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IN THIS ISSUE

WHAT IS APARTHEID?

EDITORIAL ... 1
A Nation's Progress

POLITICS ... 2
Parliamentary Debate on "Tribe" and
all its Parts of Speech": Extracts
Publius Gamesu
Oburoni Muntu and African Ideology
Modibo T. Ocran

AFRICA ... 10
Inside the Apartheid Kingdom:
Letter to A Friend

EDUCATION ... 18
Education in Rural Areas
R. K. A. Gardiner

OBSERVER NOTEBOOK ... 22
Dahomey: Now a Presidential Troika
Banda and Apartheid
Ghana and the Games

LETTERS ... 25
The New Order
Should Nkrumah be Pardoned?
The Sallah Case
Cecil Rhodes and Rhodesia (2)
Cape Coast Univ. College
Opposition Paper
Salary Increases
Mills Odoi and P & T Technicians
These Multiple Taxes
No Certificates from S.I.C.

PLAY REVIEW ... 28
The Mikado
Jawa Apronti

MISCELLANEOUS ... 30
The Judiciary and the Law School in
Kontopiaatkrom
Kwame Kontopiaat

EDITORIAL

A NATION'S PROGRESS

GHANA'S search for progress and dignity has been difficult and agonising. It has been the story of men who are aware of the enormity of their problems, but whose impatience is such that the solution to the problems becomes increasingly blurred and elusive. Thus the whole nation has become imprisoned in the constant experimentation with numerous devices, each of which is thought to be *the* key to solve these many problems.

Various mechanisms have been adopted before in this regard — these include devaluation of the currency, import licences, exchange control measures, price regulation of essential commodities, selective repatriation of immigrants, and now the projected control and promotion of indigenous business enterprises. While the short and long-term effects of these measures may be easily predictable, there is no doubt that the result of some of these measures may be rather dubious.

The *Observer* believes that, while most Ghanaians are aware of the plight of the nation, very few are really prepared to do something about the situation. The first lesson in nation-building, we believe, is that the people whose nation it is should be *concerned* with the issues of development, and must be prepared to *participate* in the process. Aid programmes, and hordes of foreign experts, might presumably temporarily alleviate the nation's problems; but the permanent solution would have to emanate from the efforts of the nationals themselves.

Certainly Ghana cannot talk of lack of education in the rudiments of citizenship. But what Ghana can now 'boast' of, and for which the nation has become a laughing stock to visitors, is the hypocrisy of a large mass of the people. This hypocrisy has percolated through the entire spectrum of the nation and is alienating many people from the ideal values of the society.

Hypocrisy turns to be a partner, if not a breeder, of cynicism. Values of a nation come to be questioned. And various queries turn to be raised: Do those who exhort hard work set examples by their own style of work? Do the various apostles of morality actually show that they themselves practise what they preach? While we want other people to be courteous, are we ourselves courteous to others?

One pattern of our national life which invokes much cynicism, and which creates credibility gaps among various sections of our community, is the conspicuous consumption of our elite. Under the Nkrumah regime one of the common

sights was that of a man of apparent humble social location becoming rich overnight, and wondering what to do with his newly acquired wealth. More and bigger cars; more buildings with interior decorations which often baffled even connoisseurs with European middle class taste. How far these patterns of expenditure went in resolving status crises of those Ghanaians, it is difficult to say.

But what do we see now? The same exhortations on modesty by men some of whose own exhibitions of modesty are yet to be apparent. Historians may come to emphasise that the role of the elite in contemporary Ghana has not been particularly edifying and helpful in national reconstruction. The productivity of the elite, whatever the yardstick for calculation, is certainly not such that the poor, under-paid labourers can be induced to work hard. The frivolity and naive attempt to copy levels of aspiration and consumption elsewhere—how does one expect the mass of the population to regard the elite as genuine *avant garde* and pace-setters in national development in which we require the sacrifice of all?

The televised state dinners; the political and administrative facades; the many promises; the political point-scoring approach of dramatically talking more and doing less — one wonders whether a nation becomes great by being wisely modest or by being ridiculously flamboyant.

The *Observer* would want Ghanaians to ponder over questions such as: Are we less corrupt than those we accuse of corruption? Do we work harder than those we accuse of laziness? Are we more involved in nation-building than those we accuse of sabotage? Are we prepared, for instance, to live in the rural areas when we ask other people to return to such areas?

There is no end to such questions. This is why we believe that the well being of Ghana can be advanced not only through foreign aid; certainly not through speeches; not through political show business; but through, principally, the action of the elite of Ghana manifestly indicating their personal responsibility towards the progress of the nation.

In our next issue

*The Presidency and the
Constitution*

by Kwame Afreh

Politics

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATE ON "TRIBE" AND ALL ITS PARTS OF SPEECH": EXTRACTS

By

Publius Gamesu

DURING the second sitting of the first session of the Second Republic Parliament, Dr. Manson, P.P. Member for Dormaa, tabled a motion calling for the abolition of "the official use of the word 'tribe' and all its parts of speech." [Parliamentary Debates, Official Report, Friday, 20th March, 1970 — Columns 889-92]. The debate on this motion was heated and lively—and interesting. Unfortunately, the contributions of some MPs were hardly given the coverage they deserved in the national dailies. (May I hasten to add—in order to avoid any accusation of having any personal axe to grind—that I am far from imputing any improper motives to our national dailies for what I consider to be their failure to give adequate coverage to these contributions.)

The Roots of the Problem

However that may be, I am all convinced that it is important to bring to the notice of the wider public a few of the major contributions which involved brave attempts to go to the roots of the problem of "tribalism" in Ghana. This is my only purpose in reproducing here a few of such contributions. After all, our common experience tells us that the effort at solving a problem must be based on a genuine and deep understanding of that problem.

It goes without saying that a root cause of tribalism in Ghana today, as elsewhere in West Africa, is economic. Since the country is economically underdeveloped, there is keen competition among the various ethnic groups for severely limited economic resources, jobs and related perquisites. And those ethnic groups, which believe that they contribute much more to the economy, are predisposed, naturally, to claim a larger share of the national cake than those ethnic groups whose lands are said to be poor in natural resources.

However, the personal factor adds an extra dimension of a worse kind to an already unhealthy situation. In order to settle old scores and/or buttress their own positions in the top-most institutions of the state, many of our public

leaders are irresistibly impelled to play on the fears and sensibilities of their tribesmen. The result is that these leaders cannot afterwards help installing some of their own fellow tribesmen into the strategic positions of power and authority which, on the grounds of merit, they probably do not deserve.

The contribution of Mr. F. A. Amenlemah, P.A.P. Member for Nzima-West — the accuracy of which some people will be all too readily tempted to controvert—is significantly relevant in this connexion:

Undesirable Situation

... When 24th February brought with it the coup that changed the undesirable situation in Ghana under the last days [sic] of the old regime, it was Lt.-Gen. Kotoka who led the operations—I am grateful for his memory. But... immediately afterwards all recruitment into the Armed Forces was fast becoming Ewe in content and nobody can seriously dispute this. I challenge anybody to dispute this. Again I do not know, but I say, it was because Lt.-Gen. Kotoka was leading the Army at the time [that] Ewe tribal feeling and the concomitant nepotism were working... When Ankrah came, you could see that there were certain Ministries and Corporations which were fast changing hands for Gas in top leadership... I now come to Brigadier Afrifa and the present Government. What do you find? You will find that many people who have been affected by the recent exercise as well as present appointments are nearly all Ashantis. In fact, this is even more clear under the Akans, but if you penetrate further, you will find that within the Akan context some are more Akan than others. (Columns 906-7).

It will serve no genuine purpose to dismiss Mr. Amenlemah's opinions out of hand; rather should his opinions serve as an invitation to the rest of us to find out the truth.

The importance of social communication for the integration into a national community in rich diversity of fairly related but still separated ethnic groups can hardly be over-emphasized. And here the linguistic problem becomes acute. Although the English language is our lingua franca, only a few Ghanaians can communicate in it with sufficient understanding and proficiency. Not the least important among the sources of social friction in Ghana is the failure on the part of a majority of Ghanaians to learn and

speak one or two local languages other than their own.

On this, Mr. A. G. de Souza, N.A.L. Member for Keta, had this to say: "I can confidently say that if it comes to interest in Ghanaian languages, the Akans are to be given scholarship for being tribalistic. This is because, some Ewes including myself, Ga tribes and others are able to speak (Akwapim) Twi, Fante or Ashanti in addition to their own languages whereas 99 per cent of Akans cannot speak other languages apart from their own. One might be interested in asking why this is so? Can one say that the abolition of the word "tribe" will make the Akans respect other languages too and take interest in learning to speak them?" (Column 906).

As though in amplification of Mr. de Souza's last question, Mr. C. T. Nyannder, N.A.L. Member for Ablekuma, had this to say: "The other day—that was in 1967—I was standing at the Black Star Square. There was something going on there. There were some beautiful Ga-Adangbe girls and there were two men standing where I was. When these girls passed by speaking the Ga-Adangbe language I overheard the two men say in Twi: *Wei nom kasano, yebe gu no*—meaning these people's language, we are going to proscribe it. So I went to them and asked *Aden nti na mo be gu saa kasa no*—meaning, 'why are you going to proscribe that language?' They looked at me and they were not quite sure whether I was an Akan or Ga; so they kept quiet." (Parliamentary Debates, 23 March 1970, Column 925.)

"Ethnic Arithmetic"

Another important source of tribal friction is the apparently incurable lack of appreciation by almost every Ghanaian of the need for basing appointments to public offices and elsewhere on merit, and merit only, with all that goes with it. But the keen competition between ethnic groups for jobs and related perquisites has led to the glorification of the doctrine and practice of "ethnic arithmetic" to the near-neglect of the criterion of merit. Until the very healthy principle of appointing people to all descriptions of jobs on merit is *internalised* by the majority of Ghanaians — especially the political and social elites—the doctrine and practice of "ethnic arithmetic" will continue to be in the ascendant for a long time yet to come.

It can hardly be over-emphasized, though, that the doctrine and practice of "ethnic arith-

metic" is only a temporary, if not a dubious, solution to the problem of tribalism. The attempt to satisfy the demands of every ethnic group for its fair share of jobs is more likely to breed inefficiency and incompetence. And the result of this is predictable: inefficiency and incompetence will lead to mismanagement of the country's affairs as a whole; and this, in turn, is as likely as not to exacerbate some other causes of tribalism such as the complaint of uneven regional economic development—a clear signum of "internal colonialism".

