more thankful that Dr. Busia mentions the

ractice of "showing where power lies" only in rder to repudiate and reject it, than we are armed at the spectacle of the people's demo- atically chosen leader holding a big stick over eir heads. It is comforting to feel that we can ccept this declaration of the Prime Minister as is own and his party's policy guarantee of our ewly pledged allegiance to the principles of the ule of law. In truth, the courts — and our dges — remain our safest custodians of popu- r liberty, unless they too fail us.

Letters

Nkrumah's Role in History

IR—The 6th of March, 1957, is a date which one annot easily omit when one thinks seriously of writing political history of Ghana. It was the day on which Ghana became independent of Britain. Its importance s shown in the sense that it is a National Holiday nd it has accordingly been observed year after year. This day also brings into mind the fact that it was he day on which the hope of many years was realized hat is, Independence. Whatever misfortunes might have ollowed this day, it is an indisputable fact that one of the main characters of this piece of drama was Kwame Nkrumah.

For the past four years conscious attempts on the part of the Governments and distinguished individuals were made to completely leave out the role played by the ex-president in the independence struggle.

It is not being suggested here that Nkrumah's virtues be extolled on the anniversary of this Independence by his enemies but, again, his enemies cannot twist the facts to suit their own interests whimsically. Could those responsible for the radio broadcast not make at least a cursory remark about what little role he played? We cursory remark about what little role he played? Even Hitler, Mussolini and more notorious politicians have their names in our history books. The Italian government recently granted Mussolini's widow a pension. Were Nkrumah's crime half as terrible as those of Hitler? At least for the sake of history can't we speak the truth for once?

Commonwealth Hall **Kofi Dake**
Legon

Developing The Rural Areas

SIR — The government has set up a Rural Electrification Committee "to study, plan and programme the extension of electricity to the rural areas". The government is to be commended for its sincere concern for the plight of the rural masses.

However, apparently in the government's list of priorities for the rural areas, the supply of electricity ranks highest. But I doubt whether in the scale of preferences or priorities of the rural masses themselves, electricity comes anywhere near the top.

According to the classical theory underlying the rural-urban migration, the glamour of the city lights is one of the pull factors which attract the poor, half-educated elementary school graduates into the cities. The city lights constitute one of the pull factors but definitely not one of the most important. Needless to say, it is those amenities and things which go with electricity, i.e. the cinema, iced water, factories...etc. in fact, employment opportunities, which pull the "graduates" from the villages and not electricity per se.

Perhaps if the committee were to go down to interview the rural masses in the villages it would discover that demand for electricity is not one of their immediate needs; and that a way of making the rural areas a more comfortable environment to live in lies in helping the farmers to raise their real incomes through increased productivity i.e. the use of hybrid seeds, fertilizers, insecticides etc. etc. to be supplied free to them in the short run to provide good all-weather roads and to guarantee the markets for the produce etc. Increased incomes over and above the bare necessities needed to keep body and soul together would, in due course, enable the farmers to provide themselves with their social needs with little help from the government.

The rural communities will be helped best if the priorities are known.

147 Queen's Hall **C. C. T. Blankson**
University of Science & Technology
Kumasi

Economics of the Aliens' Order

SIR — Mr. Hakam in his analysis of the economic implications of the Aliens Order (**L.O.** V/6) pointed out at the beginning that his analysis "is of economic cost-benefits and does not take into account purely political and sociological consequencies". One finds it difficult to appreciate that such an analysis would be complete, non-superficial and critical enough without any consideration of the political and sociological implicaiions, since at this stage of our development one can hardly separate the three aspects from one another.

Mr. Hakam's suggeston "to permit the seasonal migration to cocoa farms" of aliens from "such countries as Upper Volta", because Ghanaians have "certain traditional aversion" towards some jobs or types of menial work, has surely not only purely economical but also sociological and political implications? Should we Ghanaians not be ashamed at this stage of Africa's history that we should be content to use our neighbours from other West African countries simply as seasonal labourers (or slaves, of whom we are lords?) on our cocoa farms (the main source of Ghana's income) and then drive them away when we no longer need them, and consider granting Ghanaian citizenship only to people we think have high skills?

The examples of the United States-Mexico, United States-Canada, and the "Brain Drain" which the author quoted as a would-be parallel to Ghana's situation, demonstrates clearly, in my opinion, a lack of understanding and any appreciation of the difficult and almost helpless economic situation to which Ghana and other West African countries have been firmly "nailed", as opposed to countries like the USA and Canada.

