

Africana
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27 APR 1970

The Legon Observer

Fortnightly Organ of the Legon Society on National Affairs

Vol. V No. 7

27 March — 9 April 1970

Price 15np

IN THIS ISSUE

FOCUS ON LEGON

EDITORIAL

MEASURES FOR ABUNDANCE

WE share with the Minister of Finance and Economic Planning his concern about the current shortages in the supply of certain essential items of consumption; we are also disturbed by the collusion that has resulted in the hoarding of goods, deliberate inflation of prices, and, in short, the present suffering of the defenceless consumer. But while we agree with the Minister on his diagnosis of the current problems, we are unable to give him our unqualified support for the remedies that he proposes to administer.

Two considerations impel us to our present stand on the issue of shortages and high prices of essential consumer items. First, any measure to combat the evil of hoarding and high prices must be directed towards flooding the market with the goods and services in question, and it must be seen to be effective for this purpose. There is a tendency to have trust in the probability of a ready and voluntary reaction of entrepreneurs to changes in market forces and opportunities that are afforded by a free and competitive market.

What the Minister does not appear to fully appreciate is that we are *not* operating in a free and competitive market situation. There is every reason to argue that our present troubles stem as much from the precarious nature of our foreign exchange reserves as from the plethora of nauseating big and petty monopolies that seem to be endemic in our economy. For, before goods arrive on our shores, the processes that are gone through are within neither the ken nor the means of most would-be importers. The import-export business demands certain categories of expertise, certain types of contacts between manufacturers, importers, transporters, financiers and insurance companies. The few who have these are the same persons who may and, indeed, can take advantage of the concessions made by the Minister.

But will they take advantage of them to the extent expected by the Minister? This is the question to which the Minister should have more seriously addressed himself. If, for any reason, these monopolists believe that taking full advantage of the concessions will adversely affect the rate of their profits in favour of a little more comfort for the consumer, they may not do so. After all, they also have limited resources the rational allocation of which is a major concern for them. If, therefore, they discover that flooding the market with, say, rice is going to hurt the general rate of profits, they may indeed decide to shift their resources from rice importation to, say, importation

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of drugs. Indeed, are the new concessions not too strong a temptation for our present foreign businessmen to export profits through the usual tricks? The chances are that, in this monopolistic situation, importation of the items listed by the Minister may increase, but not sufficiently to allay appreciably the present plight of the consumer.

It is therefore our suggestion that, if the government is prepared to release foreign exchange, as assured by the Minister, then as an interim measure (i.e. before we are able to produce, locally, sufficient quantities of the goods concerned), the government should establish a machinery charged solely with importation of the listed items. This measure need not prevent any businessman from also importing those items. The government should, at least, make sure that the goods are on our shores. It is then, and only then, that the new system of distribution proposed by the Minister of Agriculture may be meaningfully put to the test of practice.

Secondly, we cannot fully agree with the Minister because in the light of what has been said above, unless some foreign firms participate in the importation of those items, we are not going to get the goods in requisite quantities. Allowing them to do so would, however, make the implementation of Part II of the Ghanaian Enterprises Decree, 1968, very problematic.

Observer Notice

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The Economy

MANIPULATING THE BUDGETS

By
J. N. Seward

THE economic policy of the National Liberation Council had the stated aim of providing a "breathing spell". "Breathing spell" implies rest. We had a rest, but did we enjoy it?

Those Ghanaian workers who were thrown out of work by the reduced government budgets certainly didn't. School leavers who were greeted by "no vacancy" signs didn't. These groups are still with us, and something must be done to increase employment opportunities. Deportation of aliens may provide some job openings. Certainly the massive popular support for the measure indicates that many thought of this. But, then, most aliens with jobs weren't supposed to be those who fled. Clearly, increased government spending is required if unemployment is to be brought within reasonable limits.

If this is so, then why were the N.L.C. budgets what they were? We all know the answer to that one. The economy was over-inflated, and the balance of payments was out of kilter. When the International Monetary Fund was appealed to for assistance, the assistance was given on condition that a stabilization programme be pursued. Stabilization implies balanced or surplus budgets and balance or surplus on international account. The N.L.C. economic policy-makers achieved both of these objectives. But these didn't make most of us happy.

Scanty Means vs. Happiness

The IMF is not to be blamed. The IMF, after all, is a bank, and bankers always insist that their debtors live within their means. And the N.L.C. is not to be blamed either. The exigencies of their situation forced them to pass the message on and make us live within our means. But when one's means are scanty, living within them is not conducive to happiness.

Let's run away from this unpleasant conclusion and move on to another direction. What do we want? Economic development and more job opportunities. All this is with a view toward increased production and more of the material things of life.

How do we get it? Increased government spending is required if more jobs are to be

created. The National Service Corps will help to alleviate unemployment among the youth, but it means more government spending. This programme (and others of its kind) will lead to a quickened pace of economic development in the areas in which it operates. Things are looking a little brighter already.

But what about the balanced budget? How is this increased spending going to be financed? Where's the money coming from? The financing is going to come from the Bank of Ghana, where cedis come from. Tax-payers don't create cedis; it is the Bank of Ghana which does create the cedis.

Balanced budgets have been "old hat" for decades now. Lord Keynes declared them so. The solution to unemployment problems is deficit budgets.

So far, so good. We are going to run deficit budgets, and put some of the unemployed youth to work. But we should not forget, though, that we want them to work productively, so that we can get some economic development in the process.

Domestic Inflation

Now, what about the IMF? We are feeling a bit happier, but is the IMF going to like it? The IMF lends hard currency, not cedis. They are primarily interested in our foreign exchange earnings vis a vis our import bill. Gentlemen of the IMF have a theory, an economic theory, that says that domestic inflation adversely affects the balance of payments, increasing imports and decreasing exports. Running a deficit budget promotes inflation. Therefore no deficit budget.

There may be a way out of this one. First of all, remember we are going to make sure that those who are put to work with the deficit *produce*. This will help to increase the supply of goods, thus toning down the inflationary impact of the deficit. Secondly, we are not going to permit the increased incomes to be spent on imports, because we are going to continue rationing foreign exchange via exchange control (even if we scrap the import licensing system). This leaves us only with the supposed adverse effect on exports.

This supposed adverse export effect may not even exist. Cocoa, the major export, is not affected in any predictable way by domestic inflation. If timber exports are affected, and this is

debatable, then we will subsidise timber producers in one way or the other. The ways are diverse. No import duties on machinery needed by timber producers, subsidised rail rates, elimination of export duty on timber, to name a few. Other exporters should not be affected, since inflation or no inflation, wage increases will be kept in line with productivity increases.

Thus, there is no reason for the IMF to be unhappy, since our foreign exchange outlays will still be carefully rationed, a bit more wisely than in the past perhaps, but still rationed.

We will still be living within the foreign exchange constraint, and unless we can do something to increase foreign exchange earnings, they will still be scanty, so we won't be *happy*. But by loosening the government purse strings, we will get some increase in production, some reduction in unemployment, and some increase in the supply of goods, so we should be *happier*.

