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EDITORIAL

HAPPY NEW DECADE FOR GHANA AND AFRICA?

AN English writer and novelist, Anthony Hartley, making a plea recently for the developing world, before an international association for intellectual and cultural freedom, stated that it seemed "fairly clear that during the Seventies political instability in Asia and Africa is liable to increase ..." Earlier, he had mentioned the urgency with which, in the Fifties, the future of the underdeveloped countries had been contemplated and planned for, but how in the late Sixties this movement could be seen to have lost much of its challenge, while the urgency and human poignancy of the cause itself had remained unabated. Yesterday, the 1st of January, the new decade of Anthony Hartley's concern opened in dead earnest. It is inevitable that we should here and now speculate on its problems and promises, at least for Africa in general and Ghana in particular.

At the beginning of the 60s, and in the face of the volatility and dynamism of the opening year itself, 1960, it was easy to be optimistic and to anticipate a decade of development for Africa, considered as a part of the Third World. U Thant and others confidently thought that an economic growth rate of four or five percent per annum was both desirable and possible for the poor countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America; at any rate this was in fact made the target of planning. A little more than halfway through the "development decade," however, a U.N. survey showed that the average growth rate actually achieved in the "third" world to that date was only 1%; and taking general and obvious circumstances into consideration this picture of "growth" just had to be described, instead, as actually a regression. Since then—three or four years ago—the position of most of the poor countries has not improved; on the contrary, in some cases it has actually deteriorated, at least in certain respects. Ghana, for instance, in her capital resources, external debts, and employment position, is an example of such deterioration in economic terms.

Elsewhere in black Africa the struggle for political stability and economic viability continued, but anxieties regarding trends and the efforts made towards amelioration or improvement could hardly be described as availing. Here and there a glimmer of hope did appear, like the promise of gradual economic recovery in tiny Sierra Leone, or some new moves made among O.C.A.M. and O.A.U. members towards regional advantage. Against these very minor gains, unfortunately, could be ranged a formidable array of major losses. The **Nigeria-Biafra war came only fitfully near to the beginnings of various efforts towards the search for a formula**

of negotiable peace—this sentence itself being deliberately constructed in this way to indicate the essential nothingness of anything attempted so far to bring the war to an end. In Kenya, party political opposition was formally—and finally?—abrogated, while in Uganda the tragic end of King Mutesa II in London only compounded President Milton Obote's scarifying dilemmas and eventually sent him into hospital at the end of an almost predictable assassin's gun barrel. South Africa continued in her brutal, contemptuous, unhindered ways with her black and "coloured" populations; Rhodesia pressed on with her final arrangements to put paid to her defiance of world opinion and to the truth of British political hypocrisy and double-dealing; and Portugal continued in Angola to demonstrate her brutishness and her contemporary incapacities.

Nor was that all, even on the political front alone. For in Dahomey the coup game was renewed—or did it ever stop? — as Dr. Zinsou, only a year in office, was somewhat hurriedly though almost politely made to join a couple of previous Presidents of Dahomey now in exile (thus making them, surely, one of the most exclusive clubs in the world!). In the economic sector of internal and external life, conditions continued to be even rougher for Africa. Development capital was just as scarce, or as inadequate, as ever: the much-talked about and devoutly wished-for 1% of gross national income which the developed nations could give in assistance has just never materialised and will probably never do so. Zambia's copper economy was keeping President Kenneth Kaunda a harried peripatetic, and also progressively indiscreet, especially in Ghanaian affairs. And were the cocoa growers substantially better off in actual income as well as in future expectations? Did Africa's fabulously rich goldfields benefit **Africans** during this period? . . . .

The facts stated above and the unspoken answers to the last couple of questions all give point to the diminution of the previous importance, the urgency, of Africa's case during the second half of the last decade. Partly political and partly economic, partly internal and partly external, the causes of Africa's parlous condition are definable and identifiable. **And, marvellous to relate, little Ghana is one of these sources and causes of our own trouble.** We were a promise, and then we became a failure, for countless millions of Blacks all over the world; when we failed, the magnitude of the disaster revealed the magnitude of the promise as it had been. But now again we face new prospects; we are back to the tests. Let us see how we stand.

In James Moxon's new book called **Volta: Man's Greatest Lake** (to be reviewed shortly in our columns), we are again reminded, both by the author and by Sir Robert Jackson, onetime Chairman of the Volta River Authority, that the Ghana economic potential is still immense. Mr. Moxon writes, inter alia, about our gold deposits and of "the world's richest gold mine in the Ashanti Goldfields operation at Obuasi", while Sir Robert recalls in his Foreword the many economic promises the Volta River project was created to fructify and still can. In many of the pages following this editorial, several independent writers turn our attention also to the potential of the new Busia administration, as assessed or assessable from the First 100 Days of his regime.

The reviews and speculations, though highly critical at many places, should give no cause for pessimism, skepticism or alarm. But they should raise a certain amount of questioning anxiety, because they push up some elements which can be taken as warning signals, like road signs on a long route towards a far destination. At the beginning of another decade of potential destiny for Ghana, for Africa and the Third World, we cannot afford the luxury of mere sentimentality, pious and foolish hopes, banal expressions on empty wishes and, least of all, sycophancy. At the opening of the 1970s we must face ourselves, in Ghana and in Africa, with toughness and realism. Only thus can we force ourselves to make supreme efforts. Only thus can we ensure greater success for ourselves than we enjoyed in the Sixties.

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Africa

"WE HAVE NO ALTERNATIVE"

By
Dr. A. Oye Cukwurah
(Lecturer in Law, University of Biafra)

THE Nigeria/Biafra war has now lasted for more than two years. There is no indication at the moment that it will stop in the near future, since the imperialist masters of Nigeria *will* continue to aid and abet the genocidal war. This article is meant to furnish the facts of the situation.

As our nearest neighbours, Ghanaians are of course aware of the political, social, economic and cultural background to this conflict. The remote causes of this terrible war can be found in the amorphous entity known as Nigeria, an artificial British colonial creation brought about by the amalgamation, in 1914, of two incompatibles: the North and the South. As early as 1920 a British Governor, Sir Hugh Clifford, had warned that any attempt to weld into one single homogenous nation "this collection of self-contained and mutually independent native states separated from one another by differences of history and tradition and by ethnological, racial, tribal, political, social and religious barriers" was doomed to failure.

Fundamental Difference

The differences between the peoples of Biafra and Nigeria, especially those from the North, are too well known to be mentioned here. Whereas Biafrans are noted for their permeability by change, new ideas and modernisation, Nigerians, especially the Hausa/Fulani, are imbued with a strange fatalism in their attitude to life. This fundamental difference made Biafrans the object of hatred, envy and persecution by their so-called fellow citizens in the now defunct federation of Nigeria.

In 1945, people of Biafra—then Eastern Nigeria—were persecuted and massacred at Jos in Northern Nigeria. This was repeated at Kano in 1953. And between May and October, 1966, the pogroms reached a culmination point with the massacre of over 30,000 people of Biafra origin. Over two million others fled back home from all parts of the defunct federation of Nigeria, destitute and estranged. It was these pogroms of 1966 which ripped open the old wounds and convinced our people finally that we are no longer regarded by Nigerians as part of Nigeria.

Nevertheless, we did not then break away. Instead, we helped in the search for peace and unity in Nigeria. Our Head of State, General Ojukwu, attended the Aburi Meeting in Ghana on 4th and 5th January, 1967. The delegates agreed among other things "that the use of force as a means of settling the problems confronting the country was renounced"; they also agreed on the decentralisation of the government, the creation of Area Commands corresponding to the then existing Regions over which the Military Governors should have control for internal security. It was also agreed that the salaries of displaced civil servants and Corporation staff of the then Eastern Nigerian origin should be paid by the Federal Government until March, 1967. If the Aburi Accord had been fully implemented the disintegration of the now defunct Federation of Nigeria might have been avoided.

Aburi Accord Nullified

However, after the meeting, Gowon circumvented and abrogated these decisions on the advice of the British representatives in Lagos, who noticed that the decisions did not give Northern Nigerians the authority to dominate Nigeria for ever. So Gowon nullified the whole Aburi Accord by assuming the power to declare a state of emergency in any Region. He imposed a blockade on Biafra, and proceeded to split up Biafra into three states. This was a glaring act of bad faith. Consequently, on May 30, 1967, our people were forced to found the independent Republic of Biafra; for it was clear that we were no longer required in Nigeria, and our lives and property could not be guaranteed in any part of it.

Biafrans did not declare their independence merely as an injured people after the 1966 pogroms, but also because of Nigeria's bad faith and intransigence, her lack of remorse as well as her inability and unwillingness to provide fundamental human rights to a stigmatized, proscribed and persecuted people. Of course no democratic government has the right to single out for destruction a group of its citizens, without, at the same time, threatening its own very existence. A people who have been victims of these acts of omission and commission, as the Biafrans were in the course of 1966 and 1967, should have a right to independence. The non-protecting state has the obligation to concede it.

Gowon's only reply to this act of self-determination was to declare a genocidal war against us. This was on 6th July, 1967 — 30 months ago. Nigeria's conduct of this war will convince any impartial observer that her only aim is to exterminate Biafrans or considerably reduce their number and exploit their wealth, and not to maintain her

territorial integrity.

Only last June, Chief Obafemi Awolowo, Commissioner for Finance and Vice-Chairman of the Federal Executive Council called Biafrans "enemies" of Nigeria and openly admitted before world journalists that Nigerians are using starvation as a legitimate weapon of warfare against them. This explains Nigeria's obstructionist policy on the issue of relief for the civilian victims of this cruel and unnecessary war.

In the light of these facts it is hard to see how Gowon can be fighting for Nigerian unity. If Nigeria has planned to starve the whole Biafran nation to death, if necessary; if starvation is officially declared a means to bring the blockaded and injured people to their knees, then there is no doubt that the truth is gradually coming out; that genocide, not unity, is Nigeria's aim. This conviction is at the root of our determination to resist the Nigerian aggression until Nigeria and her foreign collaborators—Britain, the Soviet Union, Egypt and Algeria—realise the futility of their mad ambition to deny the 14 million people of Biafra their right to self-determination.

African Indifference

What shocks us here in Biafra is the inexplicable indifference of Africans, especially African intellectuals, to this genocidal war. We here do well appreciate the fundamental good nature of most Africans. But we also know that the imperialist powers, especially Britain, who under-rate the intelligence and integrity of Africans, have been endeavouring to confuse the issue with false theories of the "necessity of the Nigerian Federation" to Africa, and the possible "balkanization" of other African countries if Biafran is allowed to exist as an independent nation. But the fact of the matter is simple and clear. Nigeria has never been a nation, not even after the quasi-independence of October 1, 1960. It has been made up of people who are as different in their cultures as in their political and economic attitudes and development.

As for the threat of the "balkanization" of other African countries, this is another devilish weapon employed by the neo-colonialists to sustain their economic interets in Africa. At this juncture, I would ask that we note some points clearly: Biafra did not break away from Nigeria; she was forced out. Biafra's case is different from that of Katanga: Tshombe's Katanga was created, planned and financed by the huge foreign mining combines of that province; "but Biafra's revolution is an indigenous expression of African self-determination" (General Ojukwu's Addis Ababa Address, 5th August, 1968).

Notwithstanding, however, the imperialists' military, diplomatic and other aids to Nigeria to foster her genocidal war against us and despite the indifference of brother-Africans to the war, we Biafrans are determined to continue the war until Nigeria decides to call it off. This has to be so because we have no alternative. Biafra is the only home in which the safety of the lives and property of Biafrans can be guaranteed. It is simply reasonable, therefore, that we must continue to defend our fatherland Biafra till Nigeria and her collaborators are compelled to leave us alone in our own home. For when a people is socially hated and politically rejected, its salvation lies in a separate existence.

It is remarkable, nonetheless, that though we are determined to continue fighting for our legitimate right to self-determination, we have also been making sincere efforts to help bring about peace. Peace can come by war or by discussion. We in Biafra have rejected the first because we are convinced that this conflict cannot be settled militarily. We are committed to peace through peaceful means.

Our stand on how to resolve the conflict is rational and objective. It is this: a cease-fire or truce, followed by meaningful negotiations, without preconditions, on the nature of future association between the people of Biafra and Nigeria. We have also suggested the traditional African method of settling disputes, and that is, that a mediating group made of Nigeria's and Biafra's friends be allowed to resolve the conflict. But it is sad to observe that, as in other matters involved in the conflict, the imperialist masters of Nigeria would not allow Africans to have an independent say, nor would they allow peace to be genuinely sought.

BACKGROUND TO UGANDA'S POLITICS

by

E. Ofori Akyea

THE tourist brochures speak of Uganda as "the holiday of a lifetime" with "the mildest of climates". But the politics of this East African country is anything but mild or even smooth. Milton Obote has been placed in a position of destroying deeply entrenched "kingdoms" in order to build a nation. In this role he has had to be some kind of a juggler who always faces the problem of performing a difficult and thankless, though much admired, act.

It is proposed to tell the story of Uganda from

its independence in 1962, and, in the process, to explain the assassination attempt on President Obote's life in Kampala on 19th December, 1969.

The story of Uganda revolves around the "kingdoms" which form the component parts of this state and which generate most of the heat in that country. The protectorate of Uganda gained its independence from Britain in October, 1962. It had been a British protectorate for over 60 years. The British colonialist administration had relied on the organised kingdoms of the country to rule.

The arrangement was in consonance with the "indirect rule" theory which had been developed in Northern Nigeria by Lord Lugard and which was the sine qua non of British colonial policy.

These kingdoms were Buganda, Toro, Nyoro, and Nkole. Although they did not by any means exhaust the entire 6¼ million inhabitants of Uganda, they nevertheless formed the bulk of the population.

The Baganda have been the dominant group in the government of the country since the end of the 18th century when they replaced the Bayoro. The King of the Baganda, the Kabaka, became to all intents and purposes a sovereign who did not necessarily owe any allegiance to any one, but to himself. Besides, the Baganda started acquiring British education long ago. As early as 1890 some of them were already studying in Oxford and other Universities, and so acquired British influences and friends who became important factors in later Ugandan politics.

Obote's Entry

The Baganda and other groups were traditionalists who would not give up any of their rights to the central government. This led to a protracted set of negotiations for independence in which Milton Obote took part.

He had returned from Kenya (in 1957) where he had been working for many years after leaving Makerere College, where he studied Arts. In Kenya he was salesman for the Standard Vacuum Oil Company Limited, and so saw, at close quarters, the Kenyan emergency and the Mau Mau. He comes from Mavuzi County in the Lango district of the Northern Province of Uganda. His many years' stay in Kenya taught him about the ways of the white settlers and the way they played out the Kenyan political game.

When he returned to Uganda, the country was in ferment. New land tenure regulations had been made, and there was serious rioting against this measure. He replaced the leader of the Uganda National Congress, Lango branch, who was then under sedition and libel charges.

In the December of the same year the Lango District Council chose Milton Obote to represent Lango in the Uganda Legislature. When he won the elections in 1958 he started showing his mettle. Oginga and his associates had formed a Kenyan African Elected Members Organization in the Kenyan Legislature. Obote quickly formed the African Elected Members' Organization in Uganda.

He steadily became popular and important in the party machine and in the country. Then, in 1959, a split occurred between him and the Uganda National Congress Chairman Joseph Kiwanuka who took one faction with him, whilst the rest remained with Obote. There was another party, the Ugandan People's Union. Obote entered into an agreement, and later merged his party, with the Union to form the Uganda People's Congress of which he has since been the President.

Grappling with the Kingdoms

The stage was now set for the struggle with the kingdoms, since each of them wanted to give as little as possible away to the central government, but to expect the maximum returns from any arrangement.

The Kabaka had been exiled from 1953 to 1959, partly for refusing to co-operate in programmes for democratic reform. A condition of his restoration had been "co-operation". Yet, in the first ever General Elections of 1961, Buganda boycotted the elections. They were, in fact, clamouring for immediate independence as a separate state. It must be borne in mind that the Lukiko still has fanatical traditionalists in its ranks who have constantly proved to be a fifth column to any national crusade.

However, Kiwanuka succeeded in preventing a total Baganda boycott, thus making an implacable foe of the powerful traditionalists of Buganda. An alliance between the Kabaka Yekka and the radical United People's Congress swept Obote into power just about a year later.

It was at this stage that Obote began his political acrobatics in making the central government the government of the country, instead of the kingdoms. He invited four members of the Kabaka Yekka into the Cabinet. These included Amos K. Sempa, the influencial Bugandan, who became the Minister of Finance. There were also one Asian and one European in the Cabinet.

This policy of appeasement failed because there

opinion that a brush-up examination is a good tonic: examinations test not only intelligence, but also courage and endurance. Thus, the more the examinations, the better one becomes routinized to and better prepared for, higher examinations. Is it too much, then, for a university to ask students to take examinations? What excuse has a student, who has spent seven of a nine-term degree period, for saying that he is not prepared to be tested on **what he has studied so far?**

But there is more to the conflict than a mere refusal to take the examinations. The students are objecting to an item in the decision of the University Council, that those who fail the examination will be presented as 'private' students. But if these people fail, shall the university college really escape blame?

At this stage the University College of Cape Coast is not well known for enviable examination successes. This is likely to continue for a while, until the recruitment system to the student body — and to that of the teaching staff — has been well rationalized. This is not peculiar to Cape Coast. It is the case with any new university which is operating in the atmosphere of a well structured and highly developed system.

Shouldn't the university authorities have been prepared, at least, to listen to what grievances the students had, instead of merely sending them down? Unless students become rude and uncontrollable, the idea of sending them home should be a weapon which should be used sparingly.

ADVERTISE

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Politics

BUSIA'S STYLE OF ADMINISTRATION

by

Fifi Hesse

THERE are several reasons why any government headed by Dr. K. A. Busia should expect to be very critically appraised by intelligent people both inside and outside Ghana. Busia's intellectual stature certainly makes him as close an approximation to the philosopher-king as any country could have. Thus, those "men of the world" who do not believe that philosophers should be kings would wish to see how far Kant's dictum, that "the possession of power inevitably corrupts the untrammeled judgement of reason", would be borne out in this case.

Then, again, Dr. Busia enters into the exercise of political power after fifteen years as the leading critic of the government. One heard it frequently remarked in the pre-election days that Busia lacked the political "savoirfaire" of a Gbedemah. Such comparisons contained an unstated political bias. It however did not invalidate the assumption that the leader of the opposition may not necessarily be a good leader of government. But undoubtedly the most important reason for critical reserve lay precisely in the nature of Dr. Busia's accession to power.

Saved Forever?

In his book, *The African Predicament*, Stanislav Andreski, a Polish emigre now Professor of Sociology at Reading University, in Britain, described the ruling class in most African states in the mid-1960s as a *Kleptocracy*. This judgement is no doubt applicable in the main to the government of the C.P.P. up to its overthrow. Corruption was very high on the list of factors which justified the coup. And the military-cum-police interregnum, at least in the early stages, appeared as the advocate of puritanical reform in government. That subsequent events made small dents in this armour did not detract from the fact that in the popular imagination the country had been saved from corrupt government and forever. The promise of good, clean government was the most important rallying cry in Busia's pre-election campaign. And the explanation for the size of his electoral victory, after we have exhausted all the ethnic and other factors, lies in the fact that he appeared as the very antithesis of Nkrumah. How have these attributes helped the Prime Minister

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in his task of ruling?

The make-up of Dr. Busia's cabinet provided the first opportunity for assessing the type of government he would head. The cabinet, when its composition was announced, contained few surprises. It astutely rewarded the loyalty of the Prime Minister's old friends, and at the same time gave prominence to the Party's youthful public image. The Prime Minister's assignment of portfolios was intriguing, in the sense that it left Busia the undisputed leader. Apart from appointments like those of Finance and Trade, which went to recognised experts, most of the others seemed to have been made precisely with the object of ensuring the paramountcy of the Prime Minister.

Little Fear of Revolt

Mr. Victor Owusu was hamstrung by being placed in External Affairs — a post which he had scornfully rejected under the N.L.C.—and the youthful but as yet politically unestablished Adade was made Attorney-General. The two sensitive posts of Interior and Defence went to the most loyal and predictable members of the old U.P. The large number of ministerial secretaries was necessitated by the very size of Busia's parliamentary majority and the need to provide political experience for the Progress Party's "whizz-kids", such as Jones Ofori Atta, John Fynn, C. O. Nyanor, H. W. Kofi Sackey, and Kwaku Baah. In theory, the assignment of two Junior Ministers to one Ministry should reduce the work load of ministers. In practice it could generate conflicts of loyalty which, by usefully siphoning off youthful political energies, could prevent the making of possible mavericks. If the cabinet is not uniformly god-fearing, this is of less importance than the fact that, politically it is so balanced as to ensure strict adherence to party policies. In the foreseeable future, therefore, the Prime Minister can keep the political direction of the party in his hands without any fear of an internal revolt.

Yet the success of the government rests on its ability to preserve a united front over controversial issues. In three months in office, there have been a few such controversial issues which have all fizzled out soon afterwards. Some of these issues, such as the foreign debts and the aliens' problems, were clearly forced on the government. Others, as in the use of the storm over South Africa, seem to have been needlessly precipitated by the Prime Minister himself. Since other contributors to this issue are dealing with specific aspects of some of these subjects, we shall limit our treatment here to an examination of the political handling of the problems.

In this respect we have to bear in mind the importance of "timing" and of "public relations" in dealing with controversial political problems. Most public discussions of our external debts have focused attention on whether or not Ghana should repudiate some of these debts or accept to repay all on reasonable terms. The Prime Minister has preserved an attitude of sweet reasonableness on this matter which has exasperated some Ghanaians. (See Kwame Arhin's article "Why Should We Let Sleeping Dog Lie", **Legon Observer,** IV/23)

Just as public clamour for a review was reaching its pitch of intensity (which I put at about the first week of November), the Prime Minister came out with his "Let us be reasonable with South Africa" appeal. That intellectual "tour de force" on behalf of apartheid left several of us dumbfounded. The subsequent clarification by the Minister of External Affairs, and later re-statement of the Prime Minister's own position, barely disguised the fact that the Prime Minister had deliberately thrown a lamb to the wolves who were criticising him. Ghana's policy towards South Africa replaced our foreign debts as the major talking point. But if the issue seems to have eased the pressure in one respect, the question which kept on nagging was: Why should the Prime Minister stake his political reputation on the defence of a soft-line policy towards South Africa at precisely this moment?

Flying a Kite

It is probably true that to the Prime Minister the matter did not appear at all in this light. Officially, there has been no change in Ghana's policy towards South Africa, and all regulations are being enforced, including the one requiring South African nationals who wish to enter Ghana to sign an anti-apartheid declaration. The clue to the whole episode was revealed by the Minister of External Affairs when he said in an aside at his 10th November 1969 press conference that the Prime Minister was "thinking aloud" when he made his reported remarks. But the Prime Minister repeated the same argument in his address to the National Assembly, when he said that his object was to stimulate fresh thinking on the problem. Thus the P.M. was flying a political kite, in the certain knowledge that a few swallows would be attracted to its tail. But in

that case the Prime Minister left himself virtually no room at all for manoeuvre once his kite ran into a political storm.

It is probably correct to say that the statement to Parliament did not carry sufficient conviction among back-bench M.P.'s, for it is a fact that the only occasions when the speech provided inspiration for them were whenever the P.M. mentioned the word "progress" or "progressive"! That the speech did some harm to Ghana's image cannot be doubted, and the effort by Radio Ghana in the weeks following, to mention Ghana's support (and sponsorship) of blatantly anti-apartheid and anti-colonial resolutions at the U.N., was obviously meant to show that we have not moved perceptibly to the right. The episode established the Prime Minister's reputation for moderation. In foreign policy he would eschew the adventurism characteristic of the Nkrumah era. But beyond that one can only say that his judgment, namely that we can meaningfully talk to South Africa and influence her policies, remains at best an unvalidated assertion.

Logistically Unprepared

But if the government had up to this time appeared to be cautious and circumspect, the issue of the aliens completely changed the picture. No one questioned the right of the government to enforce the regulations on aliens' residence in the country, especially in the light of the very difficult prevailing economic circumstances. Yet when the government acted swiftly and with determination on December 2, to enforce its decision, most Ghanaians were appalled by the ensuing suffering. A government which had prided itself on its sense of humane feeling was accused, not of callousness, but of failing to anticipate the effects of its decisions.

Rather belately the Prime Minister admitted with genuine regret that the ambiguity of the government's statement had frightened several aliens to leave precipitately, who might otherwise have qualified for residence permits. Yet one was entitled to ask whether a more carefully planned exercise in stages would not have achieved the same results. It was also questionable that the government did not anticipate the chaotic administrative, transportation, health and other problems which the panic flight would entail. Once the size of the problem was appreciated, however, the government acted swiftly and efficiently to provide relief and other facilities.

The measure was, however, immensely popular with the ordinary people, for which the P.M. was no doubt grateful, but it was the hapless Minister of Interior who had to bear the opprobrium. In any case, whether by accident or by design, the aliens' question has become the number-one political issue in the country, and it appears that, to most people, the solution of that problem is a necessary condition for the solution of all others. This view may be misguided, but the government certainly has given itself some breathing space while giving the people a convenient diversion.

These are, of course, the major issues which have made the political limelight, either because the government's hands were forced or because the Prime Minister felt sufficiently self-confident to throw them into the public arena of debate. There are other problems, however, on which one may say that the government's attitude is one of considerable reserve and reticence. One such issue is the problem of a civilian President to replace the troika-Presidential Commission. The matter became embarrassing as a result of the Chairman's inexplicable absence from the public scene. The Government was caught off balance by a spate of rumours. When the exact position was clarified the public was left with the strong impression that the publicity machinery had badly faltered.

Question of the Presidency

But that the Government was in difficulty over the fate of the Presidential Commission was once again made apparent by the fiasco of Mr. Robert Gardiner's shortlived appointment as Secretary to the Presidential Commission and the Council of State. The brief official announcement that Gardiner would after all remain at his E.C.A. post clearly signified the end of any further speculation as to when the P.M. would find it opportune to ask the National Assembly to dissolve the Commission. The timing thus remains locked up in the Prime Minister's mind, while, in the meantime, Mr. Harlley performed the "dignified functions" of government with considerable elan.

The Prime Minister, again, seems to be taking his time about coming to grips with other touchy subjects, such as re-vamping the public services and carrying to its logical end the series of investigations into corruption begun by the N.L.C. It would be strange indeed if the P.M. did not feel that some bold measures are called for, in order to prove his determination to end once and for all the administrative practices that characterised the bad old days of the C.P.P.

So far the impression created is that the

growth, a government may have to be very careful in the way it handles its foreign relations. It is in this context that Busia's administration faces a challenge in the traditional militant Ghana foreign policy. Unlike the country's position in 1957 when the economy was buoyant, the economy today is on the verge of collapse. Thus, a strong economy in 1957 certainly decided in favour of a bold and effective foreign policy. Surely a weak economy may also dictate a weak and ineffective foreign policy.

However, Busia's administration has made an initial impact in the field of foreign economic relations. The Prime Minister's recent visit to America, Britain and France has at least opened the way to meaningful economic relations with some of our creditor countries.

In sum, therefore, it is pertinent to admit that the hundred days of the Busia administration have achieved not very significant strides in foreign relations. The rigid enforcement of the Aliens' Act, and the further rescheduling of our debts are, however, significant impacts.

The future conduct of our foreign relations depends essentially on the man we put in charge of the External Affairs Ministry. Victor Owusu is certainly a capable man who understands the "very rules of the game". But whether he will be given a free hand to steer the affairs of the ministry depends on the nature of things — to which our foreign economic relations contribute a significant part.

THE FUTURE OF THE OPPOSITION

By

Kwame Afreh

No person likes being kicked out of power. Politics is about power, and politicians are power-seekers. Power is the object of their ambition. Once installed in power they would hang on to it as long as possible, even into their dotage, even if incompetence comes to be proved against them beyond doubt. They come to enjoy the power, the pomp and ceremony, the national comforts, the applause of the populace, the eulogies and deference of sycophants, the reverence and the awe they evoke, the feeling and the belief that they are making history, the hope that one day statues would be erected in their memory – for these and other reasons, politicians would often carry on when their contemporaries long retired from other jobs, and in spite of sleepless nights and ulcers, and the ever-present danger of the assassin's bullet or dagger. They may even become convinced that they are indispensable, that they are men of destiny, anointed by God to redeem their people.

Such are the men who usually win power in society. They may have talent and guts and ability, but on the whole politicians tend to have or to develop the attitudes described above. It would therefore be naive for anyone to think that in Ghana the attitude of the present government party to power could be basically different from that of any other party we can think of anywhere else—past, present or future. Their policies may not be the same as the C.P.P., but their determination to remain in power as long as possible will be similar. This is the first thing the Opposition must always remember. It is true of Wilson to Heath in Britain, the Republicans to the Democrats in the U.S. and of others.

Long Term Prospects

The Progress Party is in power and may remain in power for two, three or even four terms, for the simple reason that an incumbent government has several advantages over its opponents. It is never easy to defeat a party in power, even in more politically sophisticated societies. In our own lifetime we have seen President Roosevelt elected to four consecutive terms—1932, 1936, 1940, 1944—and after his death his less admired successor, Truman, won re-election in 1948 against all expectations. The Gaullists have been in power in France since 1958, the Italian Christian Democrats and the Japanese Liberal Democratic Party since the end of the Second World War, the Social Democrats in Sweden for over thirty years. The Christian Democrats were in power in Germany for twenty years, and the Conservatives had a 13-year stretch in the United Kingdom. These long tenures of office occurred in countries which are usually cited as models of democracy. Why can't a similar situation arise in Ghana, even in the best democratic conditions?

As we have remarked above, an incumbent government has several advantages over its opponents. It has immense patronage at its disposal. And in this country the extent of government patronage is immense indeed. It is staggering. Most of the best paid jobs in this country are public offices. Membership of boards of statutory corporations, and several appointments at all levels in the public sector fall directly or indirectly under government patronage. There is no reason to expect that the government would not

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PTC A MEMBER OF THE B.A.T. GROUP BAT

appoint only Progress Party supporters to these posts.

They have already filled the management committees of Local Councils with party supporters and this cannot fail to have a decisive effect on the outcome of the forthcoming local council elections. The dismissal of Mr. Hackman should serve as a warning to all persons holding important public offices that they should not try to be too independent. In addition to this the government is more or less in control of the major part of the communications media. Their policies and activities can be given maximum publicity, while those of the opposition receive only passing references.

Even before the election the Progress Party had created a formidable alliance of businessmen, chiefs and intellectuals. This alliance ensured that the Party always had at its disposal cash, local influence and brains—and this was one reason why it won so massively. The alliance is likely to be consolidated, if only because these groups now have vested interests in a going concern: the businessman who helped the Party with cash is not likely to be forgotten in the allocation of import licences, contracts, etc., nor will he or the chief or the Party intellectual be forgotten when membership of boards, delegations, diplomatic appointments, etc. are being considered.

Basis of Solid Support

The Progress Party has, like other parties, got the right priorities for economic development—agriculture, rural development, social welfare and health. Now 75% of the population are more concerned about these things than, say, with manufacturing and other industrial activities. If the government succeeds, even a little, in ameliorating conditions in the rural areas and in improving agriculture, it can hope to retain for several years to come the solid support it got in the rural areas, especially in the Akan and northern areas of Ghana. The Progress Party at present has the dominant ethnic group—the Akan—firmly behind it. It is also in firm control in Northern Ghana. If it can retain this support it can always be sure of 70 or more seats in any general election.

These are some of the realities of the situation the opposition parties must face. In their own interest the opposition parties must discard certain illusions they have about the Progress Party. There is a tendency on the part of several leading members of the opposition parties to underrate the Progress Party. To say that the Party is not properly organised (which is at this moment true) and that so long as it is led by intellectuals and men who always lost in the 1950s it can never become properly organised (which is not true); that the Party is a middle class party and that it is only a matter of time before the workers, peasants and other members of the **ebi nte yie** class will reject it; that sooner or later the Party will collapse, that it could not have won the election if it had not been helped by influential members of the last regime, and so on—this attitude is like Napoleon, in his island prison of St. Helena, describing and discussing in detail several mistakes committed by his conquerors on the battlefield at Waterloo. They had won, he had lost.

In spite of its weaknesses, the Progress Party won a massive majority. It must therefore have had a better organisation than the opposition parties, or reached more people or effectively exploited the weaknesses of their opponents, or because of all these reasons.

They Worked Harder

The fact is, during May-August, 1969, the Progress Party applied modern techniques of electioneering adapted to suit conditions in Ghana. While the leaders of the other parties were wasting time and quarrelling over leadership and party names, labels, symbols and colours, Dr. K. A. Busia and his closest supporters were recruiting some of the best men and minds in the country into the Progress Party. The Party had good, dedicated and hardworking agents and advancemen, who always prepared the ground before the big guns of the Party moved in. Throughout the campaign large numbers of students and lecturers (mostly persons who have specialised in the social sciences) studied voters' opinions and the trend of the campaign. In many cases candidates were selected only after thorough research had been made into their background, capabilities and acceptability. Local and dynastic politics were also often carefully studied and taken into account in the nomination of candidates. To these were added colour, vote-catching slogans and songs, and enthusiasm. The Party must have had the money to do all these things, but it could not have done as well as it did without a really good organisation.

It is unrealistic to hope that the Progress Party will collapse from internal dissensions. Dissensions there will be; several supporters will sooner or later become disappointed, disenchanted or disillusioned; and the Party will certainly make se-

veral mistakes. These things happen in, and to, every party, whether in or out of power. But it takes something more than these to make a party collapse. Party decay, like dry rot, may take several years to show. Once persons acquire a vested interest in a party, and their livelihood, influence, authority and power come to depend upon it, they do not leave it because of the occasional quarrel or disappointment. This is especially so when there is no viable or acceptable alternative in sight. It is against this background of the realities of Progress Party power that we must consider the future of the Opposition.

I myself think—and this is not just because I belong to an opposition party — that the Opposition has a great future. The massiveness of the victory of the Progress Party has caused a lot of anxiety to many persons, including those members of the Party itself who are concerned about the future of democracy in this country. Unlike the heady days of the 1950s, Ghanaians are today more politically sophisticated, open-minded and ready to listen to opposing views. Moreover, there is more support, goodwill or sympathy for the Opposition than their number in Parliament may indicate. (They won 44% of the votes, though they have only 25% of the seats in Parliament). Unless the Progress Party can display a style of government different from what we have become accustomed to in this country, many people who voted for it because they could not stomach Gbedemah will not vote for it at the next general elections.

Attitudes may Change

It must also not be forgotten that many people voted Progress because they thought Busia, the arch opponent of the discredited C.P.P., should be given a chance. And there were many people who believed that the "verandah boys" having ruined the economy and the liberties of the nation through corruption, abuse of power and callousness, power should be given to the intellectuals, the more "solid" men, and such other members of the middle class. Attitudes may be different in five years time.

But before the Opposition can hope to defeat or substantially reduce Progress Party support at the next general elections, they should convince the electorate, by 1973 the latest, that they have the organisation, ideas, policies, and the men to rule this country. Time is not on their side. They should begin now. First, the opposition parties must ask themselves:

(1) whether the country can afford more than two or at most three parties, and

(2) whether anyone of them by itself alone can hope to defeat the Progress Party.

My own belief is that this country can afford at most three parties, although I think two should be enough. If this is so, more mergers, or a grand merger of all the opposition parties, should be made soon. The existence of four (and, if the ban on the P.P.P. is lifted, five) opposition parties can only serve to confuse the electorate—to the advantage of the Progress Party. And the money is not there to organise several parties.

By my estimate — and it is a most conservative estimate—each of these parties, if it wants to organise on a nation-wide basis with full-time agents, several offices, propaganda vans, etc., and maintain year-round activity, will have to spend between NC150,000.00 and NC200,000.00 per annum, excluding funds for electioneering. Where is the money to come from for all of them? Many businessmen who doled out money to the opposition parties are unlikely to do so again at present, now that these parties stand so heavily defeated and when there is no apparent reason to believe that they will win in 1973 or 1974. In their own interest and in the interest of democracy, and if they are to win power in the foreseeable future, the opposition parties must come together to form one big party.

The Opposition is Weak

For none of these parties in the prevailing conditions can hope to defeat the Progress Party in 1973 or 1974; even one big united party may not be able to do so. A brief look at the state of the opposition parties may be instructive.

First, the N.A.L. It has 29 seats in Parliament. In terms of resources it was, before the elections, and apparently still is, the equal of the Progress Party. Yet it was heavily defeated. In the minds of the majority of voters, especially in the Akan areas, the N.A.L. is an Ewe Party. Of course it is not, but what is important is what people think of it. It is also regarded, quite unfairly, as a revival of the C.P.P. The combined effect of these beliefs is that the N.A.L. may never become acceptable in the Akan areas, or to people who would rather die than see the return of the C.P.P. into power. Moreover, since the elections this Party has lost its leader, two deputy leaders and several leading members, some of them its most important leaders in the Akan areas, where the Party is weak. These losses have created the impression that the party is disintegrating, and this impression can only have a demoralising effect on its supporters.

The remaining parties are electorally insignifi-

cant. The U.N.P. is largely regarded as a Ga Party. Its two most important personalities—Joe Appiah and Modesto Apaloo—were heavily defeated in the elections. The leaders of the P.A.P. and the A.P.R.P. were also defeated. Many people think these three parties will sooner or later die a natural death. They are short of money, logistical material and nation-wide support. Who would put his money on a dying horse?

Yet the disappearance of some leading members of these four parties from the political scene would be a grevious loss to the nation. Gbedemah has unrivalled experience in financial administration. Joe Appiah and Modesto Apaloo fought and suffered for freedom and justice in this country. De Graft Johnson proved, at least in his political broadcasts, that he has got good, liberal ideas. And if through lack of necessary support P. K. K. Quaidoo loses his seat in the next elections, Parliament and the country would lose a brave and talented man. But a party which has such men in its leadership would be a match for any party in Africa.

They Must Coalesce

Can we hope that these stalwarts, and the large number of able, well-educated and talented young men in their respective parties will come together to form a formidable political party? I believe such a union is possible. But one must admit it will not be easy to bring this union about. It is not because these parties have fundamentally different philosophies and ideologies. The cause of their division is personal. Pre-election manoeuvres and abortive merger talks have created mutual suspicion, distrust and, in some cases, personal dislike, among the leaders of these parties. Vanity, ambitions for leadership, sentimental attachment to names, labels and symbols, are all that is keeping these men from coming together. It may even be difficult to persuade many of these leaders to sit down together and talk. But I think every attempt should be made to bring them together.

It will not be enough to unite the opposition parties. They must be able to offer alternative policies and produce a leader or a leadership who or which would be acceptable to the people as an alternative Prime Minister or government, as the case may be. This should not be one of the greatest difficulties facing the Opposition: a united opposition will have the men with the ability and the ideas to rule effectively.

The problem is to get to the people. The sad thing about the last elections is that most of the brilliant and exciting ideas of the opposition parties never left the meeting rooms. The Progress Party, with its superior organisation, was therefore able at an early stage to convince the electorate that it alone had the ideas and the men to deal with the country's problems. In many cases by the time the other parties started moving in the Progress Party had already sewn up a particular constituency. The Opposition cannot afford to repeat this mistake. Next time not only will the Progress Party have its own propaganda machinery, but the governmental machinery will also be at its disposal.

The opposition can only hope to reach the people through efficient organisation and excellent agents. During the last elections, the N.A.L. had the organisation, but in many areas had the wrong type of agent. Many of these agents and organisers were fallen men, then living in poverty or at least in reduced financial circumstances, and more interested in making money out of the Party than in getting the votes for it. They sent to their bosses exaggerated or false reports; they were always demanding money, more money, in the name of party organisation, but in actual fact for their own pockets. Others, more honest and sincere, applied outmoded methods of organisation—the techniques they learnt during the C.P.P. days. Other opposition parties had similar agents. These agents, provided with sufficient funds and propaganda vans, could draw in the crowds to launchings and rallies, but they lacked the ability to penetrate into or through Progress Party strongholds or organisation, or to persuade the floating voter. Many of them were of course personally objectionable because of their background as C.P.P. party hacks.

A More Enterprising Opposition

The opposition parties need a new type of organiser. The front men should be men of integrity, sincerity, ability and intelligence. Persons with dubious backgrounds should be firmly removed. The new organisers should be trained in modern techniques of party organisation and be well versed in party ideology. They should be capable of organising at all levels of the society, of exposing the weaknesses and mistakes of the Progress Party, and of explaining, convincingly, their own party's policies. It will not be easy to find such men, but it is not impossible either.

The opposition must from now on attack the Progress Party on all fronts—exposing its class character, its innate conservatism and paternalism. The Progress Party may eventually fall under the domination of big businessmen, reactionaries, chiefs and persons who do not believe in such things as equality, the need to radically and ra-

pidly ameliorate the conditions of the workers, the poor, and the sick. Such persons will always resist any social welfare measures which eat into their profits or undermine their dominant position in society. The opposition must be always ready to expose them.

This country needs a strong opposition. It needs a radical alternative to the "pragmatism" of the Progress Party. It needs a party which is dedicated to the cause of the silent majority—the *ebi nte yie fo*—to equal opportunity and social justice for all; in sum, a party which is prepared to fight with all its might to bring about a social revolution in this country. A united party outside the Progress Party can provide this alternative. Such a party must concentrate its energies in winning power in 1973 or 1974, or at the latest 1979.

This can be done with hard work, sacrifice and good men united in one great cause. But so long as the opposition parties continue to be divided and to hope for the collapse of the Progress Party, so long will they be in the political wilderness.

AN ELEMENT OF REPETITION IN GHANAIAN ELECTIONS: 1956 AND 1969

By

Norman Uphoff

WE ALL know the saying, history repeats itself; we also know that we should not take this saying too literally: history does contain many surprises as it unfolds. But one historical parallel in Ghanaian elections has suggested itself to me which I think interestingly casts light on the controversy about "tribalism" in Ghanaian politics.

I would suggest that the 1969 election followed a pattern almost identical with that of 1956, Ghana's last free election before the one last August. As we know, the C.P.P. won the 1956 election almost as decisively as the P.P. won in 1969, with 70% of the parliamentary seats (75% for the P.P.). A break-down of election results by zone (not simply by region) shows striking similarities. (See Table accompanying).

