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EDITORIAL

SHOULD FREEDOM BE "GUARDED"?

IN HIS speech on the eve of the anniversary of what has come to be known in Ghana as the Glorious Revolution, Dr. K. A. Busia, the Prime Minister, reminded us once again that freedom, restored to us from the tyranny of Kwame Nkrumah by the gallant self-sacrifice of the army and the police on 24th February 1966, goes with responsibility. He then hinted, darkly, that its licentious use may lead to its curtailment, at any rate for those who abuse it. To drive home his point, Dr. Busia referred particularly to freedom of speech, and gave examples of what in his opinion constitute its abuse. He said:

> . . . Some people are behaving as if the freedom of speech carries no responsibility. They parade the streets in party vans hurling insults and abuse at others in vulgar language; they mount platforms to spread inciting and false rumours, because they do not care to take the trouble to find out the facts; they make false accusations, designed to destroy the reputations of others—all of which are capable of provoking fights and even riots. That is not how to take counsel for the state. It is the wrong use of freedom. It is against the spirit of the Revolution.
>
> It will be appreciated that those in authority owe it as a duty to the nation to guard against the abuse of freedom. We therefore intend, henceforth, to discharge that duty unflinchingly, and we trust that all citizens who wish to make responsible use of our freedom will co-operate with us.
>
> Freedom of speech is a basic right, and we must guard and use it responsibly, as indeed we must do in our use of all the other freedoms. Freedom must always be exercised with a sense of responsibility.

Everyone would share the concern of the Premier about his catalogue of abuses against freedom, and would agree that it is healthy to reiterate the dictum that "freedom must be exercised with responsibility". But we would in turn remind the government that hypersensitivity to the practices recited above may lead to acts by the government that may be potentially corrosive of the freedom of us all. The celebration of the coup is meant to be a perpetual reminder of the tortuous steps to dictatorship taken by Nkrumah's successive governments, all with the repetitive justification that it was the "sacred duty" of the government to "guard" the greater freedom of the state. And it must be admitted that Nkrumah's government had better excuses—the incidents of bomb-throwings, arson and alleged plots against the security of the state—than vague abuses and alleged

insults, for restricting the freedom of movement, of speech and of assembly.

In our opinion it is much wiser, because a better guarantee of the survival of democracy, to leave the antics of politicians, which the Premier calls abuses of freedom, to the judgement of the citizens, rather than allow them to influence government to take steps to "guard" freedom. It is instructive that the *Shorter Oxford Dictionary*, that corpus of distilled learning, defines freedom as "exemption from arbitrary control". The danger to democracy comes not from the puerile antics of petty-minded politicians but from government decisions, and acts done in pursuance thereof, to "guard" freedom.

It has often been said that the eternal problem of politics is the reconciliation of liberty with order. Our constitution-makers faced this question and made the courts, not the government, the guardians of liberty and order. The Premier himself referred to the ancient Greeks. Now, according to the Acts of the Apostles (Ch. 19, 34-41), when St. Paul's sermons at Ephesus led to near riots, the public officer told the leaders of the anti-Paul gathering: "Wherefore if Demetrius and the craftsmen which are with him have a matter against any man, the law is open, and there are deputies: let them implead one another." Recently in Great Britain, Premier Harold Wilson has had to sue a man for libel, or slander, and has given the damages awarded him to charity. We would, like the Greek public officer, say to our government: If there is libel or slander on political platforms against any individuals, the law and the courts are open to those concerned; and if there are treasonable pronouncements (if the law allows such a thing) the Public Prosecutor, the police and the courts are open.

The great advantage of making the courts, rather than the government, the arbiter in these matters in which freedom borders on licence, is that too often in the new African states the personnel of governments tend to confuse their individual political survival with public security. Many of Nkrumah's deeds, restrictive of freedom, were done ostensibly to "guard" the security of the state, while the real purpose was to secure his own political tenure. If indeed we are all committed to the establishment of democracy, we would urge against the insiduous identification of the political survival of any man or any set of men with the security of the state.

We repeat with the Greek public officer: If there is libel or slander or any treasonable act, the law and the courts are open. All things being equal, and in an aspiring democracy, the courts are better guardians of liberty and order than any set of politicians, however well-intentioned they may be.

The Economy

ECONOMIC IMPLICATIONS OF THE ALIENS' ORDER

By
A. N. Hakam

THE lack of specific data makes it difficult to analyze the effect of the loss of the huge alien population in Ghana in a certain and quantitatively measureable way. One can, however, try to speculate on the likely effects by various types of employment on the economy. It should be understood that this analysis is of economic cost-benefits, and does not take into account purely political and sociological consequences.

To begin, one may first separate the foreign population into categories or skills. Also it is necessary to isolate that portion of the foreign labour force that is employed, from the unemployed or marginally employed.

In the case of unemployed foreign workers affected by the compliance order, presumably the bulk of them are unskilled. Their removal from the labour force, in other words, will have no effect on the marginal productivity of Ghana, since Ghana already has a high proportion of her labour force unemployed. On the other hand, the cost, to the economy, of removing a portion of the population that is both unemployed (whose marginal productivity is zero — that is, adding nothing to the national income of Ghana) and unskilled (that is, having virtually no potential for productivity in the future) is reduced. That is, there are savings to the economy in terms of reductions in consumption of goods and services similar to the effect of a reduction of the natural increase in births in the population.

In this analysis, if we count each employed worker in the population as one who produces on the average two-and-a-half units of production (based on the ratio of employed labour to the total population of the country; and assuming that one employed labour produces enough to support himself and one-and-a-half other persons

n Ghana), then it follows that each unit of un-mployed person represents on the average *no roduction and one unit of consumption*. Thus, ie represents a negative unit in the aggregate roduction consumption equation of the country. This is easy to understand, since it is assumed hat an unemployed person has to eat to subsist nd that a portion of what he eats is of imported rigin; therefore, it is also implied that there is saving on foreign exchange cost. Moreover, ach person in the country represents a cost in erms of medical, educational, and other social services that are provided free by the government.

Disguised Unemployment

When it comes to the marginally employed labour force, those in petty trade, seasonal agricultural employment and part-time work in general, the cost-benefit becomes more difficult to analyse. Here we are dealing with the underemployed and the disguised unemployed labour force. Two points should be mentioned here. One is that each unit of labour so employed does not represent a full unit of average production. In other words, the marginal productivity of such labour may be anywhere between zero and one unit; more likely, closer to zero. This means that the removal of such labour from the labour force may not affect productivity very much in the total economy, and would again result in savings in terms of costs of consumption and services.

The other point is that, certain part-time and seasonal employment, particularly in the agricultural sector, may not be easily substituted by domestic labour, at least in the short run. For instance, Ghanaians may not fill the menial jobs vacated by aliens because of certain traditional aversions towards such jobs. However, the pressure of unemployment would probably force the most stubborn unemployed workers to accept positions below their original expectations. The partial solution to the agricultural problem would be to permit seasonal migration to the cocoa farms from such countries as Upper Volta; this is done, for instance, in the United States which permits seasonal agricultural workers to come from Mexico and to make such labour return to their countries at the end of their needed service.