Disguised Tribalism

Happily a few people are thinking far ahead of the rest of us in this regard. And Mr. T. K. Agadzi, N.A.L. Member for West Dayi, in one of them:

One special evil of tribalism [he said] is this. When we come to consider even Ministerial appointments, let us be frank, we must make sure that we must get somebody from the North, somebody from the Volta Region, somebody from the Western Region and from all the Regions. This is true, and if you look at it carefully it is actually an expression of tribalism. It is an expression of tribalism in disguise because all people from the North belong to a certain tribal group in one place. All people in the Western Region belong to a certain tribe, and in the Volta Region, they belong to a certain tribe. We may not be able to avoid this practice for the moment, but the danger is this: we may have the best persons in a particular party at a given time all coming from say the Western Region—that is, the cream of the party. But because of these tribal considerations, we are going to deprive ourselves of the use of the best people in the party and we may have to bypass the best persons in the Western Region to take a second grade person from say the Central Region just because we want to take account of tribal considerations. These are practical facts. When it comes to considering certain people for one post, what people normally think is, 'well, we have given the top post to somebody...' Let us say we want to appoint a director and a deputy director of a company. Several people have applied for these posts and we have given the post of director to somebody from say Brong-Ahafo. We now need somebody who will be a deputy director but we have another person also from Brong-Ahafo who has about the same qualification as the director. Is it not

obvious that but for ... tribal considerations the person to be appointed as deputy director is that person from Brong-Ahafo? But we have convinced ourselves already that if we do this, people will say this and that and so we must go to the Northern Region to appoint another person who comes number three in order of merit. In so doing, we are depriving ourselves of the services of the person who comes from Brong-Ahafo. These are things which, I think, we must guard against. (23/3/70, Columns 941-42.)

But Mr. J. N. Momori, P.P. Member for Wa-East, was of the opinion that "...one way in which tribalism is encouraged or is allowed to grow in our society can be found in our educational system. If the educational system was designed in such a way as to afford basic training to all alike in the country, the question of one tribe regarding itself as inferior would not arise. A person begins to feel very much about his tribe when he looks around him and he does not see some of his tribesmen in the public services. So I think what is really important is to re-organise the educational system in such a way that there would be equality of training, so that if you go to the hospital and there are 50 or 100 doctors, you can count three Akan doctors, four Ewe doctors, three Dagomba doctors and so on. If we have this sort of thing evenly distributed then no one will feel that he is inferior and tribalism will die a natural death". (23/3/70, Column 922-23.)

Our honourable parliamentarians should rest assured that their august deliberations are being keenly followed outside the House.

OBURONI MUNTU AND AFRICAN IDEOLOGY

By

Modibo T. Ocran

OBURONI Muntu's series on "The Ingredients of an African Ideology", apart from being intellectually stimulating, deserves attention on other grounds as well. It points to the need for an ideology for African nations. It also re-opens the post-independence debate, muted in many countries after the spate of coups in Africa, about the particular ideology that would be most functional in getting the African continent out of her present predicament.

We may characterise an ideology as a more or less coherently formulated set of ideas about a political system, articulating the ends or objectives

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of that system, as well as the means for the attainment of such objectives. Thus, an ideology is a schematic image of social ordering that constitutes a frame of reference for the alternative policy choices that suggest themselves to decision-makers within the political system. It is this *focus on action* that distinguishes ideology from philosophy as such.

In its conceptualisation of the world, an ideology also attempts to give the individual participants an existential meaningfulness in the corporate structure. Oburoni Muntu captured the essence of ideology in his piece on "The Texture of Unity", (*L.O.* V/2), although some of his ideological props make one wonder whether he is consistently talking of an ideology or something else.

Means vs Ends

Quite often we hear people talk of the "end" of ideology and the enthronement of pragmatism, as if the former necessarily excludes the latter. In point of fact, only a facile sort of pragmatism juxtaposes itself to ideology. John Dewey, the father of pragmatism in the U.S., never really intended such a bifurcation. For facile pragmatism, ideas are held to be valid only if they "work". How they work, and the social and other consequences produced by such "workability", appear to be of little importance. Dewey, on the other hand, was more concerned to disprove the notion of previsioned ends or apocalyptic categories, whether religious or secular. He did not deny the distinction between means and ends. What he argued was that ends were themselves subject to external appraisal. Hence pragmatism may be said to be more in the nature of methodology than of philosophy.

Ideologies are no doubt concerned with ends, but not necessarily with an apocalypse. Viewed from this angle, pragmatism should not be held in opposition to ideology, but as a test of the validity of the means employed in the realisation of specific programmes flowing from the relevant ideology.

Every society needs an ideology. Indeed every society *has* an ideology. The difference between those countries (such as the Soviet Union and Peoples' China) with which we tend to associate ideologies, and the others, is essentially that the former countries are more articulate, more explicit, more "noisy", if you will, about their ideologies than the others. Mr. Richard Goodwin, one-time adviser to the late President John F. Kennedy, in

his analysis of *The Shape of American Politics*, has challenged anyone who thinks that the United States has no ideology, to approach the U.S. Congress with measures and ideas that sound sufficiently "communistic", and watch the fury that will erupt from the hearts of most Congressmen.

Ideologies spring up most prolifically in times of crisis. Such a situation exists in Africa at the moment, with its political instability, general economic stagnation, and the attendant absence of a sense of social direction. But, to my mind, the utility of any such ideology ought to be tested by three indices:

- (1) the extent to which it accepts the African syndrome as it is at the moment, and discourages the romanticisation of the African past;
- (2) the extent to which it can spread the good things of life — economic, social, spiritual — among the general populace; and
- (3) the extent to which it makes possible a meaningful union of African nations.

This may be seen as part of the second index, since without some form of union on the continent, our mass poverty and undue dependence on other nations would continue to persist.

Some Questionable Ingredients

Some of the ingredients of the ideology that Oburoni Muntu is developing meet these standards. The utility of certain other ingredients is, however, not so clear, and indeed seriously questionable. Here I shall refer specifically to his discussion on "The Way of Good Fellowship" (*L.O.* V/8), although one could use these same indices to evaluate his earlier articles. I shall also disregard the African Unity aspect in this article.

I think it is fair to state that, for Oburoni Muntu, the ultimate criterion for an African ideology is the extent to which it embraces "the African Personality". But what is this Personality that is unique to Africans? Is it the well-known "communalism" of traditional Africa? Oburoni Muntu writes that there is nothing uniquely African about this (p.15). If he really rejects this, one wonders why, in the same sentence, he asserts that the African Personality "embraces" much more than communalism. The word "embraces" does suggest that at least he accepts these communalistic traditions as a *part* of this Personality.

The constant talk of the communal traditions of Africa is one of those themes I consider to be

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Lufthansa

a romanticisation of the African past. Interestingly enough, the existence of such traditions has been cited *both* by traditionalists and by so-called African socialists as evidence to "prove" why Africans do not need any new or "foreign" versions of socialism.

Communalism in traditional Africa is something one can exaggerate very easily. In spite of the existence of institutions such as the clan and the extended family system, it is perhaps closer to the truth to say that communalism was something to be found more in the *spirit* of our peoples than in their *institutions*. Private production on common land was the rule rather than the exception. It is perhaps more appropriate to describe this spirit as one of co-operation rather than of communalism, which is properly associated with proprietary rights. Igor Kopytoff, an anthropologist, has even reported that, from his study of the Suku tribe in the Congo, there was more co-operation in consumption than in production. Then there were the feudal systems such as Northern Nigeria and slave societies such as Dahomey, where one could hardly talk of the existence of communalism without doing violence to the egalitarian overtones of this concept.

Shattered Values

Nor would it make much difference even if traditional Africa was shot through and through with communalism: for Africa is no longer traditional. The impact of colonialism, Christianity and Islam have either shattered or seriously undermined some of the central values and institutions of traditional Africa. The colonial economy alone created wide income differentials between the colonial enclave and the subsistence sector, resulting in the creation of different social and economic classes, whose interests are highly divergent. In many African countries, class differences have exacerbated since independence. The pattern of income distribution is not apt to benefit the general mass of the people. In this sense, modern Africa is not too different from many other societies. It is simply that, in the interest of nation-building, our leaders have tried hard to suppress the possibility of class struggles, class parties, etc., whereas in other countries the lower economic strata are much freer to use such class weapons as strikes, sabotage, etc. When Leopold Senghor described the class struggle as a "formula for rattling in the throat", he could not have meant the absence of class differences even in his native Senegal. He was speaking the language of expediency as a

nation builder sees it.

But let us take up what Oburoni Muntu, discounting the theme of communalism, considers to be the truly African Personality; good fellowship. Good fellowship embraces conviviality, good talk, music-making and dancing and song, the exchange of jests, broad smiles "which lubricate the machinery of social intercourse." (p.16). It is these qualities which have enabled the African peoples in diaspora in the Americas to make life bearable for "boreal" society. And it is upon this rock of good fellowship that we shall build a modern African civilisation.

This description of the African Personality sounds like a toned-down version of what President Leopold Senghor had to say a few years ago. Giving his reasons for rejecting dialectics as a method of reasoning, he wrote in his *African Socialism* that the African is subjective, and learns by intuition. "He lives in symbiosis; he is like one of those verses of the Third Day, a field of pure sensation." Beautiful poetry! But this clearly underestimates the rationality of the African mind.

Not Really Unique

Oburoni Muntu does not, of course, go to that extent. But are the attributes of good fellowship that he perceives really unique to Africans? I have my doubts. Anyone who visits Latin America, for example, will witness dimensions of conviviality which will make Africans seem like introverts. And I am not referring to Latin American blacks, with whom we tend to associate carnivals, etc. I am referring to Latin Americans of *European* descent. If the test of an African Personality is its uniqueness to Africans, then conviviality etc. do not form part of this Personality. Is African Personality a myth? Is this the reason why Nkrumah hardly made reference to it after 1963? Does this also explain why Negritude—the francophonic surrogate of the African personality—is no longer "fashionable" in Africa?

But what if these attributes were uniquely African? Would they help us out of our predicament? What *programme of action* can possibly flow from this set of attributes? They certainly have not helped our black brothers and sisters in the Americas very much. One sees them often enough in moods of conviviality, enjoying good talk, good music, and dancing in night clubs and beer bars. But, in spite of the Thurgood Marshalls and the Roy Wilkinses, the blacks still

constitute the lumpenproletariat of American society. This fact does not derive merely from their status as a minority group. There are other minority groups in the American society which have fared much better — the Jews, Irish, etc. No doubt, the skin and background of these latter minority groups made a difference; but there is also no question that they had an ethic which helped them to surmount their initial constraints better than the black people.

The blacks on the African mainland are not going to fare any better with these attributes of good fellowship. How can we, as a people, build "a modern African civilisation" by "basing ourselves" on conviviality, good talk, exchange of jests, music-making etc.? To my mind these characteristics are, at bottom, indices of idleness, and lack of social discipline and achievement-orientation. Modernisation, even through the medium of "tropical technology" — whatever that means—needs changes in such attitudes. There is an aspect of underdevelopment that has been characterised as attitudinal underdevelopment. We Africans certainly suffer from it. What is needed is a set of attitudes that will foster rapid economic and social development in order to enable the ordinary man to have his fair share of the produce of the land. Hopefully, this can be attained within the context of humanism. But it also means that certain difficult options have to be made by the leadership, and endured by all the people. There is a heavy price all societies have to pay in order to develop.