Postscript: The University of Ghana, among other government agencies and departments, has been hamstrung in its operations by unrealistically low votes. There is no reason to force government agencies to operate on overdrafts, no excuse for forcing highly paid professional men i.e. Finance Officers, who are supposed to be spending their working days rationalizing the financial programme of their agencies and institutions, to rather become professional beggars instead. This is why one sees no excuse, when the Bank of Ghana can provide all the cedis required to lubricate their agencies. Money has been called a lubricant, and properly so.

1970 Population

Census: Are

You Counted?

Africa

REWRITING AFRICAN HISTORY?

By
T. K. Cavanagh

STEPHEN Dedalus described history as a nightmare from which he was trying to awaken. Matthew Arnold once spoke of it as "that huge Mississippi of falsehood". Napoleon referred to history as "lies agreed upon", while Henry Ford put it most succinctly when he said "History is bunk".

Most teachers of history and practising historians have made their peace with these critics. Most have found satisfaction in the realization that history, as the pursuit of truth, can be justified. Without labouring the value of studying history one may observe that it can create a more tolerant and skeptical attitude, it can provide us with a firmer understanding of the present, and it can offer us some tentative suggestions about what the future may hold in store for us. It is really not difficult to justify the study of history, as we are informed by E. H. Carr, in *What is History*, and by G. R. Elton in *The Practice of History*; and it is hardly necessary to engage in a debate, like Hamlet, with the ghosts of those who have gone before us.

History And Ideology

What is alarming, however, is a current tendency, not unprecedented, to use history as a propaganda device for furthering a political point of view of ideology. One is uncomfortably reminded of the doublethink of George Orwell's *1984*, where history is rewritten, altered, twisted, or destroyed to suit the needs of the moment. What advocates of this approach do is that if a particular piece of evidence or a document does not suit their purpose, they fire it down the rat hole. The "New Left" or "Revisionist" historians of the United States do not go to these lengths, but their approach to American history is disturbing. Let us admit that every generation must re-examine its history. Let us admit that there is a seamier side to American history which should be brought to light. Yet after all these admissions are made it is still false to argue that the history of the United States is nothing but materialism, economic exploitation, violence, and imperialism.

Of course, as long as history is written by men

and not by machines there will be no history of the United States (or any other country for that matter) that will be totally acceptable to everyone. Nevertheless, we can fairly expect that any account of the past of the United States should acknowledge the more defensible achievements of that country, and in particular acknowledge the important quality of meliorism which has been a significant feature of its history. History writing is, after all, the pursuit of truth. Or it should be.

I suggest that history can seldom be portrayed in simple black and white colours. It can seldom be delineated as a struggle between the forces of good and the forces of evil. Furthermore, there is no nation that possesses a monopoly on virtue or vice as we have defined it in our decade. If one dredges around enough, one will find that a surprising number of nations could practice genocide fairly successfully when they put their minds to it. This "you're one too" type of argument is relevant only in so far as it serves to point up that virtues and vices have been rather evenly distributed amongst peoples throughout history.

Approaches To History

What really disturbs me is a recent article in your magazine *Legon Observer* (Vol. V/3) advocating a history of denunciation. I have no quarrel with the main thrust of Mr. J. K. Obatala's article which relates to the need for reviving Pan-Africanism. The attitude towards history, however, is appalling. Separate the sheep from the goats! Denounce the cowards, the opportunists, the black imperialist exploiters! This is good polemics, fine rhetoric. But as an approach to history it is about as wrong as wrong can be. It is an oversimplified approach and it presupposes the answers almost before the questions are asked. Self-righteousness may be fine as a life style. It is not the best attitude with which to study history. Liddell Hart offered the following advice to statesmen: "In any case keep cool. Have unlimited patience... Avoid self-righteousness like the devil—nothing is so self-blinding." Historians would do well to heed his words.

Sound moral judgements are hard to come by in history. Values tend to change from century to century, and even from generation to generation. Is there really any point in applying our moral standards of right and wrong to the careers of Louis XIV, to Attila the Hun, to Philip II of Spain? I can see no particular virtue or purpose in such an exercise. Apart from the difficulty of determin-

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ing who is to do the judging and what should be the standards to be applied, it seems to me that the dredging up of the moral shortcomings of people's long dead in order to accuse our contemporaries, will serve more to hinder than resolve present-day problems.

But surely murder is always murder, genocide is always genocide, and it is history's task to hold up the perpetrators of such crimes for the moral condemnation of posterity? Once again, no. It is futile and a waste of the historian's time. A variety of reasons could be offered for this negative reply, as Henry Steele Commager attests to in *The Nature and Study of History*; but let us touch on only the one that seems most relevant. If there is anyone in this day and age who does not believe that Hitler's persecution of the Jews was morally reprehensible, then there is nothing that the historian can conceivably say that would convince him otherwise. For the rest of his audience it would be a matter of preaching to the converted. People turn to history for explanations, interpretations, and significance of the events of the past. This is the historian's task. Many years ago Benedetto Croce asserted that "those who, on the plea of narrating history, bustle about as judges, condemning here and giving absolution there, because they think this is the office of history, are generally recognized as devoid of historical sense." I agree emphatically.

History And Understanding

One of the greatest values of studying history is to create an attitude of skepticism on the part of the student. Properly studied it should make the student reluctant to accept the ready made solution, the simplistic answer. As D. Thompson says in *The Aims of History*, the study of history should lead to historical understanding.

Historical understanding, his most precious equipment, is compounded of an accumulated knowledge which warns him against what is anachronistic or improbable; of mature judgement derived from investigation of how, in the past, a tangled skein of events could produce certain unexpected consequences; and of sufficient experience and sophistication for him to have a "hunch" about the relative significance of immeasurable forces.

History seems to be the discipline best calculated to create a sense of balance in one's views about man and society. We would all like to see a little more wisdom and tolerance in the world about us, and history should be able to

contribute something to this ideal.

It is for this reason that I find it particularly disheartening to see an appeal for the study of history couched in the vocabulary of rhetoric, theatre, and romance. This seems more of a clarion call for the abuse of history than the use of history. The idea of writing only one type of history and one particular theme is rather frightening. What if the historian chooses a different theme? Or does he have a choice? Or do we silence those who will not accept the party line? What of the resulting gaps that occur from a one-theme approach? This may not worry Mr. Obatala but it will give nightmares to the historians. I believe it was Queen Victoria who told her first minister that "must" is not in the vocabulary of princes. I should like to think that Mr. Obatala may discover that "must" is not in the vocabulary of historians either. Much work still remains to be done in African history.

Is Humanity Progressing?

Finally, I am not sanguine about convincing the young zealot that history has justifications apart from the furthering of a political creed or belief. I have debated this subject with students before, and our age differences are relevant. Long ago I passed over the magic and meaningless dividing line of age thirty. (Students say "don't trust anyone over thirty". To which I reply: "O.K., but don't trust anyone under thirty either. Be skeptical".) Yet there is a generation gap and I am most conscious of it when I listen to apocalyptic outbursts about present day world conditions. It does not appear to me that mankind is much worse off than it ever was. Indeed, it seems that mankind is advancing.