The other type of labour is the unskilled, but fully employed, labour. There will be no loss to the economy if such labour is substituted by domestic labour from the ranks of the existing unemployed. The assumption here is that the pressure of unemployment would also force the indigenous unemployed to take over even the most menial and undesirable of such jobs. Thus there may be a short-term loss of production, but this will soon be remedied by the equilibrium of demand and supply for jobs.

That leaves the skilled, technical and higher level labour or manpower. The government policy is clear on the fact that such labour is not affected by the Aliens' Act and it is intended that such labour should remain in the country for the time being. This is significant and the government policy makers realize it. For, a skilled labour represents years of costs to the economy in terms of education and special training. Moreover, if the special training and education is acquired abroad, the country would have benefited, by the immigrant, by the same amount that it would have cost her to educate and train such labour. It is assumed that such labour is highly productive; in other words, the marginal productivity of such labour is well above one average unit of labour production. Immigrant skilled workers may also stimulate the economy by bringing into the country special skills acquired abroad, but which may be difficult to acquire in Ghana.

Foreign Skilled Personnel

Against these benefits foreign skilled workers may repatriate a portion of their income, thus causing some loss of the valuable foreign exchange resources of the country. The other question which may be asked is: to what extent does the large scale employment of foreign skilled labour affect the prospect of employment of those Ghanaians who are educated yet unemployed? This problem could arise if the country's pace of educational development continued to accelerate far more rapidly than the real growth of the economy. Another question which also arises here is whether educated Ghanaians (i.e. those who have at least completed a secondary school education) are the equivalent of skilled Ghanaians. For, it may still take several years to make such educated youth to acquire the specialized skills presented by the foreigner. In other words, unless a great degree of substitutibility between educated Ghanaians and foreign skilled personnel exists, the mass expulsion of foreign skilled labour can cause serious bottlenecks in the production process of the economy.

Some obvious remedies could be recommend-

ed. For one thing it may not be desirable for the economy to be dependent on alien or foreign sources for a large and vital portion of her employed labour force. The question of repatriation of earnings has already been mentioned. So the remedy recommended here is that Ghana should transform such skilled and desirable labour force from being "alien" or foreign to being Ghanaian, by making it possible for such specialized labour to acquire Ghanaian citizenship. This is to the benefit of the nation; for, her immigration and naturalization is then on a purely qualitative basis. Only those deemed desirable qualify. This is the type of immigration policy that is at present employed by the governments of the United States and Canada, and which is deemed to benefit these countries immeasurably because, it causes them to be on the positive side of the international "brain drain" and enables them to fill in the gaps of any shortages in the special skilled labour requirements of their countries.

The Foreign Entrepreneur

Moreover, by making him Ghanaian, the naturalized foreign person will no longer be permitted to send his earnings abroad. There is another factor to consider here. This is the fact that as long as an alien or foreign skilled person is reminded that he is alien and would have to leave the country if his need is filled by local sources, he may not feel secure enough; and may leave prematurely or may continue in the process to identify with his mother country. On the other hand, if he is to be naturalized then his identity (and this is more likely of the African alien) will be eventually with Ghana, and he is more likely to be absorbed by his adopted country. This policy is to be accompanied by an expansion of technical and managerial education offered to the indigenous population, as well as on-the-job training facilities.

There are other types of foreigners or aliens who are affected, namely, the entrepreneurs. Perhaps of all the different types of aliens presented here, the entrepreneur is the most controversial as far as his benefits and costs to the economy are concerned. For one thing the foreign entrepreneur is presented in history as one who is most likely to be non-conformist, therefore, most likely to break through the impediments of social barriers in order to achieve success. On the other hand, traditional and classical factor movement theory fails to explain the effect of entrepreneurship largely in the hands of foreigners on the growth of indigenous entrepreneurship in small under-developed countries. Such growth can be stifled, if there are monopolistic or oligopolistic tendencies in the business sector of the economy that is dominated by foreigners, who may have achieved their dominance due to favourable circumstances, such as a colonial regime amenable to them. Moreover, the foreign entrepreneur is likely to repatriate much of his earnings to what he considers to be his homeland or the place of his retirement.

The entrepreneurial problem, however, cannot be solved overnight, by simply removing one group of foreign entrepreneurs and hoping that these would be replaced by indigenous entrepreneurs. This is the obvious reason why the business enterprise decree was careful in its exclusion from operations in Ghana only those in the simplest type of organizations; small and middle-size retail and wholesale establishments, small manufacturing and other small establishments. Even here the sudden removal of these simpler operations may cause dislocation and hardship on the economy. The employment generating capacity of a proven and successful foreign entrepreneur is to be contrasted to the relatively inexperienced unproven domestic counterpart. However, a start towards self-reliance has to be made, but exclusion of foreigners from certain sectors has to be accompanied by adequately generous credit and technical assistance schemes for the indigenous upstart entrepreneurs.

Effect of Naturalization

When it comes to granting naturalization status to aliens or foreign entrepreneurs, the problem is more difficult than that with skilled workers. A foreign entrepreneur may use the citizenship not for genuine affection for the country but for mere business purpose, and may still find ways of repatriating his earnings. On the other hand, the nation may be the net gainer if she allowed certain entrepreneurs with proven skills and with proven national interest at heart to become citizens. For, then their assets become national assets and not those belonging to foreigners. The foreign exchange liability to foreigners is thus automatically reduced. Moreover, the dynamic effect of a competitive, skilful and challenging foreign entrepreneurship can be selectively maintained this way.



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Politics

FREE SPEECH: A BRIEF COMMENT ON AN AMBIGUITY

By
J. E. Wiredu

DURING the latter days of the last but one regime, the citizens of this country were often graciously remined that they were completely free to criticise the government (and therefore the Party) provided only that they did so constructively. Every schoolboy knows that, in the particular circumstances, being constructive meant accepting all the known and even presumable sentiments (caprices not excluded) of a certain one person. Accordingly, criticism of things tended to take the form of pointing out that some person or other was deviating from the dictates of the Great One. Even this type of approach had its own very decided limits, as unsubtle critics in the "constructive" manner discovered to their cost.

During the early days of the last regime, it seemed as if history was bent upon repeating itself, with respect to the philosophy of "guided" criticism. Ankrah and Harlley, using phraseology identical or approximate to a painfully familiar one, expressed themselves in one and the same breadth both totally in favour of free speech and totally opposed to the expression of false or atheistic ideologies (Ankrah) or subversive opinions (Harlley). To the everlasting credit of N.L.C., especially in its latter phase, this outlook was not often translated into consequential practice.

Who Prescribes Remedies?

Be that as it may, the question that has always bothered anxious citizens when their rulers have expressed dark riders on the freedom of speech, such as we have just recalled, is this: Who in the state has the (punitive) authority to decide what is bad in the way of public self-expression? To all those who are minded to be democratic, the answer ought to be quite simple: It is for the courts and only for the courts, upon the initiative of the police or the law office or affected individuals, to decide by well established criteria whether a given discourse is punishably offensive or not; and it is, of course, for them only to prescribe the remedies.