An "ideology" which begins to contain such ingredients as Mr. Oburoni Muntu assigned to it in his essay may perhaps be better described by something other than ideology. What concrete policy implications can be engendered by an ideology based on "African Personality" as conceived by Oburoni Muntu, even assuming as proved the uniqueness of this Personality of Africans? If it engenders but little policy implications, we might assert that it is not true ideology, but merely an ideology conceived as mere symbolism, to be used essentially for politically desirable ends such as solidarity-building and image-building.

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Africa

INSIDE THE APARTHEID KINGDOM — LETTER TO A FRIEND

DEAR Kwame— You may like to know how I have been faring since I last saw you. There is a lot to tell you about, but perhaps you would be most interested, first of all, in the reactions of somebody like myself to his first glimpse of South Africa, after many years in Ghana and Nigeria.

The start of the flight was almost weird in itself. You remember my joke about this mysterious aircraft that creeps into Accra Airport at dead of night and takes off for Johannesburg before anyone has noticed it, since direct air journeys between Ghana and South Africa are quite unthinkable these days; but there really was an eerie feeling about walking across the tarmac quite alone towards the great Boeing that stood there, aloofly waiting. All the friends and relatives who had come to see me off had long gone, my wife's uncle in particular having nobly waited until the last possible moment that even he could stay—for departure-time had been delayed by two or three hours—and my last conversation in the almost deserted lounge had been with a young teleprinter operator who had never been out of Ghana but who had heard that Africans were often snubbed in Europe and wanted to know why.

Curious European Faces

Too tired even to attempt a helpful answer to that complex question, I had simply muttered, "Oh, history—the past, you know." Now I found myself entering a brightly lit long cabin with rows and rows of European faces turned towards me in curiosity. They might have been travellers on a long journey through space and I, a strange being from the alien planet on which they had chanced to land. I wondered what they supposed my experience of this place had been; could they imagine the smiling faces of my Ghanaian friends who had sat around in a circle with me on the airport balcony just a few hours before, the easy flow of talk, the sense of affection and companionship?

For hours, I dozed in my seat, between a young, slightly-built Japanese and an elderly German woman, awaking only when the usual periodic offerings of food and drink were brought to my attention. It was a German 'plane, of

course, and from the newspapers lying about and the occasional scraps of conversation that reached me, I gathered that most of the passengers were German—though, I had noticed a rather frightened-looking Indian family in one row of seats, South African Indians presumably. I felt sorry for them and wished I could have thought of some words of sympathy for them that would not have sounded odd and perhaps embarrassing. Quite suddenly the Japanese started up a conversation with me and I learnt that he visited South Africa every year on behalf of a paper firm; he told me about the alternative routes from Tokyo—across the North Pole and via Frankfurt, or via Bombay and Nairobi—and expressed amusement at the fact that for South African purposes he was classified as White. He seemed to like the country to which he was once again travelling, and not to be particularly perturbed about the political system that was gracious enough to regard him as a European.

That Communist Woman

As we crossed the Kalahari and I peered across to see the waterless landscape far below, I exchanged a few words in broken German with my other neighbour about the salt-pans and the occasional ranges of hills that were visible. I noticed that she had a large box containing a child's toy on the floor beside her, and I supposed she was visiting a son or daughter living in South Africa and looking forward to seeing her grandchildren. Not long before we touched down she pointed out to me that her passport was *East* German. I wondered how the country that had produced and wielded so widely the Suppression of Communism Act had been able to agree to let in such an obvious Red—for I could not imagine that her country would have let her out if it had been thought she was other than a loyal supporter of its regime. But when the time came to get up and collect together my raincoat, briefcase and typewriter, I did not linger to see what became of her or of the Japanese European on my right; I was too curious to see South Africa at close quarters at last.

The waiting in the usual queues at the busy airport was not long enough to be very trying; we were dealt with quite smoothly, impersonally and efficiently. I noticed standing in the queue for South African citizens the Indian woman I had seen with her family on the aircraft—a smart, good-looking young matron with her neat and well-dressed children about her, all of them quite obviously very scared. Everyone else, ex-

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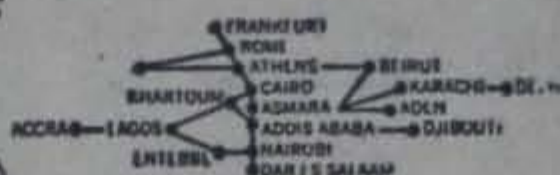
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cept for the porters, was white; we might have been at some revised edition of London Airport on a bright summer day, with West Indian porters waiting for customs, except that the West Indians would have looked better fed and more cheerful.

There was an interlude when I wandered about in the main lounge, with my porter trudging behind me, as I tried to find out what I was supposed to do next. This at least was different from Europe, where the hostesses would have been on hand as one got through the barriers, to tell transit passengers where they would stay for the night and how we could get there. Here one had to hunt for them, in a vast arrival lounge without clear indications of where the offices or desks of the various airlines were to be found. Looking about, it struck me that the ancestry of some of the "Europeans" in this hall so boldly marked as "Europeans only" would not stand too close an investigation. I remembered reading somewhere an estimate that some 30% of South African "Whites" had some African blood, and, judging by appearances, this seemed a credible figure.

Masters and Subjects

Finding at last the right hostess and getting the right voucher for bus, taxis and hotel, I tipped the long-suffering porter and sat in the bus, taking now a close look at the area around the airport entrance. It struck me at once that here was a society which bore its character stamped clearly on its face: the Europeans, especially the airport officials, walked with an arrogant swagger, and the Africans slunk about, wary and unsmiling. The porters, and the workmen on a building site close at hand, were dressed in brown dungarees which made their skin-colour look dingy and drab, and most of them looked thin and undernourished, an effect perhaps accentuated by the rather lean physical type common in southern Africa. It was almost as if all the people I could see wore signs reading "Master Race" and "Subject Race".

Eventually the driver, another of the big, blond, boastful-looking men one saw about, got in and pressed the button to shut the door. We were soon on a new-looking, very up-to-date motorway, quite resembling the one which leads from London Airport. There were the same clean, bright factories, mainly manufacturing consumer goods, to be seen at frequent intervals. It was obvious that one was in a well-developed industrial country. The terrain was more open than that around London Airport, however, and had a rough,

unfinished look, as if everything had only just got there. With pleasure I caught glimpses of the red soil of Africa from time to time, and began to feel that this busy, self-confident European society was superimposed on something quite different and much older, that was not taking part in the bustle or the wealth.

Further into the city the social contrasts were not so great; although I saw no poorly-dressed, hungry-looking Europeans, there were not a few smartly-dressed Africans of quite prosperous appearance visible. At the town terminal there was another long, bumbling delay while I tried to get a taxi. Although many drew up, they all turned out to have been booked already, and it was not clear what one did to get one. At last I was invited to join three other passengers who were bound for the same hotel as I — two of them swarthy southern Frenchmen on their way to Mozambique, they said. At the hotel there were further moments of confusion while the manageress — European, of course — and I discussed who was to pay for the taxi, while its driver — European, of course — waited uncomplainingly outside to be told. I observed that the switchboard operator was African, but the boy who took my bags and was addressed by the manageress as "Page!" was, just to make a change, an Indian.

Marking the "Coloured"

All this time I had been somewhat idly wondering what would have happened if I had arrived with my Ghanaian wife and our four coloured children. Would she and they have had to travel by a separate bus, sit in the room at the air terminal marked "Non-European", and wait for a taxi driven by an African or Indian? And what hotel or hotels would they have put us in? Perhaps I could have tried to simplify everything at the beginning by saying I was "Coloured". After all, if every single one of those people in the airport lounge had been entitled to call himself white, I didn't see why I couldn't have claimed that I was a non-white.

After a wash, I decided to have a look at this great city. I needed to call at the air terminal again, to confirm my onward booking, so I decided that it would be a good idea to walk there through the streets. Like you, I am interested in observing people and their behaviour, and I think of myself as capable of quite detached observation. From a street-plan that was available at the hotel it looked as though the route was quite straightforward, so I crossed the road and turned the corner, looking in the shops I passed to see who

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was serving whom and noting the attire and gait of the people walking quickly along the pavements.

Slowly I began to realise that my boasted detachment was ebbing away. What I saw about me was invading my equanimity. Everywhere there were Europeans and Africans walking briskly along, going their ways, but not one member of either race even glanced at any member of the other, let alone exchanged any word of greeting or anything else. I remembered that a Welsh girl I had met in Britain quite recently, who had just returned from South Africa, had been quite unable to answer my persistent questions about which other countries it resembled, and I realised that she was right — this was quite unlike any society I had encountered before. Once again I felt that I was in the middle of a science-fiction tale: somehow two worlds in different universes had come together, two cities were superimposed. There was a European city whose inhabitants could see no Africans, and an African city where no Europeans were visible, both functioning in the same space and time. Only I could see them both.

The Invisible Barriers

But even this was not quite right: the Africans were not going about a city which was theirs and in which they were entitled to move as and where they wished. Their set, withdrawn expressions were those, once again, of a defeated and subject people; the two worlds were indeed superimposed — but one was above the other. Here and there, it is true, were exceptions to this eerie omnipresence of invisible barriers: a European could buy a newspaper from an African vendor, and in the supermarkets an African customer, even a poorly dressed one, could pay a European cashier for his purchases. People of different races even stood side by side choosing their goods from the same shelves.

But the people who passed along the streets and through the park with the signs saying "These seats are for Europeans only", "This playground is reserved for European mothers and children" and occasionally "Non-Europeans only" — almost all these people looked at each other only when each was white or each non-white. Every bus which passed was either one full of Europeans, with a European driver, or one full Africans, with an African driver. I had often wondered how it was possible for this regime to insist that the races should be apart, when it was plain and obvious that they were together. Now I could see that indeed they were together — and quite apart.

By now I was wanting nothing but to get out of this nightmare city, as quickly as I could. I felt that unless I did something to break the spell, relieve the intolerable strain at least a little for myself, I might find myself running away and screaming. For a time I stood a short distance from a respectably-dressed, middle-aged African couple waiting patiently for a bus or taxi, wondering how I could go up and talk to them; but my courage failed me — everyone would turn and look, I would embarrass these poor people — and I went on.

I longed for the possibility of some public gesture of defiance which would not make trouble for somebody: if I had a Ghanaian friend with me, perhaps the two of us could have had one of those hilarious conversations, slapping each other on the shoulder or taking each other by the arm or hand. I knew now, though, that I could not have walked these streets with my wife and children, subjected them to the inevitable glares of hostility and the oppressive atmosphere of racial humiliation.

'Ah, That's the Place'

Eventually I decided that I could not go on without at least making a slight effort at communication, however weak and pathetic. As a well-dressed African came along I politely asked him the way to the Post Office. He answered me civilly enough, and I tried to extend the conversation a little by remarking that I had been supposing that this was some other street than it actually was; but he cut short our exchange and turned away to look in a shop window.