Let us consider Ghana as divided into four zones: the Central and Eastern Regions make up Zone I; the Western Region and Greater Accra make up Zone II; Ashanti and Brong-Ahafo make up Zone III; and the Volta, Northern and Upper Regions make up Zone IV. As we do this, the first thing which becomes clear is how similar was the voting pattern of Zone IV in both elections, when each time, 70% of its seats went to the winning party (C.P.P. and P.P. respectively), the same proportion as went to these parties nationally. It is true that the opposition was stronger in the south of Zone IV in the 1969 election, but the zonal showing was not different.

TABLE

	1956 Election			1969 Election		
	Zones I&II	*Zone III*	*Zone IV*	*Zones I&III*	*Zone II*	*Zone IV*
(1) Percent of all seats in parliament	42%	20%	38%	51%	16%	33%
(2) Percent of all seats won by C.P.P. (1957) or P.P. (1969).	62%	11%	27%	65%	12%	23%
(3) Ratio of (2) to (1)	1.48%	.55%	.71%	1.28%	.75%	.70%
(4) Percent of seats in zone won by C.P.P. (1957) or P.P. (1969)	100%	38%	49%	94%	59%	52%

In 1956, the N.P.P. won 8 of 26 seats in the North, and the Togoland Congress won 5 of 13 seats in the Volta Region; 13 years later, the N.A.L. won 8 out of 30 seats in the North and 14 out of 16 seats in the Volta Region. Some would prefer to consider the Volta Region separately, but I think we get more insight into ethnic voting patterns by considering these three non-Akan regions as a common electoral area.

The key variation between 1956 and 1969 is the political posture of Zones II and III. Zone I, the heartland of Fanti and Akwapim people, is part of the "core" area for both C.P.P. and P.P. in the two elections. But in 1956, Zone II joined with Zone I to make a solid pro-C.P.P. bloc, while in 1969 it was Zone III joining Zone I to make a nearly-solid pro-P.P. block. Interpreters of election results can make what they will of the fact that Zone II was the homeland of the leader of the C.P.P. (the area of his birth and of his parliamentary constituency), while Zone II is similarly the homeland of the P.P.'s leader (born in one of the two regions and politically active in the other).

The difference between the two elections, and not a very great one, is that the P.P. did better in Zone II in 1969 than the C.P.P. did in Zone III in 1956. The dynamics of party politics appear so similar in the two elections, if one just reverses the role of Zones II and III. I am not suggesting that the question of whether or not the 1969 election featured an Ewe-Akan split is moot, but I am suggesting that intra-Akan political competition may have been as important or more important in shaping the electoral outcomes. The North and the Volta Regions appear to have been somewhat political by-standers, giving seats to the winning party in approximately the same ratio as did the rest of the country. Practically two-thirds of the seats were in Zones I, II and III, and this was where political fortunes were to be made or broken.

Letters

Ghana's Destiny

SIR—National revolutions are like ocean storms. They throw up towering waves with snowy crests. These are brought about by true revolutionaries, sincere patriots and historic leaders such as Ho Chi Minh, Gandhi, Lenin, Castro, and Nasser of Africa.

However, some revolutions bring to the surface dirt and debris which a calm sea conceals. The engineers of these tend to be people without ideals or principles, and whose only interest in the revolution is to satisfy their ambition, thirst for power, and greed for wealth.

A British-type ceremony marked the transfer of power in Ghana from the National Liberation Council to a democratically elected civilian government at the giant Black Star Square in Accra. Obviously the country faces numerous problems.

The solution of these problems requires a scientific detachment and objective assessment of all available resources and attainable ends, and, above all, a confident spiritual approach.

The conservation and balanced use of Ghana's soil, minerals and other natural resources cannot be achieved by technique alone nor by any mechanical means. Nor can it be achieved if initially there is a disregard of the human factor. Inevitably there must be equality of opportunity in the use and training of natural skills and talents, access to education and "equity before the law" without prohibitions on grounds of race or of some pre-conceived dogma.

Our present struggle must be fought with a two-edged sword. First we must fight outside political "invaders", and secondly, our corrupt "politicians" must be fought and vanquished. We have suffered too much frustration in the past and we have as well messed about. Ghanaians should now completely eschew inefficiency, mismanagement, day dreams, corruption, nepotism, sycophancy, and prestige schemes of doubtful value which contribute to the running down of our economy.

12, Valley Road **Kofi Kissi-Debrah**
London, S.W. 16

Help!

SIR — In the United States, the ghettos are still bringing forth their rats, junkies and hustlers. And yet there is the capacity to better this in a week. The Vietnam and Nigeria-Biafra wars are being fought primarily because the military-industrial complex must rid itself of some of its wares. The choice of sides is the work of myth-spinning intellectuals. In the Soviet Union, people are suffering persecution for advocating human kindness as against doctrines.

Both in South Africa and the Middle East, technological superiority supplemented with contra-rational myths have become the basis for depriving millions of humans their right to life with dignity.

Over here at home we all have filed past the seven-ton trucks filled with *human cattle* (weak, old and infant cattle in this special case). The bishops and their priests too have filed past; they kept quiet and in keeping quiet smiled where the Christ had wept openly.

And I am left with a problem. I have been thinking hard to formulate a criterion by which to distinguish between the pigs and the men at the end of Orwell's "Animal Farm". I have almost fallen out of my web with thinking. I don't think I ever can have this criterion. No, I cannot.

Can you?

Akuafo Hall **Emmanuel K. Senahe**
Legon

No, we cannot — Editor.

Debating Tricks?

SIR — Some of us who read his article (**L.O.** IV/24 & 25) wondered whether Ignoramus's intention was to whip Educat or to present facts. Educat never stated that the Volta Region was with the losing side in general elections before 1969, nor that there was a conspiracy to neglect that region (**L.O.** IV/22); Ignoramus created these and other points on Educat's behalf and then pilloried him for them. Why should Ignoramus include mission hospitals in development projects in the V.R.? Are some Ghanaians to live on the benevolence of missionary societies?

It seems Ignoramus is either making a pretence at ignorance or is out to deceive us with dishonest debating tricks. I suppose he does not mean it, namely that five government hospitals worthy of that name, and the Adomi Bridge, are in the V.R., or does he? Would Ignoramus make us believe that the N.L.C. did not favour the P.P. by giving its leader a post — despite his frank declaration of intention of forming and leading a political party — whereby he made a very early start in the political campaign? If he asserts that the P.P. did not isolate other parties on tribal bases, let him explain Mr. Joe Appiah's statement after the elections that there had been a campaign against him on the grounds that he had joined hands with the Gas.

It was a pity, and perhaps an impudence, that Ignoramus should without cause have smeared the N.L.C. members who were at the head of the police service with the mud of party politics. What does he think of others who went campaigning for the P.P. (Herald, Monday, 11th–Friday, 15th August, 1969)?

Mamprobi **Kofi Blay**
Accra

Editor's Note: Mr. Blay ended his letter with a claim about the C.P.P. and Kwame Nkrumah which we do not, on policy, wish to enter here as a debating point at this stage in our national reconstruction.

Mid-Term Break in Schools

SIR—I refer to an article in your issue of 21st November 1969; (*L.O.* IV/24) with the title "Mid-term Break for Schools" by one B. Milliyar of the School for the Deaf, Wa. To him, the mid-term breaks for high institutions are uncalled for. His reasons for making the statement reveal that he is quite ignorant of the mid-term breaks.

Mid-terms are not mere stock-taking and rest periods; teachers are not expected to teach every thing, and this is the period given to students to make up for those things. Also, not all parents will be able to pay their children's school fees during the beginning of term, so

that, when this small time is given, it is hoped that they would be more able to get some money to pay the fees.

The arrangement of Mid-terms is justified, and I cannot see the simplest reason for objecting to it.

Mawuli School **Theophilus Hopeson Tawiah**
Ho

Electorate Consultation

SIR — Our former M.P.s, having over-enjoyed city life and felt big, did hate to visit their own villages and constituencies. Those who were compelled by circumstances to pay short visits to their villages did so gingerly and sometimes "under cover". The end result of this behaviour was that both M.P. and electorate did not get to know as much of each other as they should have done. Let us not repeat that.

Our M.Ps are now in long recess. It should be like school: when a school is on holiday, all the students go back to their villages and towns to stay with their parents and learn from them as well. But what do we see now in respect of the new M.Ps, now in recess? Why are they not going back to their constituencies, as they did during the recent political campaign, to tell the electorate now what is happening in the National Assembly?

I call on our Assemblymen not to make Accra their permanent home and forget their electorate. This is very necessary because most of us cannot read and have no access to other sources of information; and many of us who can read and write cannot afford 10np every day for **Hansard.**

Achimota Village **F. C. Essandoh**
Achimota.

Hail Kontopiaat!

SIR — I wish to join the numerous readers of the **Legon Observer** to hail Kontopiaat for his contributions to this paper during the past year. We wish him a Happy New Year, and look forward to more of his captivating stuff.

Glory be to God in the highest, and peace to the people of Kontopiaatkrom!

Zoology Department **Geo. Nartey Tetteh**
Legon

Miscellaneous

CHRISTMAS IN KONTOPIAATKROM

By
Kontopiaat

I AM truly sorry for all those who failed to come to Kontopiaatkrom for Christmas. It is true there were no X'mas cards, no roasted Turkeys, no X'mas puddings, and not much church-going either; the "ingredients" for X'mas in Kontopiaatkrom are quite different. At the extreme ends are Palm Wine and Henkes Schnapps respectively, the drink on which the Asante Empire was built. And at the centre, solid and tasty, is Green-Green!

The celebration started on Christmas eve, that is, the night of the 24th, with an Adowa and Kete display under the big tree in the centre of the town. Middle-aged women wearing hair-dos looking like men's danced with such grace and precision as would have won the admiration of Alex Moore. My reputation had a knock when I failed traditionally to acknowledge either all the nice appellations belonging to me that one of the drummers beat out or to respond to the request for a drink by the horn blowers. My grand-father, who drew my attention to all this and who had hitherto reckoned me among the most learned men in the world, began to wonder about the sort of education I had been given—an Akan-born who could not acknowledge his appellations on the drums!

On Christmas Day itself only two groups of people did go to work. The palm wine tappers and the staff of the Don't-Mind-Your-Wife Chop Bar. Unfortunately, neither the Academy of Arts and Sciences nor the Food Research Institute nor the Legon Department of Home Science has so far been able to discover ways of preserving palm wine, even for a single day. The only way to ensure the flow of this favourite of Kontopiaatkrom is to tap it twice a day. (With apologies to Amos Tutuola and his legendary *Palm Wine Drinkard* Tapster!)

It was when early in the morning on X'mas Day I paid my first visit to our palm wine bar, the seat of democracy in Kontopiaakrom as it is in Dompokrom, that I realised what the day had in store for us. For the first time in my life I saw a queue of nearly half a mile long. The rashness of my open invitation in the last issue of the *Observer* then dawned on me. In the queue were people—big and small scholars, old and middle aged civil servants, many of whom had not been seen in Kontopiaatkrom for decades. To save the situation, we agreed on a ration of one-man-one-calabashful. But even this arrangement, which was meticulously observed, could not meet the demand of even half the people present.

From here we all moved to the second item on the programme, namely the pouring of libation in the Ahenfie or palace. You see, it is a practice among Kontopiaatkrom citizens who have made good (The Ebi-Te-Yie fo) and who visit home to call on the chief with a bottle of spirits, usually Schnapps, for libation to be poured on his behalf. This being the occasion that it was, all the visitors turned up with a bottle or two of schnapps. Together with the stock saved during the electioneering campaigns, the number of bottles that soon piled up looked really formidable. The Chief Linguist was there, together with all the other wing chiefs and elders, the Kwadwom singers, the horn-blowers, the Ntahara group and of course the traditional dancing orchestras of *Kete* and *Adowa*. It was a really fantastic sight, as all the visitors, with their cloths to their waists and barefooted, formed a semi-circle facing the chief, who was flanked on both sides by his chiefs and elders.

After a spate of Kwadwom singing, horn-blowing and *Kete* dance music, the chief linguist was called upon to begin the ceremony. He took one of the large bottles of the really old, genuine schnapps in a square bottle, the kind with drawings of three-penny pieces on the shoulder (obviously smuggled in from Togo), and began the libation. He first called upon God, then the Earth, then the gods (all 77 of them) and rivers of the village, then the seven clans into which all the people of the village are divided, and indeed all Twi-speaking peoples, namely, Oyoko, Aduana, Ekoona, Bretuo, Agona Asakyiri and Asenee, and finally the ancestors of the chief and elders and all the people around, to come for drink. He then told them why we had all assembled,

asked for long life and prosperity for all present, and begged them not to render any of the men there impotent and to protect all the civil servants and teachers there from the machinations of their rivals, etc., etc., etc.

Most unusually but obviously because the pile of drinks was so high, the chief linguist was so generous to the gods and ancestors that by the time he ended the libation, half the bottle had been poured on the ground. The end was greeted with yells of approbation, and then with drumming and dancing. After that the boozing began! Since only one glass was used to serve all present, the process was very slow, but then we had all the word to ourselves! As more drinks were tossed down and more libations poured for later arrivals, the atmosphere became more festive, the drumming more complicated, and the dancing more vigorous and expressive!

Just past noon, people began to repair to their homes to commence the third item on the programme. It must be pointed out that while the sessions were going on at the bar and at the Ahenfie, attended mainly by the male-folk, the women-folk remained in the house weeping and wailing. You see, Christmas Day in Kontopiaatkrom, is the day not for celebrating the birth of Christ but on the contrary for remembering all those who died in each family in that year. Since it would appear that almost every family or house had lost somebody during this year, one encountered weeping wherever one turned.

The return home of the men of course only stirred up the women and the wailing grew louder. At home, the head of the family, as well as the visitors, produced drinks. And here too, everything began with the pouring of libation by the head of the family, during which all the ancestors of the family and all the family gods were called upon first, then the clan of the family; and then the usual requests for blessing, long and trouble-free life, fertility, etc. were made, followed by the sharing of the drinks.

The fourth item was of course the exchange of visits. Children visited their fathers, husbands called on the parents of their wives, the young civil servants and scholars called on the elder ones, and during each visit more drinks were had, each preceded by a short libation. These visits continued well into the evening.

The next day, 26th, is known in Christian circles as St. Stephen's Day and in England as Boxing Day, which has nothing to do with the Bukom Square past-time but rather because of the custom in England of giving boxed presents to employees on that day. In Kontopiaatkrom, however, we call it the Abinkyi, or Eating Day. As you will have noticed, there was hardly any time for food, and I am certain that over three-quarters of the adult population of Kontopiaatkrom did not swallow a morsel of food each on X'mas Day. Naturally therefore the 26th was devoted to nothing but eating.

The day opened with the slaughtering of goats, sheep and, above all, chickens, and of course the Dont-Mind-Your-Wife Chop Bar had been cooking throughout X'mas Day for the big green-green dinner arranged previously. A few hardy ones visited the palm wine bar, but by ten o'clock in the morning the whole village was rocking with the pounding of *fufu* in every home. An hour or so later there was complete silence, clear evidence that all males in the house had assembled around one dish of *fufu*, all females around a second and all children around a third, to break their one-day old fast. After this, everybody put on his best cloth, usually a brand new one bought for the occasion, and paid and received more visits.

The climax of the celebration came with a great dinner at the chop bar. This was a novel feature and had been arranged for the entertainment of the visitors. All the palm wine in the town had been commandeered for the occasion and the chief also generously sent us cases of drinks, left-overs from the previous day. The usual orchestras turned up. It was a truly fantastic occasion. The green-green was at its most authentic and its tastiest, and there were pots and pots of it. When the party broke up by mid-night—a very very late hour for Kontopiaatkrom—all the losses of the previous day had been more than made good.

This then was how X'mas was celebrated in the great village of Kontopiaatkrom. As any unbiased reader can gather, it was celebrated with pomp, pageantry and in grand customary style. One notable feature of the whole celebration was the rate at which empty bottles particularly the schnapps and beer ones, disappeared! Whilst nobody would touch an unopened bottle, no sooner was one opened and emptied than it disappeared. What the people of Kontopiaatkrom do with these empty bottles—were they for the local "V.C. 10" distilleries?—I could not find out!

News Summary

Accra December 29

A NEW scheme for more fellowships to Ghanaians to study in institutions in the United States was announced today by the head of a new organisation, the Venerable Bright-Davies (Ghana) Enterprises. The scheme was announced and described by the Rev. Mr. Bright-Davies himself.

The Rev. gentleman represents a group of American benevolent societies, who are financing the scheme. He said that the students should be in America during the next academic year, if all goes well with the planning. Acceptability will be determined by an examination.

Mr. Bright-Davies said that he believed there were lots of talented Ghanaian youth who could be assisted to become useful and constructive citizens of the country. The scheme was also intended to include several other projects, one being an infant care and pre-school centre. Others would be a research institute and a marital clinic embracing a campaign against polygamy and parental delinquency.

Trade Unionists to Israel

THE Ghana T.U.C. and the Ghana Federation of Farmers Associations despatched nine employees to Israel during the week-end to do a 4-month course in "Cooperation and Labour in the service of Development". They are to study at the Afro-Asian Institute for Cooperation and Labour.

These award winners will study under a scholarship scheme funded by the Israel government itself. The men are Messrs F. K. Ashun, F. P. O. Kugbe, E. M. Amuzu and J. B. K. Ahiable, all of the T.U.C.; and Messrs E. O. Landy, P. A. Asare, S. A. Gumah and J. H. Anarfi, all of the G.F.F.A. There is one lady unionist in the delegation, Miss Rose Danquah. They will be attached to settlement farms in Israel during their stay, to enable them gain practical experience in their various trades. An Israeli Embassy spokesman informed the Press that

about 40 Ghanaians had already completed a similar course under Government scholarship previously.

Aliens barred from Retail Trade

THE Minister of Local Administration, Mr. K. K. Anti, has re-stated today that aliens issued with Residence Permits do not by this qualify to engage in petty trading. He said it had been noticed that some of those aliens allowed to stay were using their permits as warrants for petty trading. This was not in conformity, said Mr. Anti, with the government's compliance order. The permits were only to allow the permitted aliens to stay in the country. Mr. Anti made these observations to the Press during a visit he was paying to the Makola markets, to enable him to see and judge the general conditions prevailing in these trading centres.

NC1-Million for Corps

MR. R. R. Amponsah, Minister of Lands and Mineral Resources, at a Progress Party rally held here at Ejura-Ashanti on 28th December, announced that the government had voted NC1 million towards the running of the proposed National Service Corp. In addition, some nations with an interest in Ghana's development had promised, he stated, to help the Corp with equipment. The new Service was to play a vital role in rural development as well as to help its members acquire various trade skills.

Adult Education Institute

PROFESSOR A. A. Kwapong, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Ghana, opened the 21st Annual New Year School of the Institute of Adult Education at Legon today, and announced that the Institute was to start a correspondence course programme by October of 1970. The theme of the New Year School was: The 1969 Elections and After—Translating Promises into Reality.

The Vice-Chancellor also said that the Institute was arranging for agricultural experimentation in small scale production, and also for rural development at its centres at Tsito in the Volta Region and Tamale in the North. He stated that the University Faculty of Agriculture was assisting the Institute in the planning stages of this project.

Workers Sign Agreement

THE Ghana Manufacturers Group and the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union of the Ghana Trades Union Congress have signed a three years collective agreement affecting the employees of the Group. The General Secretary of the Union, Mr. K. Edjah, signed on behalf of the workers, and Mr. Alfred Gailie, President of the Group represented the latter. The Agreement was designed to take effect as from October 1969, and regulates methods of engagement, hours of work, rates of pay, maternity leave, allowances and annual leave. The Agreement also establishes the principle of prior consideration for the existing staff in every case of a post falling vacant.

Patriotic Gesture

A TIMBER merchant at Kato, near Berekum, Brong-Ahafo, is engaged in supplying his town with electricity, generated from a plant at his sawmill at Berekum. This would be his personal contribution, he said, towards the development of the whole area. The Town Development Committee, through a spokesman, has commended Mr. Sphere Anthony, the donor, for his patriotic and generous gesture.

The spokesman disclosed that the Committee had drawn up a development plan costing NC10,000 for the area, and involving construction of school blocks, feeder roads, bridges and culverts. Voluntary contributions and a surtax of 20np per load of cocoa are expected to bear a proportion of the development cost.

Cape Coast, December 30

Probe Committee

MR. E. M. A. Ablor, a lawyer and chairman of the three-member Committee appointed to probe the affairs of the Cape Coast Municipal Council stated here when speaking at the inaugural ceremony of the Committee that it had not been designed for the witch-hunting of the people holding different political views from those of the ruling Party. Mr. Ablor said that his Committee had been set up rather to ensure that irregularities which militate against progress should be removed, in order that our new civilian government should make good progress towards the provision of amenities for all the people.

The terms of reference of the Committee were: (1) to investigate and report upon the cause of the financial weakness of the Council and (2) to recommend to the Minister of Local Administration the measures necessary to be taken to improve the situation. They could also investigate and report upon allegations of financial and administrative mismanagement, and to recommend remedial measures as well as measures to prevent recurrence of such mismanagement.

Accra, December 31

Launching of New Corps

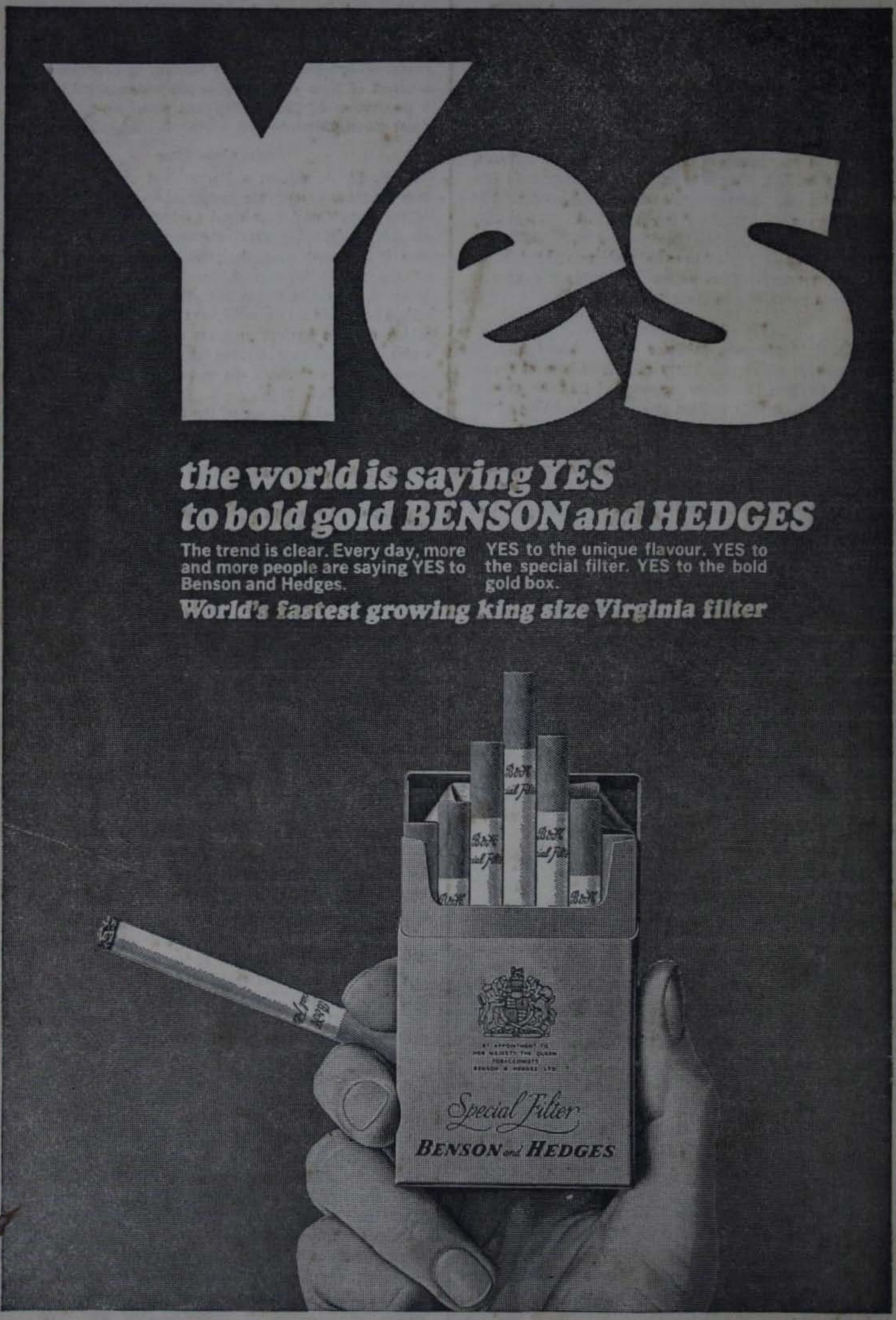
THE new National Service Corp planned by the Progress Party government will be officially inaugurated on 2nd January, according to sources close to the Secretariat of the new organisation. Registration of interested individuals would then start throughout the country.

A national secretariat is expected to be set up in Accra after the launching and is to be headed by a National Organiser. Branches will be opened in all the regions of Ghana. It is reported over 2,000 people have already expressed an interest in joining the Corp. This information was given by the Prime Minister himself, Dr. K. A. Busia, recently. Applications sent in prior to the launching were being received by an Administrative Officer located at the Castle, Osu, as a temporary measure preparatory to the inauguration.

Peace in 1970

MR. S. R. Baiden, General Secretary of the Maritime Dockworkers Union of the Trades Union Congress, has predicted greater industrial peace in Ghana in 1970. Mr. Baiden said the new year must see fewer strike actions and better relations between all the branch unions of the T.U.C. and their respective managements.

The General Secretary's remarks were made at an end-of-year Party for representatives of all the shipping agencies represented in Ghana. The function was held at the Mariners Club House at Tema last night. He said that the T.U.C. had vigorously pursued the division of the Industrial Relations Act during 1969 and he and other union officials expected Ghana's Parliament to promulgate legislation to that effect. During 1970, he said the Congress would embark on a programme to involve more women in T.U.C. activities, and that every worker would equally be expected in the new year to work harder in order to justify their future claims for higher wages.



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EDITORIAL

BEYOND BIAFRA

FOR THIRTY months Africa and the world watched the political and constitutional barometer in Nigeria, the largest populated country on the continent, with considerable sorrow and bewilderment. The wonder of many people centered on many questions: Was the secession of Ibos from the Nigerian federal framework inevitable? Could the federal government have handled the Biafran intransigence and show of anger in a manner short of military confrontation? Was the conflict actually over principles, or was it over mere personality squabbles which had later been rationalised and raised to the level of survival issues?

These were a few of the many questions which were raised in the minds of people, who although not directly committed either to Nigeria or to Biafra, felt that the unanticipated consequences of the "police action", as the federal government originally termed the attempt to re-incorporate Biafra into Nigeria, had become too costly.

It is easy to revise theories, now that a military victory has been achieved over the predominantly Ibo population. From the beginning, after Britain and Russia had taken their stand against secession and had supported the unification cause in military terms, it was obvious that the defeat of Biafra was only a matter of time. British support came to mean, directly or indirectly, that the wings of America had been somewhat clipped. This is because America has never really become involved in the local imperial politics of Africa. Also, the support of Russia meant virtually the support of the communist part of the world. China, which could have tipped the scales, did not have the time, the resources, the adequate knowledge, to be involved in Nigeria's post-colonial politics. As for the search for a solution within Africa, the Organization of African Unity merely demonstrated how essentially helpless and ineffectual it is as a body which many Africans preferred to consult first in crises of this nature.

Although the world rejoices with the Nigerians in the fact that hostilities on such a mass scale have ceased, and that hair-splitting on the meaning and motivation of humanitarian gestures has virtually come to an end, it is true to say that Major-General Yakubu Gowon, the leader of the victorious team, would be the last to presume that all problems are over. For, underneath the various accusations and counter-accusations as to the rights and wrongs of the war, there were obviously deep-rooted causes of tension. There is no doubt that the Ibos had genuine fears — although exaggerated for sentimental and propaganda

reasons — as to how they fitted in a united Nigeria. The mutual tribal suspicion and antagonism had reached such a level that statesmanship of a different type — not used to mere lip-service assurances — was needed to weld that country together.

This is not the appropriate time to concentrate on the antecedents of the Nigeria-Biafra War; nor is it opportune yet for one to analyse the costs — human and financial — of this bitter episode. What is essential is an acknowledgment by the entire population of Nigeria, especially those in positions of authority and influence, of the enormity of the political and economic problems that face them.

To win a war is obviously much simpler than to win a peace. And while world leaders urge Gowon and his aides to show magnanimity in this hour of military victory, they equally caution the necessity of winning the hearts and minds of those Ibos who, for various reasons, had seriously wanted to remain politically separate.

TASKS FOR BUSIA GOVERNMENT

IN OUR LAST issue we featured some invited and contributed views on the first performances of the Busia party and government. These views were on internal and external policy (emphasis on foreign relations), and on the performance of the Progress Party both at the polls and since then, in and out of parliament. Today we add a review of our economic position which says nothing new — since there's nothing new to say — but pinpoints again all the essential features of the situation: weak and strong, bright and dull, prospective and hopeless points.

There are other problems of or facing the government which Busia is still to tackle, even by way of planning for them. One such is education. The Progress Party naturally has had a lot to say in manifestorial and campaign promises, on the expected lines of improvement in facilities and opportunities for all. This is fine as far as it goes. But idealistic promises in fact travel only that far, no farther. What the government has to do immediately is to find ways and means of dealing with such problems as the quality of teachers and teaching, with commensurate reconsideration of wages and conditions-of-service policy; the text-book unavailability and maldistribution horror; rural-urban inequalities; the media-of-instruction problems; and, most of all, the whole question whether we are spending our vast education allocations on the right or the wrong philosophies of development.

One immediate educational task for the government to perform is the examination of conditions in the universities of Ghana. For the moment those at Legon and Kumasi need not be treated as emergency cases: there are (1) a general report on all three institutions awaited from the Vick Grants Committee investigations, and (2) the Ollennu report on Legon's late financial administration, to be made public and be implemented where necessary. The case of of Cape Coast, however, is different: it is urgent, immediate; the government ought to speed up its efforts to help find a solution to the deep trouble between the science students and the College's administration. Students cannot be allowed, or themselves expect, to take the law into their own hands and get away with it; but it has to be established, on the other hand, that the University College authorities at Cape Coast are not only in their rights but also applying the rules of justice and human consideration in their dealings with the students.

Other tasks facing the Busia government are in the fields of a wages policy — still! — which would begin to narrow the gap in salary-wages levels; manpower problems, the cost of administration as against production, the relation of work-load to pay throughout the economy; revolutionary agriculture; and more that can be classified and described but are also largely obvious and known. The fundamental point is one of awareness and of firm resolution on the part of government.

ADVERTISE

IN THE

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OBSERVER

The Economy

GHANA'S ECONOMIC PROBLEMS AND THE NEW REGIME

By

Kwabena Achampon-Manu

IN THE first Sessional Address to the present Parliament, delivered by the Chairman of the Presidential Commission, the new Progress Party government promised to direct the allocation of Ghana's economic and financial resources towards three areas of the highest priority. These are:

(1) rural development and, in particular, the expansion of agricultural production;
(2) the launching of a systematic attack on the problem of unemployment, and
(3) the reduction of the imbalances that have hitherto existed in the levels of development of the different internal regions of the country.

Laudable as these policies are, it is quite obvious that there are two factors that are going to determine the success or failure of the government's objectives in its first year of office, and, hence, the course of its economic performance, regardless of stated intentions: (1) the balance of payments problem, and (2) the huge external debts. Any successful policy to rehabilitate the economy from stagnation will have to contain these two crucial problems. These objectives are in fact similar to those contained in the Progress Party manifesto on rehabilitating the economy, and also follow closely the last budget of the N.L.C. Realising that time is not an ally if it wants to capitalize on its popular support, the government has set in motion policies and measures that will lend support to its policies.

Must Find Quick Answers

The framework within which the government has to manoeuvre is not an enviable one. First, the government inherited an economy characterized by stagnation, huge external debts, high cost of living and massive unemployment. Secondly, the overwhelming support given the Progress Party has imposed a sense of obligation to the government to find quick answers to our economic difficulties. It is imperative, therefore, that if popular support for the government is not to wane, it must produce a "miracle" in the shortest possible time to salvage the economy. The objectives outlined in the Sessional Address clearly indicate the commitment of the party and the government elite to rapid improvement in rural standards of living. How, far has the government initiated policies to achieve its objectives during its first year in office, to achieve a radical breakthrough in the rural areas, and to find jobs for the unemployed?

In pursuance of its objectives, as outlined in the Sessional Address, the government has adopted three far-reaching measures. First, within the constraints imposed by our massive external debts, any policy involving capital expenditure is doomed to failure unless the debt servicing burden can be contained. This the Prime Minister has attempted to do by his recent tour to our creditors abroad. That we need a breathing spell to develop the economy is obvious, but that we should accept all our external debts without question is something that some of us are not so enthusiastic about. This position has been made clear on several occasions in the pages of the *Observer;* the present author thinks that some of the contractors' credits need scrutiny and review. It is common knowledge that Ghana was swindled in some of these credits, and the sensible thing to do is to review every loan irrespective of its geographical origin.

Rescheduling of Debts

Be that as it may, the government, by a combination of international prestige and a weak bargaining position, has virtually agreed to honour all the debts and has asked for a further rescheduling in June this year. It is quite clear that the government's policies hinge on the question of rescheduling, that the country is not in a position now to discharge her debt service obligations simultaneously with economic expansion, and that the successful implementation of the measure contained in the Sessional Address depends to a large extent on further rescheduling of our debts. To the extent that a further rescheduling is agreed upon, it will greatly help the government to undertake the measures envisaged in its first year of administration.

The second major economic policy the new government has adopted has been the "expulsion" of aliens from the country. This policy has many economic consequences, both in the short-run and in the long-run. This policy has been suggested in certain circles as a means to reduce the unemployment problem; others see it as a way out of checking smuggling in the country. Under normal conditions such a policy, to many people, would have been unpardonable especially in terms of the ideals and goals enshrined in the Charter of

the O.A.U. But these are by no means normal conditions for Ghana; the new government finds itself in an economic straight-jacket, with massive unemployment, limited foreign currency, and domination of the retail trade by aliens. If the expulsion of the aliens was intended to partly solve the unemployment problem, then Ghanaians would be well advised to take on the jobs left by the aliens. The government on its part must assist those Ghanaians who express the willingness to enter those sectors (especially in the retail trade) where aliens predominated. Unless this is done quickly the mass departure will have disastrous economic consequences on the country. The government has provided the leadership, it is up to Ghanaians to accept the challenge.

The third major economic measure adopted by the new government is the inauguration of the National Service Corps, which is essentially a self-help scheme. This policy is seen as intended to mobilize the masses for radical social change. To be effective and meaningful, the N.S.C. must not become another Workers Brigade; it must not be used as a short-term political gesture to win support, and it must not conflict with the prevailing pressing need for rapid agricultural development in Ghana. If properly run, the N.S.C. should create jobs for the unemployed, help develop the rural areas, and possibly offer training facilities to the unskilled.

Long-term Plans Needed

These are the three main areas of economic policy initiated by the new government, and although it is too early yet to say categorically whether these measures, taken together, will help the government achieve its aims, yet the mere recognition of a problem is a first step in designing policies to surmount it.

The prime pre-requisite in nation building is a national leadership able and willing to provide a strong thrust to national effort. Fortunately, the Progress Party government has sufficient talent to offer us this leadership. We are not out of the woods yet. The problems and difficulties facing this country cannot be effectively solved by *ad hoc* policies; what we need as a matter of urgency is a long-term perspective plan. And since the present government has adopted the proposals of the N.L.C's last budget, which recognized the importance of the agricultural sector, concrete policies should be adopted to stimulate the agricultural industry.

The Progress Party in its manifesto promised to set up an effective planning machinery, at both the national and regional levels, in order, among other things, to identify priorities in the needs of the people at the regional and local levels; thus it would involve the greatest number of people in the planning process and ensure mass support for, and mass commitment to, government economic programmes. We hope that efforts are being made to establish this planning machinery.

In the field of economics there has not been any "success story" so far; the greatest achievement of the government is that it has recognized the problem, and this recognition is so essential in economic development.

Politics

ERSKINE MAY IN BUSIA'S PARLIAMENT

by

Cameron Duodu

THE Parliaments of British territories that attain independence are usually presented each with a gift. It may be a Mace (to be carried into the House by a Sergeant-At-Arms decked out in native bangles or anklets, no doubt to reassure the M.P.s that their own history is not without objects of awe that can make even Black Rod twitter his moustache in envy). Or it may be a door panel, to lose itself in a maze of sculptured signs, all aimed at showing that where there has been wood there has been art, and that there shall always be a thought that should please nexologists.

One gift from the Mother of Parliaments to Baby Parliaments, which manages to escape the attention of the cameramen, is Erskine May's **Parliamentary Procedure.** Although the baby parliaments do write their own standing orders, Erskine May's phrases continually turn up in them, so that before the opposition is democratically voted out of existence on a private member's motion (to show that the government had no hand in the disgusting affair), opposition members can record their horror, as in the following:

> Mr. Speaker, the Honourable Member for Coffee Constituency is using un-parliamentary language. He described the Honourable Leader of the Opposition as the yelping jackal of the forces of disorder and anarchy. I think he should withdraw. (UPROAR)

Ghana's new parliament — touch wood — has

not yet reached the sharp-fanged stage, though the upcoming debates on South Africa, aliens and the National Service Corps will demand great patience and a lot of good humour from all concerned.

Reading through Hansard, one is struck by the amount of good humour already exhibited. All of it emerges through the "Point of Order", and sometimes the Speaker appears to be hard put to it to reconcile what a member thinks constitutes a point of order with Erskine May's definition of it:

> MR. QUAIDOO: Mr. Speaker, I will briefly speak on the other points of the Sessional Address. In Paragraphs 16, 6, 17 —
>
> MR. B. K. MENSAH: On a point of order. The hon. member has spoken on Paragraph 2 and he is yet to speak on the other Paragraphs. I would like to correct some erroneous statements he has made to the House. He spoke in the same breath on the production of food, that is, agriculture, and on industry, and referred to industry as the only salvation for unemployment. I do not see how he can reconcile the two. We of the Progress Party are faced with a problem and that problem is that of development . . . .
>
> MR. SPEAKER: Will the hon. member make the point of order? Or does he want to put the position as his party sees it?
> MR. MENSAH: As I see it.
> MR. SPEAKER: Very well. He will have the opportunity during the debate to advance his own views. Therefore it is not a point of order.

This is a more or less direct correction from Mr. Speaker to a member. Sometimes, Mr. Speaker uses a more subtle approach:

> MR. NYLANDER: As I have said, it is not enough that we have trained technicians. (A MEMBER: How many did you train ten years ago?) It does not matter how many I trained ten years ago. It is what the government is going to do that matters.
>
> MR. SPEAKER: To enable members who have the floor to be heard, whoever is allowed to speak should address the chair instead of hon. members addressing themselves.
>
> MR. NYLANDER: Thank you, Mr. Speaker. The Attorney-General says he agrees with what I've been saying. It's very good of him. This is what we want them to do . . . . The government, in the Sessional Address, says beautiful things about democracy. During the election campaign, our national leader went to talk at Wenchi and he was almost beaten up . . . .
>
> MR. J. K. AMANKWAH: The hon. membe is just throwing dust into our eyes. I was there and nothing of the sort happened.
> MR. NYLANDER: The hon. member is misinforming the house. If, as he said, my information is not correct, why was it necessary for the police to use tear gas?
> MR. AMANKWAH: I was there. The leader was saying something and there was confusion and the police used tear gas. It was not because the leader was beaten up.
> MR. SPEAKER: This is not a point of order.
>
> MR. NYLANDER: I thank you very much, Mr. Speaker. Most members opposite are new to this sort of thing and they are now learning their lessons. We have already been reminded that the wheel goes round. Soon we will get there and teach them . . . .
> MR. J. H. MENSAH: It would help the debate if the hon. member addressed the chair.
>
> MR. SPEAKER: If hon. members would stop interrupting unnecessarily, they would make it possible for the member to address chair.

Occasionally, a direct reference is made to the Mother of Parliaments itself:

> MR. J. H. MENSAH: Mr. Speaker, let me say a few words about national unity, because I've been specially requested by the Independent/N.A.L. Member for Osu Klottey.
>
> MR. SPEAKER: A member cannot be Independent and at the same time N.A.L. member for . . . .
>
> MR. J. H. MENSAH: Thank you, Mr. Speaker, for this clarification. I'm myself very much mystified.
>
> MR. BRODIE-MENDS: In the British House of Commons, there are times when they have certain members known as the Independent Labour Group (Laughter).
>
> MR. SPEAKER: No such group has been declared here.

Mr. J. H. Mensah appears to be cutting quite a figure in the House as a sharp-witted debater. He describes NAL's lack of realism in its criticism of the Sessional Address as stemming from

the same source as the "computerised guesses" they made about the general election and which led them to be so shocked at the P.P.'s overwhelming victory. But he has his match, in the person of Mr. Alex Hutton-Mills:

> MR. HUTTON-MILLS: The Minister is referring to the budget, but as far as I'm aware, this particular parliament has not even considered a budget, let alone pass one. (UPROAR).
>
> MR. J. H. MENSAH: This is one of the typically regular speeches of irrelevance delivered by the hon. member. In my part of the country, the hon. member's party is being called ABA BASAA, that is, the party that's moving in a disorderly manner.
>
> MR. HUTTON-MILLS: On a point of order. Now, when you mention the name of the Minister's party, the aliens who are quitting say, "SURE". (UPROAR).
>
> MR. MENSAH: I believe in every court certain persons are allowed to raise some irrelevancies . . . .

There was a classic 'point of order' in the following exchange: hardly a situation that Erskine May could ever have anticipated, even if he had become a Lotus-Eater:

> MR. F. A. AMELEMAH: Most government backbenchers come from the rural areas like myself, and they can testify to what I'm saying . . . .
>
> MR. A. BADU-NKANSAH: Mr. Speaker, according to our traditions the Sepaker is like a chief, and I'm wondering whether the hon. member is observing traditional rules. If he has chosen to go the traditional way (by wearing cloth) he has to put on his cloth in the traditional manner . . This is not the normal way to stand before a chief and speak.
>
> MR. SPEAKER: We presume that if the hon. member stands before a chief, he should wear his cloth in the traditional ways, but the hon. member would agree that this is an air-conditioned room and doctors may advise against that . . . .