The fact, however, is that only a relatively small proportion of the unbalanced denunciation or vulgar raillery of the government's embittered adversaries is likely to fall within the competence of the law. Naturally, it has always been difficult for people in authority to reconcile themselves to such a situation. For this very reason, the degree of equanimity which any government given to beautiful singing in praise of democracy can show, in the face of this kind of irritant, may be taken as a sure measure of the practical seriousness or even intellectual maturity of their avowals. How well does the Progress government stand in this regard?

It must, honestly, be admitted that any attempt at an assessment is beset by some rather troublesome uncertainties. On the one hand, the highest authorities have displayed admirable composure in the face of some pretty outrageous cavillings from some of their opponents. No prosecutions have occurred to date, although not all the low-level outpourings from platforms and elsewhere can have passed the purposeful muster of our peace officers. Such restraint probably indicates inspiration from above.

Obscure Qualifications

On the other, more problematic hand, some quite high ranking Progress government personnel have expended as much energy in assuring the people of free speech as in emitting obscure qualifications thereto. A significant case in point is the recent performance of the Volta Region Chief Executive apropos the question of free speech. From sundry remarks emanating from this elevated servant of *Progress*, it seemed that the appointees of the present government might not be averse to "guiding" the free speech of opponents, acting according to their own lights (such as they might be). The *Pioneer* did not suffer the suggestion to go unanswered, upraiding the Chief Executive in a spirited editorial. The *Legon Observer*, on its part, reacted semi-editorially, offering some pointed lessons in its "notebook" item on Freedom and the Constitution, under the title, "The Arrogance of Power". Owing, however, to its fortnightly periodicity, by the time the *Observer* was out, the chided official had already taken an early opportunity to give his rejoinder to the criticisms.

Now, mark the reply. Democracy, affirmed the regional chief, requires unimpeded freedom of speech. Since he himself was deeply committed to that principle, he was mightily pleased that the *Pioneer* had taken him up on his previous remarks. He had, of course, meant

no threat to free speech. So far, so splendid! But, lo and behold, the politician lapsed back into the offending theses. (Still in paraphrase): Freedom of speech did not mean that people could go about making abusive, mendacious and inflammatory speeches. It was only such-like wrong usage of free speech that he was unalterably determined to clamp down upon.

Alas, it was clear that in spite of an apparent purity of general motivation, the logic of the matter was still lost upon the V.I.P. The point is that citizens of Ghana are now fully apprised, by bitter experience, of the inclemencies of life under a [illegible] regime of terror is gone and, it is hoped, gone for ever. It is a fact, nevertheless, that without aiming any where near the heights of Nkrumaist authoritarianism, there is a lot that the political agencies of a government can do in the arbitrary abridgement of the freedom of speech. The matter is, therefore, quite serious.

Safeguarding Freedom

Unfortunately, the Prime Minister has recently made a cryptic remark which, if left unelaborated for long, is likely to boost up the unpropitious initiative of some high functionaries of the government. When, on the occasion of the fourth anniversary of the February 1966 coup, the Prime Minister said that his government would take steps to safeguard the free speech restored to us by the coup against irresponsible usage, that *form* of warning contained a crucial ambiguity which calls for urgent unravelling. Even politically open minded observers might be unsure as to which of the following two possible interpretations holds. The admonition could mean that the government might, contrary to the constitution, be contemplating executive redress for the "abuse" of free speech. Or it might mean merely that, having, perhaps, come to the inductive conclusion that even the most finely conceived moral declamations are likely to be forever wasted upon hardened fanatics, the government is going to encourage the law enforcement agencies of the state to give full rein to the rigours of the law.

Dr. Busia is a man of intellectual cultivation and serious democratic purpose. Unless one is very much mistaken, his meaning must be in accord with the second, more constitutional, interpretation. But he must be aware of the limitations of some of his helpers. Already the indications are that the theme of "responsible" use of freedom might become in certain *Progress* circles a weapon wherewith to smother politically uncherished self-expression. Dr. Busia would, therefore, bring great relief to many people if he could soon amplify his phrase. Such leadership would, most likely, cause lesser stars in the *Progress* firmament to radiate more brilliant light.

Finally, to all highly placed persons who might be inclined to consider this too much ado about nothing much, the following appeal is [illegible] of snake bite; for even so humble an apparition might precipitate imageries of poison-infested adversity. This, at any rate, is one of the wise teachings of our forefathers.



INGREDIENTS OF AN AFRICAN IDEOLOGY — THE STRENGTH OF AFRICAN CULTURE

By Oburoni Muntu

FOR HUMAN life and its needs, Africa is the greatest of the continents, and it could be the richest if we could devise ways of using our potentialities. It remains the poorest of the continents, and one of the least used by man, because we cannot yet cope with the profusion and diversity of resources which lie all about us. The boreal continents do not have our resources, yet they are richer and much more thickly populated, because their inhabitants have learnt to make very full use of the resources which they have.

Even so, it is a very wasteful use: the "modern" civilisation which we are taught to admire produces enormous quantities of waste. with which it pollutes its rivers and lakes and seas and much of its atmosphere, depriving itself of fresh water and fish and good air. This is the vast technical cost of the way of life, industrialism, which has brought unprecedented wealth and power to the peoples which have adopted it. Both the wealth and the waste are the outcome of successful simplification of the environment, as well as the destruction of the diversity of nature.

Developing Our Technology

We have been so impressed, overawed indeed, dominated and then fascinated, by the affluence and might of the boreal nations that we readily assume that the adoption of their technology and everything that goes with it is the only way out of our poverty. Yet there is strong evidence that boreal simplifying does not work in our tropical environment—that the amount of waste it entails becomes so great in these conditions that the loss eventually outweighs the gain. Where it has been found possible to work with, instead of against, the diversity of our lands, incomparably greater wealth has been obtained. Boreal arrogance is still so great that only a little attention has been paid to such results, but once they are taken seriously we shall embark on a tremendous development of a truly tropical technology, both industrial and agricultural, by comparison with which all achievements hitherto in boreal lands will come to seem like the clumsy and destructive fumblings of small children.

The boreal nation-state, like boreal technology, is based on large-scale simplifying, on the destruction or suppression of diversity. This is no coincidence, for, every kind of technology requires its own forms of social organisation if it is to be successfully adopted and extended. As Dankwart Rustow has put it, "nationhood and modernity have appeared as two facets of a single transformation". By the same token, the boreal nation-state is ultimately as destructive and wasteful of human diversity as is boreal technology of the diversity of nature. It is true that individualism and individual liberty have hitherto flourished most freely in the great urban centres of industrial society, but there are many signs that the ability of that society to contain idiosyncrasy is diminishing. The hipies, the drop-outs, the drug-takers of the Western world, show how prevalent is the feeling that one cannot express oneself within the structure of the inhuman, bureaucratised, albeit affluent, mass industrial order. In any case, the most durable and valuable forms of human diversity are cultural rather than individual—the product of groups, not lone persons—and this sort of diversity is disappearing everywhere in the boreal world. What ensues is an unrelieved uniformity of speech, of dress, of dwellings and communities, within the strictly demarcated frontiers of a state which is the only focus of loyalty.