On the way back to the hotel I tried again, with another well-dressed man; this time I had genuinely lost my bearings. Perhaps recognising from my accent that I was not a South African, he offered to come a little way with me to show me my route. As we walked along I said in a low, and probably a trembling, voice, "I can't stand this place; I've just come from Ghana, and last night my friends there were seeing me off, and now I find people going about here with nobody talking to anybody". "Ah, Ghana", he answered, "that's the place" — and the tone of hope in his voice was unmistakable. Before I could stop myself I had said, "No, there are so many problems there... I don't know what they can do..." He pointed out my way and we parted. I cursed my unthinking words. He had taken the risk of walking and talking with me — and for all he knew I might have been an *agent provocateur*, even a Security man — and I had brushed aside one of his illusions without a

moment's hesitation.

I doubt whether any of you even begin to realise what a danger South Africa presents to the continent. We are accustomed to forming our views about apartheid mainly in terms of our sense of solidarity with fellow-Africans under its heel, but we do not really think of it as affecting us in any other way; we suppose that we can get on with our own affairs in our own way, merely boycotting the South African regime. But to think like this is to live in an utter fool's paradise. A successful industrial system such as one can see staring one in the face in Johannesburg is bound to expand, economically or politically or both, wherever there is a vacuum adjoining it—and the whole of the rest of the continent is such a vacuum, in comparative economic terms. This is not just a premonition: the process is already starting.

That evening, all these thoughts running through my head, I saw that one of the European waitresses in the dining-room, a pert, snub-nosed girl, was talking to the African head-waiter, smiling up at him in a slightly flirtatious fashion, and I thought, "Well, there is still some human communication left here". But when she came to ask for my order I knew from her accent that she was French, and thus as much a stranger to this appalling country as I was. Maybe she too had wished to break the spell a little.

It is Growing, Growing . . .

In the morning the European clerks at the air terminal had difficulty in multiplying 21 by 30 when they wanted to work out my excess baggage charge. I reflected that if enough of the Europeans were as stupid as these men and as incompetent as the hostesses, there might be some hope yet for Africa. But in the aircraft, looking back over the great pall of smoke pouring from the factory chimneys right across the Witwatersrand, and thinking that this represented probably no more than a quarter of all South Africa's industrial might, I knew again that we were all in the most terrible danger.

Kwame, you must be aware that industrial civilization is far and away the most powerful and potentially destructive of all man's achievements. As we found in Europe three or four decades ago, an industrial society which takes a malignant form can unleash in a few short years all that destructive power. Six million were brutally done to death then, and perhaps six times six million others died or were crippled for life before Nazi Germany was destroyed. Of course, in global terms South Africa is quite a puny industrial power; but it is growing, and growing

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CENTRE FOR CIVIC EDUCATION

STAFF APPOINTMENTS

Applications are invited from suitably qualified Ghanaians for the following posts in the Centre for Civic Education:-

A. REGIONAL ORGANISER (Women's Section) for Upper Region.

Qualifications:- Candidates must have:-

- (a) A good educational background up to School Certificate or Teacher's Certificate 'A' or its equivalent plus at least five (5) years' post qualification experience in organisation work, preferably at Regional or National level.
- (b) Should be of a pleasant disposition, have initiative, drive, integrity and high sense of responsibility.
- (c) Have ability to interest Urban as well as Rural communities in their civic rights and responsibilities.
- (d) Have good knowledge of Frafra and at least one other dialect spoken in the Region.

Age:- Not more than 45 years.

Salary:- Range 48, 53—N¢1,668—N¢1,956; N¢2,040—N¢2,388.

Duties:- To be concerned with all levels of organisation in the Region, Urban and Rural, and with all kinds of audiences and groups.

- (a) To be in constant touch with all Sections of the Community in the Region and to liaise with the Chiefs and people in rural and urban areas, for the formation of discussion groups, i.e. Civic Clubs.
- (b) To be responsible for arranging speakers for Seminars, Courses, Lectures and for inviting people to serve on the panel of speakers for the Region.

B. DISTRICT ORGANISERS (For all Regions)

Qualifications:- Candidates must:-

- (a) Have a good general educational background preferably up to School Certificate or Teachers Certificate 'A' or its equivalent plus three (3) years' post qualification practical experience in organisational work, preferably at District level.
- (b) Have good knowledge of at least two dialects spoken in the Region to which he will be posted.

Age:- Not more than 40 years.

Duties:- Will be responsible for organising the Centre's activities in the District. These include arrangements for meetings, symposia, lectures, debates, group discussions, and the giving of talks related to the Civic Education programme.

NOTE:- A GOOD KNOWLEDGE (ORAL AND WRITTEN) OF THE MAIN DIALECT OF THE DISTRICT TO

WHICH THE APPLICANT INTENDS TO BE POSTED IS ESSENTIAL.

Salary:- Range 43, 48—N¢1,380—N¢1,608—N¢1,688—N¢1,956.

C. JUNIOR ACCOUNTING OFFICER GRADE II (For Regional Offices)

Qualifications:- Candidates must:-

- (a) Have a good general educational background, at least up to the Middle School Leaving Certificate with 8-10 years accounting or book-keeping experience in a Government or reputable organisation.

Age:- Not more than 40 years.

Salary:- Range 24, 29—N¢660—N¢756; N¢792—N¢936.

Duties:- Will be responsible for Accounts, Ledgers, Vote Ledgers, Bank transactions and payments in Regional Offices.

D. RESEARCH OFFICER

Qualifications:- Candidates must:-

- (a) Be Graduates in the Social Sciences or have a post-graduate qualification in the Social Sciences.
- (b) Have knowledge in one or more Ghanaian languages.
- (c) Have experience in Research.

Duties:-

1. Research into the materials needed by the Centre for the education of the people;
2. Writing pamphlets on his research results;
3. Determining the impact the Centre's programme is making on the populace; and
4. Editing pamphlets written by contributors outside the Centre.

Age:- Not more than 45 years.

Salary:- Range 49, 55—N¢1,740—N¢2,040; N¢2,208—N¢2,580.

E. RESEARCH WRITER

Qualifications:- Candidates must:-

- (a) Be holders of at least G.C.E. Advanced Level Certificate or its equivalent;
- (b) be able to read and write two (one in the case of graduates) or more Ghanaian languages; and
- (c) have a flair for writing.

Duties:- Will be required to write simple pamphlets in English and Ghanaian languages for the use of the Centre.

Age:- Not more than 40 years.

Salary:- Range 45, 50—N¢1,488—N¢1,740; N¢1,812—N¢2,124.

F. STENOGRAPHER SECRETARY

Qualifications:- Applicants must:-

- (a) have passed at the Ordinary level in

English paper of the General Certificate of Education or must have passed the Qualifying English Examination conducted by the West African Examinations Council; and must be able to type at the rate of 50 words a minute for 10 minutes, take shorthand at the rate of 100 words a minute for 5 minutes and possess a certificate issued by the Principal, Government Secretarial School to that effect.

b) must have initiative, integrity and a high sense of responsibility.

s:- General secretarial duties of a high grade, taking minutes at Board Meetings, preparing minutes and memoranda for the Executive Director and General Administrator as required, and keeping confidential reports and such related matters that may be assigned from time to time.

Not more than 35 years.

y:- Range 40, 45, 50—N¢1,236—N¢1,428—N¢1,488—N¢1,740—N¢2,124.

TENOGRAPHER GRADE I

ifications:- Applicants must:-

a) have passed at the Ordinary Level in the English paper of the General Certificate of Education or must have passed the Qualifying English Examination conducted by the West African Examinations Council; and must be able to type at the rate of 50 words a minute for 10 minutes, take shorthand at the rate of 100 words a minute for 5 minutes and possess a certificate issued by the Principal, Government Secretarial School to that effect.

b) must have initiative, integrity and high sense of responsibility.

s:- General secretarial work, taking minutes at meetings, typing confidential minutes and reports, and performance of other related duties.

Not more than 30 years.

Range 28, 33, 35, 40—N¢756—N¢900; N¢936—N¢1,092;—N¢1,008—N¢1,188; N¢1,236—N¢1,428.

Not more than 30 years.

Range 28, 33, 35, 40—N¢756—N¢900; N¢936—N¢1,092;—N¢1,008—N¢1,188; N¢1,236—N¢1,428.

EXECUTIVE OFFICER

(For Regional Offices and Headquarters)

ifications:- Candidates must have:-

a) A good educational background preferably up to School Certificate or its equivalent; a pass in G.C.E. 'A' level will be an advantage.

b) Must have initiative, integrity and high sense of responsibility. Clerical/Executive Officer for at least 5 years.

s:- General administrative and executive duties including the supervision of junior staff.

Age:- Not more than 35 years.

Salary:- Range 24, 29—N¢660—N¢756; N¢792—N¢936.

I. TYPIST GRADE I

(For Regional Offices and Headquarters)

Qualifications:-

Candidates must have held this position for a period not less than 2 years with Government or reputable Commercial or Industrial Organisation. Must be able to type at the rate of 40 words per minute and must possess the Certificate issued by the Government Secretarial School to that effect.

Duties:- The successful candidate will be required to attend to all typing and secretarial duties in the Regional Office(s).

Age:- Not more than 28 years.

Salary: Range 15, 20—N¢462—N¢540; N¢564—N¢660

J. CLERICAL OFFICER

(For Regional Offices and Headquarters)

Qualifications: Candidates must have:-

(a) A good educational background preferably up to School Certificate or its equivalent.

(b) Must have initiative, integrity and high sense of responsibility.

Duties: General clerical and administrative duties.

Age: Not more than 28 years.

Salary: Range 15, 20—N¢462—N¢540; N¢564—N¢660

K. STORES & SUPPLY OFFICER

Qualifications: Candidates should:-

(a) have Middle School Leaving Certificate or School Certificate

(b) have had at least (5) five years Store-keeping experience either in the Civil Service or a Corporation.

Duties: Receiving and issuing of stores, purchasing and payment of bills. Keeping store records e.g. Ledgers, Stores Issue Vouchers, Invoices, Stores Receipt Vouchers, Tally Cards etc.

Age: Not more than 40 years.

Salary: Range 45, 50—N¢1,488—N¢1,740; N¢1,812—N¢2,124.

METHOD OF APPLICATION:

Applications (five copies) giving a brief curriculum vitae with copies—**NOT ORIGINALS**—of certificates and testimonials and names and addresses of three referees should be addressed to the Executive Director, Centre for Civic Education, P.O. Box M.103, Accra, not later than 27th May, 1970. Civil Servants, employees of statutory Boards and Corporations should apply through their Heads of Departments. Applicants under bond are ineligible.

NOTE: Those for B,C,H,I & J must indicate in which Regions or District Offices they wish to work.

rapidly, and not one of the stronger powers has the slightest interest in stopping it — most, indeed, are assisting it to grow.