If they continue in that vein in the next session, we shall be in for a good time. I understand that Sir Winston Churchill used to rehearse his "impromptu" interruptions in the Commons quite thoroughly beforehand, occasionally asking a friendly member to do some prodding by way of interrupting his own interruption. The idea should recommend itself to Mr. J. H. Mensah and Mr. Alex Hutton-Mills, in particular. One man who may be able to offer good advice in this regard is Mr. Kofi Baako, who was a great interrupter in his day. We may not agree with all that parliament does, but there is no reason why they should bore us stiff doing it.

INGREDIENTS OF AN AFRICAN IDEOLOGY — THE TEXTURE OF UNITY

by

Oburoni Muntu

As the fufilment and security we used to find in kin or the local community steadily dwindle in the modern world, we look for bonds which can replace them in the wider and more varied arena in which we move. Confronted in great cities with masses of hurrying strangers with no concern for us beyond what is given by the needs of the moment, we search for some people we can call our fellows. Our need is to find men like ourselves, who speak the same language or at least see life the same way. Kinsfolk and fellow-villagers will help, if they are near at hand, but they are usually too few in number to provide all the solidarity we need.

African Tribalism

In struggles for jobs or political favours especially, we need to work with, and fight alongside, substantial numbers of our own kind. Relatives and neighbours, the clan, even the tribe (in the old and strict sense) cannot provide us with what we need; we find ourselves, even sometimes perhaps in spite of ourselves, looking to the whole set of people from the region of our origin, speaking the tongue we understand most readily, for support and comradeship. It is through this that what in most African states is called "tribalism", or what in Europe a century ago was called "nationalism," is born.

The political elites who derive material and spiritual sustenance — both a livelihood and a "reason for being" — from our states look on the growth of these ethnic identities in one of two ways. For some it provides opportunities for riding to power: the cry of "domination" or "discrimination" may give one ready-made allies and supporters, who can be effectively used in the struggle for the delectable plums of office. Others see this "tribalism" as first and foremost a threat, a grave danger to the unity, indeed to the very existence, of the state. The war in what used to be called Eastern Nigeria, and the growing tension between the Kikuyu and the Luo in Kenya, point to the dread lesson only too clearly.

CENTRE FOR CIVIC EDUCATION

Applications are invited from suitably qualified Ghanaians for the following posts in the Cenrte for Civic Education:—

A. DEPUTY GENERAL ADMINISTRATOR:

QUALIFICATIONS:

Candidates must possess:

(a) A good degree from a recognized University plus (7) seven years' post-graduate experience in Public Administration in a reputable recognized Institution.

OR

(b) Must have a sound general educational background and at least ten (10) years of administrative experience.

DUTIES: To assist the General Administrator in the running of the Centre.

AGE: 35 to 45 years.

SALARY: NC4,300 (Consolidated—Under review)

Anyone earning less than NC3,500 need not apply.

B. ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT:

QUALIFICATIONS:

(a) Must possess the minimum educational qualification of the General Certificate of Education (Ordinary Level) with at least passes in five subjects including English Language, or an equivalent qualification, or

(b) the final Certificate of the Chartered Institute of Secretaries or Final Certificate of the Corporation of Secretaries or Inter A.C.C.A., or A.C.A., or I.C.W.A. Part III, *and*

(c) must be confirmed officers with not less than 5 years continuous and satisfactory service as Senior Clerk or Stenographer/Secretary in a Government or recognised non-government organisation;

OR

(d) Must have had seven (7) years experience in Secretarial and executive duties in a government or public institution or a large private establishment.

DUTIES: Will be in charge of General office services and perform general secretarial and executive duties including preparation of Estimates, Budgetary Control, supervision of officers below his grade.

AGE: 25 to 40 years.

SALARY: Range 55, 60 — NC2,208–NC2,580; NC2,676–NC3,108 per annum. Entry at appropriate point.

C. PRIVATE SECRETARY:

QUALIFICATIONS:

(a) Must possess the minimum educational qualification of "O" Level including a pass in the English paper of the G.C.E. or its equivalent, i.e. Qualifying Examination in English.

(b) be able to type at the rate of 60 words per minute for 10 minutes and take Shorthand at the rate of 120 words per minute for 5 minutes, and possess a Certificate to that effect issued by the Principal of Government Secretarial Schools.

(c) possess a good working knowledge of office management and routine, a high sense or responsibility, initiative and integrity, and must have had at least three (3) years' experience as a Stenographer/Secretary.

AGE: 28 to 35 years.

SALARY: Ranges 48 & 52: 58—NC1,668–NC2,292; NC2,484–NC2,892 per annum (Entry at the appropriate point)

METHOD OF APPLICATION: Applications should be addressed in triplicate to the General Administrator, Centre for Civic Education, P.O. Box M.103, Accra, to reach him by the end of January, 1970. Copies (not originals) of certificates and testimonials should be attached to the applications. Copies of documents will not be returned.

Civil Servants, employees of Statutory Boards and Corporations, or Government sponsored institutions must forward their applications through their Heads of Departments.

Persons under bond are ineligible.

NOTE: Persons who have already applied in response to earlier advertisements for these posts need not apply again.

Warnings, homilies, exhortations are thus heard on all sides, even often from those whose activities are exacerbating the situation they profess to condemn, about the dangers of this "narrow" and "selfish" ethnic loyalty.

Yet what remedies are ever suggested? Nothing, it seems, but the endlessly reiterated "call" or "appeal" to those concerned to stop behaving as they are behaving and to behave in a different way. The African faith in the power of exhortation seems sometimes quite inexhaustible; yet nothing is plainer, if we will but look the facts in the face, than that exhortation in these circumstances is almost always entirely useless. If conditions foster "tribal" feeling, then that feeling will grow; if they do not, it will not. Exhortation can never do more than **remind** men of the duties and loyalties which, even if only in their heart of hearts, they already acknowledge; it is quite incapable of **inducing** such sentiments to grow if they are not there in the first place.

Ethnic Feelings

Nothing in the history of Africa in this last stormy decade, or in the history of any other part of the world then or before, suggests that mere loyalty to the state as such can be developed as an effective counter-pull to the strength of ethnic feeling. Even if it could, it would not answer our problems; for virtually all our states are so small in territory and population that, the day after we had succeeded at last in making the overwhelming majority of the citizens of any one of them feel they were all the same kind of people, we would have to set about breaking down this feeling of unity as a threat to the wider unities we must build if Africa is to survive and grow in wealth and power.

History and logical analysis alike indicate that there are only four forces which can substantially weaken what we like to call "tribalism." The first is the experience, widely known and deeply felt, of a sustained fight against a common enemy. The second is devotion to an outstanding personality in a position of leadership — what the sociologists call "charismatic" leadership. The third is the power of a set of beliefs which give one a sense of significance and motivate one to join forces with all others moved by these beliefs to seek the goals which they enjoin; this is essentially the power of ideology on which I have repeatedly insisted in these articles.

The fourth force, much less obvious than the other three, but none the less real, is that of cross-cutting allegiance. What this means, to put it quite simply, is that if many people find that they have neighbours, co-religionists, former schoolfellows, kinsmen, or any other kind of related or "similar" people to themselves, in other ethnic groups than their own, then ethnic allegiances will be weaker and less exclusive than where such conditions are not found.

These four forces work best of all in combination; the position of the charismatic leader is strengthened if he is a leader in battle, or if he is also an ideological leader, and even more so if he is both — as were Mohammed and Lenin. Conversely, the return of peace, the disappearance of the charismatic leader by death or dismissal, or the decline of ideological fervour, will cause old ethnic antagonisms to revive — as is happening now in Yugoslavia and Ghana — **unless** in the meantime widespread cross-cutting allegiances have grown up or have been established. This is at least part of the reason why a charismatic leader will commonly try to whip up feeling against an external enemy, real or imagined, and/or try to found ideology or an ideological cult. Gamel Nasser and Sekou Toure are each trying hard to do both of these things to bolster their authority.

Ghana's Example

In Ghana we have been bitten too deep by one mad dog of a Messiah to have much faith in supposedly great leaders now; elsewhere in our continent the Nyereres, the Kaundas, even the Senghors and the Houphouet-Boignys, have managed to use their pre-eminence to considerable effect without letting it run to their heads or going on crazy spending sprees and bankrupting their countries. Even so, reliance on a leader alone to build the foundations of unity is very risky: when he dies or retires from power, or is forced out of it, the disunity returns much as it was before, and the whole process has to begin again.

It might be useful from the point of view of unity, however costly, if we were engaged in a prolonged war against some tenacious enemy — but enemies are not to be had for the asking. The power of belief is (as I have been arguing all along) of vital importance, not only for unity but for providing and sustaining a sense of direction and purpose. But a convincing ideology cannot come suddenly from nowhere; it must be worked out in detail and promulgated by a dedicated body of people who form the core of the movement which must arise. Meanwhile, there is

no reason why we should not see what we can do with cross-cutting allegiances.

About religious allegiance, there is not much we can do, except perhaps by enabling or encouraging religious bodies to proselytise vigorously outside the ethnic areas in which they have been predominant. The bond which people form in childhood by attending the same school, or in adulthood by working together in the same sort of job, can be fostered more easily. Both within our countries and, even more perhaps, between them, we should be actively attempting to mix people together at school and to ensure that no occupation becomes the exclusive preserve of any one ethnic group. But beyond this we can pay close and serious attention to the possibilities of creating the strongest and most enduring inter-ethnic ties of all — those of kinship.

African Ideology is Vital

In a number of traditional African societies unity is maintained, and even a high degree of order is preserved, in the absence of any government, in just this way — by custom having established the practice of marrying outside one's own group. Hence in time of conflict many of those on each side will be worried about the possibility that their kinsfolk on the other side will get hurt, and they will therefore do their best to end the fighting and bring about reconciliation. We are accustomed to thinking of marriage as a personal or family affair, or at best, as an alternative; we sometimes exhort people in a vague sort of way to intermarry; but have we ever looked systematically into the conditions that foster intermarriage, the circumstances under which young people of the right age, from different regions and language-groups, are brought into contact, for example, or the nature of the forces which encourage them to, or discourage them from, looking on one another as possible marriage-partners?

My case in these articles is that we need our own African ideology, to enable us to make sense of and to cope purposefully with our own African circumstances, and that we can develop it only by thinking for ourselves about the nature of these circumstances and everything they entail most fundamentally. It is useless to rely on the boreal world for inspiration, whether for words or for ideas. Such an ideology of our own should be concerned both with general principles and with the policies which follow from them. About the measures which ought to be taken to develop cross-cutting allegiances not merely within our country but across the whole continent; however, there is no space to write now.

All that can be said at this stage is that such policies would not entail the **abandonment** of ethnic loyalty, and certainly not the continuation of conventional exhortations to "think of themselves" as Ghanaians, Nigerians, Tanzanians, etc., but rather the deliberate development of loyalties and allegiances of all kinds which would contribute to and enrich our common African society without coinciding with ethnic loyalty and thus deepening the rifts which are bound to arise from this.

In short, my point may be summarised as another significant ingredient of an African ideology:

The way to African unity is not to weld but to weave our peoples together.

Observer Notebook

U Thant of the U.N.

THE Secretary-General of the United Nations, First Citizen of the World and also the world's Number One civil servant, has been looking in on Ghana recently as part of his first visit to West Africa. It was good to see and feel this distinguished Burmese in these parts and in the flesh at last, in his ninth year as prime administrator of the world body. It may not be possible for him to come again before finally retiring from his exalted and awful position.

The three men who have so far occupied the Secretary-General's chair at the United Nations have all been remarkable in their different ways. They were bound to be so to be chosen for this extraordinary post. Trygve Lie, a Norwegian and the first of them, was a solid, stolid man, able but unspectacular, who by hard work and perseverance managed to keep the organisation together through its first seven years of complex post-2nd World War rehabilitation. Dag Hammerskjold, the Swede who occupied the chair vacated by Lie until his tragic and mysterious air-crash death in the Congo in 1961, was the most interesting of the three. A bachelor, a loner and a mystic, he made more evidence of his character available after his death than during his life, but without really doing much to clear up the mysteries of his complex, introvert personality. His posthumous poems and essays only showed more of the secretness of his mind, though simultaneously confirming its high quality.

Resolution awaits a fullscale study of his life and a psychoanalysis of his writings.

Then came, and still remains, U Thant, the best known candidate to succeed to the chair so far. U Thant was his country's chief representative at the U.N. long before being elected to the Secretaryship; a busy and earnest executive respected and liked by most of the national delegations congested in the famous structures on the East River and 42nd Street, New York City. U Thant, as we all know, is in his second term of office, after the most extraordinary campaign of personal persuassion in the history of international relations. He is a strong, forthright and reliable character, the only subject ever to have brought complete unanimity and mutuality between East and West, with neutrals and satellites alike even more readily committed to support of the move to have the Secretary for a second turn.

But not all U Thant's gifts and his incandescent sincerity and goodwill can make the job of Secretary-General of the United Nations less onerous or thankless, or the organisation itself more successful than it now modestly is or can ever hope to be — on the evidence of performance and trends so far. U Thant's tour of and overdue acquaintance with West Africa — now accomplished — was certainly useful to himself and the people of the ten countries he rushed through; his meeting with so many more African leaders than he ever saw in New York — and meeting them in their own homes this time — could not have been but mutually beneficial .... But no one is going to be foolish enough to expect any positive, major gains from this "brief encounter". We can only believe that it has contributed some additional strength and inspiration to the fighting spirit of U Thant, the great world servant of peace.

Missioners of Cultural Freedom

IN THE SAME week that Ghana was playing host to U Thant, other distinguished international figures were also visiting us. The University of Ghana at Legon was the venue and scene of the first meeting ever to be held in Africa of one of the two controlling policy bodies of the International Association for Cultural Freedom, formerly known as the Congress for Cultural Freedom. The Association, founded in 1950 as the Congress, and based in Paris, is an organisation of international membership dedicated to the promotion, protection and defence of intellectual and cultural freedom in the Western world, in Africa, Asia and Latin America, particularly in those western countries at present in the grip of totalitarian, anti-liberal regimes, like Spain, Portugal and, now, Greece.

The Association numbers among its own membership some of the west's leading intellectuals, writers and academics. The chairman of its Board of Directors is the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University, Dr. Alan Bullock, and the Director of the Association is a French "Immortal", Pierre Emmanuel, poet-member of the sacrosanct Academie Francaise. The Italian novelist, Ignazio Silone; the towering (in more than one sense) John Kenneth Galbraith, and the American sociologist of Chicago and Cambridge, Edward Shils, are also members of the Board, as are Manes Sperber, French writer; Paris Professor Francois Bourricaud; Mexican sociologist Daniel Cosio Villegas, Vice-Chancellor Alex Kwapong of Legon (host to the Ghana meeting), Vice-Rektor Waldemar Besson of Konstanz University, Professor Pedro Lain Entralgo of Madrid, M. P. Minoo Masani of India (Chairman of the 35-man General Assembly of the Association), and Professor Luis Cintra of Lisbon.

The President of the whole Association is Shepard Stone, internationally known former Vice President of the Ford Foundation, who left the Ford to head the I.A.C.F. The General Assembly of the Association also carries some distinguished names: Daniel Bell of Harvard; Louis Fischer, authority on Russia; "Zeke" Mphahlele, South African writer and freedom fighter; Michael Polanyi, physicist, philosopher and sociologist; Swiss writer and politician Denis de Rougemont, and Swiss parliamentarian Hans Oprecht.

The I.A.C.F. has affiliate bodies in Australia, India, Japan, West Germany, the Philippines, Thailand, Morocco and the United States, as well as three branches in different parts of France itself. It publishes or co-sponsors no fewer than 18 magazines, including the exciting but now suspended **Transition,** as well as (formerly) one of the world's leading English-language journals today, **Encounter.** (One likely result of the Ghana meeting of the Board is the imminent re-establishment of **Transition,** with Accra as its new home and Rajat Neogy, its dynamic young editor and a political victim of President Obote of Uganda, back in his editorial chair.) The Association's programme of work in Africa for the coming few years will be examined in a future issue of the **Observer**.

The Prah Committee of Enquiry

WE would like to congratulate the Busia Government on their instituting a Committee to go into Motor Car Agency agreements and maintenance charges. Readers of this column may remember that we once called on the N.L.C. regime to institute such an enquiry **(L.O., III/20)** but nothing was done about it. It is common knowledge that one of the reasons for the incredibly high cost of living in the towns in particular is the high cost of motor vehicles, and above all steep maintenance charges, all of which are passed on to the poor passenger or the poor consumer of foodstuffs. We also have reasons to suspect that the high premiums charged by Insurance Corporations are due primarily to the high cost of repairing cars involved in accidents. It is known that in such cases, either to please their customers or certainly to please themselves, the workshops deliberately inflate the estimates by, for instance, insisting on replacing damaged parts which can easily be repaired. We are told further that some workshops charge as much as NC2.50 per hour as workmanship while they pay their mechanics only about a cedi to two cedis a day. And it is common practice that the workshops often refuse to sell spare parts to car-owners with a view to compelling them to send their cars into the workshops. There is quite clearly a great deal that is palpably wrong here and we are exceedingly happy that the Busia Government has instituted this long overdue enquiry. We would only like to appeal to the public to give the committee every assistance and feed it with information.

Springs of Facism?

THE proliferation, in Ghana recently, of "crusades" of various kinds, must be viewed with considerable alarm. All sorts of aims are said to underlie many of these "crusades" — from the desire to convert Ghana for Christ to an attempt to protect indigenous enterprises.

Ideally there is nothing intrinsically wrong with the desire of a people to try to cherish, protect, or revive some deeply valued items in a social structure. Indeed, a society stands to gain immensely when some people in that society take it upon themselves to stress significant values in the community, especially at a time when there is unclarity in the society's value system.

But when this attachment takes the form of an exaggerated and fanatical crusading expression to the effect that the society is crumbling, and that some people or some factors are solely or severally responsible; when people come to stress so much the facts of economic, moral or ethnic purism; when the assumption is made that one particular factor holds the ultimate answer to all the ills of society, and that its removal has incalculable blessing; when volatile, already frustrated and partially educated segments of a population are given simplistic, witch-hunting, fundamentalist sermons about the keys to the total reorganization of society; when the "crusades" take some of these forms, one is sowing the seeds of intolerance, authoritarianism, and know-nothingness. especially when the foundations of democratic ideals have been barely laid. One should consider, in particular, the present Ghanaian atmosphere where twenty-five percent of a working population is unemployed.

It was alleged recently that documents were in circulation in this country, in the name of one of these "crusades," threatening certain aliens in Ghana to quit the country by the middle of January this year, or face the consequences. The matter is said to be in the hands of the police, and the result of their investigations is keenly awaited.

Students of the history of ultra-right-wing social movements — McCarthyism, Goldwaterism, Hitlerism — become worried, therefore, when certain apparently enlightened leaders of thought become mentors and champions of "crusades" of dubious value in society.

The Centre for Civic Education

THIS establishment, set up in the year of the coup to carry out a part of the unwinding of the Nkrumah machine, has already had a vivid history and a sometime controversial existence. When it was first established under the heavyweight Trusteeship patronage of members of the late N.L.C. and, soon enough, the chairmanship of Dr. Busia, many thought it was the best thing that could possibly happen to the country then: a high-powered organisation that was going to de-Nkrumanise the people in a crash programme of psychological rehabilitation.

Once the machine got working, however, other voices began to be raised, both about the method of operation of the Centre, its intended lifespan, its probable fate under future changed political conditions and interests, its financing, etc., and, much more significantly still, about the kind of facilities it offered its chairman, Dr. Busia, of keeping himself constantly before the public in a leadership role, when others had

no means of that kind whatsoever and dared not create any. Dr. Busia was able to weather that storm, but it also became obvious that only if he won the future elections, for which the Centre was directly and indirectly preparing the people, could the Centre be assured of continuity in its existing form, or anything like it. (Of course Dr. Busia did win.)

When the ban on politics was lifted in May 1969 a hurricane of change blew right through the organisation. The Board of Trustees was disbanded immediately and an Interim Executive Director appointed. This was in the person of Mr. Newlove Mamattah, then as now of the Institute of Adult Education, University of Ghana, who was and is on duty for an indefinite period as National Secretary of the Peoples Educational Association. (The P.E.A. is affiliated to and works hand in hand with the Institute of Adult Education.) Under official stimulation Mr Mamattah in turn disbanded the local advisory committees which were helping to keep the Centre alive, and as effective as was possible, outside Accra. Mr. Mamattah's interregnum lasted exactly four months to the day of the assumption of power by Dr. Busia and his Progress Party — as had been the all-round understanding at the time of the interim appointment of Mr. Mamattah. It was just long enough to enable the Interim Director to complete popular education towards the election exercise.

Now the Centre has been placed under a new head, Mr. B. D. G. Folson, a Senior Lecturer in political science at Legon and very well known to the general public as a sharpwitted and knowledgeable provocateur in political and economic matters. But Mr. Folson's appointment is also a temporary one. He is in fact on secondment from the University of Ghana for two years, in the first instance. Whether he can or will stay beyond that obviously depends on a host of unknown, indeterminable factors. And thereon hangs the continuing speculation of what can really be done to and with the Centre to give it a clearly defined role in our public life, to save it from the danger of overlapping with other establishments in providing popular education, and to give it continuity and permanence in a carefully chosen and structured role such as is suggested above.

Religion

JEHOVAH'S WITNESSES AND THE MILLENNIUM

By

Max Assimeng

ON THE world's present scene of multiple ideologies and crumbling faiths, it is revealing to come across a small but active group of religious enthusiasts who have become preoccupied in demonstrating indices of the Creator's concern in human affairs. This group of roving evangelists—Jehovah's Witnesses, also popularly known as the Watch Tower (through the name of their corporation) or as Jehovah's Travelling Salesmen—numbered just a little under one and a quarter million throughout the world last year.

In Ghana, these Witnesses, about 10,000 strong, can hardly be regarded as a mere addition to the varieties of the country's modern religious expression. For Witnesses here are part of the worldwide, highly organized movement committed to active expectation of the kingdom of God here on earth. From their humble beginnings in Ghana in 1924, these Witnesses in this country have been looking forward to the day when the end of the world would come. In their view, all people outside the close network of their New World Society shall be destroyed in the impending battle of Armageddon because, having failed to respond to the clarion call to flee from the present "devilish" world of politics, commerce, and religion pagan) such non-Witnesses have been disqualified ~~pagan) such non-Witneses have been disqualified~~ from participation in the blessings of the millennium.

Millennial Expectation

But the sociology of millennial expectation is much more complex. To give a promise of impending paradise is one thing; having it is another matter. Thus, the usual psychological responses to disconfirmation of prophecy have been encountered in this movement. From 1874, when Pastor Charles T. Russel of the United States became convinced that the millennium was around the corner, to the Second World War which was supposed to be the last herald of the Theocracy, the internal structure of the movement has undergone drastic changes.

There have been desertions on the part of people who have wondered why the millennium has not come as yet. A few of the original Watch Tower followers may have prospered materially, under

the control of the Society's cultic discipline; these have consequently gained some investment in *this* world, and have presumably asked how different the new world might be from the present system of things. Then, too, there has been the Society's attempt to outlive the towering leadership of the founder, Taze Russel, whose death in 1916 nearly ended the history of the Society altogether.

Joseph F. Rutherford's rigid and authoritarian leadership of the movement between 1917 and 1942 did a lot to save the movement from some of the fissiparous tendencies, although he could hardly avoid the many schisms which led, ultimately, to the adoption of the name "Jehovah's Witnesses" in 1931. These set-backs apart, the history of the Witnesses has been one of grown. If numbers were all that mattered, then one could agree with A. H. Macmillan's characterization of their religion as "Faith on the March".

Present-day Jehovah's Witness organization is entirely different. What one now sees is a leadership which is bent on exploiting the advantages of rational bureaucracy and efficient business procedures in holding the faithful together, as they await the Second Coming. With obvious orientation towards ideas of the holy, Witnesses nevertheless have their modes of social action constantly affected by changing secular conceptions of social organization.

Foci of Commitment

The principal paradox, as it affects every social movement animated by precarious values, is how to maintain order and authority in the Society without sacrificing the enthusiasm and zeal which, to the rank and file, are the main foci of commitment to Watch Tower ideology. This is critical, and the movement's directorate is presumably aware of it. Thus, as it has always done in the past, the Society has been explaining, to follower and prospective convert alike, what God's designs have been for mankind. Not that Witnesses claim to be able to discern the dispositions of their Creator; there is very little of the puritan rationalization of economic success in this regard. But, like any other religious movement which claims to be the only acceptable instrument of divine purpose in the world, these "God's People" are sure that they have exclusive and continually unravelling illumination into things which are closed to "outsiders".

The choice of the title, "The Approaching Peace of a Thousand Years", which has 1914 as the central point of departure, is crucial. Before 1914, Watch Tower leaders, alongside many bible students, had been engaged in serious calculations of biblical dates, many of which pointed out to them that the beginning of the First World War would be very significant for human history.

There is some temptation to think that the Society's leadership, which finds disconfirmation of prophecy much more intellectually agonizing, shall be more interested in what God has already done, than in what He is about to do. The Creator's past actions appear more easily demonstrable; but this cannot be said of His future activities. But the average Witness, on the other hand, is much more likely to be interested in what is coming, although how seriously he will take 1975 as the new "probable date" on which the millenial dispensation might begin, is an open question.

Latter-day Jeremiahs?

Between 6th and 11th January, 1970, at the Trade Fair site in Accra these "latter-day Jeremiah's" in Ghana had their turn to discuss some aspects of God's work on the earth since 1914, as well as the imminent thousand years of bliss which, they believe, might begin in the middle of this decade. These Witnesses believe that since the establishment of the kingdom in heaven in the Autum of 1914, under Jesus Christ. Satan has lost his once-privileged abode in heaven, and has since become the god of this world. This is how the Witnesses explain the various superhuman and invisible evil forces now playing upon mankind.

In 1914, the 2520-year period of "gentile" domination, said to have been "prophesied" by Daniel, came to a close. Jesus' own work in heaven since He took control over there has consisted in cleansing the spiritual temple.. What the whole world should have done, in the face of what Witnesses regard as the "conclusive, overwhelming avalanche of testimony before which no skepticism or quibbling can stand", relating to the events of 1914, was to have acknowledged the birth of that heavenly kingdom. Instead, human beings assumed they could rely upon themselves in solving human problems.

What is now left to be faced squarely by all mankind is the impending battle of Armageddon which will be fought on this earth. (The reader will no doubt recall that the issue of the battle in heaven has been settled since 1914). The earthly batle, said to be deadlier than all the wars of human history put together, will settle the question of who will rule the earth. Inevitably, according to Witnesses, Jesus will win in that battle, too;

then it was not complete. This therefore implied that the government's action could be completed by taking over the private schools also, for both are outside the public system.

I do not find any part of my article suggesting that the private schools should be penalized; and the taking over of an instiution does not in any way imply penalisation. Otherwise one would say that the taking over of the mission schools meant a penalisation of them.

I wonder whether Miss Hereward did not argue in a circle by the statement: "Besides, a free and civilised country does not take away the freedom of the independent school". By "independent" does she want me to understand that it applies only to the privately owned schools, or to all schools outside the public educational system? Which in effect will include the Mission Schools.

Commonwealth Hall **J. K. Frimpong**
Legon.

Legon New Year Schools

SIR — The Institute of Adult Education of the University of Ghana has just ended its 21st New Year School at Legon. This is one in a chain of annual rituals which presumably are intended to convince Ghanaians that the Institute still exists to serve the public. But is the public actually being served?

It is difficult to know what type of organizational reappraisal is currently going on at the Institute. Certainly the type of functions it performed in pre-independence Ghana is different from what it is expected to perform at the moment. One has a number of questions to ask. First, about the basis of recruitment to the New Year Schools. The sort of people who attend these schools, mostly teachers of varying pre-university levels, have seemed to convince one that many of them are more interested in the Legon atmosphere than in the content of the "academic" discussions they are supposed to imbibe, and then help to propagate.

Second, it has appeared that most of the participants, especially the ladies, use the school as an opportunity to obtain some sort of a holiday from their daily run of activities — and at a very cheap rate. (Participants to this latest 8-day school paid NC10.00 apiece, while the institute subsidizedd with NC12.00 for each participant.) It is clear that there are some people who have become virtually permanent New Year students, for reasons which would be very interesting to explore.

Finally, it appears there is a misplaced emphasis in the choice of theme. Why, for instance, should a supposed "teach in" on "Translating Election Promises into Reality" not invite parliamentarians and leading politicians to participate, instead of their being invited as mere, occasional lecturers? After all, the election promises were of their making, and a confrontation between the politicians and the electorate would not have been out of place.

From the amount of subsidy that goes into the running of adult education, as in the running of the University of Ghana as a whole, the public is obviously entitled to have an idea of an evaluation of the results of the Institute's activities, especially those highly publicised New Year Schools the value of which is becoming less and less evident to the tax payer. The Easter 'Bu Ber' congregations of the Institute which used to take place in Kumasi have now been suspended. One is not thereby calling for a corresponding suspension of the Legon version. But, surely, the public is entitled to ask whether any serious, meaningful results emerge from the Legon Schools.

The Institute has itself undergone a metamorphosis in nomenclature. First, it was known as Institute of Extra-Mural Studies; then it became Institute of Public Education; now it is Institute of Adult Education. It is difficult to predict what new name the Institute might adopt next. But perhaps the Institute needs a similar metamorphosis in its raison d'être and style of operation.

Sociology **Max Assimeng**
Legon

The End of a War

SIR—Many peace-loving people throughout the world were greatly relieved to hear the news of the cessation of the 30-month Nigeria-Biafra war on the 12th of January, 1970. The end has clearly indicated that secession in any form carried out in Africa cannot survive.

While the whole continent of Africa is vigorously working towards the realisation of its common goals and aspirations, as enshrined in the African Unity Charter, both General Gowon and General Effiong should be urged in the name of humanity and of mother Africa to come quickly to a settlement. They can certainly shape the political history and destiny of Nigeria in particular, and Africa in general. Their great task is one of national reconstruction and reconciliatlon.

May both sides forget about all the damage done and heal all political and war wounds, so that they can once again live as kith and kin for a common goal towards peace, prosperity and happiness.

Kokomlemle, Accra **E. Y. Frempong-Mensah**

The Case of the Aliens

SIR — Some time has elapsed since the "quit order" or the "compliance order" was issued which of course has sparked off world wide talk, some of these not at all in the interest of the nation. Some contend that the policy though good was marred by its implementation, for the Government did not take the necessary precaution to forestall any possible suffering that might befall the aliens concerned.

The Government, in an attempt to save the good image of Ghana, has gone to the extent of providing shelter, food and medical facilities through the Military to the victims at Afienya and Aflao.

But it appears that this sympathetic hearing of the Government is being taken for weakness. The aliens are now settled at these frontiers and are doing real trade. Little do they think of leaving, and why should they when they are feeding far three times dail, gratis.

Rumour has it that some of these aliens, in a last minute, frantic effort to secure the resident permit, are "buying" our big men with large sums of money. This is a disgraceful act. Others in their hideouts feel that the noise about the "compliance order" will soon die

out like bush fire and they can once more breathe the free air of Ghana.

We have had too much of that. I am convinced that if the government had applied a little force, as has been the case in the Congo, the plight of Dahomians and Ghanaians in the Ivory Coast and Sierra Leone respectively within two days after the "quit order" there will be no trace of these prohibited aliens in the country and hence a drain on our economy. We cannot eat cakes and have them. The policy of free medical treatment, shelter and food must stop.

Atlantic Hall **F. A. Andoh**
University College
Cape Coast

Why This Soccer Fanaticism?

SIR — When Lima incident occurred and over two hundred people died and a great number more barely got off with injuries, I personally thought it was only in South America that such incidents could happen, as we in Africa in general and Ghana in particular do not attach too much fanaticism to soccer. Now mistaken I was! Just recently a similar stampede occurred in Congo-Kinshasa which resulted in the death of about fourteen people, not to mention those who were injured.

Now it's the turn of Ghana's Kumasi. It was reported in the dailies that during an outstanding league match between Cornerstones and Kotoko a riot broke out. As a result of this Osei Kofi, Ghana's George Best, was taken to the Okomfo Anokye Hospital unconscious. In all three instances the riot was started by supporters. This goes to underscore the fact that of late soccer is being turned into a game of riot by supporters whose only idea is to see that their favourite team wins.

The authorities should do all within their power to curb this mounting hooliganism in soccer, especially at the Kumasi tadium. I am quite sure that if attempts are not made to curb this sort of rowdism it will develop into a state where it will definitely become "incurable".

At a time when referees are putting in all their efforts to minimise incidents caused by players of opposing teams, spectators also want to take up where the players leave off. It is my ardent belief that the Kumasi soccer fans will not strike their chests for being originators of such incidents, because it will do them no good. This evil should be stamped out early, else it will take root.

P. O. Box 1769 **Sammy King Oduro Denkyi**
Accra

Tro-tro Fares

SIR — A few months before Christmas, the Minister responsible for Transport and Communications warned the "tro-tro" drivers in the country that it would be wrong on their part to increase the original fares arbitrarily from 2½Np to 5Np. Indeed, as a necessary measure to enforce the order, the official rates for all the tro-tro transport systems, especially in the Accra-Tema city area, were immediately released and widely publicised in all the various newspapers in the country. The warning further urged that any passenger who was forced to pay more than the stipulated fare should report the particular tro-tro driver to the nearest police station.

But what do we find today, in spite of the warning? Unfortunately, since that announcement was made, there has been nothing concrete done to check whether this law is rigidly enforced and adhered to or not. Just to quote one glaring example: The tro-tro drivers plying from Accra New Town to Accra area categorically refused to comply with this order.

Why they have done so completely beats my imagination! And still today nothing has been done to them, as they arbitrarily continue to charge 5Np. This unfortunate disregard of the law is certainly serious, and I wonder whether these tro-tro drivers have more power than the Minister for Transport and Communications!

I certainly feel that the Minister responsible for Transport and Communications should one day avail himself of an opportunity to see these conditions for himself and come to the aid of the poor workers who mainly rely on these vehicles to and from work. Otherwise, I am afraid a recent newstory which appeared in an Accra daily — that "two men, one a policeman, were killed in the little village of Black Gate, North Jamaica, in an argument over five cents" (about five pesewas), may be repeated here one day.

Kokomlemle, Accra **Frempong-Mensah**

Miscellaneous

MY NEW YEAR RESOLUTIONS

By

Kontopiaat

THOSE of you who were admitted into the secrets of the Christmas celebrations in Kontopiaatkrom will appreciate my failure to produce my New Year resolutions so far. But there is yet another explanation. You see, since 1970 is not just any ordinary year but also the beginning of a whole decade, we all have to be particularly careful about what we commit ourselves to since we will be haunted by these resolutions for ten whole years. Indeed, for the latter reason, the new year resolution of many people in Dompokrom has been simply not to make any resolutions for this crucial year! But, of course, not those of Kontopiaatkrom, so here we go.

Our New Year resolution Number One is to apply to the Minister of Trade and Industry for an unnumbered export licence to export virtually all the Syrians, Lebanese, Indians from the country. If Kwadwo and Yaa Alata are gone, we in Kontopiaatkrom fail to see why these people who are the subject of our resolution should remain. It is our hope that this decade will go down in our history as the decade of the liberation of the country from the economic domination of aliens.

Resolution Number Two is to ban, or, rather, to discourage the Ghana Parenthood Association. If, thanks to the Minister of Interior, aided and abetted by the Minister of Trade, we are going to drive away aliens, foreigners and expatriates (i.e. Africans, Asiatics and Europeans) and if, as a consequence, the popula-

tion of this country will be reduced by at least two million, why then should we waste time preaching birth control and all that?

Resolution Number Three is to seriously consider joining either the Busia Government or Dr. Agama's group. We in Kontopiaatkrom have come to realise that the only way of getting any son of ours ever to drive in any of the posh 230 or 250 or 280 Benz cars is to get him into Busia's government. On the other hand, considering the rate at which the founders and former officers of N.A.L. have been deserting Dr. Agama, there is a great fear that the Opposition may disintegrate half-way through the decade, and, since we do sincerely and passionately believe in parliamentary democracy and ipso facto in an effective Opposition Party, we have to do something about it. This question will obviously be the first item on the agenda of the first meeting of the new Sitting Committee of the RENYP/RA coalition.

Resolution Number Four which follows from the above is to send a letter of congratulations to the Headmaster of the school which has produced both the Prime Minister and the Leader of the Opposition. This school is of course, Mfantsipim. Well done, Kwabotwe!

Resolution Number Five is to get the State Protocol completely Ghanaianized. You see, a few days ago I came home to find two visitors from Kontopiaatkrom in my house, one hiding under the bed and the other poised with a cutlass behind the door. On enquiry they told me that they heard a number of gun shots and thought that either there had been a *coup* or Ghana had been invaded. It took me some time to explain to them that what they heard was the 21-Gun salute in honour of a V.I.P. who had then disembarked from a plane. The comment of the first was "What a waste of gun-powder". The other asked: "Why can't they think of a less belligerent way of welcoming visitors even if they are all that important. Why can't they be welcomed with the Atumpan drums, Ntahara orchestra or Kolomashie or Asafo drumming". Why indeed, furthermore, instead of inspecting a Guard of Honour which is all a waste of time in the first place, and nothing but a blind apeing of things European — I bet there is nobody here who knows the origins of this strange practice — why not pour a libation. Some people may contend that this is pagan. But then, since a majority of Ghanaians are pagan according to the Kontopiaatkrom Statistician, and since we all believe, that the view of the majority must always prevail, pagan customs should not be rejected out of hand. Indeed, we would like to go even further on the question of state protocol. Why for instance should salmon, roast beef, Yorkshire pudding or roast Turkey and expensive wines be served at our state banquets and dinners? Can't something truly Ghanaian be substituted? We of Kontopiaatkrom would like to suggest the following menu for a state banquet:

First Course: Aprapransa, or Akpligii as the Ga call it or Abodoo and koobi or tatale and aboboi.

Second Course: (The main course) Green green (naturally), or Fufu and Abenkwan or Nkatenkwan or Akple or Banku and Okro and Garden Eggs stew. There should be no dessert since this should be built into the second course. Pito and palm wine should be served with the first and second courses, and Bramsco should be used for all the toasts!

Any V.I.P. who will be welcomed on his arrival and given a banquet along the lines suggested here will then have absolutely no doubt that he is in a truly sovereign and independent African state; a state which has been able to shake off all the vestiges of colonialism in the cultural and culinary fields!

Our Number Six resolution is to ensure that we do get counted in this year's census. We in Kontopiaatkrom never saw a single enumerator during the 1960 census, and the result was that when it came to the time of providing amenities and building schools, dispensaries, etc., all our requests were turned down on the grounds that our name did not even appear in the census records! No, Sir, we won't make that mistake again!

Our Seventh resolution is that in the course of the first half of this decade, we should get strict regulations about funerals, worked out and implemented. For instance, we would like to see that:

(a) All ceremonies connected with the death of any person should not last more than two days, the day when the burial takes place and the next day when funeral expenses are reckoned and shared out;
(b) Donations are limited to 20np. per male and 10np. per female;
(c) Only palm wine, pito, nme-daa and drinks like that should be served during funerals etc.;
(d) All memorial services, which have now really become fund-raising exercises for churches, should be abolished.

We are sure that if all these measures are fully implemented, the indebtedness and impecuniousness of farmers in particular and some Akan families in general will come to an end before the closing of the decade.

The last and final New Year Resolution is that Kontopiaat should be silenced for the next six to eight months and sent on a course to prepare him for the post of the first Ghanaain Ambasador to Mars during the second half of the decade.

P.S. May I, Kwadwo Kontopiaat and the people of Kontopiaatkrom express our sincere thanks to all our admirers who sent us Christmas and the season's greetings.

News Summary

GHANA

Accra Jan. 6

State Hotels Corporation Takes Over

An instrument which came into force on 19th December, 1969 and which was published in Accra yesterday has transferred all the assets, liabilities and property of the former Ghana Hotels and Tourist Corporation to the State Hotels Corporation. The G.H.T.C. was dissolved by this instrument, which bears the signature of Mr. J. W. K. Harlley, Deputy Chairman of the Presidential Commission.

The instrument places responsibility for every contract in respect of all (government?) hotels, chalets, huts and inns in the hands of the State Hotels Corporation.

Tamale Jan. 6

Rice in Financial Crisis

As much as 55,000 bags of paddy rice grown by Tamale district farmers may not be bought and sold by the Northern Regional Rice Committee during this trading unless the government comes to the Committee's rescue. A previous purchase of 6,000 bags of the commodity from the farmers by the Committee is reported to be still unpaid for. A bag of paddy (that is, rice in the husks) costs NC9 in Ghana.

This state of affairs was disclosed at the rice mill here yesterday to Mr. K. C. Y. Anakwa, Northern Regional Administrative Officer, by Mr. N. Yenli, Agricultural Officer, Northern Region. Mr. Yenli stated further that the Rice Committee had been able to buy only 9,000 bags from the farmers during the season, with the previously mentioned 55,000 bags still to come from the farmers before the end of the season The possible effect of this scarcity of cash, said Mr. Yenli, was pressure on the farmer to smuggle his commodity across the border into the territories of Ghana's neighbbours, where a ready market would be open tc them.

Accra Jan. 6

R.E.Cs. Take Oath of Office

Eight Regional Chief Executives, together with the Auditor-General, Mr. Ahenkora Osei, have today taken their Oaths of Office at the Castle, Osu. They took two oaths each: of office and of secrecy, all except Mr. Ahenkora Osei, who did only the Oath of Office. The ceremony was performed by Brigadier Afrifa, in the presence of the other two Presidential Commissioners, Mr. Harlley and Lt.-Gen. A. K. Ocran, and Prime Minister Dr. K. A. Busia.

Many Join Corps

It is reported in official quarters that so far over 6,000 applicants have registered for service in the Corps. The District Administrative Officer, Mr. P. Quaye, said hundreds were queueing up daily to register, and that 235 registration officers had been distributed around six constituencies within the Greater-Accra region to speed up the process.