Some Dr. Strangelove may put an end to it all of course, but to date, in spite of all the back-sliding, grotesque errors, and all the crimes committed against humanity, it appears we are making progress. Slowly perhaps. Painfully often. Inch by inch usually. But for all that, progress. I doubt if things will change. I doubt if there will be any great leaps forward. I doubt too if there will be any major retrogression. But I am not sure. Herein, I believe, is one good reason for the study of history. Properly studied it should make one a little uncertain of the right. Properly studied it should help form men who will approach human problems with an open mind and a desire to understand rather than condemn.

Stephen Dedalus was disturbed by the nightmare quality of history. But history has admirable and inspiring qualities as well, which become apparent when it is used, not abused.

The Law

GHANA LAW REPORTS

By T. G. Kane

THE Judicial Secretary, Mr. E. S. Aidoo, publicly initiated a most timely and important discussion in his Introduction to the Problem of Slow Justice, in the 27th February issue of the *Legon Observer* (Vol. V/4).

The subject of law reform is a matter which has been vigorously debated, in private, many many times in the past—a fact to which lawyers' wives will readily testify. Another public comment will appear in the April edition of the *Review of Ghana Law*; it is written by Mr. J. N. Aryee, and is a most lucid appraisal of the tremendous problems besetting the drafting section of the Attorney-General's Department.

These valuable comments are nevertheless microcosmic in as much as the legal system must be considered as a complex and many-sided creature. In fact the elements are inextricably intertwined, and a true picture will not come into focus unless the viewer considers all these complex facets. The purpose of this comment is not to attempt to denigrate from the value of the other contributions mentioned; rather it is an attempt to shed light upon another dark corner of the legal spectrum, and to further this most important discussion.

Developing Legal System

This dark corner that is in need of illumination is the office that is responsible for publishing the *Ghana Law Reports* and the *Review of Ghana Law*. Very briefly the modern history of law reporting in Ghana is a mixed story of co-operation and lack of co-operation with the other English-speaking West African countries. The co-operative ventures were finally put to an end in 1958 when the newly established General Legal Council undertook to publish the *Ghana Law Reports*. This was a necessary and excellent step in the process of developing an appropriately unique legal system to coincide with the search for effective independence and identity. Indeed, the then Chief Justice of Ghana, Sir Arku Korsah, said in his foreword to the first volume of the *Ghana Law Reports* in 1959:

I sincerely hope that following the publication of this first issue of this new series of reports, it will be possible for subsequent issues to follow quickly, so as to avoid delay

in reports of important cases being in the hands of members of the Bench and Bar. Every effort will accordingly be made to ensure that the reports are issued regularly and with the least possible delay...I cannot accordingly emphasize too strongly the important part this new series of reports will play in assisting the development of the law of the Republic of Ghana.

This statement, by Sir Arku, seemed a fitting, if not restrained, portent. But how ironic it was! Certainly the law reports have been beset with political, financial and personnel problems; but then so have other Ghanaian institutions. The editor of the *Review of Ghana Law* could have been writing about the law reporting rather than the registrars in the very first issue of the *Review* (1969, 1 R.G.L.4) when stating that the inadequacy of training, the overwork, the poor pay, the lack of materials, the unpleasant working conditions, and the lack of respect and co-operation from all members of the legal profession are matters which have a cumulative effect in inhibiting the desired quality of work as well as the rate of production. These are problems that are so badly in need of serious corrective.

Eradicating the Problems

No purpose will be served in heaping invective upon recrimination in an attempt to put the blame upon specific individuals for the current state of the law reports. The damage has been done and the task of eradicating the problems is one that cannot afford the diversions that "head hunting" will throw up. The intellectual and physical resources exist in abundance; even if the financial resources are deficient there are avenues that can easily be explored.

The one point which must be kept in mind is that the law reports are the very heart and core of the legal system. So long as the legal profession lends tacit approval (by reason of their inaction) to a situation where budding lawyers learn the law largely from English and American sources; while members of the Bar pursue their clients' problems largely citing English and American cases; and if members of the Bench continue to solve Ghanaian problems largely using English and American authorities: while these flaws continue, the unique legal system which is so vital to independent Ghana will largely remain an illusion.

Obviously the law reports must be brought up-to-date, and once that is done all efforts must be made never to let them fall behind again. For those who are not aware, the second

part of the 1963 decisions are only now in the page proof stage. Recognising the problem in 1965, the then editor of the *Ghana Law Reports* and present Attorney-General, Mr. N. Y. B. Adade, instituted the Current Cases series as a temporary measure. The Current Cases are digests of important recent decisions published in mimeograph form. With the regular law reports slipping further into arrears, the Current Cases have attained a permanence and sophistication that was not originally anticipated.

To give some idea of why the situation is as I have described above, readers should consider the following: the office staff consists of five lawyers (an editor, assistant editor and three editorial assistants), one stenographer, one typist and one messenger. They alone are responsible for bringing up-to-date the *Ghana Law Reports*, for publishing the Current Cases and for publishing a legal periodical—the *Review of Ghana Law*. The law reports for 1963 will contain some 350 cases; it must be borne in mind that not only are the courts expanding, but the ratio of cases received to cases chosen for reporting runs as high as ten to one in some months. This is a staggering amount of typing, editing and proof reading. In addition to this volume of work, the work on the *Review of Ghana Law* naturally consumes time and energy.

An Ideal Solution

The ideal solution to the law reporting problem must be tripartite: human, mechanical and departmental. The volume of work is simply too much for the personnel. If the numbers were to be doubled the office would not be overstaffed. New and improved equipment must be provided. The World War II vintage typewriters must be replaced and labour saving devices such as dictaphones, photocopying equipment and high speed duplicating equipment should also be provided. The expansion in numbers and equipment alone dictates that new offices be found (presently there are two and three to a room). The move from the present temporary offices in the ministries must be more than symbolic, however; in fact the law reporting must become an independent agency free from the supervisory control of the General Legal Council or the Bar Association. This is a usual rather than an unusual procedure: for example, the Incorporated Council of Law Reporting for England and Wales has served as a model for the Zambian Council of Law Reporting.

All that is at stake is the integrity and vitality

of the legal system along with the concomitant institutions necessarily influenced. And I do not think this is really much of a price to pay.

Editor's Note: Although Mr. Kane is an Editorial Assistant in the employ of the Ghana Legal Council, the views he has expressed are purely personal, and should not be construed as representing the views of his employers.

The Universities

LEGON: THE FRUSTRATED TRIBE

By

Max Assimeng

A TRIBE implies a community with identifiable common ethnic features which distinguish it from other communities. It has the capacity for sustenance, and possesses mechanisms for replacing those of its members who, through death or enforced quit order, cease to be members of the community. A tribe is, in a way, a conflict social group whose existence is made possible through the strength of harmonizing sentiments. And at intervals, various rituals are performed to bring to focus, and to recharge, the integrational factors which the tribe shares in common.

The University of Ghana, Legon, is like a tribe in many respects. It has myths of origin, of grandeur, and of purpose in the universe. There is, for instance, a myth which is potently believed by many of the Legon tribesmen, because it is bound up with the survival of the entire group. This myth is to the effect that unless the ancestors of the tribe are regularly appeased with cows and schnapps and so on, the mortality rate of the campus—especially Sarbah Hall which is said to have been a burial ground of some tribal chiefs before—will soar, rather than diminish. Myths are not peculiar to primitive, preliterate communities.