Our Needs Are Different

This will not do for us. In Africa we have a quite unparalleled diversity of peoples, of languages, of ways of life in all respects. Our continent contains literally hundreds of peoples, who have lived together for thousands of years without natural boundaries such as separated the peoples of Europe and Asia. Most of Africa is a vast plateau, over which hordes of people may move freely. Yet African life was not full of strife before European slave-trading and Arab slave-raiding provided economic incentives for incessant warfare. Inter-tribal "wars" of the traditional kind were often not much more than punitive expeditions in response to violation of agreements, or were even merely ceremonial affairs—formal duels between representatives of opposing sides.

In the east and south of the continent, where much more movement of peoples went on, there was more fighting, but even this was exacerbated by Arab slave-raiding and Boer incursions. Over most of the continent,

neighbouring peoples marked out their boundaries and lived in peace with only occasional quarrels. The remarkable effectiveness of what might be called the Peace of the Inner Zone of Africa, maintained by a delicate balance of custom elaborated half-unconsciously over many centuries, seems not to have been adequately appreciated by historians. But even today, it is evident, if one looks at the facts, that Africans are among the least violent of peoples. Where else in the world have over thirty countries attained independence in a bare decade with as little bloodshed as here? Where else do political upheavals and coups d'etat occur with as few lives lost?

Africa's Relative Peace

The countries which get most into the news, such as Nigeria, are the exceptions. Nigeria does have a pattern of violence, manifest in everyday life as well as in the current inter-ethnic strife. But even in Nigeria, in most parts outside the former Eastern Region, life was in the past relatively peaceful. Among all the hundreds of peoples living south of the Sahara, it is only among the Ibos and the Zulus that one finds conflict habitually expressed by bloodletting. The most extraordinary fact of recent African history, the significance of which was appreciated by nobody at the time, as far as I recall (and which has not been realised since, either) is that when the Congo fell into disorder soon after its independence and its soldiery went rampaging up and down the country, although many European women were raped in revenge for the humiliations which Congolese had experienced for two or three generations, not one European was killed! In what other part of the world than tropical Africa would it have been possible in such conditions of disorder for not one single representative of a deeply resented colonising nation to have lost his life?

It is characteristic of the crazy fantasies which have dominated African political affairs during the past two decades that Europeans, perhaps out of some sense of guilt for past misdeeds, have managed again and again to frighten themselves nearly out of their wits with the spectre of African violence, when that violence was virtually non-existent. A few years ago, indeed, the Western powers, having succeeded in slaughtering their own peoples at an average rate of over a million a year during the preceding half-century, managed to work themselves into such a state of hysteria over a threat to the safety of some 300 Europeans in the eastern Congo that they felt obliged to mount a great airlift to get them out. Many of the Africans at the United Nations at the time behaved no more sensibly, it is true, talking wild nonsense about the Western countries wanting to kill all Africans; but on balance it was probably the Westerners who won the prize for absurdity that time.

If we are to examine ourselves seriously, assessing our own potentialities, our strengths and capabilities, [illegible] recognize that, somehow, deeply [illegible] African culture, i[illegible] we conduct our affairs, there is an outstanding capacity for containing diversity without disruptive violence. This is a truly African gift, for there is nothing like it in any part of the world as large as sub-Saharan Africa or inhabited by as many peoples; and it has been developed in specifically African conditions of diversity in the absence of geographical protection of one people against another. Our peoples have protected themselves by cultural means.

It is not a matter of belief, for there is no tradition here that violence as such is wrong; it is a matter of culture, of the way of life that African peoples follow. We can find clues to it in African laughter, in African music and dancing, and in African distaste for interminable quarrels. If there is any real meaning in the idea of an "African personality", this is where it lies, and it is a far more precious gift than any of the superficialities with which that expression was associated in the past.

The components of this gift can be examined more closely subsequently. Thus, an important ingredient of an African ideology is:

The greatest and richest strength of African life is its capacity for avoiding violent conflict between diverse but neighbouring peoples.

Ghana 1970

Census: are

you Counted?

Observer Notebook

Congratulations, MISTER Ian Smith!

NOT EVEN his worst enemies can fail to admire the cool nerve of Chief Rebel against Human Decency Ian Smith of Rhodesia. Since 1965 he has succeeded progressively in (1), treating his English masters with the contempt he has proved they deserve in this one matter; (2), laughing off the United Nations, the O.A.U., and similar bodies; (3), and very significantly, defying all potentially damaging economic and political sanctions brought up against him, operative or merely threatened. He has, in short, kept his evil regime going from strength to strength, from U.D.I. in 1965 to Republican status in 1970, all self-assumed and all in complete contempt of the British government. That, above all: contempt of the British government! Such nerve surely deserves unstinting congratulations!

However, not all the English, fortunately, are as impotent when it suits them, or as hypocritical, as the British government — actual or alternative. (The Conservatives have always showed signs, as we know, of positively itching to get back into power, in order, among other lofty aims, to compromise as quickly as possible with the Salisbury regime.) But there are still some realists, as well as liberals, idealists and political radicals among the English. In the end their wishes and hopes in the Rhodesian situation may not materialise: their fears about the dire consequences of smithy "success", on the contrary, may come to be the regrettable reality of the future. But at least they give the warnings.

That an English lord and an English Anglican clergyman should be forced to state that in the end the Africans themselves will have to be the ones to extricate their people from the brutalities of white minority domination and oppression in Rhodesia, by violence, is a sad but realistic development. For the great white powers of the world, and even some not-so-white or great ones, are not going to help Africans overcome this injustice. And with Rhodesia the British interpleaders would of course bracket the names of Portugal and the Union of South Africa.

The closing down of the American and other western consulates in Salisbury, as a result of worldwide pressure, is a gain for international decency and a loss for Ian Smith. But, as he has once more already and characteristically reminded us, this is not going to affect Rhodesia's plans in the least. What would have done that long ago was a quick, limited military action by the British government, before U.D.I. had had time to settle down; or, secondly, a more effective and cooperative application of sanctions by those most concerned.

The first method was not adopted by the British, and the second will never be used by the others. So the last and only possible alternative for the Africans will have to be a racial explosion in Africa, however long it takes to come. Only a miracle can save us all now from that catastrophe.

The University Congregations

FOR a few weeks now the general public in Ghana has been offered its annual high-tone and brief visiting spells on the campuses of our Universities. Legon's turn in hospitality, the last of the series, comes up this week-end. There the Vice-Chancellor, Professor Alex Kwapong, like his contemporaries at Kumasi and Cape Coast before him, will have some encouraging things to say to the country about the past year's achievements in the expensive operation of higher education. Even more importantly he will, we hope, set out with clarity and in candour those critical problems facing his type of institution and on which there can never be too much heart-searching on the part of govvernment, educators and responsible citizens alike.