Opposition Leader Criticises

Dr. G. K. Agama, Leader of the Parliamentary Opposition, today repeated his criticism of the government's handling of the aliens issue which he had made first at the New Year School five days earlier. But he also re-emphasised that the Opposition would not stand in the way of the government's efforts to enforce the laws of Ghana. His main complaint was that the government had not observed its own allowance of nine months grace to foreign embassies with large populations here and that these "honourable obligations", if carried out, would have given those affected until April 1970 to comply or quit.

Bolgatanga, Jan. 7

Judge and Party Supporters

Mr. George Lamptey, presiding over a circuit court here yesterday expressed concern over the unfriendly attitude of both supporters of the National Alliance of Liberals and the Progress Party in the Upper Region. He observed that supporters of these two rival parties had made his work very difficult in the region ever since he assumed duty some months ago, with "their party troubles always before me".

Accra Jan. 8

U Thant in Ghana

THE Secretary-General of the United Nations, U Thant, was today given a warm welcome when he arrived at the Kotoka International Airport here from Moronvia, Liberia, to begin a two-day visit at the invitation of the government. The Secretary-General was accompanied by Mr. I. Djermakoye, under-secretary-general for Trusteeship Affairs. He was met on arrival by the Prime Minister, Dr. K. A. Busia, cabinet ministers, officials of the U.N. Specialised Agencies, and heads of diplomatic missions in Ghana.

Accra Jan. 10

U Thant on Peace Prospects

THE United Nations Secretary-General said yesterday that the U.N. Charter was not responsible for its own impontence, and that the fault lay "with member states who do not respect the recommendations or resolutions of the U.N." He was speaking at a news conference here.

The Secretary-General, leaving here today after a two-day visit to Ghana, was optimistic about peace prospects in the coming decade. "We are now coming to an end of the cold war, after two decades of its existence", he declared.

U Thant said whether or not the U.N. would become an effective weapon in the promotion of peace and progress in the world would depend on the member states, particularly on the permanent member states on the Security Council.

Kumasi Jan. 10

Cape Coast Science Students

THE National Union of Ghana Students (N.U.G.S.), has called on the authorities of the University College of Cape Coast to call into residence as soon as practicable all the final year science students who boycotted examinations last term. A statement issued here yesterday and signed by Mr. T. A. Coleman, the national president of the union, said it would be wrong for a certain students to be victimised as a result of the boycott.

The union expressed concern over affairs at the college and said it took cognisance of the case of the boycott, namely that successful candidates at the examinations would be registered by the university for the final examinations while the unsuccessful ones would have to register as private candidates. It said the final year students had had no prior knowledge of the conditions and therefore had refused to take the examinations.

Accra Jan. 12

Osei-Bonsu Sworn In

MR. K. G. Osei-Bonsu, former Ministerial Secretary to the National Security Council, was today sworn in as Minister of State and Chief of State Protocol at the Castle, Osu. Mr. Osei-Bonsu took the ministerial and cabinet oath before Brigadier A. A. Afrifa, Chairman; Mr. J. W. K. Harlley, Deputy Chairman; and Lieutenant-General A. K. Ocran, member, all of the Presidential Commission. Also present at the ceremony was Mr. N. A. Quao, newly-appointed secretary to the Presidential Commission.

Cheers.. good health!



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EDITORIAL

OUR CIVIL SERVANTS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

L.S.N.A. Communication

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

CORRECTION

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

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

In our next issue

The Need for Legal Aid in Ghana

by Kwame Afreh

Africa

THE NEED FOR REVIVING PAN-AFRICANISM

By

J. K. Obatala

(An Afro-American Student at Legon)

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

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

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

Faulty Conception of Africa

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

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

Nations as Artificial Entities?

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

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

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The Institute is being assisted by a United Nations Special Fund Project operated by a team of specialists in Industrial Engineering, Management Accounting and Cost Accounting, Work Study, Supervisory Training, Marketing and Sales, General Management, etc. from the International Labour Office and other agencies. The successful applicants will initially work as counterparts (designated as Assistant Consultants) to members of the international team, training to take over full responsibility during the five-year life of the Project, after which it is planned to be fully supported by national personnel. Promotion possibilities to higher grades exist for the successful candidates.

The objects of the Institute are:

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3. Carrying out studies, enquiries and research in the fields of management development and productivity, in co-operation with industry and organisations with related interests;
4. The publication of information collected, and the results of the studies, enquiries and surveys, in the form of books, periodicals, bulletins, and bibliographies;
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and

(b) A minimum of four years experience in Senior Accounting capacity in industry or commerce. Teaching experience would be an asset.

III. MARKETING OFFICER

(a) University Degree in Commerce, Economics or Business Administration or relevant qualification in Marketing. Must have

[Continued on Page 5]

[Continued from Page 4]

taken some courses in Statistics.

and

(b) A minimum of four years experience in Senior Marketing capacity (Sales Manager) in a marketing organisation. Teaching experience would be an asset.

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(a) A University Degree in Commerce, Economics or Business Administration or membership by examination of a recognised professional body.

and

(b) A minimum of four years experience in industry as Supervisor, or Training Officer.

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(b) A minimum of four years relevant experience in industry or commerce.

DUTIES:

Will assist the Head of the Training Department in planning, organising and implementing the Training Programmes of the Institute.

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CLOSING DATE: 10TH FEBRUARY, 1970.

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

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

Task of Black Intellectuals

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

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

Themes in African History

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

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

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

Social Problems

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT — TIME TO ABOLISH IT?

By
Ben Adam

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

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

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

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

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

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

Limits of Retaliation

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

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

that in hanging a criminal the society is protected thereby?

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

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

Observer Notebook

Nuisance in the Streets

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

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

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

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

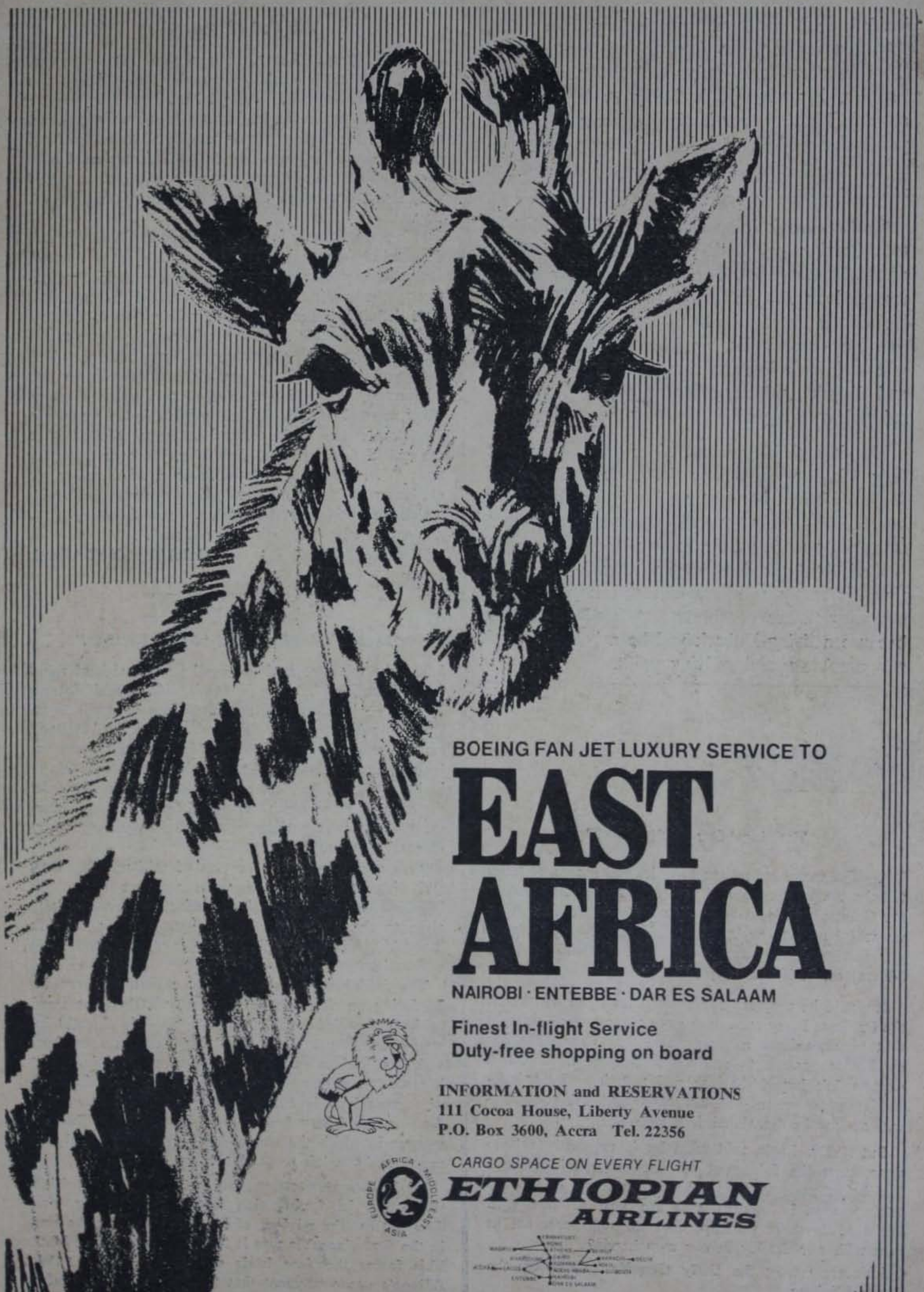
Containing Dubcek

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

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

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

It is significant that his "despatch" has co-



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

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

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

Letters

Training "Our Intellectuals?"

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

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

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

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

Institute of African Studies **Kwame Arhin**
Legon

The End of Secession

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

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

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

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

On the Extinction of the "Biafra Republic"

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

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

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

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

UNIVERSITY OF GHANA

Registrar's Offices

ADMISSION TO DEGREE COURSES IN OCTOBER 1970

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ENTRANCE EXAMINATION—LAW

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

NOTE (IMPORTANT)

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

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

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

20TH JANUARY, 1970.

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

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

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

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

Legon Hall **Felix A. Asiedu**

The Nigerian War

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

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

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

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

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

Implementing Commissions of Enquiry Reports

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

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

Achimota **F. C. Essandoh**

Aliens And Our Politicians

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

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

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

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

Commonwealth Hall **Obeng-Manu**
Legon

Missionary Schools and Liberalism

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

Legon **Daphne Hereward**

Oburoni Muntu and African Ideology

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

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

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

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

UNIVERSITY OF GHANA

Registrar's Offices

ADMISSION TO NON-DEGREE COURSES IN OCTOBER, 1970

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

1. *LICENTIATE IN THE STUDY OF RELIGIONS*

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

2. *CERTIFICATE IN SOCIAL ADMINISTRATION*

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

3. *DIPLOMA IN DRAMA AND THEATRE STUDIES*

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

4. *GENERAL DIPLOMA IN MUSIC*

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

5. *DIPLOMA IN AFRICAN MUSIC*

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

6. *DIPLOMA IN DANCE*

A three-year course for persons who have:

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

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

7. *DIPLOMA IN NURSING EDUCATION*

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

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

These courses have been suspended for the time being.

NOTE (IMPORTANT)

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

20TH JANUARY, 1970.

"Is Christmas For Christians?"

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

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

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

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

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

An Englishwoman's View of Christmas

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

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

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

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

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

Oxford, England **Lila Gough**

The Watch Tower Prophecies

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

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

Commonwealth Hall **Erasmus Douglas-Djarbeng**
Legon

The Significance of Guru Nanak

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Book Review

THE CHOSEN TONGUE
by Gerald Moore (Longmans, 1969)

Reviewed by
E. Ofori Akyea

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Miscellaneous

WHO IS A GHANAIAN?

by
Kwadwo Kontopiaat

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

POEM:

Atenteben

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Kofi Broni

News Summary

Accra January 21

Extortion from Aliens

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

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

Freetown January 21

Sierra Leone into Republic?

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

Accra January 21

Casely Mate Retires

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

Accra January 22

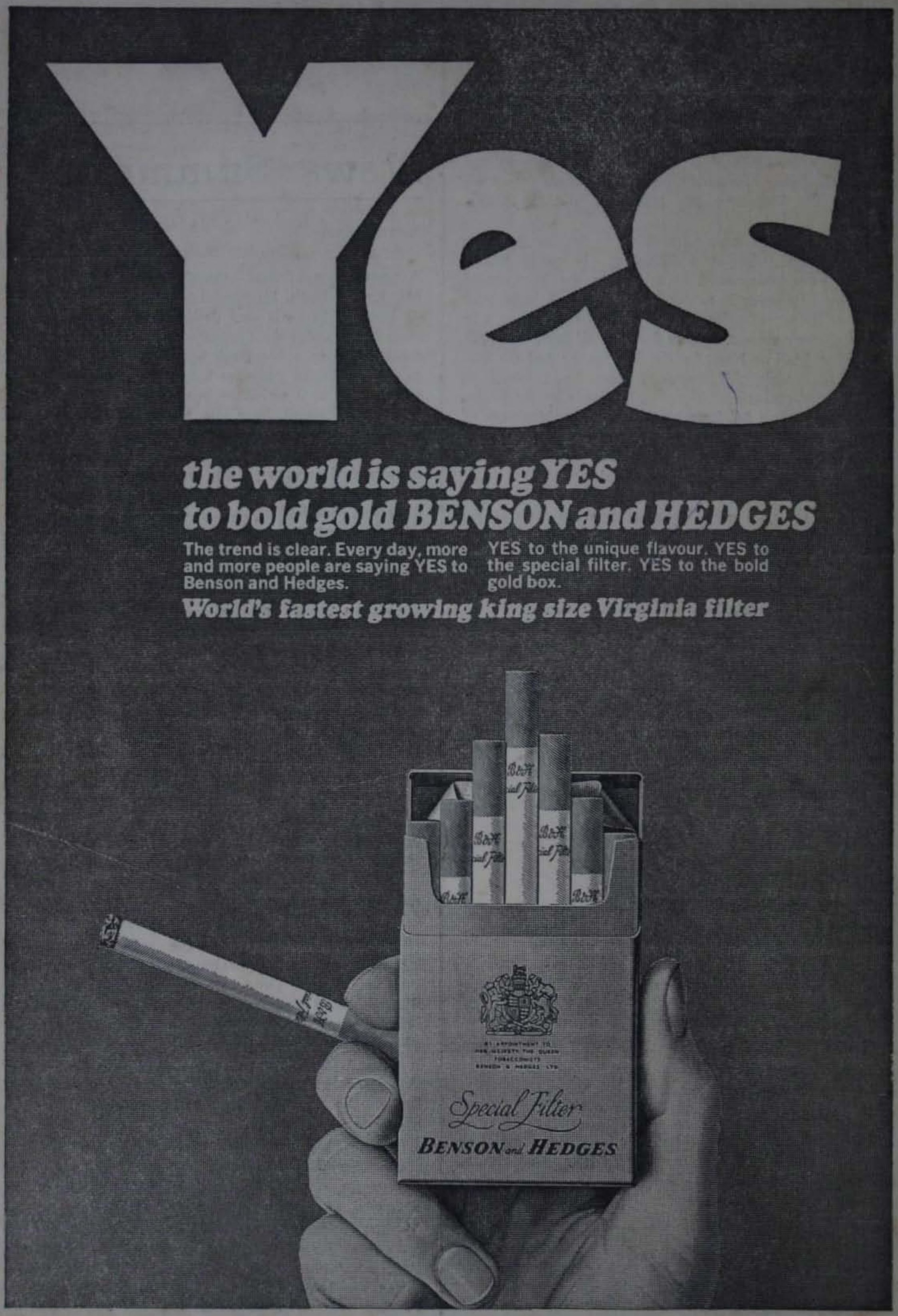
Ibos Demand Safeguards

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

Paris January 22

Mrs. Busia Entertained

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



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EDITORIAL

TOWARDS ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE

VIRTUALLY all the countries in the Third World have had the common experience of achieving political independence without adequate economic substance. Not only were their economies tied to the apron strings of those of their metropolitan countries. The initial poverty of these countries and their apparent complacency in their poverty, were such that, in the absence of an ability to generate investment capital and entrepreneurial ability locally, resort had to be had to foreign investors.

But this riddle did not become insoluble, for, in the heat of nationalistic expression, some of the countries, on independence, have had to abrogate some of the trade and financial agreements which, they thought, had been entered into on the level of unequal partnership; others have sought to revise the terms of such agreements; an extreme response to this situation has been the confiscation of foreign capital and foreign business interests altogether.

Whatever the shade of political colouring, and without ignoring the internationally recognized laws of contract, the countries in this category of development can no longer refuse to heed the surging passionate calls for social and economic justice which their citizens clamour for. It is in this respect that the vital areas of economic activity are said to be better handled by public institutions who take their policy direction from the national governments, instead of private business manipulators blackmailing the nations on the basis of these nations' financial and economic insecurity.

The termination by the Ghana government, on 30th January 1970, of its contracts with the Drevici group of companies, must be seen in the light of the foregoing. The legal implications of the termination of the contract are said to be before the courts of law, and we do not intend to make any careless, premature intrusion into these. Our immediate concern, while waiting for more facts, is on the politics, economics, and ethics of the government's decision. And it is in these areas that several questions begin to stand out clearly.

Although Drevici is not Savundra, the persuasiveness of the government's argument, regarding the corrupt part of the Drevici complex, deserves considerable recall if only because Savundra, too, once tried a gigantic investment hoax which, in this country, remained still-born but opened the eyes of Ghanaians as to the comparative ethics of business concerns.

The vital part of the government's statement intimates that the Drevici contracts were

> tainted and vitiated by improper and illegal gifts, inducements, and rewards, given by the representatives of the Drevici Group of Companies to employees, servants or agents of the previous Governments of Ghana for doing, or forbearing to do, acts in relation to the obtaining or execution of such contracts.

One would want to have a counter-statement to this blunt piece. Until then, one is bound to ask: Why did the Drevici contract continue to operate, when an N.L.C. investigation committee had recommended that the working of the agreement was improper? Who were the recipients of the illegal presents which enabled the Drevici complex to continue its activities when these were known to be of no viable economic value to the nation? How was it possible for the Drevici group to incorporate, in particular, the running of the Inter-locking Industrial Complex and the Cocoa Processing and Chocolate Complex without reference to the Ghana Government? And, if the government did not know of this alleged breach of promise on the part of the Drevicis until now, then whose fault was it?

Cocoa is the crucial life-line of the nation's economy; flour and food processing of any sort form indisputable items of our internal consumption. It is, therefore, sound politics not to allow these and other vital areas of our economy to be juggled with by foreign firms who have regard only for their profits, and for their local corrupt corroborators.

We are not unmindful of the various "growth without development" economies. This is why we believe that in the economic field, the Busia government seems to have begun on a revolutionary footing. It must continue to take a serious look at virtually all the contracts — and those loans, and those "experts" in our midst! — and make bold decisions with regard to them. And when the dubious foreign investors and their internal economic saboteurs — however highly placed — are removed from our midst, posterity shall say that the Busia administration took cognizance of the need for economic independence, without which political independence becomes a mere misnomer.

The Law

THE NEED FOR LEGAL AID IN GHANA

By Kwame Afreh

IN any discussion on legal aid one is likely to encounter a great deal of confusion, ignorance and prejudice about the matter. Why should the state pay for the defence of thieves, rogues, bullies, spivs and cut-throats? Why should public money be spent on private litigation between individuals? . . . These are the sort of questions people ask whenever one argues for the introduction of a comprehensive legal aid system in this country.

It is not only laymen who display this attitude; there are even lawyers who do not understand why persons should be **given** legal aid. One remembers with regret and sorrow the unfortunate statement of the late Sir Arku Korsah, who, when rejecting an application by Teiko Tagoe and others, in the first treason trial in this country, said the state was not bound to give legal aid to a person accused of an offence against itself. His Lordship forgot 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.

Common Law Requirement

There need not be any such confusion about the necessity for legal aid for those who do not have the means to obtain legal assistance. The need has been recognised for a long time by the common law. For over two centuries judges in England have had power to assign counsel to defend the indigent accused persons. Proceedings **forma pauperis** is an ancient form of legal aid. And there has always been that eccentric form of briefing a lawyer, the "dock brief", which entitles an accused person to have the services of a lawyer he picks from the row of lawyers in court, on payment of a nominal fee of about NC5.00. In theory, all these forms of legal aid apply in Ghana under our common law.

The experience of the centuries have shown that substantial miscarriage of justice can occur where there are no proper procedural safeguards. In most countries, therefore, the law has erected elaborate forms of procedure (and, in the common law world, of evidence) designed to ensure that at all stages of the trial parties would be protected against unfairness and injustice. It is not for nothing that there are

such rules as that every person should be presumed innocent until the contrary is proved; that the guilt of the accused should be proved beyond reasonable doubt; that no man should be compelled to incriminate himself; that not only must justice be done but that it must be seen to have been manifestly and undoubtedly done. Such rules are intended to guard against miscarriages of justice. They are empty and valueless when those they are intended to protect cannot, because of ignorance, fully invoke them. And in many cases a person without legal assistance cannot fully invoke them in his own defence.

A Legal Contest

The system of trial in this country is adversary. A trial is a legal contest between two parties, with the judge acting as referee. It is for each party to prove his case, to marshall and adduce evidence in support of it. This mode of trial requires that the contesting parties shall as far as possible be equally armed. Where one party is in a position to hire a lawyer and the other is not, the stakes can be said to be too greatly stacked in favour of the one against the other. And it is not always that the former has a better case. The party so favoured may be a heartless landlord trying to eject a tenant, who is legally entitled to refuse to pay a higher rent; he may be the rich farmer attempting to take over the land of his poor neighbour; he may be a callous successor trying to drive away a poor widow and her children from the house of their deceased husband and father. It may be the state against which a poor, helpless, and defenceless person is defending a right or prosecuting a claim, or against which an innocent man is trying to defend himself on a criminal charge.

In all such cases the poor man deserves legal aid, and it was Justice Hugo Black of the U.S. Supreme Court who said in **Griffin v. Illinois:** "There can be no legal justice where the kind of trial a man gets depends on the amount of money he has".

The vigour of the adversary system depends upon the ability of those who are accused of crime, or have a claim, to challenge their accusers or those who might have infringed or are trying to take away their rights. The effect of poverty on the vigour of the adversary system may be summed up in the words of the Report of the (U.S.) Attorney-General's Committee on Poverty and Administration of Criminal Justice (1961):

> The essence of the adversary system is challenge. The survival of one system of criminal justice and the values which it advances depend upon a constant, searching and creative questioning of official decisions and assertions at all stages of the process. The proper performance of the defence is thus as vital to the health of the system as the performance of the prosecuting and the adjudicatory functions. It follows that in so far as the financial status of the accused impedes vigorous and proper challenges it constitutes a threat to the viability of the adversary system. We believe that the system is imperilled by the large numbers of accused persons unable to employ counsel. . .and by the large, undeterminable numbers of persons able to pay some part of the costs of defence but unable to finance a full and proper defence. Persons suffering such disabilities are incapable of providing the challenges that are indispensable to the satisfactory operation of the system. The loss to the interests of the accused individuals, occasioned by these failures, are great and apparent. It is also clear that a situation in which persons are required to contest serious accusation but are denied access to the tools of contest is offensive to fairness and equity.

The Innocent and the Helpless

There are several reported cases in which accused persons have pleaded guilty, only to find on subsequent legal advice that there was not even a triable issue against them, and have succeeded on appeal in having their convictions quashed for that reason. And no one knows the numbers of undefended accused persons serving prison terms for all sorts of crime of which they are innocent.

Most persons accused of crime are poor and illiterate. They are incapable of understanding the rules of procedure, evidence and substantive law applied at their trial. What Stephen wrote of accused persons in the England of his time (1883), before the institution of a comprehensive legal aid system there, is true of accused persons in Ghana today:

> . . . Most persons accused of crime are poor. . . and helpless . . . When a prisoner is undefended his position is often pitiable, even if he has a good case. An ignorant uneducated man has the greatest possible difficulty in collecting his ideas, and seeing the bearing of facts alleged. He is utterly unaccustomed to sustained attention or systematic thought, and it often appears

> ...as if the proceedings on a trial, which to an experienced person appear plain and simple, must pass before the eyes of the prisoner like a dream he cannot grasp.

This must be particularly true in the case, as in this country, of a person who cannot even understand the language of the court and can only follow proceedings through a poorly educated interpreter. What has been said of the indigent accused is also true of the poor litigant in a private suit. Rights are no less in need of protection because they happen to be contested by the rules of civil procedure.

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. Yet it is not easier to defend a charge of stealing, or fraud or burglary or manslaughter, than of murder. In fact in many respects the laws on these crimes are more complicated than the law of murder. It is immaterial that murder is a capital offence and the others are not. In those also, the accused stands in peril of his fundamental right of freedom of movement. Whatever is the charge, the safeguards of liberty must not be ignored.

Provisions for Legal Aid

Article 171(i) of our Constitution recognises the need for legal aid in certain cases:

> For the purpose of enforcing any provisions of this Constitution, a person shall have legal aid in connection with any proceedings relating thereto if he has reasonable grounds for taking, defending, prosecuting or being a party thereto.

Clause 2 of the Article enjoins upon Parliament to make detailed provisions for such legal aid.

Article 171 is of very limited scope. It appears to be limited to constitutional cases only, that is, to actions brought under a provision in the constitution, such as Article 2, 108 and possibly 28. This is quite clear from the Constitutional proposals (para. 728-730 at p. 199):

> Legal processes often involve substantial outlay. We do not think, however, that if Ghanaians are to be vigilant, as they are expected to be, such matters as relate to the enforcement of any provision of the Constitution should visit any individual with a financial burden. The state must provide a machinery whereby an individual can invoke financial assistance determined by other courts. The Constitution should accordingly provide specifically for the establishment of legal aid for purposes of enforcement of any provision of the proposed Constitution.

Article 171(1) cannot, therefore, be invoked by a person charged under the Criminal Code or any other enactment other than the Constitution or in private litigation not brought under the Constitution.

The Constitutional Commission did not even appear to favour a comprehensive legal aid system. The Commission expressed the view that

> "the good health of the nation as a whole will surely safeguard the life and happiness of the citizen and financial considerations should not be allowed to injuriously interfere with the maintenance of that health . . . The modern view is neither in favour of the state at the expense of the accused nor in favour of the accused at the expense of the state. *Caution should be exercised not to give the accused too much latitude in the matter of legal representation for the poor and needy. The whole of legal aid is really to help the demonstrably poor individual and it is essential that this principle should not be perverted*" (emphasis mine)

Means for Defending Rights

The Commission appears to think all that is necessary for liberty and justice to be safeguarded is for the provisions of the Constitution to be enforced. But the provisions of the constitution only broadly deal with the rights of the citizen. These rights appear in their stark reality and in detail and in all their ramifications only in every day litigation and prosecutions. The Constitutional rights are empty, mere academic abstractions, unless they are protected and watched in ordinary trials. Every person accused of crime stands in peril of his life or liberty or of losing his money — or other property. Most civil suits involve a right to property or protection of the person or reputation of an individual or damages for such right and protection. Freedom is indivisible and if these rights are fundamental means must be found to defend them at all times, no matter what the charge or issue.

Parliament has power to establish a comprehensive legal aid system under Article 171(3):

> "In addition to the preceding provisions of this article, Parliament may, by or under an Act of Parliament provide for the granting of legal aid in such matters, other than those referred to in clause (1) of this article as may be prescribed therein".

In a subsequent article we shall discuss the various forms of legal aid that may be considered appropriate for adoption. We can however begin our discussion by urging that whenever in any prosecution the state deems it necessary to employ counsel, or wherever in any private litigation the Courts think that considering the legal points and other interests of justice involved counsel is needed, legal aid should be provided for the indigent accused or a party who is too poor to hire counsel, or to finance the whole of the proceedings.

The Economy

THE NATIONAL SERVICE CORPS

By

J. L. F. Abbey

ONE of the major problems of the present civilian government is the rising unemployment rate. Indeed, I believe at the individual level one may label this as the most important of the many problems of the new administration. Although it is often difficult to reconcile conflicting official estimates of the nation's foreign debts. I believe a lot has been said and done, and the search is going on to find ways and means of securing better re-payment terms; failing this, some more drastic action on our part cannot be ruled out.

My main aim is to examine the unemployment problem and the part, if any, that the National Service Corps may be expected to play in its solution.

The unemployment problem, largely hidden by the retention of otherwise redundant labour on the pay rolls and the setting up and maintenance of numerous unprofitable enterprises, began to show up in its right dimensions when the N.L.C. embarked on its policy of stabilization and rationalization of the economy. Thus between 1966 and 1968, employment levels dropped by over 7%. The closing down of inefficient government enterprises alone led to the laying off of approximately 67,000 persons. The slowing down in construction activity due to a cut-back in the importation of construction materials and the raising of wages and salaries have all contributed their quota towards the ever rising army of the unemployed.

Generally, the change from an agricultural economy to an industrial one may be expected to involve a drift of labour from the rural to the urban areas. In the absence of any other factors the supply and demand of labour, at least from the experience of 19th century Europe, may be expected to be more or less in equilibrium.

In Ghana, as in other developing countries, however, the problem is worsened by the following factors which I will consider briefly in turn: the fast rate of population growth; it is estimated that the population of working age is growing at about 3% per annum. The corresponding figure for the developed countries is 1% and that for the centrally planned economies is 1.2%. The labour force in Ghana then is growing at a rate of about three times as great as in the developed areas. What is even worse still is the fact that for the next 15 years, nothing can be done about changing this trend by way of a population policy or birth control — and the problems this raises for the immediate future are thus inescapable. Thus on the average at least 12,000 new workers are expected to enter the job market each year, bringing the labour force to about 4.5 million by 1975.

The Struggle with Education

This programme had its beginnings in 1952 when fee-free primary and middle school education was introduced. In 1961 the fee-free compulsory primary and middle school education was introduced, and, in the 1961/62 school year, enrolment in Primary One more than doubled from 106,928 in 1960/61 to 231,784 in 1961/62. Out of this total, 148,167 pupils, representing about 64% of the original entrants, reached Primary Six in the 1966/67 school year. About 81% of this latter group (some 120,000 pupils) gained entry into Middle Form I in the following year. Thus, at the beginning of the current year, the first half of pupils from the compulsory fee-free elementary education hit the doors of the Secondary Schools. As always happens when schemes are started without their consequences having been properly considered, the resulting frustration to pupil, parent and headmaster is perhaps better left unsaid, except that this year is going to be worse stil!! For this year, the second batch of the 1962/63 Primary One pupils are going to join the struggle for secondary school education, and the truth is that the secondary schools can take in only a little more than 5% of the combined group of about 232,000 pupils in M.2 and M.3.

Thus, of the expected 120-130 thousand new entrants to the job market in 1971, 65% would

be middle-school leavers, even after allowance has been made for entry into technical and vocational schools.

When only about 10% of the children of school-going age completed elementary education, non-agricultural jobs were available for all of them at incomes considerably in excess of the average farmers. This set up an expectation that schooling leads to a well paid non-agricultural job. As a result of the second factor discussed above, completion rates of about 60% are being achieved, and with these the possibility of jobs for all is now non-existent. At the same time it will take some time to alter expectations, and the interim period we are passing through at the moment is one of disappointment and bitter frustration. So long as the gap not only remains but continues to grow, fostering the unrealistic expectations of school leavers, the urban centres will continue to be full of partially employed people, who hope to get by with an average of six months work in the year and still be better off than being on full time employment farming in the rural areas, which have scarcely any social or health amenities—basic amenities which, if nothing else, schooling makes one feel should be taken as sine qua non!

Negative Employment Growth

Between 1965 and 1968, the gross national product (GNP) in terms of 1960 prices increased by only 3.4 per cent. Since this growth is made up of growth in productivity as well as growth in employment, it may be concluded from estimates of productivity for developing countries that real employment growth in this period was negative, and may have been negative or at most zero as early as 1963. This is in line with the facts, since, as noted earlier, the stabilization programme of the N.L.C. brought the unemployment problem into sharp focus with over 67,000 people laid off in the public sector alone. Idle manpower, whether in rural or urban areas, is the most conspicuous loss of potential energy in this or any other country. Apart from the wastage that it represents, and the threat to political stability and economic progress that it poses, it is a luxury that a country with scarce foreign capital, but relatively abundant fertile land and an imported-food bill of about NC50,000 a year can ill afford. The question which our government must find an answer to is how best to utilise our human and land resources, granted the present constraints on the importation of capital to rebuild our shackled economy. It must be made clear that getting the economy back on its feet in order to absorb the unemployed in productive pursuits is the only long-term solution.

Given our present capabilities, as far as the importation of capital equipment for productive purposes is concerned, it seems that for the N.S.C. to be more than a mere financial drain on the economy, every attempt should be made to channel the enormous manpower so gathered into labour-intensive projects.

In practice, technological conditions may either narrow or eliminate choices or make a capital intensive method preferable on the grounds of quality control, or reduction in wastage of materials.

Opportunities for Substitution

But, within recognized limitations, some possibilities of substitution of labour for capital do exist, for example in weaving, woodworking, clothing and leather. Opportunities for labour absorption and capital saving also exist in manufacturing processes in various ancillary operations, such as materials handling and packaging. The construction industry and agriculture, however, offer by far the greatest scope for the substitution of labour for capital. In these two sectors many of the necessary activities can be performed by manual labour.

The preference for capital-intensive methods in both the public and the private sectors quite often arises from the shortage of skilled labour and, perhaps more important, from the reluctance of employers to recruit a labour-force which would not only need on-the-job training but may also be without much previous experience in regular, wage employment.

Various countries impose a tax on employers to support the cost of in-service training programmes. It is worth noting that the present government has indicated its willingness to support financially in-service training programmes, undertaken in the private sector.

It would appear that the emphasis thus far placed on technical education in Ghana has been too little. This is clearly indicated by the small-scale of government spending for technical training (between 2.1 per cent and 2.8 per cent of total education expenditure in the period 1962/63 and 1967/68). At the same time there seems to be serious doubt that the training now provided in our technical schools is meeting the needs of employers. Some of the problems are general absence of contact between industry and the teaching staffs of these institutions; prevail-

ing theoretical bias, and lack of the practical applications in their courses; and the present locations of technical institutes at places remote from industrial centres prevent the enrolment of employed workers in part time courses and prohibits the inter-change of students between the educational and industrial spheres which is needed for the validity of their progress.

Further direct orientation of the pre-university education towards manpower needs and realistic employment potentials is of critical importance, especially since far fewer than half of the secondary school leavers can obtain university places. Meanwhile, the numerical growth of elementary school leavers has reduced the proportion of those who obtain secondary school places to under 6%.

Some Practical Difficulties

The N.S.C. properly organised could provide direct assistance to farmers, for example in land clearing and preparation as well as in planting and harvesting. The main difficulties here will be the determination of reasonable charges for the different types of work on different farms, but even more important will be the problems of providing machinery and equipment, the transportation of these to the farms, the transportation of the workers, their housing, remuneration etc. There is also the possibility that the N.S.C. could help in the marketing of agricultural produce. In the traditional, and largely subsistence, economy which prevails in the rural areas, output is related mainly to subsistence requirements, since opportunities for marketing are just non-existent. If with the mobilisation of existing manpower farmers are to be encouraged to produce more than needed for their families, then the means of disposing of their produce to enable them to obtain the maximum reward for their effort must be provided! The least that can be done is the building of storage depots in the rural areas so that the government's policy for guaranteed prices for farm produce can be made truly effective. Closely related to this is the construction of feeder roads. It would appear that the financing of these would present relatively minor problems only, since some provision is already being made—in the 1969-70 year NC1 million was allocated for such projects.

In the general area of construction activity, the N.S.C. could also be useful on communal voluntary works. In this regard, full advantage may be taken of the decentralisation exercise so that projects approved of by the Regional Planning Committees as needing immediate execution can be undertaken by N.S.C. personnel.

The N.S.C. could serve a useful purpose in as much as it could provide the government with the urgently needed breathing space while efforts are made to get the economy moving again. It could be put to use in agriculture and construction and could also provide on-the-job training for more than 100,000 elementary school leavers expected to join the labour force in the next five years. The problems that are yet to be overcome are serious and the financial and organisational constraints could easily render the exercise not merely useless but dangerous! It must be remembered that the unemployed school leavers are as yet unorganised and this may be just as well. It is important that the organisers fully realise the magnitude of the problems ahead and carefully consider the consequences of mismanagement or having to abandon the project at a later stage.

It stands to reason that if we decide to carry on with this project, abandoning it at a later stage would not only be a waste of scarce resources but, with the hopes raised finally shattered, the energies brought together for productive purposes may find their use on less productive enterprises. The chaos and disaster that this could bring is perhaps better left to others to describe.

THE WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION

invites applications from
SECRETARIES and SHORTHAND/TYPISTS
of English or French mother-tongue for its
REGIONAL OFFICE FOR AFRICA
in Brazzaville, Republic of Congo

Civil Status: Single

Commencing Salary: Including allowances, equivalent to U.S. $4,273 per annum, net of tax. Six weeks annual leave and paid home leave travel. Initial contract two years. Accommodation available for single people only.

Minimum Standards Required: G.C.E. or its equivalent and Stenographer and Secretary Certificate issued by the Government Secretarial School or R.S.A. Stage 3 Certificate.
Two years office experience.
Shorthand: 90 w.p.m.
Typing: 45 w.p.m.
Main language: English or French, with a working knowledge of the other.
Age limits: 23 — 35.

Applications must be sent by registered mail to:
The WHO Representative
P.O. Box M.142,
Accra.
enclosing photograph (not returnable) and copies of all certificates obtained. Applications must include age, education and details of all previous posts held.
No application will be acknowledged and further information will be sent only to those likely to be considered for testing. Please do **not** send your application unless you can meet the minimum standards listed above.

Africa

BIAFRA: THE POLITICS OF RELIEF AGENCIES

By E. Ofori Akyea

AFTER the surrender of Biafra to Nigeria many people in Europe and America were affected by a deep sense of deflation. They had believed that "Biafra" was a *cause celebre* which would vindicate all their notions of charity and the help that man must give to his fellow man.

Biafran propaganda had effectively given the impression that there was an imminent danger of genocide and that the whole conduct of the war by the Federal side was part of this plan to exterminate the Ibos, who, in western terms, were honest, hard working and a go ahead people.

Having established that spiritual link between the west and themselves, the Biafrans proceeded to present a picture of a brave people who were being oppressed by some "barbarians", as they called the Federal side.

It is, therefore, not surprising that when the war ended suddenly the Pope, for example, could not but warn of a possible genocide which, to him, was imminent. It was also not surprising that the western journalists who were taken to the former rebel-held areas, and already suffering from some kind of irritation at not being given the red carpet treatment, suddenly descended on poor Gowon to say that he was not doing enough for the East Central State.

Mythical Missionaries

The main point is that there was annoyance for their not being allowed to run the show and to create their heroes. The heroes of the struggle must not be Nigerians but the mythical missionary who battles against all odds to bring comfort and succour to his less fortunate brethren.

The main point of this article, however, is to try to map out the activities of the relief agencies and to show how these activities have frustrated the efforts of Gowon and his men to bring an end to the struggle.

When the civil war started in July 1966, the Federal government seriously underestimated the strength of the Biafrans. It had said that the war was a police action which was to take a couple of weeks to complete.

However, in the weeks preceding the outbreak of hostilities Ojukwu had carefully stockpiled enough ammunition to defend the new state he was creating. He had requested more that 90% of all Ibos to return home in the light of the northern region massacres so that they could live in absolute security.

The population density of Eastern Nigeria had been something like 715 people per square mile while the Federal average was 156 people to the square mile. The mass exodus of Ibos into the small area, therefore, vastly increased the population density of this area which was at war and had to support a war effort.

Soon after the war broke out food supplies fell short, and appeals went out to supply food to the hungry populations inside Biafra. The Federal government had adopted the attitude that this was an internal matter which could be settled by Nigerians; the government said, and therefore, that it needed no foreign help of any kind. Besides, if Nigerians were to adopt any foreign help in the solution of such a crucial issue, it was assumed that the seeds of maturity and sovereignty would be compromised.

Political Implications

But some relief agencies had already drawn their conclusions! The Federal government was said to have engaged in a war of attrition, and it was their duty to ignore the calls of the legitimate government and do whatever they thought was right to preserve life. The political implications of such conclusions were not considered at all.

The result was that the Biafrans had reason to justify their course of action ,get sustenance, and to continue to fight although sometimes under the most appalling conditions.

Because of the attitude of the relief organizations, Major-General Odumegwu Ojukwu was given a powerful counter to use in his many sided war. He, for example, could refuse Lagos's offer of daylight relief flights with the excuse that it was fraught with dangers to his state. He refused the American plan to use river craft to bring up supplies. And he used starving children as a propaganda pawn to get what he wanted.

When the war ended there were about eight organizations working on relief in what used to be Biafra. These included, the Nordic Red Cross, the International Committee of the Red Cross, Caritas International, Joint Church Aid, the Canadian Relief Agency. The island of Sao Tome assumed an importance that shocked the Nigerian government. Caritas and Joint Church Aid (J.C.A.) made it the centre from which they made nightly flights into the Biafran enclave after the fall of Port Harcourt and Enugu. They helped in the creation of the Uli airstrip which became the life-

line for Biafra's communication with the outside world.

When Sao Tome would not let its airport be used, the agencies shifted to Cotonou in Dahomey. They stockpiled hundreds of tons of food and medical supplies with which to feed the starving people of Biafra.

Apparently, these relief planes acted as a cover to the gun running planes of the Biafrans; their arms came in through Madrid and Libreville.

That Portugal, which has refused to grant independence to her colonies, should be aiding a liberation struggle calls for some questions as to the motives and the results. Besides, Gabon which had recognised Biafra was being used as a conduit by some western powers, notably France, to channel help to Biafra.

These relief agencies, Caritas and J.C.A. especially, together with the Nordic Red Cross, got in the way of the military operations of the Federal Forces that rendered them impotent because hard to distinguish between a relief plane and a military plane.

Other Side of Relief

Another point is that the relief agencies allowed the Biafrans to use their aircraft to transport material which turned out later to be arms. What happened was that on each flight to Uli there would be some room on the plane. The Biafrans asked and got permission to transport their own goods aboard these aircrafts. These goods were not checked by the relief agencies to ascertain their contents. So the charge by the Federal government that the relief agencies, instead of helping to end the war were prolonging it, is true in a sense.