I am well aware of the common view that its very industrial growth will modify its political system; unfortunately there is not a scrap of evidence for this view. The wealthier it gets, the more firmly the *apartheid* system is fastened on. Undoubtedly more and more Africans will acquire skills and vocational and professional training of all kinds, but there is no reason whatever to believe that this will affect their political rights; and even their occupational advance can be slowed up by increased immigration of racialist whites from Great Britain and elsewhere.

I am quite convinced, Kwame, that unless we muster every ounce of intelligence and nerve we possess to combat it, South Africa will take over the entire continent within our lifetime. I say this as a perfectly sober judgment, not in any alarmist spirit. Obviously we have nothing like the physical strength necessary to take on South Africa in a straight fight, even though we outnumber her by more than a hundred to one. What we need is cunning, courage, and resoluteness, and a great deal of luck. If we do not alert ourselves, our days are surely numbered.

No Exaggeration

No doubt you will think I am exaggerating all this. There would be no point in asking you to believe me. What I do ask you to do, if you possibly can, is just what I did: fly to Johannesburg and walk around the streets. Better still, if you can do it, drive along the Rand and look at the factories, go into the supermarkets and see for yourself the variety and quantity of South African products of all kinds, and read the figures.

Busia has suggested that South Africans should come to Ghana to see that it is not backward. I make no comment on the merits of this suggestion, but I am quite sure that Ghanaians should take every opportunity they can to visit South Africa, however painful and humiliating the experience may be, in order to see clearly what they are up against. Know your enemy. Look at him as closely as you can, from every possible angle. But above all, walk around the streets of Johannesburg, if you can stand it. I couldn't for very long, I'm afraid. South African racialism is no joke, and I don't really intend a pun—but Johannesburg, you might say, gets under your skin.

Yours, in deep concern,
Peter

Education

EDUCATION IN RURAL AREAS

By

R. K. A. Gardiner, (*Executive Secretary, E.C.A.*)

THIS IS not the first time that our countries—the underdeveloped parts of the Commonwealth—have had an opportunity to consider the importance of rural education or education in rural areas. In the 1920s the example of the Jean's Schools in America was brought to the attention of African countries by the Phelps-Stokes Education Commission and Professor Victor Murray wrote his very thoughtful book about education in Africa entitled, "School in the Bush". In more recent years economic planners have been stressing the importance of agricultural and home extension services as part of the over-all development.

Our modest response has taken the form of Community Development activities. It seems to me that the latest independent African initiative has been taken by Tanzania in the effort of the government and people of that country to implement the Arusha Declaration. The problems which face us are not new or peculiar. In industrially-advanced countries, rural poverty and backwardness constitute isolated spots in a relatively prosperous area. In developing countries we encounter a reverse pattern—prosperous areas are the exception.

The Rural Economy

The economies of most of the developing countries are likely to remain predominantly agrarian and raw-material producing for some time, and, since two-thirds or more of the total population earn their living from the land, the highest priority should be given to developing the rural economy and improving the level of living of the inhabitants of the rural areas. The attainment of even this modest goal will depend upon the development of human resources—from high-level managerial and organizational skills down to the factory hand and the worker in the field. The single most important component of any human resources development programme is the education and training of human minds and hands.

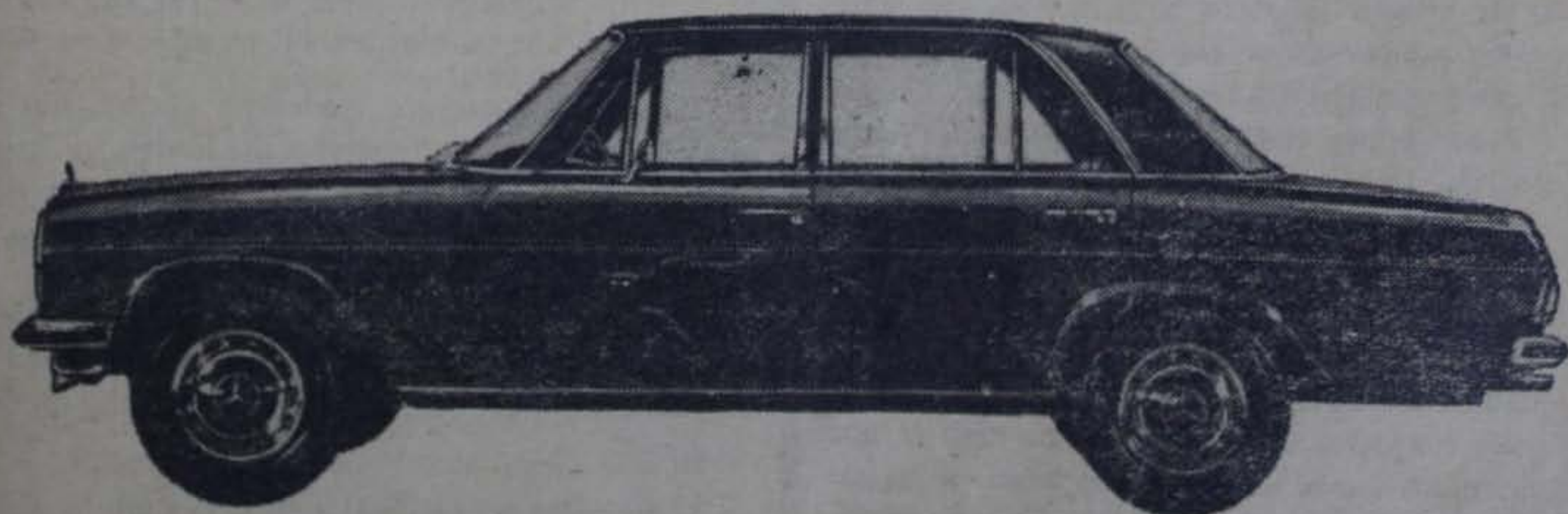
If education is to help satisfy some of the current pressing needs of society, it must be deliberately designed as an instrument of economic and social growth. This means that greater



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emphasis will have to be placed on the investment function of education without totally neglecting what may be described as its consumption function. We have not always defined precisely the objectives of our educational systems for rural areas and, perhaps, we have been able to defend this weakness by arguing that a national educational system is an organic unity. There is, however, no reason why the focusing of attention on the specific needs of the rural economy and the rural population should affect this unity, though it does imply a shift of resources and emphasis.

A programme for raising the level of living of the rural population would need to be approached in a comprehensive and integrated manner in contrast to the *ad hoc* methods of the past. Even to achieve the narrow goal of an increase in the volume of physical production in the rural areas, governments would have to be committed to a number of ancillary measures, because economic development is a complex process involving many inter-dependent variables. Although the proportionate influence exerted by each of these variables on the development process can only be determined rightly within a particular context, we know that the absence of one or other of them in the total mix, does affect the achievement of set goals.

Evidence of Rural Poverty

For example, the establishment of new industries calls for power supply, transport and communications, credit and marketing facilities, improvement in health and environmental conditions, nutrition, housing, vocational training, and general intellectual and cultural stimulation. Mr. Arthur Hopcraft seems to have caught the problem well when he writes,

The poor countries have neither the material resources nor the human skills in sufficient quantity to carry through some of the policies they begin. People who were bitter in landless poverty, find themselves just as poor on land holdings which they cannot manage, because the instruction and cash credit have not caught up with the politics. All over the poor world young people with education they cannot use, because there are no jobs for them, are beginning to look a more dangerous problem than illiteracy. The evidence of rural poverty and underemployment together with the unwillingness of youth and able-bodied adults to remain in rural areas under existing conditions, the increase in migra-

tion to the already overcrowded towns and cities, and the growing problem of the unemployed school-leaver with little or no training for practical work, show up the failure of education to prepare citizens for useful adult life. The only mitigating factor is that the failure may not entirely be placed at the door of the educationists.

There is a definite relationship between education, income expectation and vocational preferences. Rural employment is notorious for low income returns and children from rural areas cannot be accused of irrational behaviour if they seek better-paid jobs elsewhere. The expansion of employment opportunities has taken place mostly in urban areas, ports, transport centres, and such enclaves as mining communities. Transport systems in under-developed countries may be described as penetration routes for the evacuation of raw materials and the distribution of limited quantities of consumer goods.

The Inherent Problems

To stem the rural exodus to the overcrowded capital cities, it would be necessary to develop a series of intermediate towns with a modicum of urban amenities to act, in some sense, as social, cultural and economic focal centres for the surrounding countryside. There have been sporadic attempts to institute a more practical form of education related to agricultural and handicraft pursuits but these have never been seriously implemented and the problems inherent in them have not been sufficiently studied. The reasons given are, to say the least, conflicting:

- (1) that dependent peoples preferred to copy the educational patterns of metropolitan countries, and
- (2) that the colonizing powers deliberately held back technical and scientific training from their subject peoples.

These arguments are irrelevant clichés. But it may be admitted that many of the leaders in developing countries had no opportunity to see the kinds of occupation in which the majority of workers and peasants in the industrialized countries were employed and the vocational training they received. Consequently, the educational systems in countries like ours are not yet development-oriented.

A practical educational policy cannot be formulated in a vacuum. A nation which advocates such policies must be committed to development. It must above all aim at linking up the differ-

parts of its territory to form a national economy. At present, most developing countries with patches of active areas cannot be described as national economies, even though all the progressive pockets are contained in one nation-state. The size of the national market or the national economy is a very important factor in economic development.

Assuming that the need to develop a national economy is accepted, then one role of education will be to equip the growing generation with new skills and a new outlook. Much is made of the conservation of the peasant, but I think there is a danger of overplaying this aspect of peasant psychology. A poor peasant can ill-afford to take risks, but if care is taken to ensure that new methods and techniques produce positive results, the peasant will accept them and put them into practice. People can and do change, if given the right incentives, and a programme of job training must be matched by the generation of appropriate jobs.

Utilitarian Aspects

This attitude to the development role of education emphasizes the utilitarian aspects and, in the economic circumstances of Africa today, this is not a bad thing. We have to improve the production of capital and consumer goods and our material welfare depends upon how well we do this. We cannot help being utilitarian in our outlook, for we can only exchange goods and services that have economic value, and this is precisely what the transformation of subsistence economies to market economies means. This is not to say that the aesthetic, moral, cultural and religious values of education are to be neglected. Some people hold the view that practical vocational training is devoid of any cultural value. Of this, I am not convinced, but I am sure of the fact that Africa's development will be served by men whose minds can grasp the laws of nature and whose hands can refashion its raw materials to minister to human ends.

It is important that education should be viewed as a continuous, life-long process, embracing the young as well as the adult population. A psychological climate must be created to make it necessary and possible for all members of the community to participate in the development effort. I am not suggesting that age-old customs and traditions should be abandoned or swept away; but there is the greatest need for a reappraisal of the codes and standards which have conditioned and still condition our actions. Everything must be done to ensure that the communal system which is universal in Africa is not abused. But there is need

for a spirit of independence and self-reliance and a willingness to take risks. A system which shelters all indiscriminately can only guarantee equality in poverty.