The feeling of a sense of grandeur is, of course, not exclusive to Legon. A tribe exists and endures on the basis of hopes—that some mythical greatness it achieved at a certain period of its history, can be sustained and improved upon. University communities are obviously not as naive as to think they are, each, the centre of the universe. Even then there is more or less the belief that, in some inexplicable way, Legon as a tribe is unique. It is, of course, psychologically

assuaging to be told that one's community is the best, the greatest, and the most envied — and in this respect one cannot help thinking that Legonites believe that they are *the* real intellectual community *par excellence*.

Legon's sense of its own mission is, however, not very easy to analyse. There is, for instance, the belief that the Ghanaian society looks up to Legonites for intellectual stimulation, efficiency in administration, and probity and modesty in styles of life which would be sources of emulation by the wider Ghanaian society. Thus, when at a certain period of Ghana's history men were needed to spell out the rights and wrongs of Ghanaian society, the first point of approach was Legon.

Some of the items in Legon's sense of mission are, however, not self-conceived — most of these are imposed from outsiders. There is, in a sense, an aura of secrecy which envelops the social structure of Legon, and which makes some of Legon's deliberations unknown to outsiders. This is a source of strength in a way, but this "secret society" feature has often been to Legon's own undoing. As a community within a community, Legon has the double duty of putting its own house in order through internal organizational arrangements, and presenting an acceptable, respectable image before its admirers and foes alike.

Crises of Expansion

Myths apart, what are the real, verifiable facts about Legon as a tribe? Only a die-hard, myth-blinded Legonite shall fail to acknowledge that the existence of that tribe is now on trial. From its humble beginnings in 1948, the University has undergone various crises of expansion, of the search for purpose, and of justification for its continued existence.

The stages have been equally arduous and varied. At the time when many educated Ghanaians were wanted to man the areas of bureaucratic administration in the civil service during the colonial days and immediately after, the future position of an undergraduate was assured. There he was, a black student drinking deep from the fountain of internationally recognized intellectual culture. They were few, then, and this obviously made them feel very important and very big. There was considerable pride, as well as a feeling of indispensability, among undergraduates even in the latter part of the 1950s.

Legon's modern crop of students are not in an enviable position any longer. Even the gowns and

caps and hoods are at the moment symbols of derision rather than of envy. Although this does not denote anti-intellectualism, it shows that the values which were hitherto placed on these symbols, and on what they represent, have become heavily deflated. The wider society is asking whether there is any sense in continuing a high level educational investment the return of which is not obvious. And—although the students do not articulate this—there is a feeling among the students themselves as to the worthwhileness of continuing an educational training which has ceased to be prestigious and psychologically rewarding. Mass production, like mass culture, has always appeared suspicious to intellectuals.

Grim Prospects

The emotional anxiety among the students of Legon has, as a matter of fact, an empirical referent as well. Vacation employment, that once enviable opportunity for students to obtain a few cedis, and to test their importance in the corridors of business and administrative power—that is now entirely out, except for the lucky few. Then the pre-graduation interview by heads of ministries competing to attract and to induce students to go to their departments: this, too, is out. The grim prospect now is that, unless the economy expands, and unless the society finds some other ways of utilizing its new university graduates (as teachers in elementary schools, for instance) a time shall soon come when university graduates in Ghana shall be queuing at labour exchange centres in their search for jobs!

Those who discourse on student unrest at our higher educational institutions tend to do more moralizing than serious scientific analyses. They will do well to consider the frustration which students are now experiencing as a result of the growing marginality of their once chequered social status. Students may go on to complain about food, accommodation, discipline, and bad tuition; but what they *cannot* complain about publicly, although this is the real centre of their protest, is the fact that history is now robbing them of their desired destiny. The psychological problems of Legon female students are on a different, even more acute order, and cannot be detailed in this short essay. Suffice it to say that they appear to need secure jobs, and other things else.

But students are just one of the status groups in the Legon tribal stratification system. The tribe also contains lecturers, and workers of varying administrative positions. The frustration

among Legon workers is no less acute: here are people who, although deep in the centre of academic gravity, somehow believe that they are "in" it but not "of" it. They feel they live on the margin, on the very fringe, of the tribal community; this has given rise to feelings of inferiority which often get exaggerated expression in aggressive, deliberate non-cooperation with such other tribal colleagues as students and lecturers.

What about the university lecturers themselves? Here, too, one cannot say that all is well among them. The disease of status anxiety has actually gripped them, too. But this problem, although acute, is not insoluble. University lecturers are still listened to, even if not with the uncritical hero adulation with which their utterances were previously gulped down by their listeners. One of the problems with university dons in this country is that, although they are materially poor in comparison with their counterparts in business and industry, the wider society believes they are rich. All kinds of expectations shroud the daily routine life of the dons. One can, of course, say to oneself that although materially poor, one is intellectually rich. But is this not a mere illusion?

Periscoping Legonologists

The anxiety about status among dons is aggravated by the fact that there are some outsider Legon watchers—Legonologists, if one may call them so—who have taken upon themselves the task of constantly probing, free of charge, the intellectual health of the tribe. It is not the intention in this essay to question how qualified some of these "watchers" are in this self-appointed periscoping endeavour. But the exercise is certainly useful, especially if the motive is to seek an improvement, rather than a ridicule, of the Legon tribe. After all, one of the greatest curses of a country is when its leading intellectual community becomes an untouchable sacred cow. This is why there is room for a Lord Franks at Legon.

One problem which Legon's dons face is that of academic productivity, a term which is at once overused and misunderstood. The present writer believes this is an integral part of the don's calling; and he thinks, too, that all available opportunities must be taken to improve upon this. But academic productivity—or lack of it—is an issue which requires a sober, dispassionate analysis, rather than the type of outbursts which create the impression that certain Legono-

logists are merely seeking an outlet to publicise their own probable jaundiced aspirations and possible personal conflicts.

There is no end to what one would want to say of Legon. Efficiency in certain areas of administration is, certainly, not one of Legon's enviable features. The telephones are almost always down; most of the university buses are invariably in the workshop, while workers wait in town for transport; the relationship between students and lecturers has also agitated the minds of many people who have visited what once used to be called an ivory tower; the muted conflict of generations at Legon among lecturers—all these require more serious study. Perhaps the University College of Cape Coast, and the Kumasi University of Science and Technology, are not immune from some of these problems; it is hoped that these two institutions, too, would become subjects of an essay subsequently.

But there is a sense in which one would say this: that, a critical study of the Ghanaian society could rightly begin with a study of Legon—if only because it is a smaller, more compact tribal community which, if sufficiently x-rayed, would give a rebuttal to those who think that Legonites delight in speaking about "what went wrong" in Ghana, whereas there may have been probably equally wrong things in their own small frustrated tribe.

Observer Notebook

Executive Sovereignty?