To put the relationship of the relief agencies and the Federal government into some perspective it is proposed to give in some detail the story of the breach with the International Committee of the Red Cross. Their breach was brought about with the expulsion from Nigeria of Dr. August Lindt who had been the chief Red Cross official in West Africa. The move amazed the Red Cross but the Federal government accused Dr. Lindt of becoming politically interested in the civil war.

The reason had been Lindt's reported statement that a Biafran resistance would exist in any case even after a Federal victory. He was also not doing anything to hand over relief to the Nigerian Red Cross and had not consulted Lagos before starting relief flights from Cotonou into Biafra.

In May Lindt had been detained at Lagos airport for allegedly tampering with security. He was said to have deceived the airport officials while flying in from Cotonou. But Lindt said this was the result of a misunderstanding between his pilot and the Lagos ground control. Besides, the Nigerian Air Force had shot down a Swedish Red Cross DC-7 which had defied orders to land.

In the midst of all the confusion Lindt resigned from his Red Cross job while being praised by Mr. Willy Spuchler, the Swiss Foreign Minister, much to the annoyance of the Nigerians.

On June 30, the Federal government relieved the International Committee of the Red Cross of responsibility for co-ordinating relief efforts on both sides. Thus, the Red Cross airlift from Cotonou, Dahomey, and Santa Isabel, Equatorial Guinea, and the Joint Church Aid airlift from the Portuguese island of Sao Tome, were banned.

The government threatened to shoot down any plane that tried to defy its orders. This put all planes under a ban, and made relief officials most unhappy. Instead of giving their goodwill to the Nigerian Red Cross, they were sure it was going to make a mess of their job.

The new president of the Red Cross then launched a bitter attack on the Nigerians. Mr. Marcel Naville said that there was danger of mass deaths if the Red Cross did not resume its flights into Biafra.

Pressure From Big Powers

He commented on the "tragic nonappreciation of the true situation" by those countries supplying arms and military equipment on both sides. He described the Nigerian government's expulsion of Lindt as "insolence".

Later the Nigerian Government shifted its ground after strong pressure from some of the big powers. The Red Cross wanted to give the Nigerian government the terms under which it was to work in a sovereign country. Thus it was not surprising that when the war ended the Nigerian government again insisted on its right to administer aid to the East-Central state.

The important thing is that the foreign journalists are indulging in a type of sensationalism which obscures the efforts of the Nigerian government to keep the country going under its own dictates.

Tribute

BERTRAND RUSSELL: 1872-1970

By
J. E. Wiredu

WHEN Bertrand Russell died last week, he had reached the unusually ripe age of ninety-seven. The occupation of professional philosophising is certainly not known for a high rate of mortality. Even so, a life span of niney-seven years probably tops the longevity list of well known philosophers. That, however, is the least remarkable of the superlatives which Russell attained in or by his life. He was beyond question one of the greatest philosophers of all time in the narrow, technical, as well as the broad, more immediately humane, sense of the term. The combination of high virtuosity in minute and rigorous reasoning in abstract investigations with deep commitment to the improvement of the human condition is a phenomenon encountered only in the best philosophers. With the possible exception of the late John Dewey, it is difficult to think of a twentieth century philosopher in whom such attributes were united to better effect.

In his theoretical researches, Russell's deepest motivation seems to have been 'the quest for certainty'. Primarily, he sought to secure sound reasons for believing in the certainty of Mathematics and, of course, also to give a philosophical account of that certainty. The enterprise inevitably expanded to become an inquiry into human knowledge, its scope and limits—nothing short. Nevertheless, it was in the more formal region of logic and the Foundations of Mathematics that he attained his most solid results.

Quest for Certainty

As Russell conceived of certainty, it was a chimerical objective attainable neither in nor outside Mathematics; and one might even say that this has been the lesson of his own work in Mathematical Logic. Yet, if it was thus misconceived, Russell's quest for certainty bore very enduring fruits. It led, among other things, to the writing, in collaboration wih Alfred North Whitehead, of *Principia Mathematica* (1910, 1912, 1913), a monument of concentrated and sustained mental power without precedence in the hisory of human thinking. That work is undoubtedly the single most influential factor in the shaping of Modern Logic in the twentieth century.

There had, of course, been accounts of mathematical knowledge before Russell. But he had never been able to accept any of them. Kant, for example, had claimed that the certainty of mathematics was due to the alleged fact that the subject matter of that discipline was nothing other than the fundamenal 'forms' of the human mind itself; while Mill had attributed the certainty of mathematical propositions to the fact that they are (at any rate, as regards elementary theorems such as '2 plus 2 is 4') ever so constantly verified in our experience. Russell's answer was to seek to show that the whole of mathematics could be deduced from pure logic alone.

As a preliminary, Russell undertook a rigorous formal codification of logic upon the basis of a handful of axioms and rules. The basic concepts of mathematics such as 'set', 'number', 'addition', were next 'defined' exclusively in terms of purely logical concepts; whereupon mathematical theorems were developed by means of the already constructed logical apparatus. The details of this programme were presented in the three tremendous volumes of *Principia Mathematica*.

Russell's Speculative Philosophy

The overwhelming influence of *Principia Mathematica* has not been due to the acceptance of its theses that mathematics is reducible to logic, a doctrine known technically as 'logicism', but rather to the widespread adoption of the logical techniques which were largely perfected in the course of the demonstration. Logicism, though still espoused by some of the best mathematical logicians, has never attained general acceptance. In particular, certain conceptions which Russell invented in order to overcome a rather devastating difficulty, (Russell's Paradox) which he himself had discovered around 1900 in the concept of set — in the very heart of the foundations of mathematics, that is to say — have had to contend indecisively with rival proposals by some very authoritative mathematical logicians for the better founding of Set Theory. As there seems, to date, little hope of unanimity in this matter, one can hardly avoid the reflection that mathematics remains the home of certainty only so long as its foundations are not too deeply probed. Curse or blessing, the circumstance is due to Russell.

In the more speculative areas of philosophy, Russell's influence is somewhat more difficult to define. It cannot be said that the philosophic world owes to him any set of stable speculative doctrines. In fact, what, if I remember rightly, somebody has described as Russell's 'kaleidoscopic imagination' displayed such velocity in changes of doctrinal opinion that would-be followers were not infrequently taken by disconfitted surprise.

An early Hegel-via-Bradley type of monistic idealism yielded place, thanks to the impact of his friend G. E. Moore, to an extremely unsqueamish pluralim—that was in metaphysics. In Ethics, a confident belief in the objectivity of moral attributes was shattered by the mocking dialectic of Santayana, *(Winds of Doctrine)*. Thereafter, Russell experimented with one form or another of Ethical Relativism with never any evidence of his earlier assurance.

At one point or another in his philosophical career, he expounded doctrines such as logical atomism, neutral monism, behaviourism (modified in various important degrees), Platonic realism, logical constructionism, phenomenalism .... The one 'ism' that can be associated with his name with any safe claim of permanence is his own transformation of that empiricism which has, with a brief idealist interregnum, to be noted below, characterised British philosophic thought since the times of Hobbes, Locke, Berkeley, Hume and Mill. One might even add Russell to this list as the last of the great British Empiricists — unless Prof. Ayer, at Oxford, can assume the mantle of the departed giant. At all events, it is nearer the truth to say that Russell's impressive effect upon the philosophical thinking of the twentieth century, in English speaking parts at any rate, was due less to specific results than to the revolution which he spear-headed in the style of philosophising both by precept and example.

Russell's Educative Virtues

In Russell's days as an undergraduate in Cambridge, English philosophy was dominated by a tradition of idealism deriving from Kant and, to a greater extent, Hegel. Although in the best exponents such as Bradley, the profound obscurity of that type of philosophy was sometimes relieved by the sheer felicity of its prose, philosophical writing in that mode often displayed scanty sense of logical or scientific control or even linguistic responsibility. Having outgrown his own youthful idealism, Russell collaborated powerfully with G. E. Moore, to change the philosophical climate. Thenceforth, philosophers were called upon to justify their positions by step by step analysis and argumentation, introducing technical terms only under prior explanation and putting their thoughts into logical form wherever possible. It is especially due to Russell that wild unscientific conceits are rare in the world of English-speaking philosophy today.

Not least among Russell's educative virtues were his absolute intellectual candour and freedom from dogmatism. He never hesitated to admit an error in his philosophical reasonings or conclusions. Frequently, he expressed his positions in a provisional way with confessions of doubt. The layman will be surprised, perhaps, to learn that such an approach had never exactly been the order of the day in previous philosophic epochs.

In political thinking Russell always inclined to the left, which accounts for the particular forms taken by his interventions in practical affairs both in his own country and internationally. He even once, in print, expressed considerable sympathy for Anarchism (*Roads to Freedom* 1919) which he, however, reversed after the second world war on the ground that, as he put it in the preface to the third edition of that work (1948), "Totalitarian systems in Germany and Russia with their vast deliberate cruelties, have led me to take a blacker view than I took when I was younger as to what men are likely to become if there is no forcible control over their tyrannical impulses". Since the 'forcible control' was to be exercised by men presumably also subject to the same regretted tendencies, one must say that it is the implied optimism rather than the explicit pessimism that is so striking in Russell's revised conception of human nature and goverance.

A Great Optimist

By and large, Russell remained basically an optimist mastered to the end by visions of what man might become if he betook himself more obediently to the dictates of reason. It must have been a deep strain of hope for man that, amidst his 'unbearable pity for the suffering of mankind', energised his tireless efforts to bring sanity and therefore humanity and therefore peace to the world.

Unsympathetic critics will rejoin that between the American-backed government of Saigon and the North Vietnam-backed Vietcong which Russell sometimes seemed ready to glorify, it is difficult to believe that reason dictates a choice to be followed with so much passion as Russell displayed in favour of the 'heroic struggle of the people of Vietnam'. Rationality, however, is not a set of conclusions but rather a method of arriving at them; and its principle might be stated, in the words of Russell, as that "it is undesirable to believe a proposition when there is no ground whatever for supposing it true". (*Sceptical Essays* p.9). It was due to his well-founded belief that the Americans were perpe-

trating unspeakable brutalities in North and South Vietnam that Russell expressed such implacable opposition to American policy in those regions. After righteous official denials, the general public is gradually learning the unrighteous realities of American activities in Vietnam.

Contrary to frequent suggestions, Russell never was a pacifist. He opposed or supported specific wars on their specific merits or demerits. It is reported that the following bit of dialogue took place when Russell was being tried for his war resistance activities during the first world war:

Tribunal: "We understand that you are opposed to war, Mr. Russell?"

Russell: "Not *all* war; only *this* war".

It was, therefore, not inconsistent on his part to have supported the allied side of the second world war, whatever else may be thought of his point of view in that case. And while on this matter, one may note another great quality of Bertrand Russell, namely his courage. He was prepared to express his opinions and act accordingly, damn the consequences. It is history that he was imprisoned for his stand with regard to the first world war and lost his Cambridge position to boot. It is also history that he wrote his beautiful *Introduction to Mathematical Philosophy* during that term of imprisonment.

A Catalogue of Persecutions

A large part of Russell's active life was, in fact, spent in opposing the stream and suffering for it. He preached a radically liberal outlook on sexual morality at a time when prudery was the orthodox in Britain and America. In consequence, he was not only publicly execrated but also subjected to positive privations. In 1940, Russell was appointed to a visiting position at the College of the city of New York to give a course of lectures on mathematical logic. A lady citizen of New York, presumably a model of contemporary piety and virtue, brought an injunction in court against the appointment on the ground that, on account of his opinions on sex, the presence of Russell in the general region of the College was a threat to the chastity of her daughter who was entering the College (to pursue studies totally unrelated to mathematical logic). *Mirabille dictu*, a judge was found in the U.S. to uphold the objection and judicially annul the appointment. These two examples must here suffice as illustrations in the absence of space for an extended catalogue of the persecutions which Russell suffered in his life.

Russell was not, and perhaps never will be, *generally* loved for his interventions in practical affairs and not least because of the sharp acidic way in which he administered his rebukes to the high personages of this world. His total opposition to nuclear war (which was probably responsible for the fallacy that he was a pacifist) often, as is well known, took the rather direct form of civil disobedience and was certainly not acceptable to many 'high minded' people. Coming directly home, Ghanaians will recall the support which Russell seemed to be giving to Kwame Nkrumah even during the peak of his dictatorship in Ghana — a circumstance which caused in not a few observers in Ghana the anguished suspicion that, perhaps, the awesome intellect of Russell had at last been overtaken by senile retrogression. Admirers of Russell in Ghana must surely have been relieved to hear the revelation by no less a lieutenant of Nkrumah than Kofi Baako soon after the coup of February 1966 that Russell had, in fact, been urging Nkrumah in private communications to repeal the Preventive Detention Law.

In spite of the frequent acerbity of his polemical wit in newspaper controversy as well even as in technical disputation, there can be little doubt of the careful and generous thought or the massive learning that lay behind Russell's discussions of every topic to which he directed his attention.

Bertrand Russell must certainly be resting in peace. If mankind is not living in peace in spite of the passionate efforts of Russell in his search for peace while he lived, one can only remark after the well known Akan apothegm that it is given to man to achieve something, not everything.

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Observer Notebook

Conflicting Statements on Public Policy

THE CITIZENS of a democracy must have accurate information on the government's intentions and activities in order to exercise their right to the criticism of public policy. It is also in the interest of the government to provide accurate and reliable information on matters of public concern in order to obviate misinformed criticism which often degenerate into vicious rumour. Normally such information reaches the public in the form of ministerial statements and speeches reported in the Press.

It is unhealthy both for the public and the government if no reliance can be placed on this information or there is uncertainty about how authoritative are ministerial statements on matters even within their own assigned competence. Since assuming authority, the present administration has given at least three occasions for doubt about the weight to be attached to reported ministerial statements of government policy. One of these occasions, pointed out by a reader in the letter columns, arose over whether any, and how much money has been authorized for the use of the National Service Corps. Another arose over the Prime Minister's statement on South Africa and its subsequent modification — or to be precise, clarification—by the Minister of External Affairs.

There may be several reasons for these conflicts. They may be due to genuine misreporting: to afterthoughts particularly in cases that involve possible breach of parliamentary procedure and rules about the disbursement of public funds: this is clearly what happened in case of the funds for the N.S.C.; finally there may be cases in which enthusiastic response to public clamour to be informed about matters of urgency outruns a sober assessment of the Government's capacities so that the Government has to find a way to square promise with performance. It happens throughout those parts of the world where there is public accountability by governments.

Without being certain about the roots of the conflicts here one can only prescribe a few and rather obvious remedies. If misreporting is the hub of the matter, it may be useful to accompany all important Government statements and releases with preces and insist that only those certified preces are published, if it is not intended to publish statements or releases in full. Secondly, it may help to break from the practice of the former President and leave ministers to make statements on matters within their assigned competence or at least check with them since they are supposed to be in command of the relevant data and up-to-date thinking on those matters. Thirdly, it would be helpful if the Prime Minister's office were informed of intended statements on matters of public importance: there should be a clear distinction between politicking at rallies and serious essays on reflections on Government policy.

In the absence of such attempts to provide reliable and authoritative information the public is left uncertain and hesitant in the exercise of the salutary duty of criticism and may resort to unwholesome 'rumour-mongering'. What is worse, the Government appears to be disorganized, functioning like an unrehearsed orchestra piece and the Prime Minister not in control. This may in turn give an impression of inefficiency if not a suspicion of impending crisis. Our Ministers know that we can ill afford to give such impressions and room for such suspicions.

The Arrogance of Power

MR. Alfred Kpodonu, Chief Executive of the Volta Region, is reported to have stated that no police permits will be given to any political party which turns its rallies into preaching subversion and inciting the people against the government. If this statement, coming, as it is, out of the mouth of a public officer appointed on the basis of his membership of the party in power, is true, then there could be no further evidence that these are ominous signs for democracy in the country.

Ominous principally because the beginnings of any dictatorship are characterised by attempts to tag as bad a label as possible on the actions as well as the utterances of political opponents who happen in the meantime to be in the minority. There are times when persons are told not to indulge in "destructive" but in "constructive" criticism. Who decides what is "constructive" or "destructive" but those very persons in power against whom the criticism is made? Persons in power then become accusers and judges, all compounded. Who decides what is subversion — the Police, a political appointee or the courts? Cri-

ticism is criticism. If it happens to fall foul of the law, the state has already provided ample means of dealing with the situation. A political appointee's fiat or even the fiat of police officer has nothing to do with these means. Both can legitimately be challenged.

The stand taken by Mr. Kpodonu, if actually persisted in and put into practice, logically leads to driving opposition underground where the greatest harm is done and in which case governments shudder at their own shadows.

We would strongly advise Mr. Kpodunu to have a hard look at Section 183 of the Criminal Code (Act 29), Articles 12 to 25 (inclusive) of the Constitution which lay down, in clear and unmistakable terms, the fundamental rights of the citizen and mark carefully the words of Article 3(2) of the Constitution which says:

"Any activity of a person, persons, or groups of persons which suppresses or seeks to suppress the lawful political activity of any other person or persons generally or any class of persons **shall be an unlawful act"** (our emphasis.

Mr. Kpodonu's words are serving the present government no useful purpose. We would like to believe that they are only unintended aberrations of over-enthusiasm.

Ex-Public Officers and Patriotic Duty

THERE is an almost hackneyed and yet wise statement that, in a democratic society, what is not prohibited is permitted, while in a dictatorial or totalitarian system what is not specifically permitted is prohibited. For, however comprehensive any legal system may be, there is always a much wider area of a man's life completely outside the purview of specific laws than is covered by statutes or other types of law. It is as a result of this that there is greater individual freedom in democracies than under dictatorships. But even in democracies, top public officers are not expected to set examples that have the inherent tendency of being abused by others; again, in democracies, the individual is expected, in the absence of specific laws and regulations, to act in such a manner as not to flout usages and conventions painstakingly evolved by his society.

Indeed, many of these salutary conventions and usages are generated within societies as a consequence of the self-imposed discipline of individual prominent men. And so George Washington refused the American Presidency for more than a second term, thus establishing a convention that held good until Franklin D. Roosevelt broke it in 1940 and 1944, and precipitated a Constitutional amendment specifically preventing third terms. Marshal MacMahon, President of the Third Republic of France, indiscreetly exercised his power to dissolve the Chamber of Deputies in 1877, in order deliberately to thwart the Republicans; from then on, the Presidents of France never dared exercise that power for fear of being branded anti-democrat, though the country, on some occasions, would have been the better for it if they did. MacMahon's selfish abuse of power had discredited an otherwise useful provision of the constitution.

The moral of the above is that eminent persons serve their countries not only to the extent they adhere to the laws of the land but also to the degree they set, for emulation by others, far-seeing and beneficent codes of behaviour. This, in all cases, demands that kind of self-discipline and self-abnegation which makes a man refuse to capitalise on certain types of very tempting opportunities that are available to him for private benefit.

To be more specific, we are disturbed by recent examples set by two former high-ranking public officers, Messrs. J. V. L. Phillips and E. N. Omaboe. Mr. Phillips held consecutively the posts of Commissioner for Lands and Mineral Resources, Industries, and Labour and Social Welfare, while Mr. Omaboe consistently held the post of Commissioner for Economic Affairs and was also a member of the Finance Board established by the National Liberation Council. By virtue of holding those posts, these two gentlemen must surely have come into the closest possible contact with some of the country's most guarded policy secrets, documents, etc.

But no sooner had they left their public posts than they either joined or allowed themselves to be grabbed into policy-making positions by two giant foreign firms — Valco and Barclays Bank, D.C.O., which are doing continuous and direct business with Ghana in the most sensitive spots. We do not want, nor do we have any evidence, to impugn the integrity of these gentlemen; neither do we imply that they may deliberately reveal state secrets to these companies; nor do we deny them their legal right to accept these posts. But we would like to state that, if they mean to perform their functions well in their new posts, then part of the advice that they give to these companies is bound to bear the colouring of the special knowledge of the country's affairs

which they must have gained while holding those high-ranking posts in the government. Furthermore, their examples may tempt other high-ranking public officers to curry favour with private companies, with which they entertain hopes of passing their days of pension or retirement.

One could tolerate Ghanaian public officers joining International Organisations which may have peripheral and fleeting contacts with Ghana, or moving from the private sector into the public sector, provided they may not be permitted to go back into the foreign private sector, as some of our former Commissioners did. In such self-sufficient economies as those of America and Britain, this sort of movement into and from private and public sectors may be tolerated within limits.

Indeed, in the present context of the juxtaposition of developed and developing countries, and the delicateness of the relationship between agents of the two types, we deem the examples set by these two gentlemen as bad precedents for this country. It is like, though not quite, a former President of the British Board of Trade taking up an executive and policy-making appointment with the American National Association of Manufacturers; or a former high-ranking B.O.A.C. executive taking up a similar post with Pan-American Airways.

We hope that, if because of the present Constitution, a law cannot be passed to prevent this sort of thing, at least, public officers and public opinion should create an atmosphere that may prohibit its recurrence.

The Ghanaianization Process

IN the past two years, and more so in recent months, residents in Ghana have been made sharply aware of the distinction between a citizen and an alien. This distinction has always existed; in one form or another it does exist in all countries. With it, there are specified rights, privileges and obligations. Aliens, though entitled to the protection of the national laws (as well as subject to their requirements and sanctions), cannot of course expect to enjoy exactly the same right as citizens. The courts often attest to this: in Ghana, for example, the recent case of Omar Captan is one in point. Here it was declared that the right to immunity of expulsion from the country is not one open to an alien but only to a citizen of Ghana.

There are other restrictions, of one kind or another, which all countries apply on foreigners. At the moment in Ghana all aliens are required by law to possess residence permits. By the middle of the year aliens in certain sectors of the economy will be giving way to Ghanaians, at the same time as the control of borders and customs posts is strengthened. The rationale behind all this is partly the protection of the economy and the interests of the citizen, and partly the reduction of smuggling, robbery with violence and other forms of crime associated with the criminal elements among most immigrant communities, especially those centered on or concentrated near the boundaries between states such as we maintain in these parts. Furthermore, it is hoped that the many non-productive aliens who swell unemployment figures, add to the many mouths that have to be fed on limited resources, as well as benefit from welfare services, will in the case of Ghana, as elsewhere, return to their countries of origin.

All this is painful but necessary. At the same time, some Ghanaians have been a little uneasy about the exemption of certain categories of workers and professionals from the effects of this exercise. There is no doubt that Ghana, like all other countries, will continue for a long time to need immigrant skills for certain jobs. But there is no doubt, either, that no country can afford to have foreign nationals in too large numbers in areas as equally important as that of trade: for example, in the fields of education, national constructional works, and national security.

If the policy of self reliance and greater opportunities for Ghanaians is to be pursued more vigorously, if Ghanaians are more and more to take their destiny, into their own hands and enjoy a greater sense of national security, then a systematic effort needs to be directed at training the Ghanaian citizens who should man all these critical fields and progressively take over their own responsibilities from the foreign nationals who have held them by reason of our unreadiness. It is to be hoped that this matter has not escaped the attention of the government, and that, before long, the Ghanaian public will hear of definite plans to remedy the situation.

Student's Death at Sarbah Hall

IN the early hours of Saturday, 31st January 1970, Kofi Owusu-Bioh, a student of Mensah Sarbah Hall, was found in a pool of blood and died soon afterwards. The 22-year-old student was in his third year of studies for the B.Sc. (Agric.) degree. A native of Onwe, near Ejisu, Owusu-Bioh was a product of Opoku Ware Secondary School, Kumasi.

The coroner's report is yet to be made known,

but the circumstances of his death indicate that he might have fallen to his death. If he died from a fall, then the strong probability is that he fell over the rails of the steps leading up to the third floor. Whether this was the cause of his death or not, the circumstances of his death have shocked the students of his Hall and have raised some issues about the safety of the students generally.

Whatever the architect may say about the design of the Mensah Sarbah Hall, there is no doubt that the rails are dangerously low. For a man of average height it is a fairly easy possibility to fall over the rails by an accidental loss of balance. The issue of importance now is whether it is not time to consider the installation of some protective device onto the rails. Although such a device may detract from the architectural beauty of the Hall, it may make the steps safer for the students.

The Ninth Annual Festival of Arts

ON the commendable initiative of the Founding Fathers of the National Cultural Centre in Kumasi, a series of annual Festivals of Arts have been held; the ninth of the series has just ended. This consisted of performances of dances, plays cultural displays, a fashion parade, lectures and a durbar.

The national character of the performances is easily assured by the enlistment of performing of the country.
groups and artistic personalities from all corners

One problem which the present conception of the Festival has failed to solve is how to ensure a national audience. This is not to be taken too literally. We cannot insist on the whole nation getting to see the Festival; even if it was physically possible, some people might exercise their democratic right and refuse to see it. But the current practice of having the Festival only in Kumasi has the serious drawback of restricting the enjoyment of the things presented there to a small and largely immutable audience.

No apology need to be offered by our correspondent for basing an assessment of the Festival on only a few days' observation. The cultural displays and traditional dances varied considerably in the finesse that went into their presentation. It should be obvious to all and sundry that it is no small task to transpose a traditional ritual dance from its accustomed and familiar social context onto the modern stage for the enjoyment of an audience for whom the experience is new. The exercise calls for a great deal of sophisticated choreography. On the afternoon of the 22nd of January, for instance, choreography and stagecraft made all the difference between the performance of the Eastern Region contingent which was dull and uninspiring, and that of the Kpandu Borborbor troupe which represented the Volta Region. The organisers of the Festival ought to take note of such factors.

The lectures drew moderate audiences, though the morning ones tended to start sometimes a whole hour after the announced time, much to the disgust of secondary school contingents operating on a strict time schedule. While one sees the relevance of lectures on "The Sculptor's Inspiration" or "The Practical Uses of Art" in a Festival of Arts, one was surprised by such other topics as "Careers for Women" and "Master and Servant Relationship in Business".

Finally, it is necessary for the health of the Festival that it should be held in all Regions in turn, so that the cultural diversity of Ghana does not get presented to the same small coterie year afer year.

The Civilian Coup in Lesotho

THE bald-faced seizure of power in Lesotho by Chief Leabua Jonathan at a time when he appeared to be losing his country's first post-independence General Elections recalls to mind similar events in other parts of Africa. But the resemblance is only superficial. The event dramatizes the predicament of a country in a very unenviable position — an independent black sovereign state which is an enclave physically enclosed by white-ruled apartheid South Africa.

Lesotho's supply lines are kept running through the "generosity" of the South African regime, some of whose nationals are also in firm control of Lesotho's tiny security forces. Predictably, two shades of political opinion came to the fore in the recent political campaign, with Leabua Jonathan espousing continued friendly relations with South Africa while Pan-Africanist Mokhehle of the opposition campaigned for a show-down with South Africa.

The question that arises is whether Chief Leabua Jonathan could have done otherwise. This issue cannot be separated from the question of whether his action was right. To seize power in the shameless fashion in which he did, and to treat his Head of State with the amount of discourtesy he has displayed — these appear to be illegal actions. But the fact remains that we in Africa on the whole calmly acquiesce in right-wing travesties of justice while of comparable posture left-wing ones shock us. Here is a case in

which neither the UN or the OAU is likely to take any decisive action.

The show-down with South Africa has merely been postponed. Chief Jonathan will have to call off his bluff soon. The new elections, if they are genuine, are likely to reveal the scanty support he still has; South Africa will then face the moral challenge of either seeing a genuine nationalist government eating its entrails from within, or overrunning the country. The world waits and watches. Africans will watch, in particular, the reaction of the self-proclaimed leaders of the free world and champions of democracy.

Letters

Africa's Unstable Governments?

SIR—I must confess to being surprised by the question allegedly put to Mr Victor Owusu, Foreign Minister by the head of the visiting Indian delegation on why African Governments were so unstable. It certainly was immature and lacked tact, and, even if the delegation had come from a country with a very stable government—India could hardly be said to be in this category; hadly does a month pass by without India's share of riots and killings—it is more the type of question put to heads of state by American or European journalists, not by the heads of goodwill delegations.

P.O. Box 1934 **Marilynne Charles**
Kumasi

Meddling with Mass Media?

SIR—I wish the Minister of Information would in future avoid such open confrontation as exhibited in his press conference of 23rd January, 1970. Why did he attack the panelists who contributed to the G.B.C. TV programme "Kaleidoscope" recently?

I could project two evil effects:

In the first place, the Minister has unknowingly prepared fertile grounds for rumour to thrive. All that is required is a short or long absence of any one of the panelists on our TV screens and demand for rumour which would be swelling up all this time would surely have supply catching up fast.

Secondly, whoever sees to it that "Kaleidoscope" goes on the air has been made psychologically aware that "he who pays the pipper" insists that the tunes be to his taste.

This isn't so healthy for our media. The Minister should note that gagging of media could be achieved psychologically. Nobody wants that, any way.

P.O. Box 449 **Micah Bonnie**
Accra.

Financing National Service Corps

SIR — In the Legon Observer (L.O. V/1), we read, inter alia: "...Mr R. R. Amponsah, Minister of Lands and Mineral Resources at a Progress Party rally held here at Ejura-Ashanti on 28th December, announced that the government had voted NC1 million towards the running of the proposed National Service Corps."

Against this background, Information Minister Brodie-Mends's recent press conference in Accra makes very interesting reading. The Minister is reported to have denied that the government had voted NC1 million for the running of the Corps. He is further reported to have quoted from the Prime Minister's Radio and T.V. Broadcast when launching the Corps to make his point. It is interesting to note that Mr. Brodie-Mends's statement was made on 23rd January, 1970, i.e. almost a month after Mr. Amponsah's statement.

Perhaps Mr Brodie-Mends wants to point out that it was Mr Amponsah and not the Prime Minister who announced that the money had been voted for the Corps. Whatever the case, things seem a little confusing to some of us and we would like to have clarification. Has any money been voted or not?

Independence Hall **David Akuetteh**
U.S.T.
Kumasi.

Foreign Banks and their Employees

SIR—The recent complaints raised by the junior workers of the foreign banks which are operating in Ghana, need careful examination by the government. The recent rumpus, which was unfortunately shrouded by an unimportant question of what to wear, goes deeper than meets the eye.

The government must scrupulously re-examine the true role of the Foreign banks and their mode of operations to see how they serve our economic goals.

The workers complained among other things that their pay is not commensurate with the high profits

CORRECTION

Kwame Arhin's letter entitled "Training our Intellectuals?" (**L.O.** V/3) should have begun thus: "I hope Dr. Busia, the Prime Minister, did not" . . .

The error is regretted—Ed.

the banks make. They even claim the profits are higher still and that the declared ones are fictitious. They further claim that their counterparts in the Ghanaian Banks receive more fringe benefits. The restaurant in the Barclays Office is, for instance, dirty and below standard etc.

The workers also question the inflow of expatriate personnel since the coup when our graduates are unemployed. The two foreign banks together employ not more than six graduates. Ghanaian senior officials in Barclays Bank for example, can obtain loans for cars but are not paid maintenance allowance and receive no housing alowance; neither do they have fixed yearly increment.

All this is wrong in a country where the government offers all the incentives and privileges for private investors. All lawful attempts made by the patient workers to demand their due share of the huge profits end up in dragging, and often inconclusive, constitutional technicalities.

The banking institution is the basis of any economic pyramid, and, without a firm grasp of this basic fact, the country will stand to lose.

P.O. Box 80 **Kwaku Safo**
Accra.

Nigeria, Biafra and the Relief Problem

SIR — Since the cessation of hostilities in Nigeria, the problem of relief has no doubt been paramount. With starvation and disease now threatening what was the former secessionist enclave many countries and organisations have offered to send relief aid to Nigeria. Some of these whose offers have been refused were those who arrogantly and stubbornly sent "relief" to the rebels during the war, unmindful of any federal ruling on the issue. The stand of the Federal Military Government on the relief question has, however, received criticism from the European press. It was their wish that the Nigerian government accepted any kind of aid without any discrimination.

But these foreign "do-gooders' had better be told that it is almost ten years now since Nigeria became independent, and terms, especially those regarding her own affairs, cannot be dictated to her. If some of these Europeans wanted to save lives they would not have encouraged secession which helped to prolong the war and consequently increased the suffering. If Nigeria is to emerge from this war to find real peace and lasting prosperity, it is essential that she remains master of her own destiny. Nigeria's friends will always be ready to assist, but the main impetus must come from Nigerians themselves.

The European press may bark but the Nigerian government is going to be steadfast in its policy.

Their sensational reports of genocide here and other atrocities there are only meant to discredit the Federal government. These European journalists must even bow down their heads in shame that Africans are doing what Europeans have never been able to do in their two thousands years of recorded history. For never in any European war was such magnanimity shown to the vanquished.

Europeans have done far worse things and committed far more serious war crimes. It would therefore be improper for them to try to plan for Nigerians how to solve their own internal problems. Whether they send relief or no, Nigerians are already demonstrating that at last the stage has been reached where the African can take care of himself. They must stop being hypocritical. Finally ,they must remember that the Federal Military Government has learnt a great deal from the war and has by all means forgotten nothing about it.

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

Repairing Cars at R.T. Briscoe

SIR — The incident I wish to report may seem trivial, but it illustrates the offensive way in which some motor workshop managers treat customers who complain that things have been stolen (or removed or replaced by inferior substitutes) from cars which have been sent to them for repairs. On the morning of February 4th, 1970, I went to the Briscoe garage in the Ring Road Industrial Area where my V.W. car had been for nearly three months.

I noticed an extraordinarily bald tyre on the car and immediately complained that the tyre was not on the car when I brought it to the garage. I was then told that this was my spare tyre and the original was ruined beyond repair. When the ruined tyre was later shown to me, I pointed out at once that it could not be mine since I was not in the habit of buying white walled tyres. The Manager, with incredible obstinacy, argued that I was wrong since my car number had been written on the tyre by one of the workmen, and that this workman could not possibly have made a mistake. The saucy conclusion from the German manager was that I was entitled to my opinion, and he too was equally entitled to **his** opinion.

What does one do about this kind of bullying when one is a captive customer, and must necessarily go to Briscoe for the kind of repair work that had to be done on my V.W.?

Department of Geography **K. B. Dickson**
University of Ghana
Legon

Book Review

VOLTA: MAN'S GREATEST LAKE

(By James Moxon; Andre Deutsch, London, 1969)

Reviewed by Fifi Hesse

THE VOLTA River Project was undoubtedly the most ambitious development project undertaken by Kwame Nkrumah's C.P.P. government. It was certainly not conceived by Nkrumah; when the C.P.P. came into power in 1951 a complete plan was already available on the drawing-board for implementation Indeed, on four occasions before independence Great Britain came very close to deciding that an integrated aluminium industry based on hydro-electric power from the Volta, should be established in the Colony of the Gold Coast. That the project was not begun before independence, with British and Commonwealth participation, now seems, in retrospect, to be a major failure of British colonial policy.

Nigeria itself or from its High Commission here must be submitted with all such applications.

Khartoum Jan. 23

East and Central African Heads

The Heads of State of the East and Central African States are scheduled to meet here on 26th January to discuss trade among their countries, as well as Rhodesia and Britain's attitude thereon, and the status of countries in African that still remain colonies, particularly in southern Africa.

Accra Jan. 23

N.A.L. Writ against Minister.

Dr. Obed Asamoah, barrister-Member of Parliament for Biakoye constituency in the Volta Region, has today filed a writ at the Supreme Court registry in the name of the National Alliance of Liberals against the Minister of Local Administration, Mr K. K. Anti, over the appointment of local government management committees in the country. The party seeks by this action a declaration that "the appointment of new management committees to administer the affairs of local and municipal councils is inconsistent with or in contravention of the Constitution of Ghana, and is therefore null and void." It also seeks an order setting aside the appointment of the said new management committees.

Freetown Jan. 24

Sierra Leone Joins Relief Operation

Premier Siaka Stevens last night announced that Sierra Leone was contributing 10,000 pounds sterling to Nigeria's relief fund, and would continue to do whatever it could to relieve the postwar situation.

Dar-es-Salaam, Jan. 26

President Tito's Visit

The President of Yogoslavia, Marshall Josef Tito, today began a state visit to Tanzania which is considered to underline an identity of views between the two Presidents and their two countries, according to the newspaper, the **Nationalist,** mouthpiece of the ruling TANU Party. The paper said the closeness between the views of the two was explainable most of all by their "cherished commitment...to independent initiatives in the socialist transformation of their societies."

Lusaka Jan. 27

Pledge to Oust White Rule

A spokesman for the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union (ZAPU) announced here yesterday that two South African and Rhodesian African nationalist movements have re-affirmed their military alliance, whose aim is the eventual overthrow of white rule in southern Africa.

Tamale, Jan. 27

Ghana Government and Agriculture

Dr. Kwame Safo-Adu, Minister of Agriculture in the Progress Party government of Ghana, stated in Tamale yesterday that over the past five years the government had bought and otherwise spent NC26,000,000 worth of agricultural equipment. Dr Safo-Adu was addressing a meeting of Northern Region farmers here at the time.

Among other things, he said his government was looking into questions such as a revised loan scheme in favour of farmers and the clearing of agricultural lands for farming, free of charge to the farmers. Dr Safo-Adu also stated that in order to ensure the farmers ability to expand their farms, the government had already started to see tractors and other farming implements to them.

Accra, Jan 27

Nigerian's Sovereign Prerogatives

Mr Maurice Foley, Minister specialising on Africa, yesterday reminded the British House of Commons that Britain must recognise that it was the Nigerian Federal government's responsibility to handle the aftermath of the civil war. He was supported by formed Conservative Premier Sir Alec Douglas-Home, who said Britain must confuse its concern about suffering and relief with the responsibility for the conduct of affairs within Nigeria.

Accra Jan. 28

The Late Dr Danquah

Prime Minister, Dr K. A. Busia has today announced the appointment of a cabinet committee to arrange for the final funeral rites of the late Dr J. B. Danquah, revered Ghanaian lawyer, philosopher and patriot, and for the establishment of a fitting memorial to him.

Accra Jan 29

Volta Dam Resettlement Progress

Fifty-two resettlement towns for 80,000 persons in the four years since the implementation of the Volta Dam project is the government's progress record so far, according to sources close to the V.R.A.

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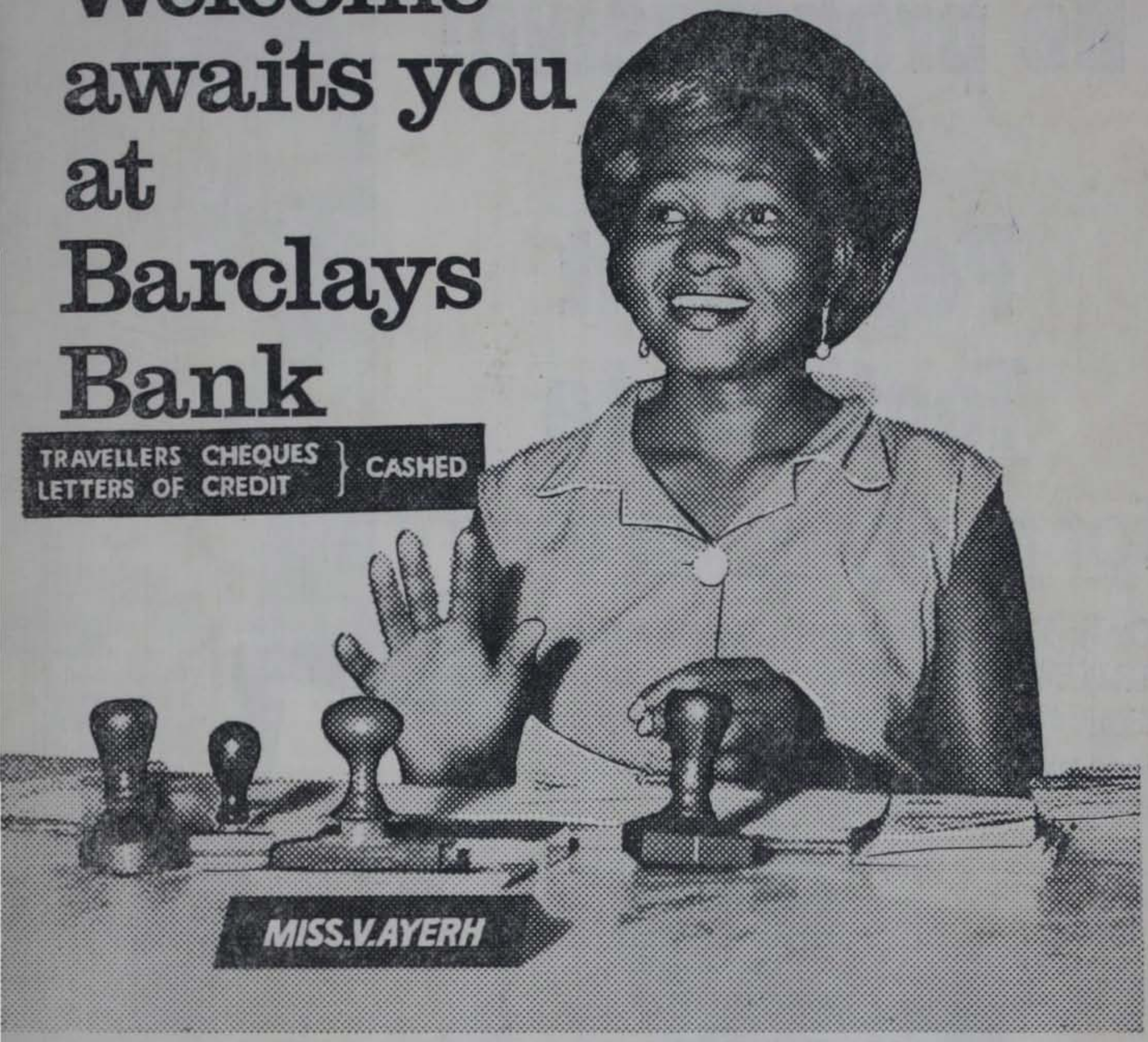
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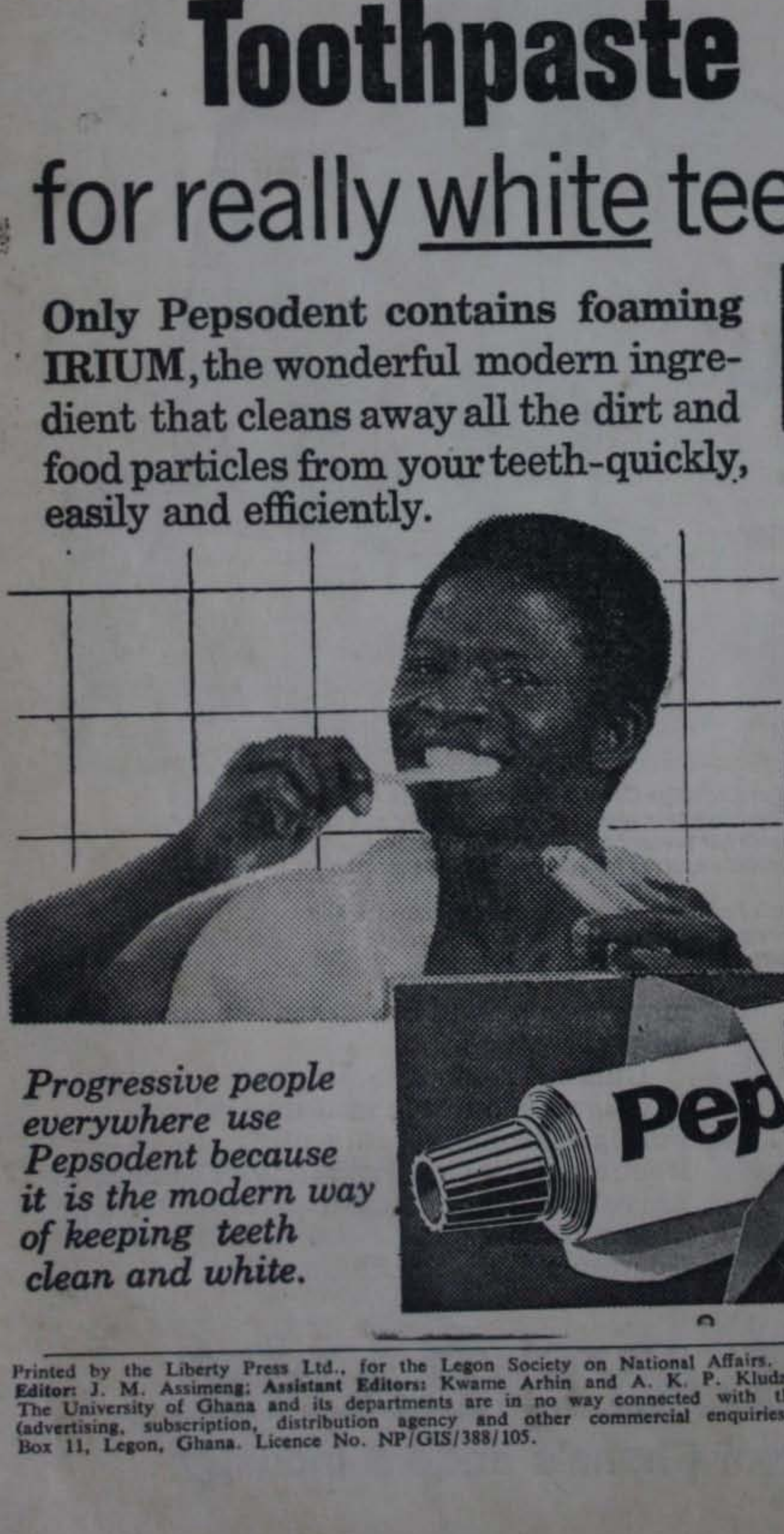
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CORRECTION

In Dr. Abbey's article in our last issue (L.O. V/4), for "NC50,000" on p.6, left column, please read "NC50,000,000".