With reference to the author's first category of the foreign population, his arguments leading the conclu-

sion that "there are savings to the economy in terms of reductions in consumption of goods and services similar to the effect of a reduction of the natural increase in births in the population" would be tangible if, and only if, he could establish that the "consumption of goods and services, by the aliens concerned was at the cost of government or public sources, or at the expense of any organised economic body; whereas the said aliens were actually contributing nothing whatsoever towards production or upkeep of the services. This he cannot establish because of "the lack of specific data", as he mentioned at the beginning.

Mr. Hakam would have done a greater service to **Legon Observer** readers and Ghanaians in general if he had taken pains on such an important issue to collect original data (probably within the framework of an economic survey team) on certain items in connection with the expulsion of the aliens.

Stuttgart **Michael Kwame Gbordzoe**
West Germany
Wiemarstrasse 39

The "Abuse of Freedom"

SIR — On the eve of Liberation Day, the Prime Minister stated in his broadcast that the Government was going to guard against "the abuse of freedom", because some people use it irresponsibly. We did not fully appreciate that statement, and we thought he should be asked to clarify it. But nobody did that—not even the various dailies and weeklies. Then on 13th March, we read in the editorial of your paper (**L.O.** V/6): "It must be admitted that Nkrumah's government had better excuses—the incidents of bomb-throwings, arson and alleged plots against the security of the state — than vague abuses and alleged insults, for restricting the freedom of movement, of speech and of assembly"; as well as your conclusion: "All things being equal, and in an aspiring democracy, the courts are better guardians of liberty and order than any set of politicians, however, well-intentioned they may be".

We think the Opposition faltered when they failed to ask the Government to clarify the statement.

P. O. Box 10 **Joseph and Mary Asante-Yeboah**
Suminakese
via Nkawkaw

Ghana's Housing Problems

SIR — Housing poses one of the most challenging problems facing this country, and new solutions must be found to counteract this increasingly difficult problem. Our housing philosophy — the main ingredient of which is to help provide every citizen with his own house, is not only outmoded but wholly unattainable.

The government has to make it plain to the people that at least sixty per cent of the population will never own houses of their own with gardens and whatnots, at least in the urban areas. Building apartments and flats, then, is the only way of alleviating the workers' suffering in the cities. Flats and apartments properly categorized for single or unmarried, newly married and married with children will help ease the problem in the urban areas. For, how many workers in Ghana earning below NC3,500 per annum can afford the hire-purchase houses just finished in Teshie?

Government policy should be to build only flats in the urban areas deducting the rent at source. All those who want to own houses should be encouraged to build in their home-towns thereby helping in the rural development programme. Is it not a fact that many distinguished and undistinguished people who own dozens of houses in the urban areas, sleep on a clay floor in their villages and towns?

The unscriptural practice of our banking institutions who build glass houses for their top management after providing this same group with loans for their own houses is unfair to the millions of Ghanaians who have no proper shelter. In the Civil Service and Corporations the personnel of the top management who own houses should be made to vacate government bungalows and give place to the coming generation. Is it not unfair for such groups most of whom own one or more houses, to pay rent of less than NC20.00 for a furnished government bungalow?

P. O. Box 80 **King Osafo**
Accra

The Strength Of African Culture

SIR—The last article of Mr. Oburoni Muntu (**L.O.** V/6), as one of the "Ingredients of an African Ideology" series, has much to offer us, and it thus needs further commentary.

We Africans, more especially Ghanaians, seem to admire European culture more than anything else, and even sometimes seem to forget that we also have a culture. Very often we confuse the technological achievements of the "boreal nations" with their non-human emotional development, and thereby assume that they are perfect in all things. More often than not we base our judgement of them on some of the "mystified good-doers" we see around us. Some of them come to preach about the 'deus ex machina', and they make us to believe that it is only through that medium that we can have life. We are impressed by their 'simple friendliness and their simplicity of life', and so we think that that is the normal way of life to the boreal man.

As a result of this, many Africans forget about their own belief about the gods who live in the river, the tree, the stone, and the God who lives in every human being. The African God who listens to all kinds of African music, who admires the African's dancing and his laughter, is then substituted with the boreal God who dislikes the very thing that gives the African life and strength.

African music and dancing associated with evil and sin! To the boreal God violence is good, so long as it increases the wealth and fame of boreal nations and their people. The boreal God is happy when some of his own people become dependent upon drugs and alcohol, the result of the misuse of the technological development of the boreal nations.

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In his article, Oburoni Muntu reminds us of the consequences of technological development among boreal nations, and warns that unless we copy their technological development only to suit our tropical conditions, our rich cultural strength would be weakended. I sometimes wonder if our leaders really do admire and accept our culture.