THERE is a new theory claiming some sort of "Sovereignty" for the executive arm of the government. Every now and then, we are told that the government cannot share its executive power with the legislature or that the legislature has no right to interfere with the government's exercise of its executive authority. Indeed, this theory has been carried to the extent where some of its exponents seem to be claiming that the National Assembly has no right even to conduct debate on the use to which the government applies its executive powers.

Much comment has already been made on this matter in the various newspapers of the country but we think that a large proportion of it misses the point. The burden of the issue is not whether Parliament is supreme or sovereign, nor is it whether the government should share

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its executive powers with the Opposition or the National Assembly, nor is it whether in *all* the cases involving the use of executive power, the government should first seek the approval of Parliament.

As we understand it, the theory of Parliamentary sovereignty does not apply under our present Constitution; we also grant that it is a matter of politics and not of law whether the government consults or does not consult with the Opposition in the exercise of its executive powers. This is a matter of political discretion. A government survives or falls on its own record, and this has very little, if anything, to do with the Opposition, unless the Opposition manifestly commits the indiscretion of deliberately thwarting the implementation of government policies or fails to present more attractive alternatives to the electorate. Parliament, under the present Constitution, has not the right and power to pass certain types of legislation, and, for that reason, cannot be said to be sovereign.

However, we would like to point out that Parliament has two major types of functions to perform. First, it is a legislative body but as such, as has been explained above, it is not sovereign. Secondly, it is a representative body of the country, whose duty it is to debate, criticise, scrutinise and make recommendations on all aspects of the political life of this country. In this capacity, it does, under more formal conditions, what the general public are expected to do from day to day. In the performance of this function, nothing (including even the personal qualities of an ambassador, the shape of his nose and his eating habits) is beyond purview of Parliament, though it has no right to appoint an ambassador — this being an executive act. In this case, it is irrelevant whether we have Parliamentary or Extra-Parliamentary Executive. The deliberative function of Parliament cannot be taken away on any known excuse.

In many parts of the Constitution, one comes across the phrase: "and except so far as that provision or, as the case may be, the thing done under the authority thereof, is shown not to be reasonably justifiable *in terms of the spirit of this Constitution*" (our emphasis).

We submit that the freedom of debate on *all issues* in Parliament as well as in the country as a whole is not only in accordance with the spirit of the Constitution, but also indeed demanded by the Constitution. Anything or any theory that seeks to limit this freedom, either in Parliament or among the general public, is

against this spirit and, to that extent, unconstitutional. We hope that those who are propounding this new-fangled theory of "Executive Sovereignty" will take note of its serious constitutional and political limitations.

The Anti-Bribery Commission

It WAS announced on March 19th that the Government had set up a 'permanent' anti-bribery Commission composed of two lawyers (one of them a judge), a musician, a sociologist and a minister of religion. The Commission's terms of reference, as reported by the *Daily Graphic*, are as follows:

To study the area, prevalence and methods of bribery and corruption in Ghanaian society.

To determine whether there are factors existing in the society which contribute to bribery and corruption and to state what the said factors are.

To enquire into other matters which appear to the Commission to be reasonably related to the foregoing and which, in the opinion of the Commission, ought in the public interest, to be inquired into.

Commissions of enquiry are useful generally but particularly to newly established governments intent on finding their way through tangled skeins of misconceptions, of information and misinformation before formulating policies. And when a government wishes to tackle such an apparently intractable problem as "bribery and corruption" it can probably do no better than set up a Commission to define just what is the problem, establish the conditions which generate it and attempt to supply the remedies. Also, it seems to us that the setting up of the Commission shows that few, if any, people now believe that "bribery and corruption" are a visitation of the Deity to be diligently prayed away or that Ghanaians and Africans in general have an inherent tendency to corruption — a sort of peculiarly African original sin with which we may live or attempt to conquer by Divine Grace. Clearly the sociologist in the Premier has triumphed and put the problem in the area wherein it belongs: within the socio-economic conditions of a people in rapid change and whose values are, therefore, in a tremendous state of flux.

Hence one has some doubts about the nature of the membership of the Commission. If it be true that the problem is more of a social than a

moral phenomenon (we are all agreed that bribery and corruption are "bad" in themselves as well as in their effect on society) then it would be conceded that the Commission should have included more than one sociologist. Secondly, if there is going to be no argument about the legalistic aspects of "bribery and corruption" — and there is no reason why there should be — then there is no need for two lawyers: the Judge who is also the chairman of the Commission would, by himself, be able to take care of all the legal requirements of conducting a Commission of Enquiry. While lawyers may be useful in drafting constitutions or talking in Parliament, it is extremely doubtful that they are ordinarily given so much reflection on social problems. Two sociologists and one lawyer would have been more like it. Thirdly, if as seems certain, the Commission will enquire into the various practices by which civil and other public servants embezzle funds, why not include an accountant on the Commission? The musician and the minister of religion were put on the Commission apparently because they are both God-fearing men. But surely one of them would have been enough to temper what promise to be gruelling enquiries with the voice of the Spirit? Again we would suggest replacing one of the two gentlemen with an accountant.

Whatever the final composition of the Commission, one hopes that they will begin with a broad definition of "bribery and corruption": that they will bear in mind "nepotism" wherever it exists, and the higher forms of pilfering in the higher reaches of our public life such as the arbitrary use of Government property and the like. We also hope that the Commission will start with a digest of the evidence and conclusions of the various post-coup Commissions of Enquiry which should provide the Government with enough data to go on if it intends taking practical measures against bribery and corruption in the meantime.

This last point suggests two queries. In view of the Government's concern about "bribery and corruption" why not begin by prosecuting those officials of our Municipal Councils who have been proved on the evidence to be guilty of fraud but merely ask them to refund the embezzled sums? When is fraud not fraud and not indictable in the courts? Are we to draw the conclusion from this that the Commission on "bribery and corruption" is a mere diversionary act?

On Getting a Passport

WHAT does it imply to obtain or renew a

passport? This question may sound simple or complex to differing status groups. But its urgency as an issue was made evident recently when a lengthy newspaper report on the horror, and inefficiency, of the passport administration brought the chief boss of that office promptly to his feet. Actually the various processes one has to go through in order to obtain a passport have been devised for security reasons; they are said to be an attempt to keep track on those Ghanaians who, for one reason or another, do not qualify to leave the shores of the nation. What is interesting is that, inevitably, some "undesirables" manage to leave!

What must beat the imagination of the ordinary Ghanaian is why the process should become so involved, so slow, and without any apparent show of businesslike attitude towards the work. A sluggish looking messenger here; an angry looking clerical officer there; an impudent and arrogant receptionist elsewhere — one goes through a whole range of frustrating experiences, including at times being asked whether one **really** wants to have one's passport **early**. For those who are not used to the nuances of corruption verbiage, an answer would sound like **yes, of course**. But then the language would be mutually incomprehensible.

If one is lucky, one may manage to make one's way into an obviously tired, obviously overworked boss whose office actually gives the impression that the passport office is understaffed — despite the numerous number of staff downstairs and upstairs some of whose routine commitments in the office are never apparent to the outsider.