EDITORIAL

THE GREAT PURGE

568

FIVE HUNDRED and sixty eight public servants, of varying status positions, have had their appointments revoked by the government. Actually, this dramatic exercise is in line with a provision in the country's Constitution which deals with the appointment and dismissal of public servants.

Although there is no official list yet, people affected are believed to range over a wide spectrum—from heads of departments and of corporations, to (it is said) messengers!

Any narrow interpretation of the motives of the government would be really a blunder. Apparently one cannot state positively that the officers have been retrenched because of party affiliation—some of the officers affected by the order are alleged to be card-carrying members of the ruling Progress Party. It is reassuring to note that the days of crude political victimization of public servants are about over.

The efficiency of a public servant, like his productivity, is, however, not very easy to measure. There are many complicating imperatives in bureaucratic structures which are not easily appreciated by outsiders; thus, civil servants tend often to suffer through public ignorance of the difficult conditions in which they work. But certainly there has been an urgent need to restructure the public services, in order to make fuller use of the resources of the rising generation. One understands the type of status anxiety which this need has generated, especially among the older segments of the public service personnel.

However, in line with the need for new ideas, it is incumbent on the part of the government to create the atmosphere whereby no group or groups of people would regard themselves as indispensable, especially if there is evidence of deliberate non-co-operation or obstructionist tactics in the operation of governmental machinery.

Honesty is another vexed dimension, especially in a community where people would want to have supporting evidence to back any such charges of dishonesty. If any of the public servants had been found to be dishonest, one hopes that such members had been informed to this effect, with specifications which are more detailed than a mere statement informing them that their services are no longer required.

Efficiency, honesty, hard work, loyalty—these are very lofty ideals upon which to build a healthy, responsible public service; and the nation has a right to expect these of its servants—irrespective of the sectors of public

activity in which they are engaged.

But the purging weapon can also be used disastrously. If it leads to panic and anarchy, with individuals becoming spies over their personal enemies in the search for vendetta, or in the desire to "catch the eye of the authorities," then one would wonder whether the nation will ultimately become the beneficiary of such exercise. Of course a government has freedom to employ or deploy its servants; the disagreement hinges, however, on the *means* for attaining the ends of making the public services more healthy.

L.S.N.A. Communication

THE CASE OF THE DISMISSALS

THE EXERCISE by which 568 civil and public servants have been relieved of their posts has touched profound depths in many Ghanaians during the last few days. The shock and distress are not necessarily caused by the principle, or principles, behind the action taken but by some of its features and the number of important issues it raises, as well as by its total effect. But let us get things into proper perspective and focus before tackling effects and totalities.

First, the N.L.C. had been obliged to take several kinds of fundamental action in order to keep the country going during their tenure of office. They passed laws by decree, borrowed money for us, signed contracts and made appointments. Legally as well as morally, many of these contractual obligations, thus incurred in the name and interest of the country, would be binding on the successors of the N.L.C., so as to keep business, government, life itself stable and continuous. But not all contracts need bind successor parties, otherwise other kinds of dysfunction afflict society. Provision is often made, therefore, in the form of what are sometimes called "escape clauses", for a successor party to be able to opt out of his part, on choice or discretion, or by force of circumstances. This in effect, is what Article 9 of the transitional provisions of the Ghana constitution did, with respect to civil and public servants appointed and in service before the present government assumed power.

That Article, by its paragraph (1), gave a six-month period of grace (starting from 22nd August 1969, when the constitution came into force) to "every person who immediately before the coming into force of this Constitution held or was acting in any office ESTABLISHED

(a) by or in pursuance of the Proclamation for the constitution of a National Liberation Council for the administration of Ghana and for other matters connected therewith, dated the twenty-sixth day of February, 1966, or

(b) in pursuance of a Decree of the National Liberation Council, or

(c) by or under the authority of that Council.

A person in any of the three categories stated above was to be deemed to have been appointed to hold office until the end of the period of grace only, unless he had meanwhile been appointed by the new administration to hold or act in any office. It followed that those who fell into the three categories, and who were not re-appointed by the Busia administration during the six-month period of grace, were to lose their offices. To avoid all doubt, individual letters were sent to all such persons, and these letters served as notice of termination of appointment.

Secondly, we must remind ourselves that the

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N.L.C. had confirmed what we had all known to be a fact for a long time, namely that an incredibly large number of Ghanaian civil and public servants had been and still were corrupt; that many of them had looted their country and their people, and were even now sitting on the loot, getting fat on it and looking ugly; while others had compromised the country in different ways and almost beyond hope of redemption. Some of these disastrous characters just had to go; justice, rationality, efficiency and common decency were calling for the removal of such persons from our public services, and many of us had publicly demanded action on these lines. The question was: How, when and by whom?

Classes Not Named Before

That is the background. Now the Busia government has answered the question. They have said: "By us; now; through the removal from office of certain individual officers!" So, it had to be done and has been done. The point is, the blow has fallen more heavily than any of us outsiders might have anticipated. And that trend of thought leads us to the important constitutional question of the legal coverage of the transitional provisions. What criteria have determined the application of the provisions not merely to such a large number but, beyond that, to what would appear to us to be classes of public servants not designated by the provisions, as shown by the citation above? Is it being contended that the Proclamation mentioned above *established* all offices in the Civil Service? No doubt the lawyers and the judges will have to answer this and other relevant questions. It will be both too early and too late for this issue of the *Observer* to chronicle the debate coming up in parliament on this very vital point, by motion of the opposition; we regret this ill luck, for we believe that the outcome of that debate is going to be most important.

Beside the major question of how restrictively or widely the provisions could be applied, there are other issues raised by the exercise. Can the Prime Minister, for instance, be sure that, even so, the criteria laid down have been applied both justly and fairly, without political victimisation and the scoring off of vendettas and private reprisals? How, for another instance, could he be sure of foolproof, when the letter of dismissal is known to be a mass-produced, cyclostyled affair, saying the same thing to everybody except for the difference in name and address? Could there be private "executions" with a state sword, cases of mistaken identity; of false witness about records and activities of some individuals affected? Is the Busia Government certain that those retained are all more efficient, more honest and more forward-looking than those laid off?

The most serious aspect of this episode, however, is its effect on morale. The government statement emphasised that 568 is only a "few cases" of non-reappointment, since this number is, after all, only a small fraction of the 200,000 persons in the public service. Even so, there is the equally prominent fact that in the context of Africa, with its extended family system, 568 workers, most of them occupying high positions in the state machinery, constitute a veritable host of people, including perhaps thousands of dependants. This is the first great fact about the morale aspect of the matter. A second concerns the question of skilled manpower. With Africa's woeful condition of shortage in this area, 568 mostly trained and experienced officers is a frightening number of skilled manpower to turn adrift.

Consistence Required

In conclusion, we should like to re-emphasise some of the points we have made, and to raise one or two new ones. *First*: Should the interpretation of the transitional provisions have been as wide as to embrace all sectors and members of the public services? If so, why then the specific categorisation of those within the ambit of Art. 9 by Art. 9 (1)? *Second*: It should be observed that the terms of Art. 9 (1) required implementation to be not inconsistent with the constitution. *Third*: The power of removal granted under Art. 9 (1) is not absolute, for it can only be exercised "as far as is consistent with the provisions of this Constitution." One such qualifying provision is Article 138: "No member of the public services shall be (a) victimised or discriminated against for having discharged his duties faithfully in accordance with this Constitution and without regard to party considerations; (b) dismissed or removed from office or reduced in rank or otherwise punished without just cause".

It would accord with these considerations for the full list of the names of the 568 dismissed officers, as well as their rank, to be published for the information of the people. It is not convincing to create the impression that in the interest of the dismissed persons their names should not be published.

The Law

SLOW JUSTICE—AN INTRODUCTION TO A PROBLEM

By
E. S. Aidoo

I DESCRIBE what follows as 'an Introduction', not because I intend to follow it up with several others on the same subject, but because I do hope that it will stimulate thinking and call for such ideas as may eventually help in necessary reforms.

Ghana is not the only country which suffers from the problem of delayed justice. It is a world-wide problem. Nor is it confined to secular courts. Some readers will remember that about five years ago when Pope Paul was opening the judicial year of the Sacred Roman Rota he exhorted the judges of that court to speed up with the disposal of the large arrears of matrimonial cases before it. The Pope observed that culpable delay in dispensing justice was 'in itself an act of injustice'. And our problem is not new either. Readers of 'Bleak House' will remember Charles Dickens' observations on the problem as it existed in England about a hundred and fifty years ago. The comments made there by that great novelist stirred the reformers to what has been an undoubtedly great achievement in that country. Yet even in England it is not uncommon, as any solicitor would realize, to see cases come up for hearing in the High Court about two years after the filing of the relevant papers. Nevertheless, English justice is still undoubtedly among the best that this world can boast of.

Rumour Parading as Fact

We have in this country heard and read several commentators on the fact and problem of delays in the disposal of cases in court. But it is probably true that most of the comments, even from professional lawyers, have not been based on accurate information. It seems to me that the problem affects practically everybody in the country, because whether one has a case in court or not, the speed with which cases are decided in the country is a matter of considerable importance to businessmen from abroad who go through our courts. Investments are likely to be influenced by this factor; and, what is worse, they may be more influenced not by the facts but by the uninformed rumours which purport to be facts. It is therefore one of the problems that require very careful thinking, even research, and not mere words of condemnation or criticism. If this article succeeds in informing some people of the extent of the problem it would have served a useful purpose.

Normally when people talk about 'delay in the courts' they are using one phrase in two different senses without necessarily realising it. One kind of delay is inherent in the system of disposing of cases. Only a very general description can be given in explanation here. We look at civil cases first.

In the Magistrate's Court a person embodies his plaint or claim in an application to the Registrar who completes the Writ of Summons, passes it on to the Magistrate to sign, gets it served on the defendant, and the case is ready to be heard. In the Circuit Court and the High Court the plaintiff generally files a Writ of Summons in which he states what remedy or remedies he wants. The defendant replies and, in it, admits the claim(s), then counter-claims or states what defences he has. The parties meet later to settle the exact points at issue in the dispute and agree on some preliminary procedural matters. It is then for the Court to fix a date when the case would be heard.

One to 20 Weeks

In the Magistrate's Court the hearing of the case may commence within one to three months; but the length of the trial itself depends on so many factors that it is not safe to state a 'normal' time. Perhaps 'one to twenty weeks' is a safe guess. In the Circuit and the High Courts the case may well not commence for another twelve months or so. This is because there may be other disputes ahead of the one under discussion, and it just has to take its turn on the list. This same cause may account for delays in the disposal of criminal cases, although because of the rule that courts should give preference to the disposal of criminal cases, its effect is not often as obvious as in the civil courts.

In criminal matters, as far as the Magistrates' Courts are concerned, the prosecutor, usually the Police, will either bring the accused, if he is already in custody, or cause a summons to be issued to the accused, who then comes to the court on a particular day; and the case is ready to start. How long it takes in the court is also a matter of concern which depends on a lot of other factors, for example, the availability of witnesses. The main point here is that the delay

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in these cases (assuming efficiency and integrity on the part of court officials) results from the way the system operates. If the case is in a particularly busy centre like Accra or Kumasi then the delays will be as 'long' as I have indicated. If it is in a quiet town like Half Assini or Lawra, then the case may be disposed of well within a month, whether it is civil or criminal.

But there is another kind of delay which has little to do with preparedness and willingness of the Court to go on. This is the kind of delay that is caused by parties and their lawyers. There are various reasons why a lawyer to whom one gives instruction on one's case may not be willing and ready to start when one thought that the lawyer had filed the papers. In this country, for example, lawyers have been known to delay the commencement or conduct of cases as a way of obtaining payment from clients for their services. Also, not many people realise how much a lawyer should do at home or in his office before he can effectively present a case in court. It is probably true to state that 90% of cases are won or lost depending on how well the lawyer had done his 'home-work'. The effect of brilliant advocacy is negligible unless the presiding Judge is inattentive or lazy.

Bargaining Devices

Verbose advocacy is an obvious factor in considering delays (although one does not often hear it mentioned, for fear, perhaps, that laymen may erroneously believe that Judges penalise clients for that). Also, a lawyer may take on so much work that he has not the time to do quickly the necessary preparation for each case to start or proceed. What happens, then, is that he keeps postponing. In many such cases the client thinks that the delay is the fault of the courts. To this one can only say that there is a breakdown in communication somewhere.

Again, even after the lawyer has filed his papers it may be that he has some other reason, for example, matters of tactics or personal convenience, for not pressing for the case to be heard. It is, therefore, not correct to say (and so very unfair even to imply) that most of the delay is caused by the way the system of the courts is operated. As Professor Alfred Conard wrote of the situation in America in 1964, "even if it were possible to elect enough judges, build enough courtrooms, and draft enough jurors to cut down the trial backlog, a part of the problem would remain uncorrected. Lawyers would still threaten to hold out . . . as a bargaining device when they think the nerves or resources of the opponent are unequal to their own . . .". What 'correction' is needed here is really a matter for the legal profession, especially the lawyers in practice. But it is worth noting that lawyer-caused delay is actually a large part of this problem we are looking at.

Perhaps one should say a little about lawyer-caused delays. What is the profession itself doing about this? How can the lawyers tackle it? Why should some lawyers take too much work when others have not enough? Perhaps the profession would be helped by informed comments from the public. Lawyers are not allowed to advertise for work, and clients therefore have no means of knowing in advance which lawyers are good, and in what fields. Lay litigants in England do not necessarily have to suffer under this disability, at any rate not to the same extent. A different system prevails there, from the practical point of view. In Ghana, however, I think that lay litigants can take seriously the fact that what they tell their lawyers about commencement and prosecution of their cases are instructions. It is not being implied that a lay litigant should instruct a lawyer on what to say in court, or things of that nature. The lay client is, however, entitled at least to tell his lawyer at the initial stage that he wants his papers filed at the earliest times allowed under the rules of procedure. And if the lawyer cannot do that he should say so in order that the client may go to another lawyer.

Hard but Not Insoluble

It is not certain that the differences between lawyers are such that a particular one must be had at all cost in the majority of cases. At any rate, if a client is dissatisfied with the way his lawyer is handling his case, he can always change lawyers, provided he complies with the simple rules in that connection. This aspect of the problem is serious, although we cannot go so far as the 'Edinburgh Review' did a little over one hundred years ago when it complained that there was "scarcely a moment of delay which is not contrived to minister either to the ease or the profit of lawyers, if not to both". If public awareness is pronounced, then one ought to feel that the Bar Association should be capable of containing this aspect of the problem. It is hard but not insoluble.

But the more important aspect is that which is inherent in the courts' system of dealing with cases. What are the reasons why our system does not work as fast as we want? Many people think

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that it is due to the shortage of Judges and Magistrates. Within limits, this is correct. If there were many Judges and many Magistrates with an adequate number of supporting officers, there would be very little justification for delays. But no country can afford to go on employing Judge after Judge. What is required is to have a certain number of Judges who can dispose of cases at a satisfactory pace. And this implies that they should be kept busy all the time without being overburdened or rushed. It is possible to have a Judge in a court who deals with one small case a day simply because there is no other case. If this happens in a remote town you do not correct the balance by transferring him to a busy station and requesting that he sit only once a month in the remote town. For, that would imply that certain cases would have to wait for his arrival; and the parties in those cases will suffer delay unnecessarily. On the other hand, Judges must be good lawyers—people who themselves have succeeded in practice, whether private or public. They must be lawyers who do not find any salary attractive; and so they must normally be well paid. It is a waste to keep such employees only half occupied for purposes of ensuring that every case is disposed of within a month. Some people, of course, maintain that even that is better than our present system; but it is an alternative which our economic conditions do not permit us to take in Ghana.

The Problems are Many

Others suggest the employment of other persons on part-time basis to help clear arrears. This sounds very attractive to amateurs. When the details of the system are worked out, however, one result is the employment of a large supporting staff who may not be occupied all the time. In a country where the transport system is not good, and where accommodation is not easy to get, it is not simple to decide to move people at short notice to areas where they are needed for short periods. In any case, the question of salaries of, or allowances for, part-time Judges arises, and with that a lot of others, for example, whether a lawyer in practice in Accra should be asked to sit for a short time as a Judge in Accra and what happens to his own cases in that court. Then, if he is not to sit in Accra, what arrangements can readily be made for him to sit in other towns in the present situation of shortage of bungalows and absence of rest houses? Cases have been known where Judges have paid as much as NC14.00 per night in our hotels on official duty but where they have been reimbursed only to the extent of NC2.50 by the State. My recommendation here, therefore, is that there should be several Judges in each of the main towns except in the North, but that there should not be too many. What is 'too many' is not a matter that lends itself to a brief general discussion.

Another cause of delay is the set of inappropriate and cumbersome rules to which those responsible for the administration of our Judicial Service are now subject. The Chief Justice as Head of the Judiciary has little control as far as finance is concerned. Under these normal Civil Service rules, even if it is clear that a particular remedy could be profitably applied in a given situation, and even if this would involve nothing more than a transfer of money from one vote to another, that cannot be done otherwise than with the prior approval of at least the Minister of Justice and the Minister of Finance.

More Waiting

It cannot be said that successive Ministers have always proved difficult. But everyone knows that they have not been particularly fast in issuing the necessary warrants or approvals; and a delay of two months is normal for such purposes. At the moment the legal year is 10 months long; so to wait for two months to try a new idea is not encouraging. And this is not the only waiting that has to be done. If, for example, there is a long list of cases in one town and the judicial administrators think a Magistrate has to go on trek from his district to assist there, the speed with which the cases pending in that town could be disposed of will not necessarily be the first factor to consider. It may be that when the Chief Justice instructs one Judicial Officer to help in the manner indicated that Judge or Magistrate will exceed the ceiling of travelling allowance allowed to public servants each month.

The processes of adjustment in such cases are wasteful, because the only alternative in the present circumstances is to station an additional Judicial Officer in that district, even though the amount of work to be done there is not enough to occupy a man of his rank fully. Worse still, this latter alternative takes more time, even if it does not involve the Chief Justice in seeking approval to create an extra post for the said Judicial Officer—a process that may well take six months. This too must be added to the period of waiting for some parties. The remedy here is not merely a wider power to create posts, al-

though that may be useful, but a freer control of funds once they have been allocated to the Judicial Service. If it is replied that this is against "proper administration of public finance" then the public must endure what it cannot cure.

There are yet other reasons for delayed justice; and one of those that I think particularly relevant in Ghanaian circumstances is the attitude of Judges and Judicial Officers themselves. It is a well-known fact that some Judges show little or no interest in how their registries work. For most practical purposes the Judicial Secretary, as the Chief Registrar, is expected to exercise all the control that there is, subject to regular directions from the Chief Justice. This should work well in a country where all public servants are duty-conscious and where the public are fully aware of what they can demand from public officers and what they cannot demand. Ghana has not got to that stage yet. In our circumstances, it should be obvious that 'efficient management of the trial court as a means of combating court congestion is one of the problems of judicial administration'.

Judicial Responsibility

It would be good for our Judges and Judicial Officers, especially outside Accra, to accept the new philosophy of their role which is now current in many countries, namely, that 'it is as much a part of judicial responsibility to administer the courts effectively as to decide the cases wisely'. This means, in practical terms, that if a Registrar in Sunyani, for example, is doing something that appears in any way suspicious, the lawyer or his client involved in the case ought to be able to report this conduct to the presiding Judge. The Judge should then immediately go into the complaint and only if he finds that it involves some administrative matters which would take too much judicial time should he refer the case for disposal to the Judicial Secretary. It would not mean that he would be doing a lot of administrative or personnel work. All he need to do is to conduct a quick preliminary investigation, give on-the-spot instructions to remedy the situation and forward a short report to the Judicial Secretary who will then think out a 'permanent' solution in consultation with the Chief Justice.

Thus if the complaint was that the Registrar was delaying the filing of particular papers, there is no reason why a Judge cannot deal with this immediately, instead of referring it to Accra for the Judicial Secretary to attempt to speak to the Registrar on the telephone (when the lines may be down!) or write a letter to instruct the Registrar on what to do. If, of course, the Judge finds out that the Registrar is right he should say so to the party complaining; and that will save the time of the Registrar as well as everybody else. The said philosophy involves also that the Judges and Magistrates should constantly be making suggestions in writing to the Chief Justice or advisable amendments to our procedural rules and the preparation of court calendars—all based on their experiences in the areas wherein they work as well as their knowledge of legal practice there. These are solutions that may not be ideal everywhere but which need trial in our peculiar circumstances.

But assuming that there are enough Judges, that special provisions for financial control vest the appropriate autonomy in the Head of the Judicial Service, that the attitudes of all our Judges and Judicial Officers have been changed in the manner suggested, what other remedies need looking at? The first is the simplification of the Rules of Evidence and of Procedure (especially the parts on Pleadings). This really is a matter for lawyers; but the public can insist that the lawyers should act quickly, and be prepared to pay for the lawyers' work. Is it really necessary, for example, for the lawyers on either side to meet before a Judge for the so-called Summons for Directions in the High Court?

Talking about Ghana . . .

As indicated, above, what happens there is that they agree on the issues dividing them and settle certain procedural matters. But surely justice is administered in the Magistrate's Court without such 'conferences'; and why can't something similar be done in the High Court? One cannot over-emphasise the role which the lay public must play in all this. Let us look at what Professor Ivan, Head of Alberta University and now the Legislative Assistant to the Canadian Prime Minister, had to say two years ago. As he was in fact writing about Ghana, I may be permitted to quote the whole of what follows:

> Legal procedure is only of pressing interest to the average lawyer; not until a lawsuit jumps the normally predictable procedural rails does he turn his attention from the substantive law. As a result, court procedures in many jurisdictions are out of date and show signs of neglect. The litigant, on the other hand, thinks more of law as a function than as a body of jurisprudence His interest in the law is spasmodic, he places emphasis on the

effectiveness of the system rather than on the sometimes complex principles of law embodied in a judicial decision. (And if the litigant is an alien he will be particularly sensitive to any suggestion of procedural discrimination). There is still another reason which explains in part the difference in attitude between lawyer and client. The lawyer lives with the rules of court; if not enamoured of them, he is at least likely to be complacent about their deficiencies. The client, unless unusually sophisticated, does not share his familiarity. For him the day in court is strange and almost unbearably personal. Should the litigant suffer, or receive the impression he is suffering from technical shortcomings in the system, he will likely react with shrill (if ineffective) criticism. To him the procedural aspects of the lawsuit may be the only ones he can identify, and in a sense, understand. They are the ones which he will consider in assessing the legal system.

But let a Judge have the decisive word. Lord Evershed, former Master of the Rolls in England, had already opined that "if the purpose of the law is the welfare of Society and to that end the service of the public, then it is clear that the ordinary member of the public who is the litigant in our civil courts is likely to base his judgment of our legal system largely upon the way which, in practice, it works".

Manipulating Time-Tables

Another suggestion is deliberately so to manipulate court time-tables as to induce parties to settle disputes, that is, if they know that a case will take very long to be heard they are more likely to settle. Therefore those cases which in the opinion of the court ought to be settled will be reserved for later days and others given priority. This is a suggestion that is fraught with dangers and has not succeeded much in other countries where it has been tried. It is not recommended.

A popular suggestion in Ghana is to let Judicial Officers in the lower ranks take the preliminary steps in the trial of High Court cases so that the Judges in the High Court will have more time to deal with the really 'important' stages in those cases. Since however the Magistrates and Circuit Judges may also be very busy, this will in fact save time in the High Court and delay cases in the lower courts. Also, parties are not likely to feel satisfied that lower Judges are dealing with parts of their case which will ultimately be tried by High Court Judges. It is a course that is recommended only with grave reservations.

A situation that often offends the layman's sense of fairness is where a court with a very heavy list rises at about 10.30 a.m. or 11.00 a.m. and the Judge appears to be free for the rest of the day. Non-lawyers often put very wrong interpretations on this. A Judge or Magistrate who is not sitting in court is not necessarily free. He may well be writing judgments in Chambers instead of in his house. If, as is normally the case, a High Court Judge supervises many Magistrates in a district, then the Judge may be working in Chambers on reviews of orders by these Magistrates and making appropriate revisory orders from time to time, after perusal of proceedings in those cases. But supposing that he is not occupied by either of these, then the thing to do to stop him from being free is for the Registrar to put so many cases on the list that even if one or two cases break down there will always be others to keep the Judge occupied in court. This is an acceptable remedy for delay.

Experimenting

But here again the public should realise that it will involve several parties having to sit in court with their witnesses and not having their cases heard on particular days. It would mean, for example, the Registrar putting down five to seven cases for hearing when a court can only hear about two or three a day. The parties in each of the other cases have to be ready for a possible trial that day and at the same time be prepared to accept the position if the case is not in fact heard. Can the public pay this price? It certainly seems more acceptable than to have to wait for a long time for your case to get on the list. The lawyer does not have to sit through in court if he has no other business there. The client only has to arrange for him to be called if the court actually indicates that his case will be called. The caution must be added however that in other countries where this has been tried it has been found that the lawyers whose cases come further down on the list are often not prepared to go on. Will that be the case in Ghana? Present indications are that it will. But this is based on random observation rather than on any careful research. The point simply is that in England a trainee-solicitor knows that it is the duty of the lawyers (i.e. the solicitors and the barristers) to get their clients and wit-

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nesses ready in court about 30 minutes before the court starts sitting. But in Ghana one sees lawyers who stand up and announce themselves as appearing in a case, and then tell the judge their witnesses are not in court. This may be due to the fact that the witnesses could not be told of the hearing date in time, the transport and communications system being what it is. The result, however, is a breakdown in the case because the court then may have to adjourn.

One other remedy that has been put forward for systemic delay is that special tribunals should be created to deal with special cases. This too is very attractive. For example, Labour Courts will deal with labour and industrial matters; Administrative Tribunals will deal with administrative cases; other special courts will handle workers' compensation cases and yet other special courts will dispose of cases of income tax and other revenue matters. This has worked well in several countries; but I think it means only a little more than increasing the number of Judges and supporting staff and training them in special fields so that they can work faster there. No doubt the ordinary courts would then be left free so that they can handle more ordinary cases. But it should be realised that unless all these special tribunals are created within the judicial system, standards of justice may differ. This should be avoided. Otherwise the advantages here are real.

Various Other Suggestions

There are several other suggestions that have been tried in many countries with results differing from country to country. There are also suggestions that have never been tried anywhere, but which could be tried in Ghana. Among the latter are the various systems of settlement and the forms of customary arbitration. Of the former kind, there is the possibility of holding back a Judge's pay if he is in the habit of delaying with the disposal of cases before him. In America where this has been given serious consideration it seems the result was to rush Judges to show returns, and parties did not often benefit. In any case, as has been well said by Professor Rosenberg of Columbia University, "slow justice is bad, but speedy injustice is not an admissible substitute".

Well, it will be seen that none of the suggestions above has been thoroughly worked out or even fully stated. This is only an introduction to the problem. If some of our young graduates would like to conduct research on the field here rather than in the comfortable libraries of Legon, London or Oxford, perhaps the country would benefit more. Unlike in certain developed countries we have not Foundations which can sponsor such researches. But the Government can give subventions to the Universities for the purpose or allow the Judicial Service itself a vote under which certain persons can be employed on temporary basis to look into specific problems and report. After all, the colonial Government did that; and several anthropologists and even land lawyers wrote monographs at the expense of our Government. Could the reading public think of this?

Not All would be Right

If I may be permitted to quote at length from Professor Rosenburg again, "some of the measures" that have been suggested to remedy court delays "would be wrong even if they worked". Antidotes for delay must meet certain minimum tests of principle, among which are the following:

First, the measure should not often or materially warp the results of the litigation process for the parties; or, if it does, the probability of changed results should be known and acceptable as a price for added efficiency.

Second, the measure ought to operate simply as an administrative matter and inexpensively as a financial matter, in comparison to the saving that it produces. All relevant costs, both to the litigants and to the public at large, should be included in the balance.

Third, the remedy should not involve the custodians of justice in sub-terfuge or hypocrisy. That is, it should not do by indirection what the courts are unable or unwilling to do directly.

Finally, the remedy should not breed disrespect for the courts by giving the public an unsatisfactory impression of their fairness or good faith.

The problem is vast, but it must be stated that it is not unsurmountable. It may be that, as they have found in America, it is chronic and therefore not completely curable. But even palliatives are welcome here. In any case we have to learn to live with the problem without frequent painful disturbances.

Education

LIBRARIES IN GHANA'S SCHOOLS AND TRAINING COLLEGES

By

L. H. Ofosu-Appiah

I SUSPECT that if one visited the Ministry of Education and asked about library facilities in schools and colleges in the country one would be introduced to an officer whose schedule is to see that provision is made for libraries at all levels of the educational ladder. If, however, a person decided to go to any of the elementary schools, he would be inevitably surprised to find that hardly any of them has a library. The situation is no better in the secondary schools and training colleges. Although most of these institutions have libraries of a sort, the general impression one gains is that the Ministry of Education has never, in the past decade, regarded the provision of good libraries as vital to educational progress in the country.

The Ghana Library Board, on its own initiative, decided in 1968 to conduct a survey of library facilities in secondary schools and training colleges in the hope that the results of the survey might lead the Ministry of Education to take the question of libraries more seriously in future. A questionnaire was sent to secondary schools and training colleges. Eighty-three secondary schools and 57 training colleges sent replies. The rest presumably did not think the matter important enough to acknowledge receipt, let alone answer the questions.

No Ideal Libraries

The most interesting revelation from the replies to the questionnaire was that little or no attention is paid to the provision of library accommodation in secondary schools and training colleges. There are very few schools with buildings set aside for libraries. Some schools use a part of the administration block or any odd building as a library. This kind of accommodation is common among the majority of the older institutions. Such libraries are not ideal, since often activities take place in the block, and disturb students who want to use the library. In some schools libraries are situated between two classrooms. One school reported that its library is next to the school kitchen! One can imagine the noise that goes on in such places. Some schools use as libraries rooms built for other purposes. These are generally unsuitable for a good library, even when alterations are made to give the impression that they can serve the same purpose as well-planned libraries.

The commonest type of library is the one in shared premises. In some schools the books are kept on shelves in the headmasters' office or in the assembly hall; and some are distributed among various departments and classes. The majority of schools allocated very few rooms for library purposes; and about 85% of the institutions reported that their libraries were housed in single rooms where students studied, clerks received and processed new books, and where the lending of books took place. Since the majority of institutions have over 300 pupils, one can imagine the overcrowding in such "single room" libraries. Of the 119 schools and colleges which provided information about this section of the questionnaire, about 50% indicated that they could provide seats for just over 35 students at a time. Although international standards require that a school library should be able to accommodate a minimum of 10% of its student population, very few of the institutions could satisfy this requirement. If the conservative figure of a minimum floor space of 25 sq. ft. is adopted for a seater/user in the institutions, then very few of the libraries can provide room for 20 students at a time.

Poor Facilities

The furniture provided in a majority of the libraries are poor and generally unsuitable for library purposes. The usual furniture are cupboards, steel chairs, benches and long low tables. In some cases there are not enough chairs and tables to accommodate students who want to study. Only a few libraries had any periodicals at all.

Although most of the libraries are well ventilated and lit, in some institutions very little attention was paid to these essential items.

When we come to book stock, we are shocked to find that most of the libraries are very poorly stocked. In the secondary schools only one library had a stock of between 9,001 and 9,500; one had 8,501—9,000, another had 8,001—8,500, and another had 7,501—8,000. The rest varied from 7,500 to below 500. There are 14 schools with a stock of between 1,001 and 1,500, 11 with a stock of between 500 and 1,000, and nine with a stock below 500.

The bookstock in 57 training colleges varied from one college with 6,001—6,500 books to

nine colleges with below 500. 14 have a stock of 1,001 — 1,500, and 11 have a stock of 500 — 1,000. In a country where students cannot take books home because text books are free, this is really a sad commentary on the professional competence of the Ministry of Education. Put in another way, about 24.1% of the secondary school libraries have bookstocks below 1,000 volumes, while 2.4% have over 8,000 volumes. In the training colleges about 26.3% reported having holdings below 1,000 volumes, and only 5.3% could claim to possess between 5,000 and 6,500 volumes. It has been laid down for British schools that there should be eight to ten volumes per student.

It was not possible to calculate the number of titles held by the various institutions because they were not given. But since some of the titles are duplicate ones, one can assume that the individual titles held must be severely limited.

The Quality of Book Collections

It was clear from the survey that a number of secondary schools and training colleges added nothing to their bookstock in 1965/66 and 1966/67. Of the 89 secondary schools which replied, 20 added nothing to their holdings in 1965/66, while 11 did not make new acquisitions in 1966/67. Ten out of the 57 training colleges which replied added nothing in 1965/66, five added nothing in 1966/67 and four added nothing in both years! Some secondary schools returned "no records" to that question! Many schools also reported that they had no policy regarding the discarding of outdated books; and many never discarded any books.

The members of the survey team found that there were no data available to show in which fields of study emphasis is placed in the acquisition of books. For example, it was not clear what proportion of the additions was made up of reference books, text books and background information material. Furthermore, lack of data made it impossible to evaluate the quality of book collections. But it was evident that most of the books were not suitable for the teaching requirements of the institutions concerned. Some books were tattered, and there were several old editions, as well as propaganda literature from friendly embassies.

The usual reason given for lack of books is financial. At present there are three main systems of financing libraries. A small proportion of schools and colleges get government grants for libraries; and these are the institutions directly managed by the Ministry of Education. But even in these institutions it is not clear whether the grants are specifically earmarked for libraries. The other source is tuition fees, which are now paid as bursaries through government grants. It is from these that Headmasters and Principals use a part for their libraries. Where other more pressing needs must be satisfied, the library does not get any grant. In general, it is only those heads of institutions who do not regard libraries as luxuries who do their best to set aside some money annually for libraries. Also, the fairly large schools and colleges which usually economise on their general administration are able to spend more money on libraries. A third source of income is derived from occasional gifts of money from outside sources.

Library Expenditure

The survey revealed that 22 institutions receive government grants for libraries and 107 depend on tuition fees. Four schools depended on outside aid as well as fines, while 13 institutions did not specify the sources of their income.

It is interesting to note that the library expenditure in the various institutions varies from a few hundred cedis a year in some schools to almost no expenditure at all in others. A number of institutions showed no library expenditure since the 1965/66 academic year; a minority showed an increasing yearly expenditure on the library. A few institutions added to their book stock by subscribing to the Ghana Library Board Book Box system. Only 34 out of the 136 institutions which answered the questionnaire take advantage of this system.

Apart from books, periodicals form a very important part of a library's collection. Very few schools, however, attach any importance to periodicals and newspapers. Of the 136 reporting institutions 21.3% do not receive any periodicals; 35.5% take no foreign newspaper, and 9.6% receive no local newspaper!!

The survey indicates that 62.4% of the institutions use the teaching staff for organising and supervising the libraries; 22% employ full-time staff, some of whom have elementary library training of a sort, while others have no training at all. About 16% of the schools use office clerks to take charge of the library in addition to their normal office duties, and

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almost all schools encourage student participation in the running of libraries. None of the institutions has a full- or part-time professional librarian.

What appears evident is that the Ministry of Education does not regard the staffing of libraries in schools and colleges as an important and necessary educational requirement. Since the establishment of the Ghana Library Board, a number of professional librarians have been trained, and the University of Ghana has been running courses in librarianship for some years now. But the Ministry has not found it necessary to send teacher librarians on study leave to gain professional qualifications which would improve the school libraries. And since 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!

Trained Librarians Needed

But for the school libraries to be efficiently run, and their contents properly utilised, there should be trained librarians to catalogue and classify the books. At present this work is done well by the Peace Corps teachers in some schools, but when they leave the gap is not easy to fill. Besides, none of the schools have guides to classification and cataloguing of books such as the *Dewey Classification Scheme*, *The Simplified Cataloguing Code* and the *Introduction to Dewey Decimal Classification for British Schools*. Some schools even lock up their books in cupboards, and open them periodically for borrowing because of fear that they might be stolen. Cataloguing and classification in such cases are out of the question.

Very few schools keep accession records; but this is a very important feature of a library. Although in theory all students are allowed to borrow books, in some schools borrowing is limited to forms four and above; in other instances the right to borrow reference books is limited to members of staff only.

A good school library must issue books to all students, since the reading habit can only be cultivated by having access to books. And in a country where very few homes have libraries, it is just commonsense to insist that libraries be open to all students. Students should also be allowed to use reference books in the library even if they are not allowed to borrow them.

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NOTE: Persons who have already applied in response to an earlier advertisement for this post need not apply again.

The rule may be relaxed by allowing reference books to be borrowed occasionally.

The survey shows that 37 out of 80 responding secondary schools and 30 out of 56 reporting training colleges set aside special library periods once a week on the timetable. During such periods some students work under the supervision of their form masters, form mistresses or the library clerk, while some read on their own. Only three institutions showed that the librarians or the supervisors use some parts of the periods to explain how to use libraries and to care for books. But since very few students know much about the books on their subjects or how to select information for themselves, guidance is necessary during the library period. It is very important that first year students should be taught the use of library material.

Little Access of Libraries

In most schools the library is open during school hours, but because of a lack of supervisory staff they are closed after school hours. A few schools, however, open until 'night studies' period. Where libraries have no clerks, and consequently are obliged to use teacher librarians or prefects, they are opened for only a few hours during and after school hours, mainly for borrowing and returning books. In day schools and colleges, students have very little access to library facilities. The number of hours they spend in the library differs according to the free time they are allowed during school hours; and since all the buildings are locked up after school hours, students cannot use the libraries. Those critics of boarding schools who come from countries with good public libraries might make a note of this point, and stop lecturing Ghanaians on the necessity for turning our institutions into day schools.

The time has come for drastic changes in the running and provision of libraries for our educational institutions. As a first step the Ghana Library Board should be granted more money for employing qualified staff and for increasing the number of children's libraries in all the regions. The aim should be to have a children's library in every town and village where there is a school. The Ministry should set aside more of the money spent on dancers for the provision of libraries for the villagers who have been dancing long before dancing became an academic exercise. Until the secondary schools and training colleges can employ professional librarians, the Library Board should be helped to employ more staff to organise school libraries, and to assist in training clerks for the routine work in the libraries.

The Ministry of Education should also employ librarians in all the regions to see that books are available for schools and colleges. A special vote should be set aside for libraries in all educational institutions, and elementary courses in librarianship should be started in certain training colleges. Graduate teachers who are interested in library work should be given study leave to qualify as librarians; and all Boards of Governors, as far as possible, should include librarians. Old students should endow library funds in all the regions.

For the 1970's we must emphasise universal culture, which is transmitted through books, so that we can have a generation which will portray Ghana's culture in the way in which the Ancient Greeks portrayed theirs through books, the plastic and graphic arts, and gymnastics. The Ministry of Education could then embrace the Greek conception of Mousike and Gumnastike, i.e. culture! Above all, individual Ghanaians should contribute to a library fund for establishing libraries in all parts of Ghana. The first town to do so has been Bolgatanga, and it is hoped that citizens of Ghana who have good children's books to spare will help in this adventure to make reading a necessary part of our education.