It is necessary to question our present arrangements for the allocation of resources. On what age-group should limited resources be spent? It might be argued that concentration on vocational and on-the-job training for adults might yield more immediate economic returns than investment in primary schools. Some authorities have suggested postponing the compulsory entry of children into the first grade to about the age of 8 or 9 so that at the terminal stage of primary school 15 or 16—school-leavers would be sufficiently mature to utilize their pre-vocational training in productive work. Indeed, the present systems which concentrate on spreading primary education are partly responsible for the wholesale unemployment among school-leavers.

The psychological damage which this does is not fully appreciated. Children today do not speak of 'passing' the Standard 7 examination or of having 'obtained the secondary school-leaving Certificate.' Rather, they say they have 'failed the Common Entrance' or failed to secure admission to the University.' By this process we are in fact rearing a nation of failures, since only a minority of primary school-leavers enter secondary schools and a tinier minority still gain admission to the University. For economic and psychological reasons, we have to think in terms of investment in an educational complex.

A Matter of Emphasis

Is there such a thing as rural education? The only reasonable answer to this question is that it is a matter of emphasis. Educational services provided in rural areas should be comprehensive in scope, comprising programmes from primary school levels to participation in communal activities; such as women's institutes, farmers' clubs and extension work. It should also provide opportunities for attending rurally located high-level institutions engaged in teaching and research in specific rural problems. This implies that careful attention will be paid to curricula and syllabuses. Nowhere in the current educational systems in developing countries is there as much attention paid to food production, farm management, marketing and cooperatives, science and its application, mechanical skills, etc. as is done in more prosperous and industrially advanced countries. Too much insistence cannot be placed on the need for the standards of teaching and learning in rural areas to be as good as those which obtain in the best urban institutions.

Equality in the quality of education should not be confused with identity of curriculum content. The student in a rural school is not a prisoner to his rural environment. At any stage, he should be able to transfer to an urban secondary institution; rurally trained science teachers, or nurses, or artisans, ought to be able to work efficiently in urban concerns, and even more important, ought to be able to continue studies in a university or technical institution. So long as the rural population feel caught in a vicious circle of rural poverty, rural education, low income and continuing poverty, most of its members will seek to escape. This is the crux of the problem.

It seems to me that we have been unduly pre-occupied by the exodus from the rural areas. This exodus is only a symptom. Unless employment opportunities and prosperity are relatively evenly spread, we cannot prevent people from moving in search of better conditions of life. Indeed, it would amount to a denial of their fundamental human right to attempt to do so.

Editor's Note:

This is one of the papers which Mr. Gardiner read at a Commonwealth Conference on Rural education which was held at Legon in March 1970. We are grateful to him for permitting us to reproduce his address.

Institute of African Studies, Legon

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Observer Notebook

Dahomey: Now a Presidential Troika

If there are any Ghanaians who are as yet unimpressed by our achievement in moving so smoothly from a military to a civilian regime, they have only to look at the fate of countries elsewhere to realize that a coup is a comparatively easier affair than a peaceful return to civilian rule.

Dahomey is a case in point. This tiny Franco-phone country joined in the spate of coups which nearly became a fashion in Africa in the early 60s. Some of its leading politicians fled to France. Two in fact were reported to have lived within hailing distance of one another in a Paris street. But they kept unburnt their political bridges with home.

When in December last year the military decided to return to barracks, they acted in a typically Dahomean gentlemanly fashion. They made Dr. Zinsou president. Dr. Zinsou had been a highly respected Foreign Minister, and rumblings against his appointment died down in no time.

But Dahomey's problems proved intractable so the military stepped in in a gentlemanly coup against Zinsou. They then tried a return to civilian rule via the ballot box. Then the political veterans converged on the homeland and waged a bitter campaign which, according to the military, nearly resulted in civil war.

So, in gentlemanly fashion again, the Army gave the three political aspirants an ultimatum: they had to put their heads together and produce a solution. This they did by constituting themselves into a three-man Presidential Commission with a two-year rotating Presidency. The first incumbent is Hubert Maga; his acolytes are Justin Ahomadegbe and Suremiga Apithy.

From this country of endless surprises, no one can tell for sure what will come next. The troika Presidential Commission was hardly inaugurated before it sped away to neighbouring Togo to arrange for their common border to be opened twenty-four hours a day. Previously, travellers were even asked to pay an "overtime fee" if they attempted to cross the border during the lunch break!

But Dahomey's basic economic problems will stare the new administration in the face from the word go. Her swarms of corrupt civil servants who had to pack back home in length and breadth of Franco-phone Africa in the marathon independence harvest of the early 60s do not

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seem to have made much difference to the problems.

One may even yield to a little cynicism and hazard the guess that the well tried bloodless coup method devised by the Dahomey army may yet be invoked in the near future. For the tragedy of Dahomey is the tragedy of the non-viable African country—a narrow strip of territory, populated by a mere two million souls, with a budget subsidized by France, and with the obligation of playing the suave, cultured African nation before other nations of the world.

A happy prognostication, therefore, would be a merger with Togo.

Banda and Apartheid

HASTINGS K. BANDA, the President of the Republic of Malawi, has achieved the remarkable record of being the first leader of an independent African country to receive the leader of apartheid South Africa. This week, Mr. Vorster, the premier of the racist regime, and a leading apostle of racial separatism, has been visiting Malawi as guest of that government. It may be recalled that Malawi was also the first African independent country to establish diplomatic relations with South Africa. The fact that Malawi's ambassador there is a European, is significant.

Dr. Banda's political peculiarities are, of course, not surprising to his fellow African nationalists. His various views and pronouncements on African problems: of apartheid, of minority rule, of economic and social development, of Africanization—these have increasingly isolated him from the mainstream of African thinking. These views of Banda, who became head of his country after over forty years of absence from his motherland, caused considerable resentment among his immediate colleagues right from the start, and were the cause of the revolt by his leading lieutenants such as Henry Chipembere and Kanyama Chiume. In O.A.U. circles, Banda is perhaps discussed with contemptuous rejection.

Apparently, many Malawians still regard Banda as god-sent: the type of hero worship and adulation showered on him in his country would cause a West African to marvel. But these are not entirely inexplicable. Malawi is poor, and has a fragile economy which is inextricably dependent on that of Rhodesia, Zambia, and South Africa. Since Zambia began to doubt the Africanness of Banda, Malawians have no longer had free access to the labour market of that country as they used to do, especially when the Central African federa-

tion was still in existence. Hence Banda's desire to lick the boots of Ian Smith, Vorster, and even Portuguese leaders whose policies Banda finds to be not too bad as to cause political repulsion.

Obviously the whole world is watching with keen interest as to the end result of this flirtation with Africa's political antagonists. Clearly, if Banda thinks that the disciples of darkness can be easily converted through mutual visitations, economic treaties, and aid promises, then he would be well advised to re-read his primer of politics. Being treated as a "nice African" may be temporarily rewarding, psychologically; but whether this honour does credit to one's race, is doubtful. And this is why we wish Malawi's Ngwazi and his people all the best of luck in their peculiar style of politics.

Ghana and the Games

WE CANNOT imagine what more Ghana's sports authorities are waiting to hear or see, before declaring our stand on the situation created by the scheduled tour of England by the white South African cricketers, with its threatened effect on the coming Edinburgh Commonwealth Games. In fact we cannot imagine what they are waiting for before declaring us out of the Games now that the cricket tour has been confirmed....

What argument remains to be advanced that has not already been adduced by the press in Ghana? What new case remains to be made that has not already been made by students, by newspaper readers and correspondents, by many other citizens, long before the final decision to keep the tour?.... What's come over Ghana? How much more insulting should some hypocritical British conservatives get towards a large section of a far-flung community of peoples, before we react in the only way open to us in this blatant situation? What about the rest of the Englishmen who are not hypocrites and double-crossers? Who do not rate economic advantages above human decency? Who do not care to back the "kith and kin, right or wrong" attitude? Who reject the self-deceiving "Scotland is different" argument? Who are today committed to put their dignity, their security, even their personal safety, on the chopping-block of hypocrisy and callousness and stubbornness?.... Are we the ones to teach them a lesson in tolerance and "Christian charity"? Are we the ones to initiate a new round of Heathen "discussions" with Vorster and Ian Smith, when even Wilson has abandoned ship and got off the "Tiger" and "Fearless" pretensions—at least temporarily?

What IS the matter with Ghana now?

Letters

The New Order

SIR—The letter written by Owusu Yaw in the *Legon Observer* (V/10) under the above caption is provocative enough to require a rejoinder. Owusu Yaw questions the government's sense of responsibility for the welfare of Ghanaians because it has dismissed over 500 workers, leaving their families to suffer.

I wonder if Owusu Yaw wanted the government to retain these workers, whom it no longer wished to work with. That is, to him, the economic well-being of the whole nation should be sacrificed for the benefit of only a handful of workers and their families. What the New Order tells us is that everybody should realize his responsibilities to the whole nation and help uplift the living standards of the people through hard work.

In the event of the failure of the nation, people such as Owusu Yaw would be the first to organise lectures and tell us "what went wrong in Ghana" and blame everything on the Busia administration.

T.T.C. Samuel Akwaboah
Ghana

Should Nkrumah be Pardoned?

SIR—Mr. Kofi Dake's letter on Nkrumah's role in history (L.O. V/8) must have given Ghanaians something to think about. The letter was factual and thought provoking.

Immediately after the coup, everything which bore the name of Nkrumah was given a new name: Statues of Nkrumah were demolished and their pieces given to workers as souvenirs. All this was proper immediately after the coup, and we were all too happy rejoicing over our newly won freedom.

Mr. Dake suggests that "at least a cursory remark about what little role he (Nkrumah) played", be made on radio broadcasts on the 6th March and I suppose on the 1st of July too? I shall, however, go a little further in demanding something more.

We could at least take the huge NC100,000 ransom for his head. The Busia government has shown that it can be objective and realistic — as shown by the government's stand on South Africa. Another show of its objectivity would be to recognise the place of Nkrumah in Ghana's history and pardon him.

Commonwealth Hall E. G. Atta-Appiah
Legon

The Sallah Case

SIR—The point at issue in this case is a fundamental constitutional question that calls for very serious debate, and it is indeed a pity that the arguments have raged more around personalities than around the constitution. What the Supreme Court was required to do, if it is empowered by the Constitution to do, was to give us an interpretation of Section 9(1) of the

Transitional Provisions of the Constitution. This it has done, and then related it to Sallah's position.

Is it being suggested that our Supreme Court has deliberately misinterpreted the Constitution just to satisfy the whims of a judge? If this was so, then God help Ghana!

Our Constitutional lawyers must urgently debate the issue and tell us whether the Constitution has been correctly or wrongly interpreted so that the public can judge the judges: that is true democracy at work. The government's reaction to the court's decision is what one would naturally expect under the circumstances, but should we allow it to cloud our perspective on the Constitution and the Law?