Professor Ernest Boateng of Cape Coast and Dr. Evans-Anfom of Kumasi had added to these chores, in their own addresses, deeply felt exhortations to the race of Ghanaian university graduates in general. The kind of concern with which they spoke is given critical weight by illustration of one of our current problems. This is, graduate oversupply—or the imminent threat of same—on the one hand, and, on the other, graduate resistance to service in areas of the country both needy and already neglected, the reason for the resistance being, regrettably, rurality and the absence of urban facilities.

One of those who will be listening to all this with great interest and a good deal of concern will be the man who started us on the way to a modern university tradition at all, namely David Mowbray Balme, the Cambridge classicist who is now a professor in his subject at London. Professor Balme has been our honoured guest once before; it was on an even more auspicious occa-

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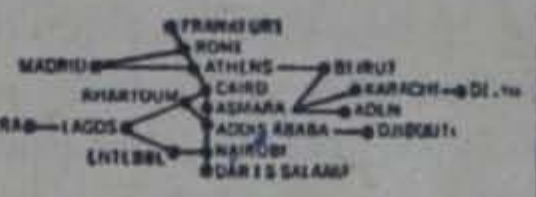
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sion—if we may say so without being invidious. For this was when the central library at Legon was formally named after him, and a bronze bust of him by the Nigerian sculptor, Enwonwu, was unveiled and put in its honoured place in the foyer of the library.

Professor Balme returns now, for the second time since he retired from his Principalship of the College as it then was, to receive, partly from the hands of one of his earliest employees, the present Vice-Chancellor, a doctorate degree signifying our continuing admiration of and respect for him as a scholar and our Founding Head. He is bound to want to rejoice in our record since his day, and to share in our anxieties about the present and the future.

A Plea for the Employee

MALINGERING on the job is one of the bad work habits from which we suffer economically in this country; absenteeism, and truancy of an advanced type, are two more; there are others. These habits, it can be and has been easily agreed, are some of the causes of the underproductivity of labour so characteristic of developing economies; they are part of the story of the appalling imbalance between costs and benefits in many places, but especially in the developing countries. Until something is done to attack the causes of these maladies at source, their effects will continue to keep our labour underproductive and our economy stagnant.

Now it is possible that machines may soon make men a redundant or unnecessary factor of production in the advanced economies, but in the third world manpower can only continue to embarrass itself and hinder productivity through its inefficiency; it cannot be discarded, for a long time to come. Therefore it must be improved and made more productive, at any rate in Ghana, for a start.

At the symposium on aspects of nation-building staged in Accra recently by the Ghana Sociological Association, in conjunction with the Ghana Academy of Arts and Sciences, a speaker from the floor brought up this problem of labour wastage, but made an earnest plea for the worker. His appeal evoked strong feelings of sympathy from the audience, and today we would like to follow it up by making a suggestion to our government, to employers, managers and the T.U.C. We are sure that with goodwill and a desire to improve on our low labour-productivity rate something *can* be done.

The floor member at the symposium admitted as a fact that a distressingly large number of employees of the government, the public corporations and other houses of business do leave their jobs for shopping trips and errands, during working hours and quite unlawfully, of course. But the reason for this, said the speaker, was not always that of sheer lawlessness or irresponsibility; it was very often due to the fact that these people just cannot help themselves: they simply do not have any legitimate time for shopping or, for that matter, taking care of much other private business. Wouldn't it be to the advantage of all concerned, the gentleman asked in effect, if employers provided some time for their employees to go shopping and to attend to their various other businesses?... It is a reasonable demand and deserves consideration.

As far as the shopping is concerned, the answer is really very simple; nor is it anything unique or new; it is just that the potential adequacy of the means at our disposal has not been fully realised. First, we know that here and there in Accra, there are shops which do business at night; but they are not many, and are not the big department-store variety. A second fact of commercial life in Ghana in recent years is that the big stores have been closing down for a half-a-day on Wednesdays. (But the employees thus let out and sent home cannot do much by way of serious shopping, since, to repeat, all the big stores are closed for the same period) Here is a chance to combine several ideas and choose an alternative scheme that would, we think, achieve the aims we seek. And thus we make the suggestions following hereunder.

Let us have either: (1) *Evening Shopping* for two nights in the week, with all main shops closed in the afternoon and open in the evening —hours to be determined by agreement among government, business and trade union representatives; or: (2) *Zonal Shopping*, in which on two days—as in Alternative (1)—the city or town, divided into two zones for the purpose, would be open for shopping in the one zone and shut down in the other, alternately (on Tuesday open in Zone 1, on Thursday in Zone 2).

We ourselves are attracted more to the first alternative (night shopping) than to the second (zonal), for it is less complicated and would be more fun. Indeed friends from overseas remind us that in parts of Britain (where they do have zonal opening and closing too), in Paris, New

ork, Las Palmas, and elsewhere, evening opping is an exciting, welcome change, and eat fun. To the extent we do it in Ghana at l we already know this to be so, in fact.

Since our towns are comparatively and, for e practical purpose in hand, also relatively nall, it would be easier to have all shops closed n two afternoons and open on two evenings. he shop workers themselves can continue to ave their half-day off on another and separate ay, during which they can go to the banks, the ost office, and the government departments c. (Of course, to make the banks on time the ops would have to close at noon, which is not uite the case at the moment.)

As for the shop keepers and attendants themelves doing their own shopping, we hope they an be taken care of: (a) partly by internal rrangements within their own establishments, b) partly by their making use of already existing though admittedly not altogether adequate) acilities, and (c) partly by special leave granted ccasionally by the boss! This is not the full nd completely satisfactory answer to their roblem of "serious" shopping raised before, nd perhaps a better solution can be found, or ven exists already. But at least it is a pointer o the possibilities of compromise; otherwise, the onal scheme is the only answer, complete with ts complex of irregularities and its loopholes ipe for the creation of irregularity.

We present these suggestions for the serious nd early consideration of our government, the ivil service, all our business houses, employers, managers, proprietors, and the T.U.C.

Letters

"Africa's Unstable Governments"

SIR—May I invite your kind attention to a letter under he caption "Africa's Unstable Governments", published n the **Observer** (Vol. V/4) of February 13, 1970.

Your correspondent has obviously been misled by a faulty report taken out of context. To put the matter n the correct perspective, I should like to state that in he course of a general exchange of views, there were references to the common faith of Ghana and India n the parliamentary form of democracy and their irm determination to uphold democratic principles and, n this context, a member of the Delegation enquired bout the cause of political instability in some parts of Africa. This was only an enquiry for information and certainly not in any sense a criticism of any country or by way of comparison.

As the above mentioned letter is likely to cause a misleading impression amongst your readers, I would appreciate it if you would be good enough to publish this letter in your esteemed journal to correct the wrong impression.

High Commission of India **V. Balakrishnan**
P.O. Box 3040 **Information Secretary**
Accra

The Purge in the Public Services

SIR—After six months in office, Dr. Busia's government is reported to have undertaken a widespread purge of the public services by terminating the appointments of 568 people. Our public service has not been as good as one could expect, and there is no doubt that a certain reorganisation has been necessary since Nkrumah's overthrow; but one never expected that the exercise would be so massive.