Observer Notebook

International VIPs in Africa

THE RANGE in variety among the reasons which bring world figures visiting to Africa these days is amply illustrated by the variety of the involved Very Important Persons themselves. The contrasts in motivation and the speculative potentialities suggested by the calls of three such men as U Thant, Marshall Tito and U.S. Secretary of State Rogers offer a fascinating study, in the context of Africa's unsettled political condition combined with its challenging economic probabilities. And if to these individuals you add the Pope and his (earlier) entourage, Japanese trade missions, and the never-ending flow of foreign experts of one kind or another, the visible picture becomes complete. The invisible implications are, however, quite another matter.

Every one of these persons and groups represents a distinct and identifiable interest, which to describe as "vested" is admittedly no more than to point, with apologies, to the obvious.

No-one is ever going to be able to outdo George Orwell's masterpiece of sardonicism; so to say that the trouble with these international interests is that some are more vested than others is not to try to match Orwell for any mere cleverness of the effort, but simply to indicate where we think the caveat signs should be posted. U Thant we know; the brave, revered champion of ideological and moral independence from Yugoslavia we accept, in good faith; but who are these others, these peddlers of promises?

Half the world is audibly grateful to the United States government and some of its peoples for economic aid and military guarantees of national and international security. The Nato Powers — for all Charles de Gaulle's erstwhile towering repudiations and rejections — no less than the Seato group, are terrified sick at the threat of American military withdrawals from their respective areas of exposure and vulnerability. We in West Africa too are grateful to America for much. Yet, in contrast to our feelings about President Kennedy's enabling act with respect to the Volta Dam Project, we cannot conceal our permanent dissatisfaction with the Valco agreements, for one instance, and what we feel the majority of us don't know about them; we cannot forget the experience with and the lessons of the Abbott Affair; and thirdly we cannot pretend to be less than disgusted with the monstrous "Hypocrisy Plays" which the Western powers, led by good old England, substitute for morality plays on the subject of southern African crimes. So the fair words of Mr. Rogers could have impressed us — and did impress us — only so much and no more.

Again, both in Nigeria and Ghana it is obvious that Japan (to turn to that most enterprising country next), sells more to us than she buys from us; our confidence in her will begin to be built up, therefore, only when this imbalance begins to be corrected. Besides, we hold reservations about Japan's African policies on two other grounds: one, her well known trading activities with those pariah countries, South Africa, Rhodesia and Portugal; and two, the suspicion that Japan also is moving in just for the kill in Nigerian oil and Ghanaian mineral potentialities. Here too it will take much more than V.I.P. visits and mutual diplomatic pleasantries to prevent us from warning our countrymen to beware of our Japanese and other important visitors, even when they bring presents and promises.

R.I.P. — Kaleidoscope

THOSE tellyphiles who have been regretting the sudden demise of the popular, vocal, free-wheeling and articulate "Kaleidoscope" programmes on Ghana Television will learn with pleasant surprise that their favourite programme is being positively mourned at GBC-TV. There you find notice boards and doors generously sporting obituary notices, complete with a black cross and its shadow. For the truth of the matter is that this programme, which was born in April 1966, in the "what went wrong" hey-days, had established a solid following on the basis of the quality of its output.

What happened? The Minister of Information held a press conference on the 13th of January this year, during which he is reported to have expressed his displeasure at the handling of certain topical issues by the Kaleidoscope panelists of that occasion. These included the establishment of the National Service Corps, the K. B. Ayensu affair, and the Beer Bottle rumpus. Somebody somewhere must have taken fright at this announcement, for a fortnight after the press conference, all attempts to assemble a panel for Kaleidoscope failed. A week later, a panel was assembled, but GBC-TV would not record the programme. Then, another week later, a letter went to the regular host of the programme announcing the Corporation's decision to rest the programme for a while.

The question which arises is, did the Corporation not feel the need to give the panelists a chance to vindicate their position? If the statements made on the programme were factual, could the two sides not have been brought together for a confrontation? All this bears on the larger issue of the relations that should exist between an institution like the G.B.C. and the Information Ministry, or the government of the day, for that matter. For anyone to take umbrage at the mere advocacy of the publication of the committee report which led to Mr. K. B. Ayensu's departure from the Civil Service is, to say the least, odd. Surely, we have got to the stage where justice must not only be done but must be manifestly seen to be done?

Or if anyone justified the feeling that the present government was bypassing Parliament in fiscal matters by pointing to discrepancies in the votes announced by the N.L.C. and those released periodically by the Busia government at durbars, surely the record can be checked in full public view without recourse to veiled

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threats?

Readers would recall that another TV programme involving articulate debate on matters of public concern, namely "Viewpoint", also died a mysterious death a little while ago. One wonders really whether any useful purpose is served by inaugurating "Face to Face" on the grave of Kaleidoscope. What lessons are the panelists of the new programme supposed to draw from what happened to Kaleidoscope? Two other points: "Face to Face" is a misnomer in any case, for what the new programme actually is, namely, Kaleidoscope under another name. Secondly, if so, why take the trouble to cancel one programme for another which turns out to be the same, *except* in name only?

If our media of information are free, they must be left in no doubt about this. They would be the first to acknowledge the (legal) perimeters of this freedom. The government's attitude in all this will, one hopes, be seen to reflect the fact that it has as massive a parliamentary majority as it could wish for, and that any signs of panic or impatience one may have detected in this episode were imaginary.

The Black Stars-and-Sudan Affair

THE Ghanaian press is to be commended, on the whole, for the mature way in which it has handled a highly disturbing episode: the case of the Black Stars, our national soccer team, whose fine performances in the field during the Sudan-staged African championships, 1970, were marred by the distressing contrast of their expulsion from the country almost immediately after the Cup Final. To this unusual situation the Ghana press has reacted on the one hand with the praise due to one-half of the result, and on the other with due dignity and restraint in respect of the other half. It was so easy to have become hysterical about the deportation of our national team, just as easy as it would have been to pounce on the Stars for their alleged bad conduct.

We too, naturally, congratulate the Black Stars on their showing in the field of play. The fact that they did not bring back the cup, to keep it forever this time had they won it, was second-place to the fact of their having played themselves into the final without losing a match; of losing in the end by the narrow margin of 0-1, on the opponent's own home ground and before a reportedly most hostile crowd; and of acquiring in the process the enviable reputation of having carried in the squad no fewer than three men popularly adjudged to be the best in their respective field positions in the whole competition.

This record—made at a time when we had almost all agreed to write off the Stars—is what makes it so painful that their story in the Sudan should have ended in the extraordinary incident of their being deported for social behaviour (or, that is, alleged misbehaviour) arising out of the very game they had played so well. The version of the incident that each side gives is mutually improbable when placed side by side. That the Stars, however sore they were feeling about whatever cause, would have refused point-blank to go up for their silver medals from the hands of the military Head of State of the host country, as alleged by the reports (including one by a Ghanaian), sounds so bush we cannot believe it of our men, especially as they were led by a junior minister and our Director of Sports.

On the other hand the version the Ghanaians give is equally puzzling: that there was such confusion after the end of the game as not only to have prevented them permanently from getting to the Presidential dais but also to have made them look—or so the allegation said—like refusing to go up for their prize! Now how could that be? How could it have been possible for them to have failed completely to demonstrate their predicament and get themselves extricated? And how could they then have reacted to the situation in such a way as to be seen to have refused to follow the standard formula of behaviour? Surely they should have waited, confusion or no confusion, to make sure of their position in the whole situation before leaving the field for the dressing room without having been presented—if that is what they did? On the other hand, how could the Sudanese authorities have taken so extreme a step as the order and execution of deportation, without a fair and just enquiry into the facts? The whole thing sounds so unbelievable.

We conclude from this contradictoriness that it must all have been due to a misreading of the signs on both sides and to the misunderstanding which must result from such. And yet if our conclusions are valid this would surprise us the more. How could two parties like these have allowed such things to come to pass? Meanwhile, nothing more convincing than the above stories has been heard officially since they were first told. Until the whole near-tragic incident is cleared up at the diplomatic level and the results are, hopefully, made public, we reserve further comment.

Letters

Afro-Americans and Africa

R—It is a pity that Mr. J. K. Obatala, an Afro-Ameri- student at Legon, is encountering some difficulty in ng accepted as an African by some Ghanaian stu- nts; I hope things may soon change for him in this gard. But before that time, he has got to show that really wants to be regarded and accepted as an rican!

Regarding the reaction of the student in respect of . Obatala's suggestion that "servants should be sent trade schools, and that students should do for them- ves what the servants are doing for them", I would t blame the Ghanaian student for his comments about suggestion. First, both gentlemen have different nceptions about student life. Secondly, in Ghana e finds servants in almost every home, in a situa- n in which economic factors make this pattern not ly inevitable for the time being but helpful to those employed. But soon, I hope, following the departure most of the alien servant labour force, Ghanaians ll have to do for themselves what the servants had en doing for them.

Thirdly, the colleague might not have understood meaning of "freedom of expression", and no doubt s not yet developed the ability to criticize and then gue out his points constructively and convincingly. ter all, some African or Ghanaian students abroad ve occasionally suggested more serious reforms than r. Obatala did.

However, Mr. Obatala raises the question of Pan- ricanism in his article (**L.O.** V/3), and I have this say. More often than not the Afro-American is an rican only when he is in a "traumatic racial identi- ation dilemma", and sometimes when he wants to have f-confidence; it is then that he would perhaps feel more solidarity with the African: After all, "our black others" in Africa are governing themselves and "we ack people" of America feel proud of them and of hat they are doing to fight European domination in olitics and economics, . . .! We African students road, in our encounters with some Afro-Americans, ten sense in their attitude that they regard us as imitive!

May I ask Mr. Obatala this question—Is it really ue that the so-called "Black Intellectuals of America", hose talents are being "exploited, abused and wasted", e willing to give up their America and come to settle rever in Africa? And even if so, the Afro-American ay have to accept that he is an American first by ltural orientation and environmental conditions: and at he is an African secondly and historically. From is he may gather some psychological inspirations om Africa.

ordahl Brunsgate 22 **J. Amoako-Addo**
slo 1, Norway

These Promises!

R—It is disheartening when one takes up our local wspapers to contemplate some of the news items ublished. A close study of the news items, especially ose covering interviews with Ministers or Junior Ministers of development ministries, reveals that the contents of the news have not changed since Gold Coast became Ghana. The only novelty about them is that they are said by different people at different times.

A case in point is what the Ministerial Secretary to the Ministry of Agriculture is reported to have said in an interview quoted in the **Daily Graphic** (Accra) issue of Thursday, 22nd January, 1970, under the caption "Rice imports may stop in 3 years". After seeing such a caption, one could predict that in the subsequent paragraphs mention would be made of a paper plan or programme which envisages some imaginary amount which would be saved by the country in terms of foreign exchange. This time it was NC6 million. Is this the first time such a thing has been reported only to find it turn out to be a paper plan?

We are bored almost to the point of being sick. We have heard all these stories before and nothing happened. Please tell us something new, or better still do not tell us anything at all.

147 Queen's Hall **C. C. T. Blankson**
U.S.T.
Kumasi

Explaining Government Policies

SIR—In the **Legon Observer** (Vol. V/4), I read two letters, the first headed "Meddling with Mass Media" by Mr. Michael Bonnie, and the other headed "Financing the National Service Corps" by Mr. David Akuetteh of the U.S.T., Kumasi.

Mr. Bonnie accuses the Minister of Information of preparing fertile ground for rumours, taking panellists off the screen, seeing to it that Kaleidoscope goes off the air, insisting that what is said on Kaleidoscope suits his taste, and gagging artistes psychologically. All I have enumerated above are, to me, diametrically the opposite of what the Minister's press conference aimed at.

It is a very important responsibility of any Minister of Information to correct and explain basic misconceptions about Government policies, and that was, precisely what Mr. Brodie-Mends did. He said, loudly and clearly, that any person has the right to criticise the Government, no matter how violently, but in doing so, the person should "keep faith with the facts". In other words, the person must get his facts straight, and should not twist facts to suit his petty personal, political or any other inclinations.

I think Mr. Akuetteh's letter was sheer bluff. If he knows—and that is what he says in his letter—that Mr. Brodie-Mends quoted from the Prime Minister's speech to give the lie to Mr. Cromwell Quist's misleading comments on the TV, why is he so worried about what, allegedly, was said by Mr. R. R. Amponsah?

I do not rule out the possibility that Mr. Amponsah was misreported. In any case, I think Mr. Akuetteh wasted his time and energy by his unnecessary incisiveness. I say this because he stated himself that Mr. Brodie-Mends's explanation came after the alleged statement by Mr. Amponsah.

House No. D111/2, **Kweku Ngyeduam**
Jackson Street
Cape Coast

Unedifying Newspaper Attacks

SIR—In its front page comment of 14th February, a local newspaper criticises the G.B.C. for not screening the Kaleidoscope programme in recent weeks. The paper was at pains to show that the excuses offered by the G.B.C. for this failure were also likely to create the impression that the Government was interfering with the programme. So far very fair.

But the paper goes on to describe the G.B.C. as "a veritable dosshouse propped up with dead wood eaten right through with the cankers of obstinacy, chicanery, pomposity and in particular lack of imagination."The top personnel of the Corporation is said to consist of "spineless toadies." As for the Acting Head of Television, he "is famous only for having discovered (the comedian) Issa Abongo on sound radio."

A local wit has said of the defunct "Evening News" that it could never make a point unless it resorted to irrelevance and vituperation. For instance, a cabinet Minister had to be "a Tsombe-faced nincompoop" and "a Catholic slave" as part of an argument for his removal from office. Some of us had expected that this paper would recognise that it owed it especially to its sponsors not to go down as another party press; or if the paper could not care less about this responsibility, it hould at least have some regard for young people who are learning how to compose English prose in schools: paragraphs of inelegant writing dished out out twice weekly could hardly help.

University of Ghana **Ebow Daniel**
Legon

The Compliance Order

SIR—The social and economic benefits emerging from the government's quit order need not be over-emphasized, hence the great exultation which has been going on among Ghanaians ever since the order was enforced late last year.

Most shops and market stalls formerly occupied by aliens have been taken over by Ghanaians, who sat behind their wares under the scorching sun prior to the quit order. Many shopkeepers have extended the size of their shops and the market women have been able to increase their wares, with varieties of commodities which were formerly sold exclusively by aliens.

A visit to our hospitals will indicate that the long queues seen at the hospitals during the pre-quit order days have considerably shortened, leading to quicker service. Congestion in the cities have been reduced and the sanitary labourer's work is lessened owing to decrease in population. Sanitation is fast improving. Thanks to the government for the firm manner in which the order has been handled.

But up till now, especially in the cities and some rural areas, there are some aliens without resident permits who have turned deaf ears to this order and are carrying on with petty-trading. This shows disrespect for our laws which must not be allowed.

Commonwealth Hall **deBeck A. Asare**
Legon

SIR—The **Observer** (Vol. IV/26) editorial on the reaction of the Ghanaian population to the Government's aliens' registration order was a welcome piece.

Since arriving in London a few weeks ago I have had to face a barrage of questioning and cross-examinations concerning the ethical evaluation of the Government's action. Like their countrymen in Ghana, the number of Ghanaian students and residents I have met so far have received the news with varying degrees of mixed feelings. Some see in it a welcome opporunity for the creation of job-openings which will attract their eventual return home to take part in national reconstruction and development

Others however, are apprehensive of its probable repercussions on the international level. To the latter the present order poses a threat to their continued existence in Britain especially at this time when Enoch Powell is doing his best to enstrange aliens in the minds of the British, and is actively campaigning for a similar enactment to send immigrants back to their countries. The medium of communication among Ghanaians here is very poor indeed and I advocate that the authorities do something about this situation.

278 Ferme Park Road **T. G. Kumi**
Hornsey, London, N. 8

Miss Hereward and Western Liberalism

SIR — By her statement (**L.O.** V/3, page 12) "to allow an educator or a missionary to open a school and go his own way is **one thing which liberal western countries do and which totalitarian countries do not"** (emphasis mine), Miss Daphne Hereward seems to say that liberal actions are seen only in Western countries and totalitarian ones in countries certainly not Western. Miss Hereward and Western Europeans of her thinking should be told that their holier-than-thou attitude towards Eastern European, African and Asian countries in such matters cuts no ice these days with black Africa.

Would she be good enough to say whether the following are examples of the "...one thing which liberal western countries do...": Britain rushing with gusto to Anguilla to crush the black rebels there while excusing herself with much double-talk from dealing the same blow to the white rebels in Rhodesia; and the American State Department using legalistic argument to condone South Africa's blatant refusal to allow Arthur Ashe, the Afro-American tennis star, to play in the South African National Championship because he is a non-white?

P. O. Box 7287 **Kwame Bosque**
Accra-North

The Observer Language

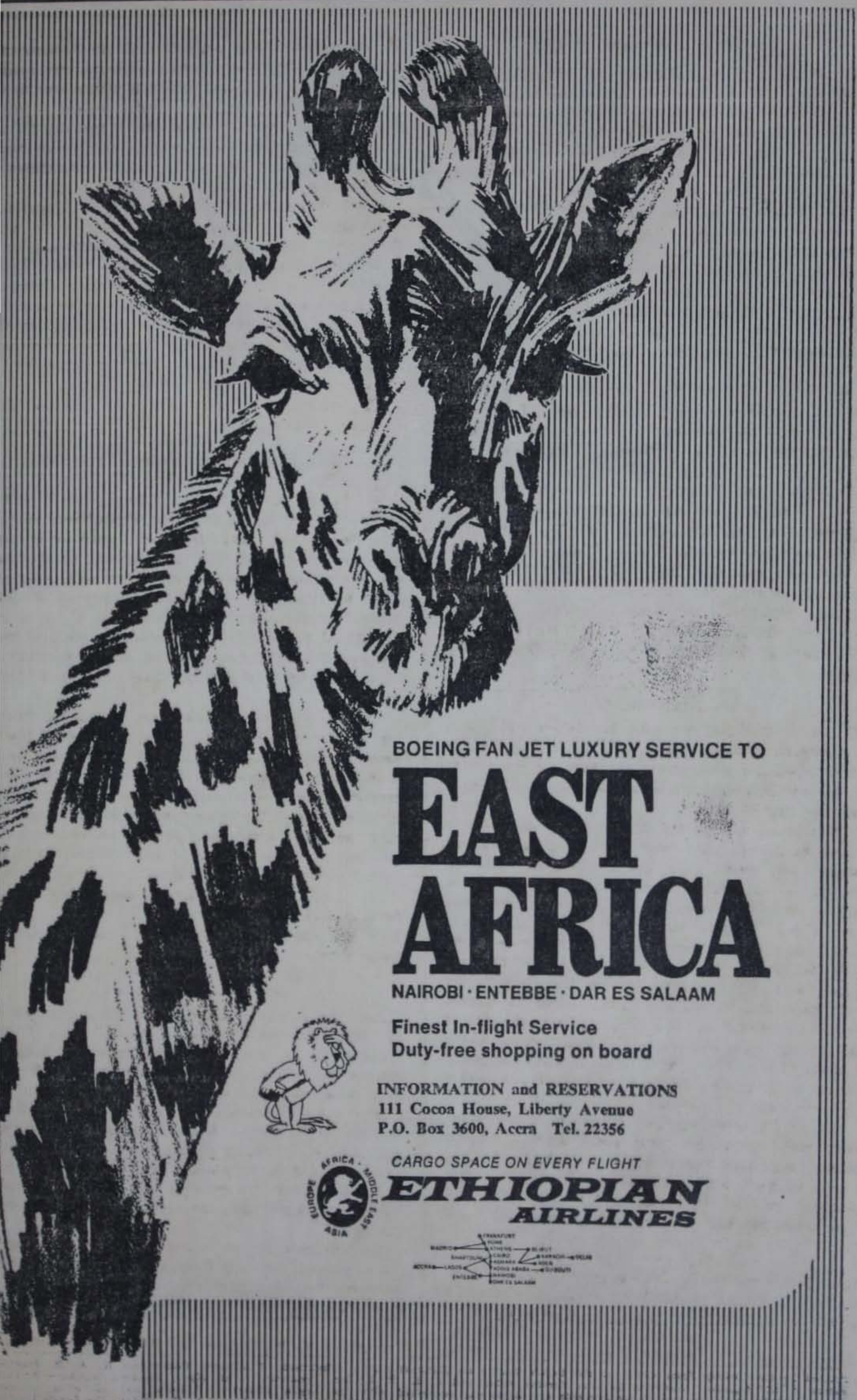
SIR—There is one important point some contributors to **Legon Observer** overlook, if the sole aim of the magazine is to keep its readers well informed of matters of national importance and interest. That is, they must lower the standard of their English.

May I ask them whether they are aware of the fact that many people do not read the **Observer**, not because the articles are not worth it, but because the standard of the language is too high for them? Then also, would the exclusion of all latin and French words and phrases not make their articles more understandable?

The **Observer** is very informative, and I am sure if my suggestions are considered and accepted, its readership would increase greatly.

Survey Party **A. K. Manteaw**
Lawra

Editor's note: The suggestion is well noted, with thanks.


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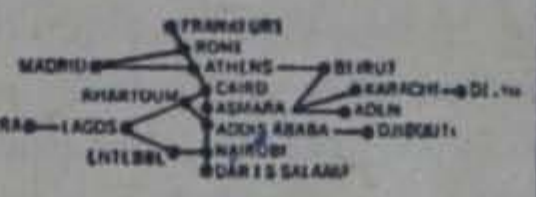
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sion—if we may say so without being invidious. For this was when the central library at Legon was formally named after him, and a bronze bust of him by the Nigerian sculptor, Enwonwu, was unveiled and put in its honoured place in the foyer of the library.

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

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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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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

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 exploitaion, 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 backsliding, 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 measures. 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 ministeries 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 unsual 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 impresion that certain Legonologists 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 i n h e r e n t 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

noral phenomenon (we are all agreed that bribery nd corruption are "bad" in themselves as well s in their effect on society) then it would be onceded that the Commission should have includ- d more than one sociologist. Secondly, if there s going to be no argument about the legalistic spects of "bribery and corruption" — and there s no reason why there should be — then there s no need for two lawyers: the Judge who is lso the chairman of the Commission would, by imself, be able to take care of all the legal equirements of conducting a Commission of nquiry. While lawyers may be useful in draft- ng constitutions or talking in Parliament, it is xtremely doubtful that they are ordinarily given o much reflection on social problems. Two ociologists and one lawyer would have been more ke it. Thirdly, if as seems certain, the Commis- ion will enquire into the various practices by hich civil and other public servants embezzle unds, why not include an accountant on the ommission? The musician and the minister of eligion were put on the Commission apparently ecause they are both God-fearing men. But urely one of them would have been enough to emper what promise to be gruelling enquiries ith the voice of the Spirit? Again we would uggest replacing one of the two gentlemen with n accountant.

Whatever the final composition of the Com- ission, one hopes that they will begin with a road definition of "bribery and corruption": hat they will bear in mind "nepotism" wher- ver it exists, and the higher forms of pilfering the higher reaches of our public life such as he arbitrary use of Government property and he like. We also hope that the Commission ill start with a digest of the evidence and con- lusions of the various post-coup Commissions f Enquiry which should provide the Government nough data to go on if it intends taking practical easures against bribery and corruption in the eantime.

This last point suggests two queries. In view f the Government's concern about "bribery and orruption" why not begin by prosecuting those fficials of our Municipal Councils who have een proved on the evidence to be guilty of raud but merely ask them to refund the mbezzled sums? When is fraud not fraud and ot indictable in the courts? Are we to draw he conclusion from this that the Commission on bribery and corruption" is a mere diversion- ry 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 attitute 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 **Kweku Ngyeduam**
Cape Coast

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 **Ike Minta**
Legon

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 punish-

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 **E. Y. Frempong-Mensah**
Accra

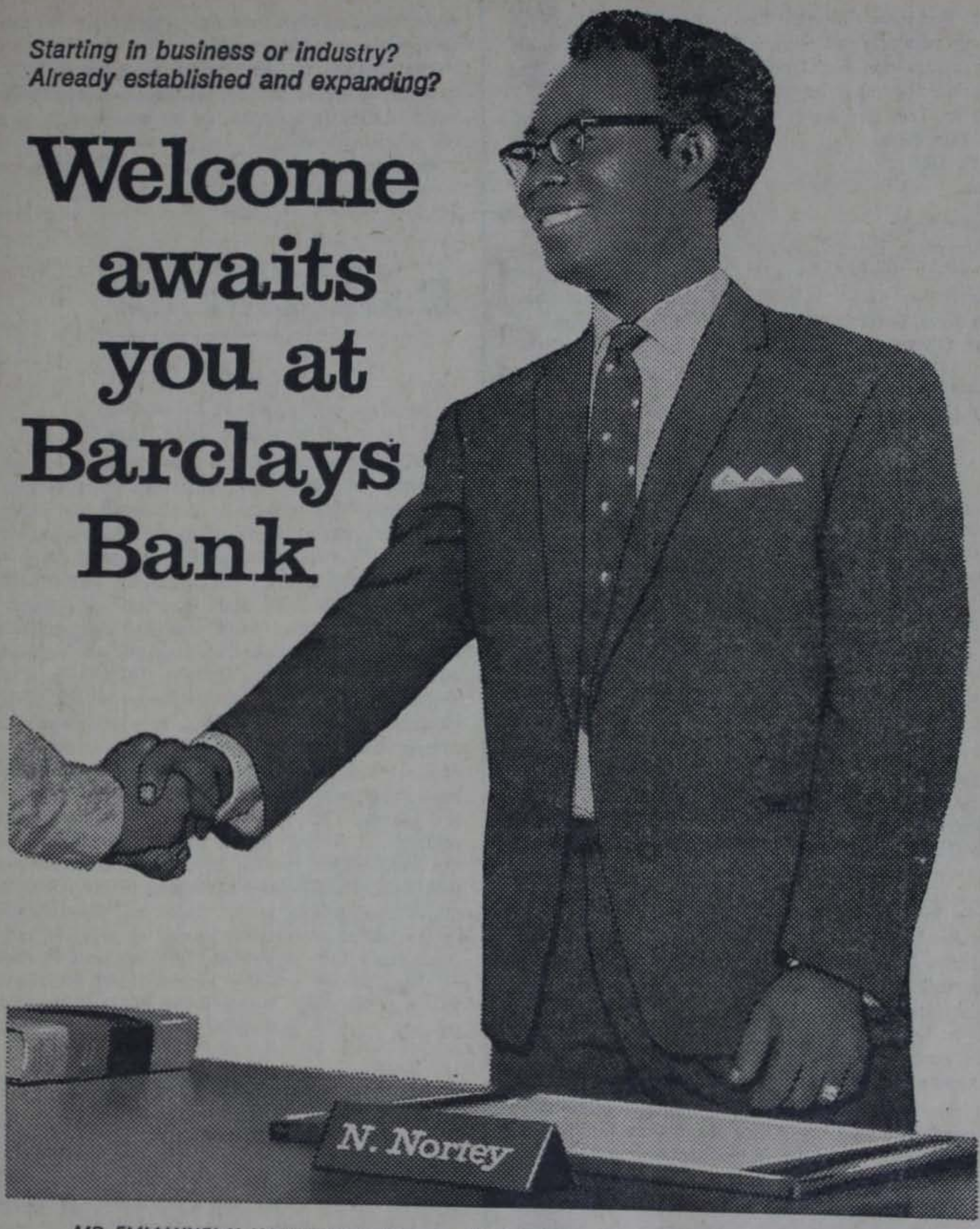
Where Is Kontopiaat?

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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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 Russel 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), tthere 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 journalistic 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 Adihi**
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.**

hief. He is a figure at the crossroads of social and itutional change. He leaves his people to attend erere University and when independence comes he ie of the first to be sent out as an ambassador.

t his own people find the adjustment hard to make. cal of this set is Balinde's father, Musilanga. His has been caught in the flood of change. After his entary school course, he enters a Training College is unfortunately caught having an affair with a in a mission school, so he is dismissed. He goes he difficult journey to Dar es Salaam and secures b. Then comes Nyerere's nationalist movement. inds a natural place in this and soon is sent to his e area of Chamambo as the Party's representative the agent of Socialist change.

is **Ujamaa** exercise is aimed at transforming isola- rural communities into viable experimental agricul- settlements, properly housed and equipped for num productivity. The conflict between the forces tability and those of change are here polarized alinde and his father. The latter is traditionalist. loes not see why he should move from his ancestral e. Furthermore a rift on a personal level had loped between himself and his son. The logic of novel makes this inevitable. For one of the first gs done after independence was to democratize ety. Even the village headmen, of which Musilanga ne, have to be elected. The loss of this post worries a cause of greater chagrin to him is the whittling of the traditional authority of the **mtemi**.

Defending Traditions

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

he old man is broken at last. The traditions he s to defend here are shown in the context of the el to be outmoded. Even the **mtemi** has advised nst trying to stand against the tide.

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

ut the theme of the novel itself is the way in which pendence is explained to the population, and the rts being made to transform Tanzanian society in a way as to improve the lot of the common . The socialist doctrine of TANU finds a natural e 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 is 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 Universiy 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 off-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 jusitfy 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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EDITORIAL

VANDALISM, ANARCHY, AND WORLD ORDER

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

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

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

diplomatic censure.

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

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

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

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

Ghana National Census
1970: Make
sure that you are
counted

Africa

POLITICS AND RELIGION IN THE SUDAN

by
Richard Greenfield

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

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

Development of Rivalry

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

Egyptian influences in the Sudan for instance.

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

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

Enter: The Military

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

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

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

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

Trouble over Land Reform

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Fulfilling a Sense of Mission

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

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

The Economy

GHANA'S UNEMPLOYMENT PROBLEMS

by

G. A. Donkor

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

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

Lack of Effective Demand

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

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

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

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

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

Underemployment

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

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

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

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

TABLE I*

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

***Source: Census 1960**

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

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

Disparity in Wages

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

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

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

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

Distribution of Employment

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

TABLE II

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

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

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

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

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

Trend of Unemployment

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

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

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

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

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

Growth of the Labour Force

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

TABLE III

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

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

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

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

Demography

POPULATION GROWTH AND FAMILY PLANNING

by

D. B. Safo

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

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

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

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

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

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

Stabilizing Population-Size

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Universities

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF CAPE COAST: A UNIQUE EXPERIMENT

By
K. A. Karikari

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Defining the Proper Function

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

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

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

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

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

Fog of Confusion?

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

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

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

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

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

An Expensive Administration

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

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

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

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

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

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

Observer Notice

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

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

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

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

KINGSWAY STORES OF GHANA LIMITED

(Incorporated in Ghana)

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

STATEMENT BY THE CHAIRMAN

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

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

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

RESULT FOR THE YEAR

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

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

DIVIDEND

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

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

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

STORE DEVELOPMENT

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

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

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

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

STAFF

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

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

A. W. R. WOOD



Politics

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

By

Oburoni Muntu

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

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

The African Personality

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

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

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

What Ideology?

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

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

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

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

Regulating Influences

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

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

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

Distraction from Violence

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

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

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

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

Our Value of "Good-fellowship"

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

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

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

Observer Notebook

The P.M. and the Rule of Law

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

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

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

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

Letters

Nkrumah's Role in History

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

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

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

Commonwealth Hall **Kofi Dake**
Legon

Developing The Rural Areas

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

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

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

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

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

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

Economics of the Aliens' Order

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The "Abuse of Freedom"

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

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

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

Ghana's Housing Problems

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

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

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

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

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

The Strength Of African Culture

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

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

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

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

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

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

Rice In Financial Crisis

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Women And The Nation

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Encouraging Immorality?

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

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

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

in Chambers L. B. Akainyah
. Box 3239
nasi

Book Review

AFRICA AND UNITY—EVOLUTION OF PAN-AFRICANISM

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

E ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY AND ITS CHARTER

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

Reviewed by Yao Opong Saffu

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

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

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

Fierce Commitment

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Miscellaneous

DEVELOPMENTS IN KONTOPIAATKROM

By

Kwame Kontopiaat

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

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

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

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

Selecting a Regent

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

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



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EDITORIAL

POLITICS AND THE JUDICIARY

THE JUDICIARY of any nation is an important and highly esteemed branch of governmental process and administration. This is even more so in countries where democracy and fair play have not ceased to have a meaningful respect. Thus when a new constitution was being framed for Ghana's second attempt to experiment with modern, sensible politics, the crucial role of the Judiciary was emphasised. Indeed, some Ghanaians even had second thoughts as to whether the Judiciary — and the gentlemen of the Bench — had not been given a disproportionate share of the distribution of the powers among the various organs — Executive, Legislative, and the Judiciary — of the state. But the cost of upholding democratic ideals can be very high and often frustrating even to democracy's most ardent apostles.

There is no country in the world in which one can discover a situation where the incumbents of the three areas of power have had a complete, unanimous satisfaction about what each other's sphere of influence is, and where it should end. This has caused some irritation to many people who would have wished to see a redefinition of the boundaries of operation of these organs.

Politics *is* about law; society is a complex entity, and it would be naive for one to ignore the fact, for instance, that Judicial pronouncements have acute political implications. Equally, of course, political decision-making cannot ignore legal consequences.

This is why, ideally, the Executive and the Bench, working as complementary twin partners to ensure efficiency and fair play, are perhaps a nation's surest guide to harmony and sensibility. This complementarity need not be entirely devoid of tension, it is true. But what is even truer is that such tension as may exist should not lead to a situation where the ordinary man in the street comes to have reasons to doubt the worthwhileness and integrity of the existence of such institutions. Trust is obviously a significant factor in political sociation.

For the past few days, events in Executive Judiciary relations in Ghana have reached unfortunate proportions. Mrs. Narh, a Russian-born lady whose Ghanaian husband had sought a divorce, was deported while the case was said to be still in the court. The Minister of Interior, Mr. S. D. Dombo, and the Inspector-General of Police, Mr. B. A. Yakubu, were charged with contempt of court. The whole contempt of court concept has not been

very understandable to the lay man; and it is hoped that the peculiar situation in this country might be taken into consideration when proncuncing on some of these issues which may have had a chequered meaning in other cultures, but which may not be meaningful — yet — in this country. In any case Mr. Dombo and Mr. Yakubu were found guilty, and bound over to be of good behaviour for the duration of the present government's life. The Court of Appeal affirmed their conviction but reduced the sentence.

But perhaps the more significant issue was the Sallah case, in which a dismissed public officer sought a court declaration to the effect that his dismissal, by the government, was unlawful. When arguments in the case had been concluded, and when judgment was about to be delivered IN COURT, the government became agitated. The basis of this agitation was that of alleged intimate relations between Mr. Justice Sowah and one of the dismissed public servants, and between Mr. Justice Apaloo and Sallah; it became arguable therefore that the likelihood of Mr. Justice Sowah and Mr. Justice Apaloo being biased in their determination of the case existed. The court decided — 4-1 — that the government had not sufficiently established a case for disqualifying the two Judges from hearing the substantive Sallah case.

A judgment in the Sallah case has now been delivered, by a Court whose panel included Mr. Justice Sowah and Mr. Justice Apaloo. That the government lost in the case is neither here nor there, since, except in totalitarian countries with rubber-stamp Judiciaries, the notion of a government losing a case is not unthinkable. But the radio and television broadcast by the Prime Minister, on the very day the judgment had been delivered, has raised into the open what keen observers have regarded as a simmering confrontation between Judges and the government.

The Prime Minister, like any other citizen, has every right to comment on a judgment which has already been delivered. But the choice of platform, of words, and of mood, varies, and the individual should not be unmindful of the various consequences that could arise therefrom.

The *Observer* thinks that the nation's past bitter experience in the building of modern political institutions should be a significant guide to what transpires in corridors of power, whether Judiciary or Executive. Analogies seem distasteful to many people, but one can hardly ignore these entirely in argument, even in argument by refutation. In Nkrumah's Ghana, as happened this week, a judicial decision was followed by a sharply worded and highly critical broadcast by the head of the government. Then, as now, the assumption was that political motivation, and attempts to discredit and sabotage the government, were the underlying forces in a court ruling. Then, as now, demonstrations were staged to condemn the way a court judgment had gone.

All these have been painful. But nursing highly valued ideals in a society is even more painful. It is in this regard that the *Observer* believes that attempts should have been made to avoid the present power conflict, and probable personality clashes, from erupting to this level. Clearly the legal position was that Mr. Justice Apaloo and Mr. Justice Sowah could sit on the substantive case of Sallah. To a layman, however, it would seem that the mere suggestion of the possibility of bias on the part of a Judge should persuade him to disqualify himself. But as Judges, the two gentlemen may probably have had more persuasive arguments for remaining on the case. Unlike the ordinary citizen, they cannot brief the press or engage in radio and television defence of any sort. We grant that the social structure of Ghana is such that the concentricity of intimate relations is a problem whose delimitation is not easy to plot; and we grant, also, that the structure of the Judiciary would suffer if litigants came to revel in deciding who their judges should be. But, clearly, to many laymen, the cause of justice would appear to be better served when cases are determined by people in whom one has the least suspicion — however tenuous — of the likelihood of bias.

As for the Prime Minister, his motivation for engaging the Judges openly in this unfortunate episode would be very interesting to explore. He is a mature person who, as a former district commissioner, cannot be unaware of the processes of judicial administration. But we caution the Premier not to allow himself to be egged on by popular sentiments. Why, for instance, should he be so bothered about the views of people that he is 'too soft?' Is this a sufficient reason for now appearing to be too strong? We know that the Prime Minister has the type of majority with which he could change those aspects of the constitution which presumably frustrate his administration. This is clearly a *potential* power at the moment, but we warn against any rash govern-

nental action which has been motivated solely by ttempts to show where power lies. Enshrined in he archives of Ghana's history are the critical speeches of Busia and many of the men who now hold power, which they made under Nkrumah's totalitarian regime. These speeches would be interesting references at this trying period.

When a new constitution has been promulgated, there is bound to be role confusion; this is why the legal battles now raging in the courts are welcome as exercises in constitution building. But these battles should not degenerate to levels at which party allegiance, personality clashes, and tribal sentiments may be suspected to be crucial determining factors.

Politics

THE NEED FOR AN OPPOSITION PAPER

by

J. Oppong-Agyare.

THERE is a need for an opposition paper in Ghana This call for one is primarily based on the proposition that, because truth is seldom found at the extremes, a juxtaposition of contrary, or even contradictory and opposite views, is good for the successful practice of democracy in any human society.

There may be some people in the country who are likely to say that there is no need for this call at this time, because all the papers in the country are presumably free to publish whatever they want, and that they do in fact publish what appears to them to be in the public interest. To these people a true opposition paper appears to have nuisance value at best. At worst it is a plain hindrance, a positive, disruptive medium. Why not trust the independent papers and the free government papers to give praise where praise is due and apportion blame if that is necessary?

The truth of the matter is that there is no paper to beat one that is devoted to a particular cause. An independent paper may sometimes find itself championing the cause of the opposition, perhaps, in more articulate terms than even a truly opposition paper may hope to do. But, for sheer effectiveness of argument and style of presentation of facts, no other paper can ever ably deputize for a truly opposition paper. Besides, a real opposition paper may specialize in the art of fault-finding, thus keeping the members of the government on their toes. To those whose taxes support public servants of all descriptions, government sponsorship of an opposition paper is not a preposterous proposition. For if public funds should be used in paying employees who work on government papers, expenditure of part of the same public funds on an opposition paper deserves a similar treatment.

Apart from all this, the existence of an opposition paper takes a lot of tedium from the daily humdrum round of life. Saying all this is not saying that an opposition paper may not be obstructive or even downright destructive. But this very quality of opposition papers is the more reason why we must have some of them. Their unrestricted operation is one of the surest ways of testing the degree of tolerance and patience that a party in power can display under provocation.

Will this work in Ghana, in the light of our recent experience with opposition papers?

Why not? Until the publishers of the *Evening Standard* (Accra) decided to discontinue the publication as a result of financial embarrassment, the paper was doing well. This may come as a surprise to many people in the country, especially those who support the government, because the paper specialized in scathing criticism. And it brought a lot of discomfiture to many people in the government.

Governmental Intervention

However irritating the paper was, it was fulfilling a very important role, by giving the people of Ghana the other side of the story.

Much of the digging that resulted from the paper seemed to be in the ultimate interest of the taxpayer. If for no other reasons than these, there is a need for the establishment of a paper for the opposition. But who is preventing such a paper from being established? Surely the Newspaper Licensing Act that formerly made things difficult for prospective publishers has been repealed! But that is only part of the story. The main difficulty is financial. In a counry like Ghana, to start a good paper that has any chance of celebrating its first and second anniversary in the publishing world demands a governmental intervention.

So, what is being seriously suggested here is that the Government must help establish an opposition paper in the country! The fate of

democracy is the compelling force behind this suggestion. And it is maintained that such a thing can be done in a country that has also chalked several firsts in its history. If Ghana is the first country in the world to experience a smooth transition of power from the iron grip of military men to the comparatively soft hands of civilians, it should not be difficult for Ghana to be still the first country in which the Government helps establish an opposition paper, not to dig i s own grave but to give democracy a chance to sprout and grow.

Practical Difficulties

Nor should there be any practical difficulties as regards personnel and the future of the paper after the demise of the present government. In other words, the same people who will work on the paper today may be the same people who will work on it tomorrow when there is a change of government. There is nothing unusual about it. The examples of the country's mass circulation papers testify to the practicability of this suggestion. The same papers that sang praises to Nkrumah and seemed to pamper the Military-cum-Police interregnum are still "going strong". Are they not the same papers helping the present government?

Although one may say that there have been changes here and there in the top, the personnel remain largely the same. Nor, merely because of this, need one fear the possibility of sabotage.

This is a challenge to the members of the present government to show by word and deed that they stand for true democracy and fair play; it is a call to the government to be circumspect and vigilant, knowing that there is an opposition paper ready to pounce on it.

Irresponsible journalism need not be feared, because the laws of libel, of defamation and of sedition will take ample care of that.

Editor's Note:

Since this article was sent in, a new paper, the *Spokesman*, has of course appeared. Whether Mr. Oppong-Agyare would classify it as an opposition paper or not, is another matter.

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Africa

THE SOUTH AFRICAN PROBLEM

by

Afum Karikari

IN 1963, in the South African House of Assembly, the late racist Prime Minister Hendrick Verwoerd said: "reduced to its simplest form the problem is nothing else than this: we want to keep South Africa white . . . . 'Keeping it white' can only mean one thing, namely, white domination, not leadership, not 'guidance', but control,' 'supremacy'." And this is truly the problem of all white South Africans and their foreign props.