Apart, however, from the desire to prune personnel, there is also a technicality which has to be streamlined. A passport application goes to the Central Research Office of the Security Branch; when it is "okayed," it goes to the Investigations Department of the Security Branch — these two stations are literally miles apart — and the process may take a day or some months for this journey to take place. Apparently, what is needed is a "Stop List System", a blacklist of men who do not deserve a passport — and this list should be housed at the passport office, with probably an officer from the Special Branch in charge. When one considers the amount of delay involved in registering the movements of passports, one thinks the Stop List mechanism, and its easy availability within the precincts of the passport office, would help to eliminate some of the delays — as well as the suspicion of possible corruption — in the passport administration.

Letters

The Facts About Kaleidoscope

SIR—In a Notebook of the Legon Observer (Vol. V/5), a writer split his spleen in an effort to justify some impressions given in a Kaleidoscope programme which touched off a lot of public discussion. This article was headed "R.I.P.—Kaleidoscope". The article also cast insinuations on the Minister of Information, and put out some fallacious views.

I find it very difficult to see the point the writer tried to make when he said that the failure of the G.B.C. to give the panellists on the programme a chance "to vindicate their position" had a bearing on the relationship between the G.B.C. and the Information Ministry or the Government of the day. I am anxious to point out that the Minister of Information carried out a crucial responsibility when he corrected distortions of basic Government policies; and it was up to the G.B.C. to take appropriate action afterwards. Broadcasting is a profession, and the Minister of Information cannot be blamed for the failure of the G.B.C. to take the right action after he had done what any Minister of Information could be expected to do, if, in his opinion, misconceptions about Government policies were being preached.

Please give the Government a chance to govern, and allow organisations like the G.B.C. a chance to practise their profession.

D111/2, Jackson Street
Cape Coast

Kweku Ngyeduam

Libraries and Dancers

SIR — The attention of the Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana, has been drawn to an article entitled 'Libraries in Ghana's Schools and Training Colleges' by Professor L. H. Ofosu-Appiah, published in Vol. V No. 5 of the Legon Observer. In the course of this article the writer comments: "books have a lower cultural value than dancers in Ghana, the budget allowed to the Ghana Library Services for employing professional librarians is less than the money spent on dancers visiting the United States, Europe and Algeria!"

Professor Ofosu-Appiah is entitled to his own opinion on the relative value of the various media through which African culture can be expressed. However, lest your readers associate this Institute's Ghana Dance Ensemble with his remarks, it must be pointed out that neither when this institute decided to organise a tour of the United States and Europe following the 1968 Olympiad, nor in 1969, when performances were again arranged in the United States, was one pesewa of public funds expended. Nor did deficit accrue against this Institute's subvention. The tours abroad have, so far, been self financing.

Richard Greenfield

Institute of African Studies
University of Ghana
Legon

Ghanaian Culture Retrieved?

SIR—I do not think the professed success of an arts festival amounts to the retrieval of a lost culture, as Mr. Gyinayeh writes (L.O. IV/6). In fact, in the very

next letter on the same page, Mr. Osafo laments the neglect of this same culture, with no less an instance as a state dinner.

The question of the African's warped identity is too old and too grave to be solved on a theatrical stage. These festivals of African arts, these plays and these drummers and dancers — they do not retrieve our lost culture. They entertain us!

And beyond the entertainment, if we care to think about the cultural appeal, we find ourselves contemplating museum pieces. Our Arts and Culture people are doing a good job at reminding us of good old Africa. But now, there is no Africa, and if it were not for drumming and dancing, there would be no cultural fossils for our theatrical museum.

If true Africanness is something to be desired; if this government is determined "to enhance Ghana's culture", as Mr. Gyinayeh writes, we must preserve a living culture. The government can begin by making the study of Ghanaian languages and other cultural items compulsory in ALL schools.

c/o. P. O. Box 11
Legon

Ike Minta

Smuggling at the Borders

SIR — In spite of the numerous Border Guards the country possesses, we still hear of the continuing importation of contraband goods.

To be fair to our Border Guards, I suggest that they be paid adequately. The job is risky; they must be armed and well catered for. When contraband goods are found on the market, efforts should be made to trace the smuggler and give him a very severe punishment.

Possibly some of the people engaged in smuggling are rich already, and I suggest that mere fines cannot sufficiently deter them.

Achimota Village

F. C. Essandoh

University Appeal Funds

SIR — When the University of Science and Technology launched its appeal fund last year, an estimated target of NC6 million was envisaged — spreading over a period of five years. And during the fund's first anniversary dinner, the Ashanti Region Chief Executive, Mr. H. R. Annan pointed out that the donations to the fund had been slow and that only NC60,000.00 out of the expected NC1 million had so far been collected.

In his last Congregation address, the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Ghana, Dr. A. A. Kwapong announced that his University would soon launch a similar appeal fund.

Certainly if the University authorities would explain to Ghanaians the purposes for which these funds are meant, response to the appeal will be far greater.

Kokomlemle
Accra

E. Y. Frempong-Mensah

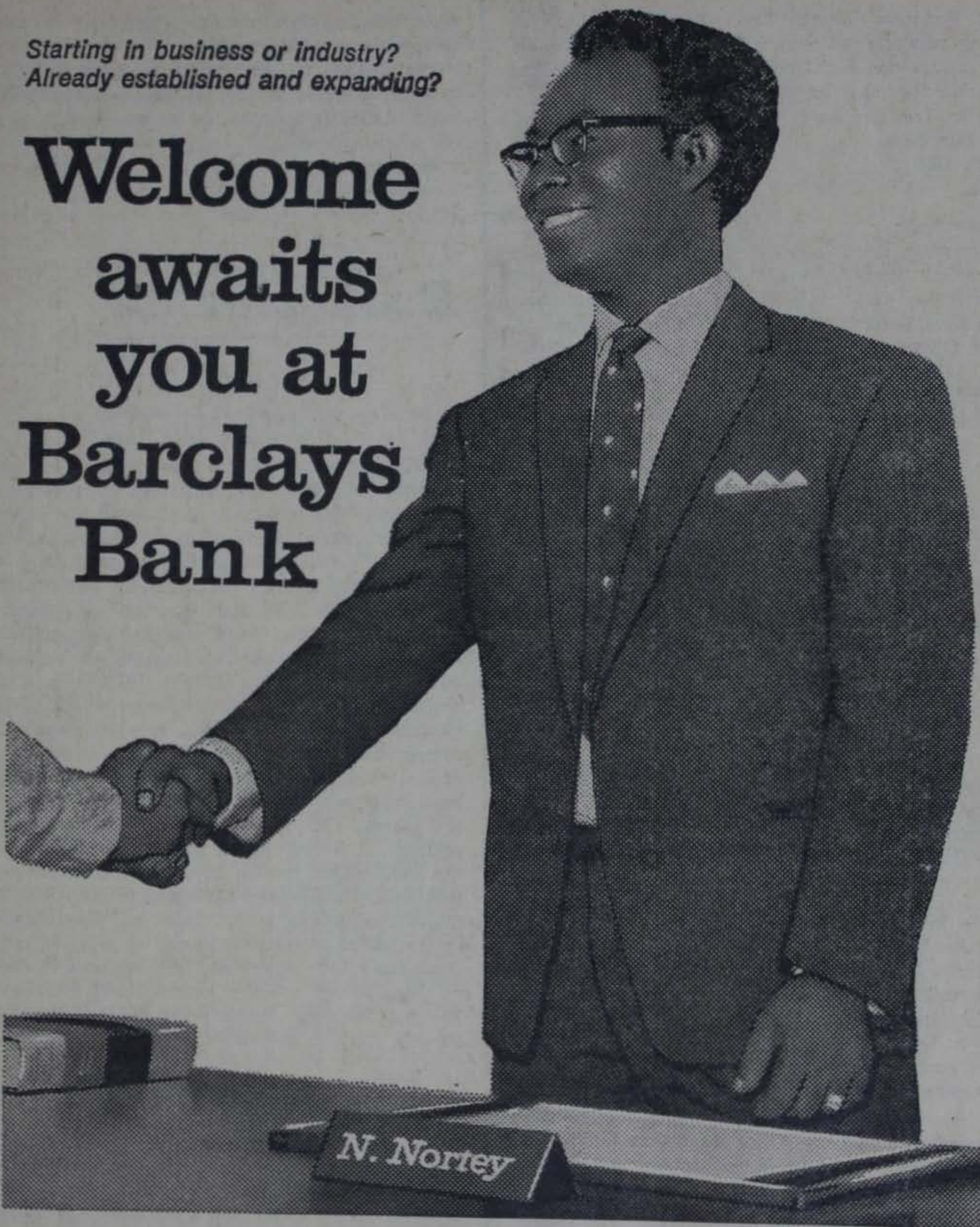
Where Is Kontopiaat?