Studentbyen 2539 **James Amoako-Addo**
Sognveien 85
Oslo 8 Norway

Rice In Financial Crisis

SIR — At this stage of Ghana's national reconstruction, one reads with disappointment and deep frustration such news items as appeared in the **Observer** (**L.O.** V/2) entitled "Rice in Financial Crisis". The news item reported the inability of the Northern Regional Rice Committee to buy 55,000 bags of paddy rice grown by the Tamale district farmers due to lack of funds; and that the Committee owes the farmers for a previous purchase of 6,000 bags.

This unfortunate situation is not limited to the rice industry alone, but extends to other farm produce and industrial products. It beats the imagination why such a situation should continue to exist in Ghana, when budget after budget has emphasized, at least on paper, agricultural development. Or is it because at the initial stages of our shift towards agricultural development the planners missed the pivot of this sphere? This pivot I consider to be the development of the markets for these agricultural products. By development I mean:

(1) Finding storage facilities at the centres of produce;

(2) Creating storage centres at the Regional and District headquarters in the country; and

(3) Developing a fairly efficient means of distributing the produce, not only to the headquarters but also from the headquarters to the markets of the small towns and villages throughout the country.

When the farmer or farmers are assured of a good price and efficient disposal, they will be encouraged to increase their production, and mechanization will follow as a matter of course.

Baltimore, Md. **Fred G. K. Agbengu**
U.S.A.

Women And The Nation

SIR — Please allow me to make a few comments on the recent apologia or advertisement made in your paper about the Ghana Association of University Women by Christiana O. Kissiedu (**L.O.** V/7).

The piece in quesion does not appear to me to have spelt out the utility of such an association, as far as helping all women in the nation is concerned. As regards membership, I concede that every association or club has its right to determine the qualifications for membership, but I think in all such matters the only relevant criterion to consider is whether the objectives of the association can best be achieved only by people responding to a certain description or fitting into a particular social category.

If one of the aims of the association is to "help raise the educational standard of Ghanaian women in particular, and the entire populace in general", I fail to see how this can be done exclusively by women "who have passed through the peculiar institution called University", unless of course the contribution which these women propose to make will consist of teaching their "less fortunate sisters" the subjects which the association members studied at the University with varying degrees of success.

It appears to me that "education" has been taken in a rather narrow sense, and the Career Day Conference organised for secondary school girls would seem to flow almost naturally from this narrow interpretation. The association has so far presented itself as a class-conscious group pursuing narrow class interests.

There is recognisably a certain social consciousness on the part of the founders of this association, but it is questionable whether social involvement is the prerogative of women with university education. Even granting that it is too late in the day to do anything radical about the membership qualification (which is based on the erroneous and outmoded assumption that a university is a peculiar institution), the association would in my opinion, stand to gain in stature and make a more positive impact by broadening its concept of education and extending its field of activity to the market places where the members' help is most needed. I shall suggest one area in which the association can make a positive contribution to the education of the ordinary Ghanaian woman.

Market women pay dues to sell in markets which are full of filth and squalor, even when it has not rained. Toilet facilities are unknown around markets, and women have to take their own chamber-pots there, since nature does not make any concessions to women who have to handle food for human consumption. Let the GAUW go into the markets and instil into the women the spirit of "contestation': to educate them to confront the authorities by asking them where all the dues go, since markets are not maintained, let alone improved. Let this Association educate the poor illiterate women on their civic rights both within the family or clan circle and vis-a-vis the authorities, and leave alone the secondary school girls who, we trust, are already in safe hands. And let them also remember that Ghana is not restricted to Accra.

I am convinced that if the GAUW undertakes such humble but relevant projects it will not fail to attract people who would feel only too proud to be associated with the group. After four years of existence the GAUW's record of achievement is scanty indeed, made up of tea-parties, occasional meetings and dinners, punctuated with more or less irrelevant symposia and conferences. Until the members leave their alcoves and salons and boudoirs to descend into the market-places, it would

very difficult for them to effectively counter the accu-
on of being snobbish, or even spending the best part
heir time in frivolous gossip.

Clarewood Court P. A. V. Ansah
wford Street
don, W.1

Encouraging Immorality?