No reasonable person would deny any employer the right to dispense with the services of such of his employees as he has evidence to prove to be inefficient and dishonest. But as far as we hear, the victims of this purge were not queried, warned, or given the opportunity to disprove possible allegations against them. Rules have been laid down for such an exercise, and the least one would have expected of the government was a scrupulous respect for, and strict application of, these rules and procedures.

As matters stand now, Dr. Busia and his supporters in and out of parliament will have to think of those whom they have deprived of their means of livelihood. And is there a surer way of politicising the civil service than by showing civil servants that they hold office only at the whims and pleasure of politicians who, after all, are only "birds of passage"? The only difference I see between Nkrumah and Busia on this point is that the former did such things piecemeal by One-O'clock radio announcements, whereas Busia has achieved the same stroke through a cumulative shock on one Monday morning.

And, by the way, did the Busia government consider all the aspects of this exercise in relation to the morale of those who still remain in the public services, and the impact on those Ghanaians abroad who are being invited to come home? I have spoken to a number of compatriots here who have adopted a wait-and-see attitude regarding their return home, and I now see that their hesitation is understandable in some respects. Dr. Busia must certainly not have forgotten that the right to work is one of the fundamental liberties of men in civilised society.

But, perhaps, to make virtue out of necessity, one may say that Ghana is after all lucky to have a government whose members are so absolutely certain of their efficiency, honesty and devotion to duty that they have not hesitated to cast the first stone. Let these qualities be translated into effective action as soon as possible, for we are still waiting to see the first beginnings of a genuine social revolution in Ghana based on these virtues with which our government claims to be endowed.

75 Clarewood Court **P. A. V. Ansah**
Crawford Street
London, W. 1.

Legal Aid in Ghana

SIR—Mr. D. K. Afreh says (**L.O. V/4, page 4**) "in Ghana the only form of legal aid in actual operation is the assigned brief system in murder cases. An indigent appellant in criminal cases may also be supplied with the record of proceedings free of charge. But apart from these cases there is no legal aid". I am not sure that he is right.

Section 17 of the Courts Decree, 1966 (N.L.C.D. 84) surely gives legal assistance to **any** appellant or respondent in **any** appeal where the Court thinks it desirable in the interest of justice? Also, Order 68, rule 2, authorises the Court to dispense with payment of fees, by poor persons. It says that the "Court may on account of the poverty of any person or for other sufficient reasons, to be stated in the minutes, dispense, if it thinks fit, with the payment of any fees". In the light of these provisions I think the scope of legal aid given by our State is wider than your corerspondent has seen. And all of this aid is "in actual operation'!

However, if Mr. Afreh meant no more than that these are not enough, then of course I agree with him. It is time that we had a really satisfactory legal aid and advice system in this country.

Incidentally, why does Mr. Afreh remember "with regret and sorrow the unfortunate statement of the late Sir Arku Korsah, who, when rejecting an application . . ., said the State was not bound to give legal aid to a person accused of an offence against itself"? We have heard it said so often that "if ever there was need for legal aid it was in a treason trial, where the accused is standing trial for his life on what is essentially a political charge".

But perhaps someone in Mr. Afreh's position would like to argue this fully for the benefit of the rest of us. I personally am not convinced that the late Sir Arku was necessarily wrong, even though my personal sympathies would have led me to a different conclusion from what he arrived at. Still, in what sense was the State of Ghana then (or indeed in what sense is it even now) "bound to give legal aid to" any accused person?

P.O. Box 119 **E. S. Aidoo**
Accra

Shortcomings of Intellectuals

SIR—Before the elections which brought the current government into power, the Progress Party was considered as the "intellectuals' party". This idea which possibly contains some truth, may still linger in people's minds. If the Progress Party is predominantly intellectual, and if intellectual capacity obstructs the smooth conduct of national affairs, then the Progress Party should have lost the last elections, which was not the case.

If the "propagandist" assertion, that the Progress Party is predominantly intellectual had prevailed against the Progress Party, the common belief that the people of this country do not respect intellectuals would have been validated. However, we are not certain that the Progress Party won **because** it is predominantly intellectual. Several other factors operated to produce its success. Would the nation have cause to regret if an "intellectuals' party" won elections in the country? The word "intellectual", as used during the last elections, was confusing. One suspects that "intellectual" was used for "academic" which is a term of disapprobation, and possibly connected with Legon. If this is so, it would appear that Legon graduates living in towns have not acquainted themselves well; while I am not entirely certain of this; it would still be prudent to look into it.

If students lobby into positions on the campus; if students inflate the capabilities of other student-applicants for Hall posts merely to acquire tools for selfish ends; if students choose to create mischievous partisanships merely for the love of it; if , finally student-officials of the National Union of Ghana Students get involved in the misuse of group money—if all these things do happen, then we shall have to teach "collective responsibility towards national reconstruction"; for the fear is that such behaviour may be taken into national life.

If students of such deviant behaviour were allowed to go free, it would mean condoning undesirable behaviour with our ill-consequences for the nation; the national investment in education would be lost; the attempt to refine public morality would fail since today's university students are the public men of tomorrow.

Therefore,

> "Fashion it thus—that what he is, augmented,
> Would run to these and these extremities;
> And therefore think him as a serpent's egg,
> Which, hatch'd would as his kind grow mischievous,
> And kill him in the shell."

Legon Hall **Herbert Nana Daniel**
Legon

Ghana's Lost Culture is Retrieved

SIR—The Ninth Annual Festival of Arts which ended in Kumasi recently was a brilliant success reflecting the ingenuity of the planners. The effort also clearly demonstrates the present Government's determination to enhance Ghana's culture.

The programme was all embracing and none of the activities failed to draw large numbers of people to the Cultural Centre, the venue for the festival. Those fortunate to be at the centre were entertained to unique traditional drumming and dancing by various dancing groups. Choral concerts, fashion shows and non-denominational church service re-emphasised traditional belief in God.

The organising committee of this year's festival of Arts headed by Dr. Dsane Selby, a private medical practitioner of Kumasi, and Dr. A. A. Y. Kyerematen, Director of the Centre should be congratulated. May the same spirit attend future festivals.

P.O. Box 9 **Joseph Gyinayeh**
Wenchi, Brong Ahafo

Our Culture, Tradition and Foreign Visitors

SIR—The State Dinner in honour of the U.S. Secretary of State raised some fundamental issues concerning traditional Ghanaian culture. Of the hundreds of Ghanaian dignitaries invited less than 0.3 per cent wore traditional dress. The paradox of the situation is that the greatest exponents of Ghanaian culture were in immaculate dinner suits. Even more perplexing is the fact that some traditional chiefs also had their suits on. In fact, all that we succeeded in impressing upon Mr.

ogers and his party is how highly westernized hanaians have become. I believe he was highly dis-ppointed.