SIR — I have noticed, with profound regret, from your latest editions (Vol. V Nos. 4, 5, & 6), the absence of contributions by the popular columnist, Kontopiaat. Is he out of the country on a diplomatic mission, as he stated in a veiled language in his usual jocular way in one of his latest writings?

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MR. EMMANUEL N. NORTEY is the Manager of the Kimberley Avenue branch of Barclays Bank, in Accra. In the course of his career with Barclays, extending over fifteen years, he has worked in many capacities and in nine different branches of the bank. Mr. Northey has three times been to the United Kingdom on training courses and holds the Institute of Bankers Associate Diploma which he gained in 1963 with distinction in the Law Relating to Banking. He was formerly Manager of Knutsford Avenue, Accra, branch. When Mr. Northey welcomes customers into his office they can be sure that they will get the soundest banking advice, backed by his wide experience, and all the services that Barclays can offer.

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BARCLAYS BANK

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he is? For some time past he has been able to keep the column regularly running. Surely, he can continue his "Kontopiaat exercise" from any part of the globe and alongside any other human endeavours.

Please, keep me warm with the Kontopiaat column.

Law Chambers

H. K. Akuffo

T.U.C. Hall

Accra

Editor's Note:

Ohenenana Kwadwo Kontopiaat is currently away on crucial "ambassadorial" commitments, which are apparently on full-time basis. His scouts in Kontopiaat-krom have, however, been sending him coded messages about Ghanaian society from the perspective of that great village. His analysis of these messages would arrive for publication fairly soon. It will be a big bang. Readers should watch out!

The Observer Standard

SIR — Your correspondent, A. K. Manteaw (L.O. V/5), argues that contributors to the *Observer*, "must lower the standard of their English", in order to reach wider readership. But my belief is that the standard of English in the *Observer* should not present any difficulties to the diligent and careful reader.

It seems to me that the "unsophisticated" reader will not for a moment hope to be able to tread his way through the complicated argument of J. E. Wiredu's (L.O. V/4) tribute to the late Bertrand Russell without some knowledge of "philosophical logic".

By all means, let *Legon Observer* maintain its serious critical standards, as a "highbrow" newspaper.

University College

Emmanuel Boateng

Cape Coast

SIR — In the *Legon Observer* (Vol. V/5), there was a letter headed "The Observer Language" by Mr. A. K. Manteaw. He feared the *Observer* is not commanding large readership because of the high standard of the English language by the contributors and urged if this could be lowered for the benefit of increased readership.

The appeal for lowering the standard of language in this reputed magazine is quite unnecessary.

At this time when there is a crying need to raise the standard of journalism of the Ghanaian Press, it will be wishful thinking if any attempt is made to lower the language in the *Observer*.

A "quality" paper has a high literary standard and the majority of its readership belong to the business, professional classes and high official policy-makers. According to the report of the Royal Commission on the British Press in 1962, "the significant difference between a quality and a popular newspaper is that while the quality publisher aims at serving those who want full information on a wide range of public matters and are prepared to devote time to reading it, the popular publisher aims his product at those who want their news presented in a more summary way and with more illustrations".

The *Observer* is one of the best "quality" magazines in West Africa and in spite of so-called meager readers its contribution to our national affairs is unequalled. Although the Editor has noted Mr. Manteaw's suggestion, I hope he will not sacrifice its unique journa-

listic tradition for mere popularity; surely we need more of such serious papers.

The London "Times" which was founded in 1788 has still maintained its established reputation as "the voice of Britain" because of its considerable influence on political thought.

P. O. Box 2118

S. Quay Adibi

Accra

Book Review

VILLAGE IN UHURU

(By Gabriel Ruhumbika)

Reviewed by Jawa Apronti

MOST independent African countries have had at least a decade to manage or mismanage their own affairs. One result of this fact is that objective observers of the African scene have had to determine what portion of the blame for the things that go wrong can be justifiably assigned to the colonial powers. African creative writers have likewise dealt in imaginative terms with the colonial period, with the post-independence era as well as with the transition from the one to the other.

Village In Uhuru by Gabriel Ruhumbika, a young Tanzanian research student in Drama at the Sorbonne, belongs to the third category. It is an attempt at an imaginative exploration of what the transition from dependent to independent status should mean to the man in the street. In particular, it traces the effect of the Ujamaa village experiment on a typical Tanzania community, having regard to the generation conflict, the acculturation process and other factors. In conception, this is a commendable effort; in execution, Ruhumbika manages to present quite an objective picture of the efforts one country is making to make independence cause truly meaningful improvements in the lives of the common people. Certain details are, however, less than skilfully handled, for instance the conflict between the hero Balinde M. Musilanga and his father.

Fire-breathing Magicians

The angle of the novel itself is refreshingly simple. The world is seen from the viewpoint of the village people whose fortunes are the concern of this novelist. The first chapter opens with a down-to-earth cosmology

The Wantus divided this planet into two worlds: they called their country the World... and the rest of the planet, both what they imagined and the bit they knew, 'the other world'.

The Berlin Congress that balkanized Africa is similarly treated:

One day some fire-breathing magicians thousands of miles away made lines through the map of Africa and the old continent obeyed them and its savannahs and forests and mountains and waters and deserts decided to belong either to Kenya or to Congo or to Tanganyika...

Having set the sights of the novel this way, the author proceeds to delineate the dynamics of traditional society in Wantu, pointing out in particular the predominant, near-sacred and central position of the *mtemi*.

chief. He is a figure at the crossroads of social and institutional change. He leaves his people to attend Nyerere University and when independence comes he is one of the first to be sent out as an ambassador.