P.O. Box 1840
Accra

Owusu Yaw

Cecil Rhodes and Rhodesia

SIR—Mr. C. C. K. Dzakupasu's piece under the title, "Origins of the Rhodesian Crisis", (L.O.V/9) calls for a direct reply. Being an African myself, I consider that article as about the greatest insult I have had to endure, in a long time, from someone who is apparently an African (by name).

In his analysis of the origin of the Rhodesian Crisis, Mr. Dzakupasu might only be presenting what he considers to be unalloyed facts. But one cannot fail to see, halfway through his article, that he is trying to present a case for domination of white over black in Rhodesia. In going over the role of Cecil Rhodes and the early settlers, he gives it a righteous image which is most objectionable. He calls Cecil Rhodes an empire builder, which is to say he was a coloniser and an imperialist. So, any suggestion of philanthropy is hopelessly out of place. Those settlers who followed Rhodes and "helped in tapping this immense wealth in minerals" did not come for the love of Lobengula. Their "treaties of trade and protection" turned out to be treaties for theft and subjugation. These are also facts!

It is my belief that if Cecil Rhodes was half as honest as Mr. Dzakupasu implies, there would be no Rhodesian crisis today.

Mr. Dzakupasu must be very satisfied with the wonderful array of facts and opinions he has presented. But I wonder how many Africans shall be impressed by his presentation!

Accra

Ike Mints

SIR—I read Mr. Dzakupasu's article on Rhodesia (L.O. V/9) with much dismay. His call for a realistic appraisal, based on distorted history, clearly portrays his ignorance of what the struggle is all about. And it is betrayal of faith to insist that Rhodesia is here to stay. Whose side is he on? He not only tried to confuse the public, but he also waged a psychological warfare on behalf of Africa's detractors.

He can be assured that the concern is not over the genealogy of the rape of Matebeleland, or where the rapists belong. At issue here is the dignity of man, and the attempt is to make Africa a home for Africans, not an asylum for the deranged.

A further assurance for Mr. Dzakupasu, which should set his mind at ease, is that there is no effort to deny

the Ian Smiths citizenship of Rhodesia. However, I believe that the death of Rhodesia is inevitable. This is a struggle, not against a race, or a people, but against an idea, and the embodiment of such an idea.

Avenida Hotel
Accra.

Robert Okorley

Cape Coast University College

SIR—Permit me to comment on Mr. K. A. Karikari's article: University College of Cape Coast — A Unique Experiment, (L.O. V/8).

The writer lists a catalogue of problems facing the young university as follows:

- 1) agitations against the mass failures in the Science Faculty
- 2) the suspension or dismissal of third year science students
- 3) the very insistence on academic standards
- 4) the finances of the university
- 5) the shortage of staff accommodation and
- 6) the high cost of living in Cape Coast.

While opinions may differ as to the extent to which all these items are in fact problems, I personally see little truth in deriving the University's uniqueness from these problems.

Again, I do not think that the supposition that the University will "cease to be of usefulness to the nation VERY SOON" (capitals mine) if it is to concentrate on its primary aim of producing graduate teachers should be accepted. For it is an open secret that despite all the hue and cry about unemployed graduates, there are still not enough trained graduate teachers to fill vacancies in the teaching field. For example in 1968 there were not more than 30 Ghanaian graduate French teachers in Ghana! How many years shall we take to fill all these vacancies in this and other subjects? How many years shall we take to replace the Peace Corps Volunteers and other experts?

As to the allegations that there is little research in Science and the Arts, that the administration is expensive, and that the intellectual life is dull, I congratulate the writer for expressing concern, but I think, being a Senior Member of the University College, he is in a better position to make suggestions to his colleagues rather than through the press.

Sekondi College
P.O. Box 190
Sekondi

Cab Addae

Opposition Paper

SIR—I agree with Mr. Oppong-Agyare that there is a need for an Opposition Paper. But whether this should be sponsored by the government is a matter on which, I think, there is room for a wide measure of disagreement.

Mr. Oppong-Agyare carries idealism a little too far when he indirectly suggests that the government should hand over to, say, a potential editor, the sum of NC10,000 and say to him, "Mr. Editor, here's NC10,000 for you to start an Opposition Paper which specializes in the art of fault-finding and in scathing criticism of the Progress Party government; and for discharging this national service you'll be paid NC200.00 a month".

I can immediately see two objections to a deal of this kind. One, the kind of magnanimity underlying this gesture is not only rare but unlikely to happen on this side of the grave. Two, I doubt whether any

self-respecting journalist who understands the function of an Opposition Paper will be a party to this guilDED hypocrisy. Surely the whole point of an Opposition Paper is that it must be independent of government patronage, either in the form of prestige or money, unless Mr. Oppong-Agyare is confusing criticism with its bastard kinsman called permitted criticism. An Opposition Paper financed by the government in any part of the World will sooner or later degenerate into a newspaper that is paid and silenced.

Just a minor point of disagreement, I find the role assigned to an Opposition Paper by the writer rather paltry and adolescent. Since he appears to think that the late unlamented Evening Standard (Accra) fulfilled his ideal of an Opposition Paper, he may very well approve of its spiritual successor, the Spokesman. If that is so then our difference is merely one of taste, about which it is futile to argue.

University College of Cape Coast
Cape Coast

S. K. Opoku

Salary Increases

SIR—Your frank and fair Notebook item on the "Salary Dispute of Kumasi University" in the Observer (V/9) has been read with much appreciation. You have given an appropriate yardstick to those who may have to distinguish between sabotage and rightful expression of dissatisfaction as you did in your closing paragraph.

It is pathetic, disheartening and discouraging indeed. We can never exist as a nation, particularly at this shattered state of our economy, if each is to earn commensurate with his services to the nation. For, how much should the poor farmer who produces for our subsistence receive for his toil? Can those in the lower grade of the teaching profession be sufficiently remunerated for the invaluable tedious spade work they do in the production of the intellectuals and technicians essential for national progress and prosperity? The health workers' earnings for instance would be incalculable!

Please, let us be a little more sympathetic and patriotic. Every individual has an urgent contribution to make in resuscitating and maintaining the economy.

One thought that demands for wage increases would come from the poorly paid, and not from those who are already highly placed.

Advanced Teacher's Training College
Winneba

Ebenezer King

Mills Odoi and P & T Technicians

SIR—Since the implementation of the Mills Odoi and the J. H. Menah salary Review reports, there has been a lot of public complaint about the dissatisfaction of certain professional grades and the salary ranges attached to them. Of late we have experienced the mass resignation of the engineering lecturers of the University of Science and Technology, Kumasi, because the new graduate engineers earn more than those who taught them.

There is another delicate controversy in the Engineering Department of the Posts and Telecommunications. The Mills Odoi report placed the Technical Officer at the initial starting point of NC792.00 per annum. But how can a Technical Officer with four to six years experience receive the same salary with a Technical Officer appointed only yesterday? Yet this is what is happening at the Posts and Telecommunications

UNIVERSITY OF GHANA

REGISTRAR'S OFFICE

Admission to Master's Degree and Postgraduate Diploma Courses: 1970

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3. *M.Sc.* (may be taken in any of the following subjects):
 - Botany
 - Chemistry
 - Geology
 - Physics
 - Statistics
 - Zoology
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 - Agricultural Economics
 - Agricultural Engineering
 - Animal Science
 - Crop Science
 - Soil Science.
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 - Applied Statistics
 - Licentiate in Theology
 - Social Administration
 - Sociology
 - Limnology, Oceanography and Fisheries Biology.

A candidate seeking admission to any of the above courses must have obtained a good first degree in an appropriate field of study in an approved University and must have satisfied any additional qualifications required for admission to the course in the subject of his choice.

Admission to the course leading to a particular degree or diploma will depend on the availability of teaching and other facilities for the candidate's special field of study.

The duration of the *M.A.* and *M.Sc. (Economics)* Degree courses is two years. The *M.Sc.* Degree course in the Faculties of Science and Agriculture may be of one or two years' duration depending on the qualifications of the candidate.

A post-graduate Diploma course is normally of one year's duration.

Letters for application forms, should be addressed to the Senior Assistant Registrar (Academic), University of Ghana, P.O. Box 25, Legon.

Department right now. I do not know if this anomaly exists somewhere else in the country, or whether it is only at the P & T. But my main concern is to know whether this anomaly is a departmental error, or whether it was actually stated in the Mills Odoi report.

Before the Mills Odoi Committee was appointed to review Salary Scales, Technical Officers who had served over four years stood the chance of being up-graded or promoted to Technical Officer grade I which carries a salary scale beginning at NC950.00 per annum. But because of Mills Odoi, there are no more such up-gradings and officers who were to enjoy such up-gradings are now brooding over the initial NC792.00. The government has been petitioned over the issue through the National Technical Officers Association, but no reply has been forthcoming.

Is it not time for the government to look into such anomalies?

P & T Engineering
Accra

Prince C. T. Achina

These Multiple Taxes

SIR—Can't something be done about the exorbitant amounts of money the ordinary citizen pays when he goes to collect a parcel containing clothes or small household appliances (many of which are not available here) at the Post Office?

Very recently I had a gift parcel sent from Trinidad containing baby clothes. The total cost of the items was about NC11.00 in Ghana currency; it was sent by air mail, and this cost about NC6.00. I was told that there is a tax of 25% on baby's clothing, but by the time the clerk had finished totalling the different taxes we ended up paying NC7.92, a little over 75% of the original cost.

First the clerk added the cost of the postage to the cost of the items and taxed 25%. Next there was a surtax, and then a collector's tax. I tried unsuccessfully to find out why one should be taxed on the air postage paid in another country with their own currency. One friend was told that if a parcel is sent by air mail then it means that the contents are important to the recipient—hence the tax. I want to believe that the clerk who said this was joking. It does seem rather unfair to have to pay such a lot to collect gifts sent from well meaning friends and relatives abroad. I do hope that the Department concerned would look into this.

c/o Dr. T. K. Agble
Okomfo Anokye Hospital
Kumasi

Mrs. J. M. Agble

No Certificates From S.I.C.?

SIR—Perhaps some people, our Police officers for instance, want to know that for six solid months now the State Insurance Corporation has not been able to issue even a motor-cycle with a Certificate of Insurance? That the client of our State Corporation has been sort of managing with "Cover Notes"? But then we are sometimes exhorted to be patriotic. We even want to be left alone by "alien wolves", so some of our Corporations can treat its patrons anyhow—maybe?

House No. D102/4
Knutsford Avenue
Accra

Akwasi Darko

Play Review

THE MIKADO

A Play Review by

Jawa Apronti

THE Assembly Hall of Achimota School was the scene of a very commendable four-night presentation of Gilbert and Sullivan's THE MIKADO late in April this year. The set was magnificent, the costumes were tasteful and gorgeous, the lighting was effective and the acting by the staff-cum-student cast was on the whole delightful. But the singing—for this was an opera—often left much to be desired.