The Army band undoubtedly was great, but one would ve expected them to concentrate more on local, than reign numbers. When they played "Take Five" it obably only reminded Mr. Rogers of Dixieland; a ght perhaps in New Orleans in his youth. It was not tely to impress on his mind a state dinner in Accra. It is important for us to realize that when foreign sitors come here, they are more interested in our ditional than a mere stereotype copying of their y of life. I think there is still more to be done in e office of the Chief of Protocol.

O. Box 80 **King Osafo**
ccra

Africa and Western Values

R—I do not wish to fill up your space by answering r. Bosque's angry questions about tennis-stars or the nerican State Department, which I know little about; stead I wish to comment about Western and liberal lues, which include freedom to educate. There is also eedom of speech, and of the press, and the right not be punished for "the public good" without a chance defend oneself in court.

These ideals were developed by the ancient Greeks. course people who are geographically in the West not always live up to them, and the world is waiting see if other peoples can live up to them better. That why Africans teach and study Latin, Greek, and ncient History.

South Legon **Daphne Hereward**

Jehovah's Witnesses and the Millennium",

R—The article "Jehovah's Witnesses and the Millen-um", by Max Assimeng **(L.O. V/2)** failed to convince impress the unbiased reader. As is the case with ptics who caption their essays with one theme and ite on another, Max Assimeng fell a victim to such ctice. Was the article on the history of Jehovah's tnesses, their unfulfilled prophecies, or the Interna-nal Assembly in Accra?

This mistake has been largely due to his claim ...lind the teachings ... supporters of democracy who ... owledge brings danger and that the involvement of entific men in decision making is a threat to demo-cy". What is the writer's source of information? e writer as well as Jehovah's Witnesses should find fault with truly scientific knowledge but should gin to wonder when unproved theories are labelled scientific; when evolution, for instance, is hailed the "untutored scientist" as proven theory. Such an eptance shows how dangerous partial knowledge science would become.

Lack of experience may lead the novice to suppose t great achievements are attained by easy methods. "religious proletarianism . . . in its pure form" can "substained over generation" by "the constant stress the nearness of (a calamity) the Armageddon" why n have the "traditional" churches not succeeded in s attempt, since it is common knowledge that the imminent Armageddon has always been part of their teachings?

Concerning the "disconfirmation of prophecy" Assimeng demonstrated a lack of knowledge of the methods of academic analysis. One was expecting relevant quotations from Witnesses' many publications, and from the Bible, to prove to the reader what dates they have successively set for the world's doom and how often they have been disappointed. But, as it turned out, none was forthcoming. That showed clearly that the writer depended on hearsay and on the ill-comments of the enemies of the Witnesses in arriving at his conclusions.

It is not too late; the writer can get hold of the relevant publications of the Witnesses about 1914, 1975 and any other dates, and make certain about these; in the end he would find that, say, all that the Witnesses said about 1914 was that it was the end of the "gentiles' times" and the "beginning of the times of the end". Note well that in the history of these Christian Witnesses of Jehovah, (i.e. from Jesus' time) no specific date for the end of the world has been set.

My aim in this letter is not to make a debated criticism of the writer but to point out the more obvious falsifications.

Legon **F. S. Aboagye**

Book Review

OBI (AFRICAN WRITERS SERIES NO. 45)
By John Munonye: Heinemann: 1969

Review by H. M. J. Trutenau

ONE question we should like to ask before all others: For what audience was this book written? Though the answer is by no means clear, one should at least hope that it might be: "First and foremost for Africans." Let us look at it from this point of view. In Ghana, if not elsewhere, " the moral remains the writer's primary assignment," as Mr. Ikiddeh tells us in his article on "Popular Fiction in Ghana" (**Okyeame IV**, 2, page 98). What confronts the reader who encounters the novel in this frame of mind?

... and Anna are Christians—Catholics, to be exact ... significant observation, ... not ... soon becomes clear that (at ... more sympathetic to this Christian couple than ... traditional world of the village into which Joe returns, with his convent-bred wife, on the first page of the story. He has "made his pile" in the outer world, honestly and in government service; but the war has supervened and the draft threatens, so he resigns and returns to his village with the best of intentions to revive his "Obi" (the story continues the preceding novel **The Only Son** — Heinemann: 1966), and to take up his traditional role in the society into which he was born.

At the end of the story he has to flee back into the larger world. But the author makes this sound like a happy ending, in the best Hollywood tradition: ". . . Joe and Anna left Umudiobia quietly for Obizi on

the first stage of their journey into a bigger world." It is of course possible that this is simply the preparatory announcement of another sequel, completing a trilogy; only time can prove or disprove such a hypothesis.

From the start Anna conspicuously fails to integrate. This is not only because she simply does not become pregnant, disappointing everybody's expectations. To be sure, she teaches sewing to several village girls and seems to combine this effectively with some Christian propaganda. But we do not see her ever participating in anything. She is not even seen as an onlooker! As a matter of fact her husband is hardly much better in this respect, though outwardly he takes care to do everything that custom requires; except, of course, to "become a man," which can be achieved only by his fathering a child.

The impression of sterility is admirably sustained. There is never the faintest sexual interest, allusion, or reference, either in connection with the husband or the wife; not the slightest note of tenderness is sounded. Such almost saintly purity of writing is quite an achievement in our day, the more so in a novel whose theme is basically the individual's duty of procreation, in traditional African society the only means of assuring the continuity of the line and preparing for the reincarnation of one's ancestors.

Love is not to be found in these pages. And the almost miraculous pregnancy on the very last page appears due more to the distant mission hospital than to such a natural cause as sexual intercourse between Joe and Anna. The novel might well be put on the "approved" reading list of a convent, in its near-puritanical purity.

Lack of Integration

And Anna herself is sterile in every sense: never is mention made of her feelings about her own kin and family, though they are there when they are needed, and very likeable too, to judge by Marcus, her second cousin. We are, finally, even deprived of the effect of the good news of the pregnancy on Joe's strong-minded and hundred-percent live mother and only the word "ironies" in the penultimate paragraph shows that at least the protagonist is aware of the pity of this state of affairs.

Lack of integration is the deep reason why Joe has to flee the village in the end. The surface reason is, of course, that Joe has a most unholy an un-Christian temper and is completely unable to control himself when Akueze, wife of his favourite cousin Obieke, and notorious for her biting tongue, taunts him about his failure to father a child: "She looked at him contemptuously and turned, and began to leave. You're very fond of children and yet you won't get your wife to produce for you. Castrated bull!"

These words are enough to make Joe run wild and knock her down brutally. Her death does not come at once, we are kept in suspense; but when it does supervene custom takes charge: "In matters of life and death custom was inexorable and would always look for the primary cause. 'He that wounds a fellow citizen to death must flee the land' ". And Joe knows this and submits.

All in all Joe is almost an anti-hero in this novel Other traits many readers may not find admirable are his obvious opportunism, his laziness, his general and remarkable lack of activity. On the other hand, the loving characterization of the village community in its diversity as well as its larger unity, and the variety of its characters, makes it come alive more than Joe and Anna ever do. One is left wondering whether one is justified in drawing the conclusion that this shows where the author's real sympathies lie: not with the leading character but with his mother and the world Joe came from...