For his own people find the adjustment hard to make. One example of this is Balinde's father, Musilanga. His son has been caught in the flood of change. After his elementary school course, he enters a Training College but is unfortunately caught having an affair with a girl in a mission school, so he is dismissed. He goes on the difficult journey to Dar es Salaam and secures employment. Then comes Nyerere's nationalist movement. Balinde finds a natural place in this and soon is sent to his home area of Chamambo as the Party's representative and the agent of Socialist change.

This Ujamaa exercise is aimed at transforming isolated rural communities into viable experimental agricultural settlements, properly housed and equipped for maximum productivity. The conflict between the forces of stability and those of change are here polarized between Balinde and his father. The latter is traditionalist. He does not see why he should move from his ancestral home. Furthermore a rift on a personal level had developed between himself and his son. The logic of the novel makes this inevitable. For one of the first things done after independence was to democratize society. Even the village headmen, of which Musilanga is one, have to be elected. The loss of this post worries Balinde, a cause of greater chagrin to him is the whittling away of the traditional authority of the *mtemi*.

Defending Traditions

The conflict comes to a head when Musilanga refuses to perform the customary role of a father in the matter of Balinde's acquisition of a wife. And then when the township is ready and on the orders of Balinde, the TANU boss, the inhabitants of the area all move out of their traditional abodes, Musilanga, the last defender of the ways of his ancestors, refuses to move. The imminent arrival of a Cabinet Minister prompts Balinde to find ways and means of coaxing his father into complying with the government order.

The old man is broken at last. The traditions he is asked to defend here are shown in the context of the old to be outmoded. Even the *mtemi* has advised Balinde not to try to stand against the tide.

Balinde is invested with heroic stature by the ill-earned bad reputation he acquires in his area. His most disinterested actions are misinterpreted, with the result that he goes through considerable mental anguish. His imagination gets stretched a few times through the theatricality of some incidents. In Balinde's rift with his father, one finds it hard to appreciate the old man's utter refusal to talk to his son. Is it not part of traditional custom to give a hearing to one's son, however wayward he may have been? And what excuse is there for a father to refuse to listen to an estranged son when the latter takes the trouble to take shelter behind respectable intermediaries?

But the theme of the novel itself is the way in which independence is explained to the population, and the efforts being made to transform Tanzanian society in a way as to improve the lot of the common man. The socialist doctrine of TANU finds a natural place in this setting. Tanzania has chosen the socialist

and self-reliant path to development. Gabriel Ruhumbika's analysis of this effort is worthy of the attention of all those who have a concern for the soul and progress of Africa.

On Womanhood

WOMEN AND THE NATION

By

Christiana O. Kissiedu

I AM VERY grateful for this opportunity to present the Ghanaian Association of University Women, and what it stands for, to the interested public.

The Association was started in 1965 as an alumni of old students of Volta Hall, University of Ghana, a kind of an "old girls Association" which was also to include those women who left the University before Volta Hall was built in 1959/60. Initially, therefore, membership was restricted. This fact could stand only so long as Volta Hall continued to be the only Hall of Residence for Women in the University. When Mensah Sarbah Hall started to accommodate women students, it was felt that the time had come to revise the Association's Constitution in order to make the membership qualification clause applicable to every woman who has passed through the University of Ghana. Soon after this decision was taken we realized that the ideal would be to include all University women in the country both Ghanaian and foreign, regardless of what Universities they had attended, whether local or abroad. Thus in 1967, the Ghanaian Association of University Women in its present form, was born.

Invaluable Service

The need for such an association was born out of the urge of fellow-feeling among women with University education in the country, and out of the conviction that as a group, women can render invaluable service to the nation. The aims of the Association, are, inter alia, to help raise the educational standard of Ghanaian women in particular, and the entire populace in general. I need not labour on the oft-repeated maxim which says "educate a woman and you educate a whole nation". This we would do by learning from their successes and achievements.

Toward this end, the Association sought and obtained Associate Membership of the International Federation of University Women based in London. We would also make use of avail-

able local resources to further our aims. Members are generally agreed that the special opportunity we have been privileged to have does not only give us a peculiar advantage, but it also places on us the special responsibility of helping to raise the lot of our womenfolk. We think that, more than any other women's group we have the resources, both human and otherwise, to realise this aim.

Membership of the association is open to every woman who has had "University education". I put the last phrase in quotes because it is an important qualification and I hope the reader who will exercise enough patience to read this article through will get rid of a good deal of misunderstanding and unfounded criticism that has been levelled against the Association. "University education" is not synonymous with a degree. Thus, a woman who has had university education need not have obtained a degree or a certificate. The mere pursuit of a course of studies in an approved University, say for two or three years, qualifies a person to be a member. The need is to tap the resources of women who have passed through the peculiar institution called a University.

Associate Membership

The only difference the absence of a certificate makes is that such a member's privileges and rights may not be absolute. But in most Associations what we call associate membership is well-known, and this is exactly the position of this category of members. I hope the reader will agree with me that this state of affairs is a far cry from the unfortunate idea of our critics that the Association is a 'snobbish' one comprising only graduate women. The operative word here is "graduate", but after reading this I hope the readers will be satisfied that the Association has been misrepresented.

Be this as it may, our critics have been successful to a very considerable extent in discrediting the Association in the eyes of would-be members. Many a time have I asked people why they have not joined or why they have stopped attending meetings only to be told "but people say we are snobbish". This clearly is a sad state of affairs. It belies all we hear about maturity of judgment etc. that is attributed to the highly educated. If we are convinced of the nobility of our aims, such loose talk should not dampen our enthusiasm.

In spite of the unfavourable conditions, the Association is trying very hard to justify its existence. In March 1969, we organized a "Career Day" Conference for secondary form 3 and 4 students in Accra/Tema and Aburi. The conference was organized on the basis of information amassed by the Association on careers and job openings available for girl secondary school leavers. Very often girls leave school knowing next to nothing of prospects for further study and job openings available to them. It is to make it easier for them to find their feet in an uncertain world that this conference was organized. The data was made available in pamphlet form and complimentary copies were given to the schools which were able to attend. The pamphlets were put out for sale at 20np. each. We intend to make the conference an annual affair and to make the data up-to-date before every conference.

A Symposium

The Association's second major activity was a symposium on 'Treatment of Widows and Orphans in Ghanaian Societies' which took place at the Accra Community Centre on March 13th, 1970. In the chair was Mr. Justice Nii Amaa Ollennu, and subject experts both men and women, in sociology, law, and insurance, were invited to speak on the topic. We intend to publish the proceedings of the symposium soon.

Another criticism that we have had to face is not so damaging, in so far as it has been associated with every women's group that has been established in our society; this is the charge of being another "gossip group". People have wondered what special benefits we are going to bestow on members of our sex or the nation, and questions like 'haven't you got enough groups to exhaust your gossip in?' have been asked. I would like to assure all readers that the GAUW has a nobler and loftier aim than gossip-mongering. Our aim is not to meet and gossip about our menfolk as many of them seem to think. Of course we do that, but in our small groups of a few friends. We certainly thrive on it!! But the GAUW as a body with high-powered membership has a nobler aim than this. The emphasis now is on service or progress. Give the women a chance to be of service to our nation.

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