—I wish to draw the attention of the Distilleries
ision of GIHOC to their advertisement for
AMSCO" Aromatic Schnapps currently showing on
na Television: I am not exhilarated by the sight
a very young man gulping such a large glass of
apps in the manner suggested by the advertisement.

nd, at a time when a few decent people are
ainely disturbed by the moral degeneration in our
ety, it seems surprising to some of us to be told by
IOC, **at our expense,** that teenagers who have so
managed to escape the corruption in their midst
ld join the ranks of their gin-drinking counterparts
rayed in the advertisement.

erhaps, I am "colo" (whatever the term may mean),
it appears that the time is now ripe for some
slation to be passed to control standards in adver-
g. The advertisers seem incapable of doing so by
nselves.

in Chambers L. B. Akainyah
. Box 3239
nasi

Book Review

AFRICA AND UNITY—EVOLUTION OF PAN-AFRICANISM

Vincent Bakpetu Thompson:
(Longmans, 1969) Price in U.K.: 65/-

E ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY AND ITS CHARTER

(C. Hurst, 1969) Price in U.K.: 45/-

Reviewed by Yao Opong Saffu

N-AFRICANISM has at least two distinct phases.
t, there is the pre-African independence phase of
gresses by African men in the diaspora, seeking
al solidarity and protesting their humanity. Then
e is the post-independence African phase of a search
unity on the continent. Thompson's book deals with
phases of the movement, while Cervenka's deals
with the institutionalization of African Unity in
O.A.U., which is a particular aspect of the second
se. The coincidence of the subject-matter of the
books is thus only partial.

hompson is an historian and a radical nationalist
ing about an aspect of his own nationals. He traces
development of Pan-Africanism **ab initio** as the
kman's reaction to the Atlantic Slave Trade, to
opean imperialism in Africa and to the whiteman's racialism. And he does this with the clear intention of popularizing the idea of Pan-Africanism, and selling the movement.

The movement, at the African Unity stage, is basic to Africa's survival. This is, baldly, Mr. Thompson's thesis. It is not a novel thesis. Indeed, apart from a few details, there is not much that is strikingly novel in the book. Mr. Thompson would be the first to admit that. But the thesis is a thoroughly radical one. It is certainly more radical than that which appears in the title of Green and Seidman's book, **Africa: Unity or Poverty.** Survival is prior to affluence. Self-preservation is a supreme need; commodious living, which comes later, need not be.

Fierce Commitment

Mr. Thompson does not succeed in arguing this extreme thesis convincingly. But he does succeed in producing a book on Pan-Africanism which is comprehensive and detailed, and which is still interesting, even after the apparent pre-emption of the field, by the sympathetic treatment of it by Immanuel Wallerstein and the fulsome documentation by Colin Legum. After Wallerstein and Legum and other writers on Pan-Africanism, it was the iconoclast and the sceptic who could be expected to be interesting because contrarious. What Mr. Thompson lacks in originality of analysis and attitudes, he more than makes up in his fierce commitment to the cause of Pan-Africanism, and in his brash dismissal of objectivity as bogus. "Obectivity in the study of international affairs as a whole, and particularly in matters of dispute between vested interests in Power Politics", he quotes Dr. Fabunmi of the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs with approval, "is not to be had by failing to give verdicts or by avoding indications of preferences".

Mr. Thompson, therefore, proudly parades his preferences. Nkrumah is his idol. Nkrumah's ideas on Pan-Africanism are sacred. Nkrumah's unique contribution to Pan-Africanism, the pivotal role of Nkrumah's Ghana in the second phase, must be acknowledged. Thompson does this with infectious relish, if not always with discernment.

Cervenka also treats Nkrumah with respect and sympathy. There is an impressively balanced analysis here of Ghanaian policies and attitudes towards the O.A.U. which puts Scott Thompson, author of **Ghana's Foreign Policy,** to shame. Ghana's attempts to give the Organization teeth, in the form of an Executive Council—what Scott Thompson chooses to call "Ghana's fight against the O.A.U."—are recounted not with the crusading effort to drive the nails into Nkrumah's political coffin, but with sympathetic understanding of the necessary, even if futile, role of the avant-garde, the romantic optimist, in the context of the compromise organization that the O.A.U. is.

But Nkrumah's rehabilitation in the bosoms of "progressive" people is not one of Cervenka's primary concerns. He is engaged in the narrower academic exercise of explaining, from a lawyer's point of view, what the O.A.U. is all about; what its charter says; the legal and political implications of the charter provisions, but especially the legal implications, for a whole range

of issues, including Rhodesia and the Nigerian Civil War, the South West Africa case, and the relationship between the O.A.U. and the U.N. and between the O.A.U. and regional groupings in Africa. All these are dissected with care and skill. The Addis Ababa Conference which established the O.A.U. is itself vividly described, and its resolutions analysed with lucidity. Cervenka combines lucidity with economy to produce a book which, for its small size and large type, is a remarkably comprehensive reference work on the O.A.U.