All told, this is a not uninteresting second novel. But one would not want to praise it quite as much as D. Carter did it predecessor, **The Only Son** (in **African Literature Today**, No. 3), if only because one cannot fail to note some lack of care over detail. Some of this may simply be attributable to spelling mistakes that a good proof-reader should have corrected automatically. Thus on page 40: "When I had just jointed the church" (for "joined"); or when on page 124 Willie has to explain himself before the Mission School principal: "But the principle was not impressed: he ordered Willie to pack his things and leave;" or when on page 142 Joe's wife is described: "She was still beautiful in look and elegant in build" (compare also page 6: "His careless look", for "looks"); etc.

Traditional Obligations

But in spite of weaknesses, the novel reads well; it may even be that the occasional unevenness is merely due to a second novel receiving less editorial attention than a first. Be that as it may, let us consider finally the most important single issue raised by the novel: the question whether traditional society has not perhaps got a right to compel any member who does not openly repudiate his traditional obligations, to honour these (whatever his private feelings are).

Looked at from this perspective Akueze has only expressed bluntly what everybody else (including Joe's mother, the **umuada** and even the "Holy Spirituals") had been trying to convey more or less diplomatically all along. The author owes his reader a discussion of this subject, in one form or another, after the latter has already waited so long (nine-tenths of the book are behind us when Akueze speaks out at last). But the woman is knocked down by the protagonist, and no discussion ensues, neither here nor later, till the end, when a veritable **deus ex machina** provides the pregnancy, the absence of which was the cause of it all. But this final intervention, while it helps to provide the novel with a happy ending does nothing to solve the problem the author has highlighted so consistently all through the story; it merely leaves the reader puzzled and vaguely dissatisfied.

Is it that Mr. Munonye cannot finally bear to face up to the clash of two value-systems that he has so successfully conjured up in the aesthetic illusion of his novel: the traditional African and the Christian; the one communal, the other individualistic; the one satisfying gods and ancestors in the framework of custom and communal ritual activity, the other with the individual, his faith and his conscience, facing the one God he believes in alone and privately; the extended family and complexities of polygamous relationship against the nuclear family and "one man, one wife"?

The way in which Christian tenets are used by Joe and Anna shows that the author allowed his characters so little room for doubt that one does not find their Christianity very real or convincing (c.f. Kierkegaard).

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GENERAL: Applications (five copies) should be addressed to the General Administrator, Centre for Civic Education, P.O. Box M.103, Accra, to reach him not later than 6th April, 1970, together with copies (not originals) of certificates and testimonials. Three referees should be asked to send confidential references direct to the General Administrator. Applicants under bond are ineligible. A successful candidate will be required to contribute to the Social Security Fund.

The problems are too simple, the solutions are too pat, they sound as if parroted straight from the priest's casuistic rule-books; and the artificial simplicity of a religious tract pervades this section of the novel.

When again and again in the progress of the story one encountered the author's honest and amusing treatment of the warring Christian factions and their principal dignitaries, one could only expect that he would get down to facing the underlying issues yet; and when (after Joe's and Anna's earlier refusals to have any truck with non-Catholic Christians, c.f. especially p. 181) it turns out that Anna has gone to Enine Hospital (which is not Catholic, but C.M.S.-Anglican) for gynaecological treatment, after all, one's expectations are sharpened. But you only have to read pages 200 and following to realize that such hopes are vain.

As the pregnancy is announced by Anna on the very last page: "'But I am grateful to God. He is always awake... He alone knows when to give... But for Akueze's death! I wish she had lived! Ours would have been perfect joy'", one is left with the impression that the whole episode (Anna's sterility, and especially Joe's assult that led to Akueze's death and his exile) was simply a ruse of the all-vigilant Christian Deity to lure his two good and long-suffering Catholics away again from the temptations of traditional society in the "smaller world" of the godless village "into a bigger world" (as it says at the end).

Lastly, a theological footnote is required. Joe and Anna are clearly labelled Catholics, yet there is surprisingly little seen of the essential mediating role the priest plays in Catholic doctrine; while the way in which the two characters ask questions and arrive at their own answers (see especially the matter of the leather "medicine" belt) is much closer to the Protestant view of the relation between the believing individual and his God.

Abuakwa State College

Private Post Bag, Kibi

The school will need University graduates and specialists in September 1970 to teach the following subjects:

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Bible Knowledge	**Music**
Physical Education (Female)	
Twi	**Art & Crafts**

Applications should be addressed to the Headmaster.

News Items

Kumasi March 1

New Leader for N.A.L.

MR. E. R. T. Madjitey, M.P. for Manya-Krobo and former Ghana High Commissioner to Pakistan, has been elected leader of the National Alliance of Liberals at the party's first annual congress, held here at the Prempeh Assembly Hall. Mr. Madjitey replaces Mr. K. A. Gbedemah, who was disqualified from being a member of parliament by Article 71 of the Constitution, and from being a founding member of a political party by a subsequent N.L.C. Decree.

Accra March 2

Retiring Awards for Dismissed Officers

THE government has decided that public servants affected by the recent dismissals would be paid their retiring awards as provided for under the Civil Service Act and the Pensions Ordinance. This was announced here today by the Prime Minister, Dr. K. A. Busia, who also said that the government would waive the normal ten-year qualification in order that those who had served for less than ten years would also get awards.

Accra March 3

Ghana suffers Trade Deficit

GHANA suffered a trade deficit of NC23.3 million last December. According to provisional figures released here today by the Central Bureau of Statistics, Ghana's imports for the month amounted to NC36.6 million, while exports amounted to only NC11.3 million. Figures for November were, imports — NC33.8 m, and exports —NC11.4m.

Call to Fight White Domination

MR. Victor Owusu, Minister of External Affairs today appealed to member-states of the O.A.U. to offer all necessary assistance to the people of Rhodesia in their fight against white domination. He was speaking to newsmen at the Kotoka International Airport on his arrival from Addis Ababa, where he attended the conference of Foreign Ministers of the O.A.U. Mr. Owusu said Africans in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) should also be prepared to fight for their liberation from the obnoxious rule of Ian Smith.

Pakistan Condemns Minority Regime

THE government of Pakistan, it is learnt in Accra, has condemned the illegal Ian Smith regime for declaring Rhodesia a republic. A statement received today from the Pakistan Foreign Office said, in part: "The government of Pakistan regards the action of the illegal Smith regime to declare Rhodesia as a republic as yet another step taken by it to perpetuate white minority rule in that country, and strongly condemns this crude attempt at racial domination."

Memorial for Dr. Danquah

THE National Assembly has unanimously authorised the government to establish a fitting memorial to the late Dr. J. B. Danquah, in appreciation of his relentless fight for individual freedom and liberty, and his contribution to learning. This followed a compromise motion moved by Mr. Sam Okudzeto (N.A.L., North Tongu), and seconded by Mr. K. B. Ntim (P.P. Kade).

Cheers.. good health!



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