But one's total impression after two nights of this performance was one of pleasant delight—delight at the performance itself and at the fact that this type of cultural activity is engaging the attention of our better schools even in the third term. And then the grand scale of the production and the smooth effortlessness of the presentation (save some of the singing)—all these bear evidence of long months of rehearsals and preparations.

THE MIKADO is the story of the town of Titipu, some of whose citizens have caught the love bug. The Mikado or Emperor's heir Nanki-Poo (Michael Mitchellmore) is in love with beautiful little Yum-yum (Letitia Obeng) but is under the threat of being annexed in marriage by an ugly hag called Katisha (Hannah Beck).

The Star of the Show

Nanki-Poo assumes the guise of a wandering minstrel so as to escape the attentions of Katisha, but he soon meets Yum-yum's guardian-cum-prospective bridegroom, Ko-ko (Graham Coker). Now, this was the star of the show, with his amusing restlessness and boundless appetite for mischief. Ko-ko is under sentence of death for flirting but has also acquired the highest civilian appointment, that of Lord High Executioner. He is queried by the Emperor for not having executed anyone for a long time.

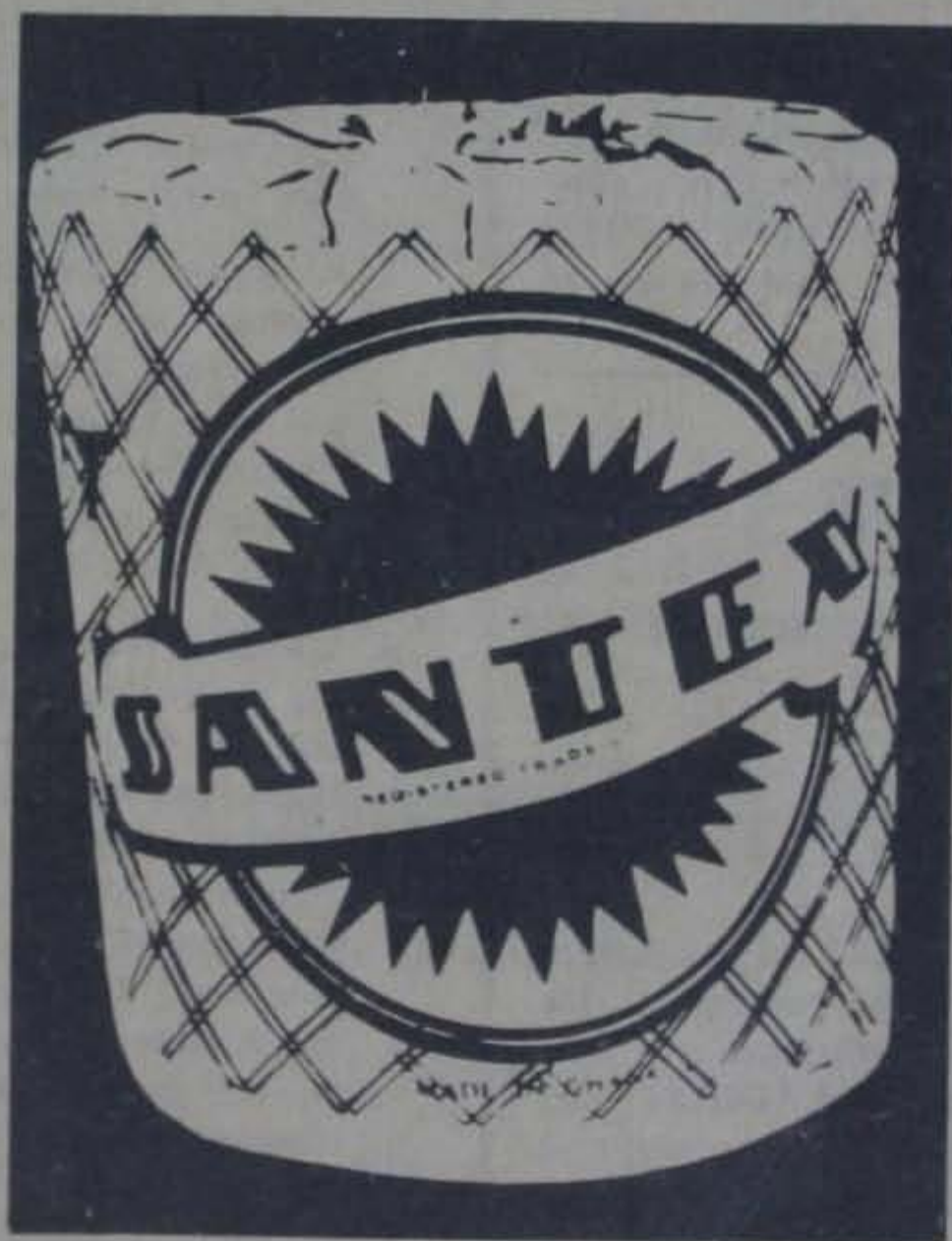
Just when he is contemplating auto-execution, he sees love-sick Nanki-Poo about to commit suicide and strikes a bargain with him: Nanki-Poo will marry Yum-yum and enjoy her for a month, after which he will be executed. But Fate overtakes poor Ko-ko and he is compelled to woo Katisha. Pooh-Bah (David Warrilow), incumbent of all posts in Titipu save those of Mikado and Lord High Executioner, has helped Ko-ko to forge a death certificate on Nanki-Poo to be presented to the Emperor.

They are ready with this when the Emperor (Daniel Ohene-Adu) arrives in search of his son Nanki-Poo, and the redoubtable Katisha finds Nanki-Poo's name on the death certificate. Her chagrin, of course, concerns the loss of an extremely eligible husband. Ko-ko is left with no choice but to resurrect the "dead" Nanki-Poo, and the price he has to pay is to fall in love with, and marry, Katisha. One has to see the looks of Katisha to realize the extent of Ko-ko's mortification. But Pooh-Bah, as Archbishop of Titipu, is only too ready to oblige.

The crowning moment is the presentation of the live Nanki-Poo to the Emperor. The action was punctuated by two melodious choruses: one of school girls, and the other of nobles and guards. They provided an

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apposite backdrop for the unfolding of this amusing story and merged harmoniously with Seth Galevo's magnificent set. It is a mark of the ingenuity that went into the construction of the set that it needed little adjustment to be transformed from Ko-ko's official Residence in Act One into his Garden in Act Two.

The acting was quite satisfactory. Among unforgettable parts were those of Pooh-Bah whose exaggerated paunch was available to be pinched by anyone so minded, Nanki-Poo whose love-sickness was portrayed with as sad a composure as anyone would wish to see; Katisha whose turn-out was calculated to frighten both young and old; and Ko-ko whose sprightliness and vivaciousness did much to transmit the wit and amusement underlying the play.

Nothing of the strain of rehearsals and long preparation could be discerned in the acting. When we come to the singing, however, we see that towards the end of the run of play, tired vocal chords tended to overcome some of the members of the cast, especially the ladies. I attended performances on April 18 and 24. By the second occasion some voices were quite off-key (the Mikado and Yum-yum particularly), often jarring badly on the ears. This must have put paid to any idea of taking the show outside Accra.

Which was a pity, because the overall excellence of the production was such that it merited a country-wide audience. It ought to be filmed, if possible. For few school productions ever come within nodding distance of this production. It also showed that there are schools and there are schools.

Miscellaneous

THE JUDICIARY AND THE LAW SCHOOL IN KONTOPIAATKROM

By

Kwame Kontopiat

AS Regent of Kontopiaatkrom, I had to convene a meeting of the elders to explain the rumpus of the "Sallah Affair". As readers would remember, the enemies of our formidable and dynamic RADICAL EBI NTE YIE PARTY (RENYP) prevented our coalition with the RADICAL ALLIANCE PARTY (RAP) to gain grounds in the last election. Hence the story of the withdrawal from elections by RENYP/RAP.

Since Judges are purported to be playing politics with the law and since politicians are also passing JUDGMENT over the COURTS, we have decided to renew our political activities. The famous SALLAH CASE gave us impetus to rejuvenate our political activities because our intelligence reports from our agents, member admirers, opponents, sympathisers, and even bloody-minded enemies gave us indication that we could gain grounds on account of this issue. In the first place, we see that all the three organs of state are involved in the issue and if the conflict goes on our party may sail through as the winner.

After consultations with the seventy-seven gods of Kontopiaatkrom, Dompokrom and Karl Muttville we

were given the go-ahead to summon a meeting of all the elders of Kontopiaatkrom. The convention started with the playing of indoor games. While some people played the game of Oware, others played Dame but the games were later abandoned because the language which was being used by the adults did not meet the approval of the Christian Council. There was the usual palm-wine from Dompokrom, Karl Muttville brought in the Henkes Schnapps and after pouring libation to the gods, the Regent brought the meeting to order. Okyeame (the linguist) announced the main item on the agenda. This was the abolition of the Judiciary in our society. The Krontihene made an amendment indicating that all law schools should be closed down in addition to this.

Then came the debate at which time the erudite citizens propounded theories of all sorts, kinds and colours. We shall bring you some of the reasons which led the convention to adopt the resolution.

1. that the language of lawyers is so difficult that we feel it is an attempt to bamboozle the poor citizen to sabotage his peace and to force him to employ the services of these "wig and gown" lads to interpret ordinary words which can be found in even the New Method Reader;
2. that the dressing of the lawyers and judges seem antiquated, discriminatory, and even unsuitable for wear in the tropics;
3. A citizen committee will have to be set up to "police" the movement of Judges if we retain the courts. This will be expensive since we could not even afford the deposit claimed by Electoral Commissioner Justice Crabbe (oh, now we realised that he is a member of this class) to register our party;
4. We also feel that it will be an abridgement of the individual's right if Judges are ostracised, because they will feel miserable in Kontopiaatkrom. The Kwahu Judges will not be allowed at AMANEHUNU (Easter). The Ashanti cannot attend funerals where they can dance to Adowa, and Kete; the Gas cannot go to Bukom even during Homowo festivals, not to mention dancing the Kpanlogo. What really worries me most will be the inability of our Fanti Judges to attend memorial services at Cape Coast on Sundays. This, we really feel, is inhuman.
5. That one does not have to go to school in order to be a lawyer. Kofi Busia, a professor of sociology, of course, proved on radios and television by his quotations and delivery that just by reading wide and keeping your ears to the ground you could be a brilliant lawyer. AWAY WITH LAW SCHOOLS AND JUDGES.

After the meeting, the resolution was passed abolishing law schools and also seeking that the courts be done away with. We then proceeded to sing and dance to brass band music, some went to the nearby Dont mind-your-wife chon bar for usual Abun Abun. The youth, of course, did not waste time. They came out with placards some of which read "AWAY WITH LAW SCHOOLS", "ABOLISH THE COURTS", "CRUCIFY THE JUDGES".

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