There are concise sections on the O.A.U.'s position on the status of boundaries in Africa, for instance; on refugees, on the peaceful settlement of disputes, especially territorial disputes; on any of the common causes of conflict among African States. There is a painstaking assemblage of O.A.U. resolutions, not only of the principal organs but also of the specialized commissions.

The only striking omissions, from the long catalogue of recent African issues which have worried African leaders in the O.A.U., are the Congo, especially during Tshombe's premiership and the Simba revolt, and the spate of coups that removed from office some of the most ardent Pan-Africanists on the continent. A chapter on the O.A.U. and the Congo might have rendered less pressing the urge to buy Catherine Hoskyn's extraordinarily expensive monograph on the subject. As for the O.A.U. and the recent coups in Africa, this might have involved Cervenka in the sort of judgments which, unlike Mr. Thompson, he studiously steers clear from, presumably on professional, academic grounds.

The serious student of African affairs, especially if he is not a complete novice, would probably learn more from Cervenka. Mr. Thompson's book is meant for the more general reader, especially those with no previous acquaintance with Pan-Africanism in its broadest sense.

Miscellaneous

DEVELOPMENTS IN KONTOPIAATKROM

By

Kwame Kontopiaat

IT has been quite some time now since readers heard about Kwadwo Kontopiaat. A lot of questions have been raised as to his whereabouts, what he is doing, and when he will come back to share in the green-green dinner which will mark the beginning of the annual 'abun-abun' festival of the gods and goddesses of Kontopiaatkrom.

Well, you see, as self-appointed regent to the throne or skin or stool or chair of the ancestral gods, I would like to drop a few hints to the readers of the **Legon Observer.** You will all remember that Ohenenana himself indicated that he was being assigned an ambassadorial job. One thing is clear (judging from the time he left), that Kofi Busia and his Pro-Sure government had not appointed him. This is true, because Mr. Victor Owusu had not made any announcements to that effect, nor was the matter taken up on Kaleidoscope.

One thing of which readers are not sure is whether he got his "quit order" from Dombo or "Compliance March" from Kwaku Baah. The bush telegraph of Dompokrom seems to have taken this line, although the local **Herald** has not officially announced this because Agama did not invite him for the walk-out ... What then are the possibilities?

(a) We can assure our readers that Kwadwo Kontopiaat is still alive and kicking. I say this because so far we have not received any ransom note from any of the left, centre, right or any directional wing of the country to which he has been accredited. The village crier of Dompokrom has announced the collection of donations for payment of possible ransom money; but since the Dompokrom currency was devalued the citizens had forgotten that their "soft" currency would not be needed by the kidnappers, even if negotiations for his release were "tainted and vitiated" by bribery and corruption. (b) Since citizens of Kontopiaatkrom do not travel by aeroplane but by camel and donkey, readers can rest assured that no high-jackers have grounded or downed his aircraft. By the way, high-jacking is becoming such a hobby nowadays that an 'Ebi te yie' friend was overheard saying that when he joined a public bus and the conductor shouted "all tickets out', about twenty passengers made for the entrance in an attempt to parachute out.

Selecting a Regent

There is one thing which is certain in Kontopiaatkrom, and that is: I am the self-appointed regent. You see, we don't believe in elections anymore. Not only do they **cause** cost money to organise elections but the exercise can also cause confusion and even generate TRIBAL (oh, what is the word, since **this** one has been legislated out of the dictionary), or rather linguistic, warfare. We had wanted to call Mr. Justice Crabbe to devise a system of selecting a regent, but we were not sure if his mere presence would not scare the children enough for them to run into the bush. We also thought about calling in Mr. Hutchinson to draw a lotto, but here again we were not sure the ticket sellers wouldn't fix the elections. Finally, we considered that elections were of no use anyway, since there is nothing preventing the returning officer or the Electoral Commissioner from suspending the elections when his computer detects in the middle of the balloting that the results may favour an unfavoured candidate.

With due regard for all these factors I have decided to enskin myself until Ohenenana himself returns from meditation. We can only have elections if we get the trick from someone who knows. If only we can be sure that the candidate and winner can always come from the same family, then there would be no fear of election petitions and by-elections. I can only assure readers that I shall get in touch with Kwadwo Kontopiaat soon, so you can direct all your questions, enquiries and donations (not ransom notes) to me for onward transmission to him. Green Green!



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