That the whole of Africa looks on the Apartheid question helplessly stems from the fact that it is the formulators of the 'problem' and their foreign collaborators who can solve this human problem.

The United Nations Organisation, whose basic principles are freedom and equality of all mankind, is itself important about this question. Everyday the world organisation proclaims its abhorrence of South Africa's racist philosophy, yet the recalcitrant member nation continues to be a full-member.

Major Trading Partners

Almost all governments would condemn South Africa's disregard for the dignity of the black man, but some continue to help that country to perpetuate her inhuman policy. They flout all reasonable decisions of the U.N. calculated to better the plight of the non-white South African. They do all they can to help their white brothers in "keeping it white".

"The United Kingdom, the United States of America, the Federal Republic of Germany and Japan continued to be South Africa's major trading partners", according to a 1967 report of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, even though the General Assembly, on which the above-mentioned nations are represented, has been asking member nations to break off commercial links with the racist regime of South Africa. The U.S. in 1966 increased her imports from South Africa by about 40%, whilst the U.K. "is still the principal outlet of South Africa and takes up one-third of the country's total exports", according to the same report. Yet they are two of the world body's founding members, and as members of the Assembly voted in favour of the trade sanctions against apartheid South Africa.

The non-white people in South Africa have no representation in the Republic's government, and they are denied any freedom or right to pursue any dignified course to improve their lot. They don't participate in South Africa's affluence and its resultant high standard of living, which is the outcome of their hard work and suffering. They are mere tools in the white man's hands for his own ends. So there mustn't be any question of equality between a tool and its user.

With the extension of political rights and freedom to the non-whites in South Africa, the ul, timate result is going to be non-white leadership-meaning equal rights for both black and white, and this is what no white man anywhere has ever cherished—their fear is that the black man will aven ge the injustice meted to him by the white master.

Changing White Attitudes

The U.N., which can surely make South Africa rethink her attitude towards the majority of her own citizens, is dominated by Vorster's white half-brothers!. This is possible because of their economic and military supremacy; after all they give aid (of all kinds and for all purposes) to non-white peoples all over the world— they even feed millions of them by spoon. But they must not forget that their past and present activities have made, and still make, the non-white world so poor and 'underdeveloped'.

The question of force must never be raised. It would be naive to think of it since the whole black world can never raise the means, and knowing well that South Africa's commercial partners would side with her to defend their heavy investments.

I believe that the solution lies in the sincerity, the honesty, and re-education of all white governments who shout from the roof tops their distaste for apartheid, about how to live with black peoples in this world. The Boer needs mental re-orientation about the Bantu.

But Prime Minister Vorster said on the 1st of April (all fools' day) 1968: "South Africa does not want to go under and neither does it want to be changed. We want to stay as we are..... The demands being made upon us . . . we cannot and shall not meet, because it will mean the end of our existence in this part of the world". He echoes the white man's own feeling of insecurity in South Africa; and, though his belief portends a gloomy future for the non-white South African, I believe the Africans shall OVERCOME one day.

ORIGINS OF THE RHODESIAN CRISIS

by

C. C. K. Dzakpasu

WHEN Cecil Rhodes came to Africa in the last quarter of the 19th century, nobody knew his strategy was to confound and frustrate the Africans' common sense and so climb to the top of the political and economic ladder over their dead bodies. Lo Benguela, the Matabele king, received with memorable warmth and pageantry, the apparent British trader who turned out to be Briain's number one empire builder.

In course of time Cecil Rhodes was able to convince the Africans that their wealth lay under their feet, in the form of minerals, and that it would be worthwhile if more British traders went to Matabeleland and helped in tapping this immense wealth in minerals. The charm exerted by the white skin of Cecil Rhodes and the myth attached to him as a demi-god, who had come to deliver the African from his woes, made the Matabeles readily agree to the proposal for a fresh influx of whites. They came in their hundreds. Treaties of trade and protection were quickly concluded between the whites and their African hosts. No African was then in a position to participate in drawing up the various mining agreements. Rhodes and his henchmen drew up the agreements and Lo Benguela endorsed them with his thumb-print. Soon, schemes for the development of the mines, the immediate environment and the outlying villages, were drawn up and executed. Matabeleland was taking on a new look. It was therefore no wonder that the Matabeles embraced the suggestion that their land should be called "Rhodesia", after the mineral architect Cecil Rhodes.

Economic Development

The whites felt that there was no need going back to Britain when the climate and the wealth of Rhodesia were no different from those at home. Thus the whites became permanent settlers. The African did not realise this in time, hence the present problem. The settlers multiplied and grew fat on their new-found wealth. Because of the new "settler" attitude, a determined effort was made to make Rhodesia look like home—Britain. Roads, railways, telegraphs and telephones were provided. Mighty buildings were put up for administrative purposes. Every available gold or diamond or copper ore was exploited. Social infrastructure like schools, hospitals, clinics, et cetera, were provided, and were well-equipped to ensure that an enlightened and healthy white population was always maintained.

Before the African was able to realise the painful fact that the whiteman had completely taken over the economy of Rhodesia, the latter was fully prepared militarily, financially and psychologically to defend himself, his acquired wealth, and the new physical developments he had made in Rhodesia. Rhodes and his band of capitalists had passed into history. Their children had followed suit. It is now their great grandchildren who control every aspect of life in Rhodesia.

Realistic Appraisal

It appears that those who say the whites should go home have failed to understand the whole issue. Where is home? There are today some whites now in Rhodesia who have never been to Britain. Rhodesia is their home. They or their parents have helped in building Rhodesia into something like a modern industrial state. Ian Smith, for example, was born and bred in Rhodesia. So, the question of Rhodesia being for only the Africans is untenable. The crisis in Rhodesia calls for a realistic and meaningful analysis. The original inhabitants of Australia were the Aborigines, but today the whites control government and policy in that country. The Maoris, the indigenous people of New Zealand, have had to subordinate their interests to those of the whites so as to live in relative comfort. The Red Indians and the Eskimos in Canada are now a subordinate people in their own land. These changes have come about as a result of educational, economic and technological factors then beyond the understanding and control of the native populations of these countries.

This is exactly the situation in South Africa and Rhodesia. British and American investments in South Africa have indirectly made the apartheid regime of that country formidable. Now, Rhodesia finds suitable allies in South Africa and Portugal. World economic interdependence has even made some Rhodesian commodities indispensable in some world markets. In fact those countries which are vociferous about applying and enforcing economic sanctions against Rhodesia are the very ones which trade secretly with the "blockaded" country. The sanctions have become a melodrama to the Smith regime, and

a farce for the outside world. This apparent internationl lack of scruples made the Unilateral Declaration of Independence of 1965 meaningful until March 1970 when a republic was proclaimed.

Every well-meaning person should now realise that the issue in Rhodesia is not one of self-government, but one of democracy. Countries such as Rhodesia are not democratic, because government lies in the hands of a white minority. Democracy, unlike independence, is not a coin to be given by one person to another. It is part of a nation's character, and must grow. Since the whites are heavily outnumbered by the non-whites they are convinced that if they accept democracy in the sense of "one man one vote, one value" cast in one and only one constituency, they will lose control of their achievements, and of their whole way of life, and will be left with no home at all.

Republican Status

The Smith regime therefore sought, and now has, the means and the will to stand its ground against any odds. This is a fact. Neither the O.A.U. nor the U.N.O. can do anything about this position of the Smith regime. The O.A.U. has no African High Command, nor has it funds to hire the services of mercenaries. The U.N.O. *is*, and will continue to be, hampered by the veto of the U.S.A. and Britain. Moreover, British investments in Rhodesia run into millions of pounds. Britain can never be expected to undo what she had taken years of sweat to do. The Zimbabwe guerrillas prefer staying in the hotels and pubs of Zambia and other neighbouring countries to going into the forest to fight for their cause. One must be prepared to fight and die, if necessary, for a noble cause. Failing this, the projected cause becomes suspect.

It appears the republican status of Rhodesia has come to stay. Consulates have been packed up; the republic has been condemned in no uncertain terms. What next? Now, the blacks in Rhodesia should accept the relatively small representation given to them in the legislature and demostrate their competence for holding reins of government. There might, and it is only a "might", one day be a fifty-fifty division of seats between black and white. Let us face facts. Let us avoid bloodshed. The Rhodesian Republic, like the 1965 U.D.I., has come to stay.

International

THE FATE OF NON-ALIGNMENT

By
Jawa Apronti

THERE are fashions among nations analogous to those that can be found among the men and women who make up society. One of the tags that most newly-independent, poor and under-developed nations of the world desire most is to be dubbed "non-aligned". Quite a few aspirants to the title must have received a jolt when, on the eve of the recent Non-Aligned Ministers' Conference in Dar-es-Salaam, Foreign Minister Omer Arteh of Somalia announced his country's intention to press for a definition of non-alignment, and, by implication, oust some members from the group.

For the truth of the matter is that the Third World embraces quite a few countries whose "reactionary" governments are so incapable of independent action that they must be an embarrassment to the more radical members of the group. What, then, does non-alignment denote?

At a simple level, it denotes a detachment from the two power blocs, the West and the East. It is a moot point whether such detachment is possible, given the over-all leftist political leanings of the most vocal non-aligned countries. Part of the complication of the issue is that the power blocs are not mere political entities, they are also economic groupings with military and other implications that encompass many non-aligned countries. What the advocates of non-alignment desire is that adherent countries should not compromise their political and ideological independence in whatever dealings they may have with the two big powers.

Thorough-going Radicals

Spokesmen of the Third World, such as Che Guevara of blessed memory, were careful to point out that imperialism is not a distinctly western monopoly, and that the big communist powers can be every bit as imperialistic as the western powers. This is a fact that the socialistic inclination of many non-aligned countries tends to obscure. It is a contention which may give the western powers some pleasure, but which serves to underline the thorough-going radicalism of the main members of the group.

One does not need to look very far for the causes of this radicalism. For, one of the main discoveries (or rather realizations) of the current decade has been the fact that the "haves" of the world do not intend voluntarily to share what they

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have with the "have-nots". Che Guevara galvanized the forces of the Third World by the eloquence with which he put this case at the 1964 U.N. Conference on Trade and Development in Geneva.

That conference demonstrated to all under-developed countries the need to hang together lest they should hang separately. It settled once and for all the leadership of radicals in the non-aligned camp. But the problem of definition of membership has plagued this group as much as it plagued African continental groupings in pre-OAU days. Some political leaders feel—and quite rightly too—that the problems confronting their countries demand a radical approach internally as well as externally. This radical bloc would have no truck with reactionary regimes if they could help it; but very often they cannot.

And with each successive non-aligned conference, the ranks of radical leaders are thinning. When the Summit Conference which the Dar-es-Salaam meeting prepared for convenes later in the year, President Tito for one will note several conspicuous absentees from the group to whom he played host in Belgrade in 1961. Yet radicalism is needed if the non-aligned are to remain so.

Revolutionaries Vs Reactionaries

Gatherings of the non-aligned are not noted for honorific diplomatic niceties which make it necessary, for instance, for one country to acclaim another as "progressive" when quite clearly the latter is not. They are noted for blunt denunciation of Western as well as Communist imperialism and of reactionary regimes among the ranks of the non-aligned. But when apostles of world revolution have to rub shoulders with colleagues the level of whose political education they are bound to question, what can come of a non-aligned conference?

Two possibilities are open: either the conference devotes its time to such non-contentious matters as the nuclear non-proliferation treaty (when hardly any member has a nuclear arsenal), or it gets to grips with what its more radical members consider as the path of salvation for the non-aligned. The group has shown considerable resourcefulness in the past in the matter of finding enough common ground on which to hang together. And this has helped in the definition of the interests of the non-aligned in the deliberations of the U.N. and other world agencies. But such platforms, being compromises, provide the fissures in the non-aligned front which the big power blocs will be quick to exploit. After all, there is no alternative to radicalism if the non-aligned nations are to exert the influence on world events which they clearly desire to exert.

For this reason, one hopes that the non-aligned summit convening later in the year will clearly define what membership of the group should mean. The 1964 UNCTAD in Geneva was a lot more dynamic than its successor in New Delhi: the danger signs are that with the loss of the radical spearheads of the non-aligned world, the big power blocs have managed to tilt the balance of economic forces in their own favour. Unless the summit espouses a new radicalism by awakening its more puppet-like members from apparent slumber, the days of genuine non-alignment will be over sooner than most people think.

Observer Notebook

The P.M. and the Judges

THE Prime Minister of Ghana, Dr. K. A. Busia, made a TV-radio broadcast on Monday night, 21st April 1970, in which he demonstrated clearly that the executive and the judiciary had come into sharp conflict. It is necessary in the interest of the public good further to consider critically the very vital, and even disturbing, issues raised by the Prime Minister. Our editorial today takes up the matter from the general-principles angle. Here we examine a few of the more legalistic points.

Dr. Busia announced his purpose in coming before the country, as also the theme of his statement, in the following words:

> I have come to address the nation this evening on two recent decisions of the Supreme Court. These decisions, as I shall try to show, have serious implications which the government cannot ignore.

The Prime Minister was referring to the contempt case against the I.G.P. and the Minister of Inerior, already mentioned in our editorial; also to the case instituted by Mr. E. K. Sallah against the government for wrongful dismissal. Then, in much of what followed his announcement, the Prime Minister appeared, first, to be assuming the responsibility for fixing the boundaries to the rules for determining judicially whether there had been an operating bias which should have disqualified a judge or not. This was clearly beyond the limits of executive power, especially in the light of Article 102(3) of the constitution, which states: "In the exercise of the judicial power of Ghana the Judiciary in both

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its judicial and administrative functions shall be subject only to this Constitution and shall not be subject to the control or direction of any other person or authority".

Nowhere in the Constitution is any power given to the executive to determine how the judiciary should exercise its functions. The Prime Minister's statement therefore clearly sidesteps the constitution and would tend to leave the unfortunate impression on the people of Ghana that the executive is somehow entitled to direct the judiciary in the performance of its functions and duties. All the judges, it must be remembered, are enjoined by their judicial oath to "truly and faithfully perform the functions of (their) office without fear or favour, affection or illwill", and "to uphold the constitution and the laws of Ghana".

Secondly, the Prime Minister seemed to be generally scandalising the courts by imputing improper motives to judicial officers in the performance of their duties. An outstanding example was the Prime Minister saying that recently a High Court judge "put the Inspector-General of Police and the Minister of Interior in the dock with deliberate intention to humiliate them", and went on further to assert that when these two high public officers attempted to appeal against the confirmation of their conviction by the Court of Appeal the Court Registrar, on the alleged instructions of the Acting Chief Justice, refused to accept the appeal for filing.

It may be pointed out in passing, and with very great respect, that the P.M. here made a simple misstatement. The High Court judge never put the I.G.P. and the Minister in the dock. They were taken to court and before the judge by the parties who did so. More seriously, the insinuation here was that both the original conviction and the subsequent refusal to accept the appeal to the Supreme Court for filing were motivated by bad faith. As far as the original conviction is concerned, the Court of Appeal has confirmed it; the reduction of the sentence on the grounds that the imposed period of binding-over was for an indefinite period of time could merely indicate that judges, like all other men, can make mistakes. That is why there is a system of appeals.

But as far as the refusal to accept the appeal to the Supreme Court for filing is concerned, the P.M.'s statement could be said to be capable of causing mischief, for the combined effect of Article 8 of the Transitional Provisions and 106 of the Constitution is that until the Supreme Court established under the 1969 Constitution is constituted no appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court can be invoked; and so far there has been no case in which appeals have been filed from the Court of Appeal or from any other court to the Supreme Court, for the simple reason that there is no Supreme Court yet.

The transitional provisions only allow judges of the Court of Appeal to be constituted into an ad-hoc Supreme Court from time to time, for the determination of specific constitutional issues involving interpretation and enforcement of the constitution, and of questions of legislative power. It is puzzling therefore that the Prime Minister should have felt a need to cast doubt on the integrity of judicial officers who seem to have done no more than obey the dictates of our Constitution.

Thirdly, the Prime Minister also made a specific charge: that in the Sallah case "some of the judges appeared to have been more concerned with saving their colleagues from embarrassment than of upholding the established principles of fair trial". This seems to us to be surely a charge that can bring into disrepute the judicial competence and integrity of the judges. The point is particularly alarming since the Prime Minister was not minded to point out which of the judges who sat on the Sallah case were motivated in the way that he indicated. It is a statement which is likely to do more harm to the fair administration of justice than the alleged conduct which the Prime Minister impugnes.

Lenin's Legacy

THIS WEEK the centenary of the birth of Vladimir Lenin, the founder of Soviet Communism, was celebrated by the Communists — and their Socialist allies — all over the world, without doubt, amid pomp and pageantry. It was a fitting occasion for the Soviet leaders to call for unity in the International Communist movement. Whether Mao's China, the most populous communist state, will heed such a call is an open question.

Vladimir Lenin, as even those who are uncompromisingly opposed to communism world concede, was a great man, a great political strategist. And the Revolution he helped bring about in Russia was an equally great event — in fact, it was, by all accounts, a world-shaking event.

But Lenin and his fellow Bolshevika, in their determination to consummate the Marxian millennium on earth, committed one unpardonable error, an error which has cost, and is still costing, the Russians a great deal in terms particularly

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THEME: Students and Society in the United States

BY

Professor CLARK KERR

Chairman, Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, United States of America.

AT

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MONDAY: 4th MAY, 1970 at 5.30 p.m.

A NEW WORLD-WIDE STUDENT MOVEMENT?

Chairman: DR. A. A. KWAPONG
Vice-Chancellor.

TUESDAY: 5th MAY, 1970 at 5.30 p.m.

THE NEW STUDENT ACTIVISM IN THE UNITED STATES. A SPECIAL CASE

Chairman: PROF. F. SEY
Pro-vice-Chancellor, University of Science & Technology Kumasi.

WEDNESDAY: 6th MAY, 1970 at 5.30 p.m.

WILL STUDENTS BE A NEW SOCIAL FORCE IN HISTORY?

Chairman: HON. MR. WILLIAM OFORI-ATTA
Minister for Education, Culture & Sports.

THURSDAY: 7th MAY, 1970 at 5.30 p.m.

THE IMPLICATIONS FOR THE UNIVERSITY

Chairman: DR. M. DOWUONA
Chairman, National Council for Higher Education.

FRIDAY: 8th MAY, 1970 at 5.30 p.m.

THE IMPLICATIONS FOR SOCIETY

Chairman: CHAIRMAN OF THE UNIVERSITY COUNCIL.

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of loss of personal freedom and independence of mind. This error consisted in the belief of Lenin and his colleagues that they could wipe off clean the slate of Russia's political and social institutions, and start afresh. And yet history rarely, if even, knows rigid frontiers and discontinuities, even if it may know leaps and bounds.

Certainly it was this belief that led to unmentionable atrocities — and untold sufferings of the Russian people. The great revolutionary and political strategist that he was, there is no denying that the successful fashioning of the instruments for terrorising a whole people has been the greatest and most enduring legacy Lenin has bequeathed to the world. He himself did acknowledge this much when, on his dying bed, he bemoaned the fact that he had given birth to the Frankenstein monster that Joseph Stalin eventually became.

Salary Dispute at Kumasi University

ON 10th April, 1970, the Council of the Kumasi University of Science and Technology issued a statement on the resignation of 24 members of the Faculty of Engineering at the University. The statement recalled the history of the salaries dispute with the 24 members, stated the position of the Council on the dispute and action taken so far in conjunction with the other universities of Ghana on the question of reviewing conditions of service at the universities, and ended by enjoining the Kumasi Engineering students who, by boycotts of lectures and demonstrations (gestures of sympathy with the allegedly underpaid lecturers) had become parties to the dispute, to desist from further untoward activities.

It is quite clear from the statements of the opposed parties that what is at issue is simply whether or not the Universities should accept the principle of paying differential and higher salaries to professionals. The Engineering lecturers who demand this use an argument that has more to do with prestige than with anxiety over the rising cost of living: they say that their salaries should be increased because as a result of the recommendations of the Mills-Odoi Committee, their erstwhile students earn more than they do; also that since professionals in the Public Services have been given differential salaries by that Committee, they, as professionals in the Universities are entitled to higher salaries than their non-professional colleagues. It must also be noted, as the lecturers argue, that the differences between the salaries of the professionals in the Universities and the other sectors make recruitment to the Universities difficult so that the lecturing burden never becomes lightened.

The University authorities object on two grounds. Firstly, there should be no salary discrimination between categories of lecturers because "the proper education of every student demands the efforts of an inter-disciplinary team of teachers. Secondly, as the J.H. Mensah Committee pointed out, such discriminatory grants based on the allegedly crucial importance of some disciplines to the development of the country tend to have spiralling effects. Therefore rather than grant peculiar satisfaction to the Engineers, the University Council, in conjunction with the other Universities, have appealed to the Government, which acting through the National Council for Higher Education, has appointed a Committee to review the service conditions in the Universities: these conditions, in any case, have ceased to be competitive with those elsewhere so that the Universities are finding difficulties in recruiting.

It ought to be noted that for sometime now, the whole salary business has been messed up by various interested parties. The colonial authorities determined salaries for all grades in the civil service on the principle of what they called "relativities"; this meant in sum that all those with equivalent qualifications in their own fields of study were entitled to the same salary if they were of the same grade in the civil service, and that all salaries moved up **pari passu.** This principle was arbitrarily set aside when in the N.L.C. days, the Attorney-General's Department was able to secure massive salary increases for lawyers on the ground of increasing litigation in the country. The Mills-Odoi Committee apparently had no option but to grant the differential to engineers in the civil service which is the sore point with the engineering lecturers.

The engineering lecturers' case recalls that of the law lecturers at Legon. The result of the massive increases granted to the state attorneys was to lessen considerably the material inducement to prospective law lecturers. Consequently, one must admire the members of the Legon Faculty of Law for soldiering on in the face of the indignity arising from the smaller material reward attached to their position than that attached to the position assumed by their students of yesterday.

All over the world, starry-eyed academics make

aries which are clearly incommensurate services to the community. But their ts for salary increases are never based parisons with the opulent salaries that their in industry are likely to earn but on cal-ed rises in the cost of living.

it not rather saddening that one should so much about salary increases when some le earn 7s 6d. a day and are accused of poli- sabotage when they threaten strike action?

The Apollo 13 Episode

OUGHOUT the ages, men of science and oration have had to make choices which have d for some of the highest qualities in man: rmination, perseverance, courage, vision, faith sacrifice. Such decisions have often been e in the face of grave dangers and risks. like Captain Cook, Christopher Columbus, rt Einstein, and Christian Barnard have in past risen above these challenges and have e break-throughs which have brought incal-ble gains to mankind.

ritics of these great men at the time had ed at them. Cynics called them eccentrics, we now look back with pride at their achieve-ts. The risks involved in manned space flights been clearly evident to the scientists, the nologists and the politicians who have taken final go-ahead decisions. They have accepted challenge and have decided to brave the conse-nces. That they feel equal to the challenge ear from the fact that both the Soviet Union the United States have not for one moment tated to put men into orbit in space. The le of mankind is involved in space explora-. This is why we all shared, with anxiety, fate of the Apollo 13 men in their crippled ce-craft on their return journey to earth and we are relieved, indeed, delighted at their return.

the Apollo 13 episode, the astronauts were ged to engage in manual control of their t; the result was a clear demonstration of dexterity and superior ingenuity of men as inst robots.

lor is this all. Many regard the Apollo prog-me as distinct from the application of orbit- satellites to down-to-earth enterprises such communication and weather forecasts, air ffic control, forestry and water resources sur-s, acquisition of data vital to the fishing ustry and geological information leading to the discovery of new mineral ore deposits and petroleum reserves. But manned flights using Saturn-Apollo capabilities are likely to prove the cheapest way to keep commercial satellites of the 1970's in continuous orbit. They will also come in handy when launching repair crews into orbit. This mode of repair will not likely prove to be cheaper than building an expensive multiple redundancy system into robot stations.

Thus at the Lunar Science Conference in Houston in January this year much useful information was gleaned from experiments with the rock samples so far accumulated. There is some unanimity that the moon is about 4,600 million years old, that is, about the same age as the solar system. It has been confirmed that there is a preponderance of iron in the moon and an absence of water. This the scientists think will be a set-back for permanent bases on the moon. They claim that life on the moon is bleak and the moon's atmosphere is described as one of "gloom and doom". However, scientists are convinced that more data from the moon will enable them to understand better several of its features. For example, there is not enough information to determine the nature of the interior of the moon. As more and more shots are made, not only will the surface of the moon be better charted but more facts about the other planets and about radiations in space and their sources will be obtained which will give a clearer picture and provide answers to questions which have plagued scientists since the time of Corpenicus.

While we welcome the gallant astronauts back to earth, we hope research on the causes of the near-disaster would reveal better and safer measures which would make continued flights possible.

Bishops And Rebels in Rhodesia

MR. IAN SMITH'S fight with secular authorities in the world of economy and politics has, apparently, produced points which have not been in the favour of either of the parties in contention. Although the Rhodesian society has not crumbled as a result of U.N. economic sanctions, it would be incorrect to think that Rhodesia has not felt the impact of the sanctions at all.

But the Smith regime, which declared independence unilaterally in 1965 in order to save white culture and Christian civilization, is not likely to fare very well in its fight with those outspoken religious leaders in his country.

Already, many bishops and other clergymen

in Rhodesia, particularly in the Catholic fold, have attacked his increasing leaning on South Africa for inspiration and indoctrination in the principles of apartheid. If new laws which Smith has envisaged come into operation, not only land and schools, but also mission hospitals and church congregations would have to be segregated.

At the moment the image of Christian missions in white minority regimes in Africa is at a low ebb. Although a few church leaders in such regimes have been bold enough to attack racial injustice, and to face deportation and other punitive measures, these have been only isolated, and the missions have on the whole pursued a policy of not embarrassing those "powers that be." Thus, these church leaders have been rendering unto Caesar his due honour.

The **regnum** v. **sacerdotium** confrontation which has been brewing up in Rhodesia may be a test case of the extent to which soul seekers are prepared to sacrifice their body, as their master once did. This is why students of church-state relationships would want to follow the latest Rhodesian developments with keen interest.

Smith's tone has become a little conciliatory with regard to the demands of what seem to him to be turbulent priests. He has now agreed to meet the priests to discuss how **not** to run a human society. Mr. Smith is apparently still a Christian and appreciates the voice of those men who handle the chalice. If the priests in Rhodesia could persevere, and demonstrate that the Creator has a colour-blind conception of "kith and kin", they would be enhancing the image of Christian missionary activity in Africa.

Learning Ghanaian Languages

MR. D.A. BROWN of the Ministry of Education recently told the Conference of Heads of Assisted Secondary Schools at Greenhill about the government's intention to broaden the scope of Sixth Form studies by the introduction of courses in, **inter alia**, Ghanaian Languages.

One of the factors that have gone into the fundamental re-thinking of Ghana's educational policy is the question of what the purpose and orientation of that education should be. It also embraces the problem of how much local "colouring" the content of our education should have. And this is where local languages come in. Of the scores of languages indigenous to Ghana, only three—namely Akan, Ewe and Ga—have been studied at all for public examinations. In the schools, these have acquired the repu ation o being soft options, with the result th their ra king in the eyes of "the educated" has been d plorably low.

Of particular importance in the mini-revolution which seeks to rehabilitate this subject was a Conference held in Commonwealth Hall, University of Ghana, Legon in May 1968. It reviewed the strategy needed to boost the study of these languages, noting in the process the need to initiate instruction in a few more of the languages, the need to bridge the gap between "O" Level and Degree Courses in the subject, and the need for suitable text-books and well-trained teachers.

The question, then, is not whether Ghanaian languages can be a subject for serious study. The number of Masters and Doctoral theses written on them by several Legon dons and others appears to us to have disposed of that question. Rather, the crux of the matter is whether, given the determination of Legon linguists and other interested parties to ensure the quick and adequate supply of text-books, and given the expected increase in the supply of Ghanaian language teachers, the general public will wake up to the need for this crusade.

The crusade would be very much helped if the government took realistic steps to give adequate recompense to those civil (or public) servants whose jobs quite clearly demand competence in local languages—take for example the nurse, the Social Welfare Officer, the Agricultural Officer, the Primary School teacher and a host of other government employees. For many of these, a knowledge of several Ghanaian languages is often necessary for the proper discharge of their duties.

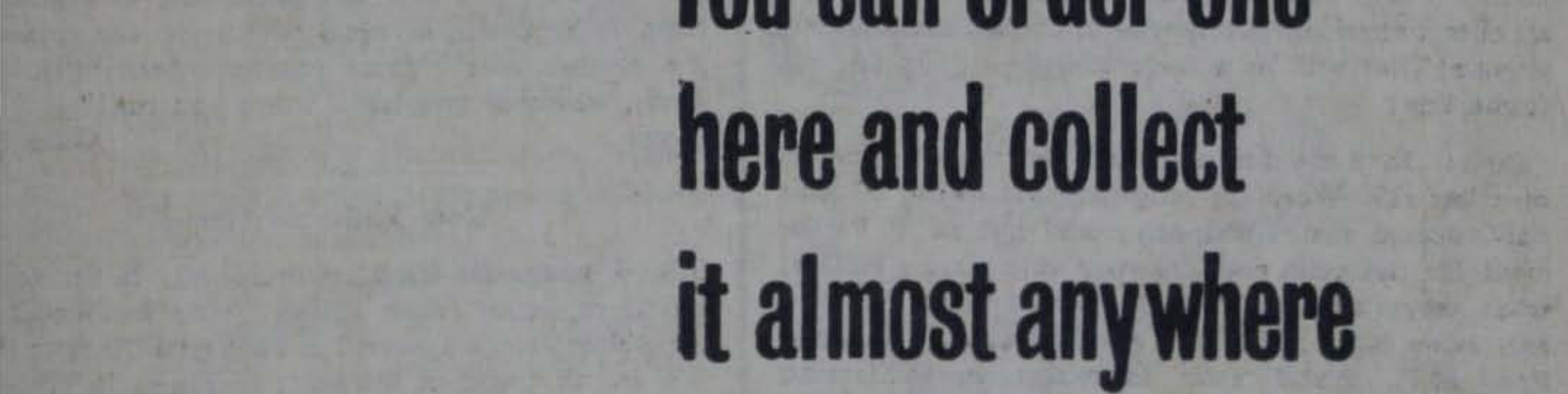
Such measures go a long way towards removing the erroneous notion that Ghanaian languages " do not matter". When it comes to the crunch, as in the last General Elections, they clearly matter, and the politicians on the hustings are the first to realize how much more impact they make by using local languages. These languages also matter in that they serve as the main, if not the only media of cultural expression in Ghana. Our sense of identity at the ethnic group level is so closely linked with them that common sense alone should have been enough to persuade us to accord them the recognition they truly deserve in the educational system.

CORRECTION: In Col. 1, P. 18, second to last line under "Letters", for "not" please read "note". — Editor.



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Letters

Dr. Busia and the Judges

SIR — The Prime Minister was outraged by the fact that a minister of his government and the I.G.P. (whom incidentally he has now publicly identified with his government) were brought before a court of law; however, as he said, he allowed this to happen in order to demonstrate to the people of Ghana that his government was committed to the rule of law. What disturbed many discerning people then was not so much the sense of righteousness displayed in the pronouncement as the fact that the Prime Minister could have entertained the faintest self-deception that he could have disallowed the putting of anybody into the dock. Are the Minister of Interior and the I.G.P. above the law, or is the Prime Minister already losing sight of the limits of his power?

Now the Prime Minister calls the nation to attention, and openly denounces judges of the Supreme and High Courts. One, he says, had "put the I.G.P. and the Interior Minister in the dock with deliberate intention to humiliate them . . ."; others, he alleges, had not upheld "the established principles of a fair trial". He impugns the integrity of the judges and sets out to present his government's case as it should have been presented by his Attorney-General!

The Prime Minister openly declares that he will not be bound by the ruling of the courts. He declares: "No court — NO COURT! — can enforce any decision that seeks to compel the government to employ or re-employ anyone. That will be a futile exercise . . ." Is this not frightening?

Alas! Dr. Busia does not seem able to accept defeat in a law suit. When the judges, in the course of their duty, upheld that Gbedemah could not sit in Parliament, Dr. Busia did not think they were playing politics; when they ruled that the Minister of Social Welfare, Mr. Jatoe Kaleo, and Mr. Awuku-Darko, a Progress Party M.P., should retain their seats in Parliament, Dr. Busia did not speak to the nation; but when these same judges, in the same course of duty, rule against his government, he calls them politicians and offers to give them a free fight: "I am ready to take them on", he says. What about those judges whose behaviour in the other cases did not displease the Prime Minister? Could *they* have been playing politics too?

Candidly, if an individual takes a government to court and some judges rule in favour of the individual whilst others act in favour of the government, which judges are more likely to be suspected of playing politics: those who favour the individual or those who favour the government? Which party should want to claim that judges are playing politics, the individual or the government?

Dr. Busia contemplates the possibility of dismissal of judges who act in a certain way. Fortunately, he resists the temptation. As he proclaims: "I cannot be tempted to dismiss any judge. I shall neither honour nor deify anyone with martyrdom". Note the P.M.'s choice of words: *"honour"*, *"deify"*, *"martyrdom"*. And not that a martyr is one who is *persecuted for sticking to a great or just cause*. How do these ideas all hang together?

Here again, what is disturbing is not what looks like a Freudian slip, but that Dr. Busia should have contemplated the idea of dismissing judges at all! In the first place, does he have the power? And suppose he did, would it be a fair show of power to fire judges because the government suspects them of bias in a case involving the government? We all know that under our current constitution the Prime Minister just *cannot* dismiss judges at his will. Something serious must be happening if he thinks he can.

Surely, history should not be so unkind as to repeat itself in Ghana so soon? The papers of 21st and 22nd April 1970, especially one particular daily, were too poignantly reminiscent of the papers sometime ago, soon after a case in which the judges did not judge as a certain individual had wished them to do. Pictures of organised party demonstrators praising and supporting the government were shown, then as now. There were angry invectives on the judges from the then President, as there are now from the Prime Minister. Then as now, editors praised or defended the head of government, or gave cautious advice to the "delinquent" judges. The only difference is that whilst then the judges were dismissed, now dismissal is only speculated upon, the temptation resisted.

We Ghanaians have blamed ourselves for not having recognised the evolution of a tyrant before 1962, so that we could have checked his growth in good time. Now we have the chance, hence the timely warning to beware! We must help our present leader now, so that he does not turn into something to frighten us later. In so doing, we shall be helping our nation. As the proverb goes: "Once you have been bitten by a snake, whenever you see a worm you run!"

Accra **Araba Ntim**

Slow Justice in Ghana

SIR—I read with much pleasure Mr. E. S. Aidoo's article captioned "Slow Justice — An Introduction to a Problem" which appeared in the **Legon Observer** (V/3.) We are all aware of the delay in justice in Ghanaian courts, and, as the writer said, "It is a world-wide problem, and that Ghana is not the only country which suffers from the problem of delayed justice."

Having discussed at full length how delays in justice are brought about Mr. Aidoo concludes his article by suggesting some remedial measures against the epidemic disease in our courts.

Mr. Aidoo also suggests various systems of settlement and forms of customary arbitration. The question of customary arbitration is not new in Ghana. This was originally the system by which our elders and the village folk settled their differences. But this suddenly died down the moment the litigants reached their acme of gullibility. They feel that they will always "get something" out of every case judged in court so they must send all cases to court even when amicable settlement can be sought.

The other aspect of this customary settlement is purely psychological. Ghanaians, especially the illiterate, strongly feel that they gain popularity among their kinsfolk by sending their case to the court. Others also feel that by hook or crook they will win their

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case by hiring a well-known lawyer.

The last suggestion put forward by Mr. Aidoo is "The possibility of holding back a judge's pay if he is in the habit of delaying with the disposal of cases before him".

Once again I am thinking of the criteria upon which the pay is going to be held up. Is it going to be based on the number of cases a judge disposes of in a week, month, or what? Or is it going to be based on the types of cases—not forgetting the tricks our lawyers play in delaying cases.

After agreeing upon a criterion or criteria, the question arises as to how long the judge's pay is going to be held up. Secondly, I am thinking as to whether the judge in question will be allowed to sit in the same court to judge the same cases pending the lifting of the suspension of his pay.

I strongly feel that some of these suggestion will not be unworkable in Ghana if the necessary intricacies and the legal and moral implications are worked out, through researches.

Census Office **L. E. D. Aduonum**
P. O. Box 1350
Accra.

Population Growth and Family Planning

SIR—I read Mr. J. B. Safo's article on Population growth and family planning in the **Observer** (V/8) with absolute enthusiasm.

But I believe that some of the measures he suggested to combat the problem are neither democratic nor pragmatic.

He suggested that in order "to stabilize the population size at a predetermined level there must be a law to limit the number of children that any couple may have". He went on to recommend that "forced sterilization of men who repeatedly break the law should be instituted".

To my mind such measures as suggested by Mr. Safo will go rather too far to encroach upon our individual preserves.

Again I fail to see the need for setting up a separate family planning agency whose staff, he said, should have high salaries. If anything the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Social Welfare and Community Development and perhaps some other ministries can be detailed to extend their functions to that field.

P. O. Box 4041 **F. D. Twenebon**
Accra.

The Significance of 24th February

SIR—One is inclined to think that a majority of, if not the entire, Ghanaian people believe the 24th February 1966 to be more significant in the nation's history than the 1st of October 1969.

To the average Ghanaian, 24th February has more significance than the 1st October, when "a wondering, admiring world watched the Armed Forces, the Police and the civilians of Ghana in a spectacle that symbolized a joint achievement of all Ghanaians of what had been universally acclaimed to be the noblest and best political event of all the times".

Undoubtedly it is the February Revolution which is



ivot around which all the latter revolved; thus it
d occupy the central position and thereby also
the exact opportunity to pay due respects to the
ory of the great heroes of our nation's course
e country's events and anniversaries.
the circumstances one thinks that it is the Revo-
and the Ghanaian opinion of it, and not the
's views of the obviously less significant N.L.C.
over of power to civilian, that matters.

Seloame Lotsu

. Box 254,
radi

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t to the airport along this road are nerve-shattering.
ver the world, busy airports have first class access
s. These enable air-travellers and airport workers to
o the airport on time. In Ghana people often get
e airport late for flights not because they do not
from home early enough but because they get held
n traffic jams.

e Director of Civil Aviation could assist our road-
neers in their plans with pictures of airport access
s that I am sure he has in his possession.

Papa Kofi Anthony

Road

Working in the Rural Areas

—Every now and then, the youth in Ghana are
d upon to accept jobs in rural areas. Actually the
h do hesitate to go to these areas, not only because
areas lack social amenities as our elders allege.
nost rural areas only rent and charcoal or firewood
cheap. Food, especially imported ones like milk,
r, rice, sardines etc are dearer than in the cities
large towns. So also are materials for clothing.
n locally produced food is not cheaper except in
cal agricultural villages. It is not uncommon to pay
p for a bucket of good water which is rain water
ed in tanks.

n the face of these and other difficulties one can
y be motivated by patriotism to accept jobs in these
as.

Ve agree that the youth must be patriotic and work
their fellow men and women; but shall we not be
re so by seeing our fathers' generation, our present
ders, also "sacrificing in the national interest"?

Edward Mensah

neshie Post Office Square
neshie
ern.

Sekesua Health Centre

R—I wish to appeal to the government to build a
alth Centre for the people of Sekesua-Krobo in the
stern Region. Sekesua is another sub-capital of the
anya Krobo District about 17 miles from Koforidua and Asesewa. The sub-district has about 600 villages with 50,000 inhabitants, and is the second largest foodstuff centre in the Eastern Region.

The poor farmers have to travel from places such as Odomedji, Sutapong, Korwhere, to Koforidua or Asesewa in expectant cases which often result in death.

I appeal to the Government to think seriously of this tragic situation and remedy it.

Andrews T. K. Nanor

P.O. Box 39
Odumase-Krobo

Oburoni Muntu —Congrats!

SIR—I cannot help commending your columnist Oburoni Muntu for his contributions on African Ideology.

His column is one of the strong factors contributing to my liking for the ubiquitous **Legon Observer.**

He maintains integrity to truth. And as I am looking forward to more of his stuff, I wish him good luck and best wishes!

Joseph Gyinayeh

P. O. Box 9
Wenchi (B/A)

The Observer Language

SIR—I read in the **Legon Observer** (V/5) an article captioned "The Observer Language" by Mr. A. K. Manteaw.

I entirely disagree with Mr. Manteaw. I, as well as many other readers, am more delighted in reading this magazine not only because it is a good informant of national and other matters but also because of its high standard of English which is more than appreciable. Furthermore, I think it is by far the only Ghanaian magazine which favourably compares with such renowned overseas periodicals as "The Times", and "The Economist", to mention just a few, and this is why its market is probably so wide. Also, the use of Latin and French words is not uncommon in these foreign papers.

I think a great harm will be done to the international image of this most popular periodical if the least attempt is made to lower its English standard.

H. S. M. Attieku

Auditor-General's Department
Jasikan

Corruption and Economic Progress

SIR—It has been well pointed out that political independence is but an empty facade if economic freedom is not possible also. Ghana has been politically independent for over ten years now. But it is doubtful whether Ghana shall be economically free ten years from now. This is a tragedy.

The more one ponders over the question of Ghana's economy, the more one becomes convinced that the Ghana coup was motivated by patriotism of the rarest kind.

Perhaps, this is why almost everybody in this country speaks so well about people like the late General Kotoka, J. B. Danquah and others. However, those who are loudest in praising these men of blessed memory sometimes forget that our praises amount to insults if we fail to break ourselves completely from practices akin to those which they stood up and fought against.

A major cause of our economic woes is corruption. What serious-minded Ghanaians of the second Re-

public desire to see, and what they have the right to expect, is that bribery and corruption in high places shall be reduced to the barest minimum by the next polls.

If the government is able to do this, I believe economic freedom for Ghana shall follow as a matter of course; and economic freedom plus our political independence will put Ghana on a sure path to progress.

Commonwealth Hall **Obeng-Manu**
Legon

SIR—Corruption is a by-product of the decadent colonial philosophy and has assumed alarming proportions in Ghana lately.

One dishearteningly noticeable aspect of the corruption process in Ghana is its "irreversibility". That is, money flows from the poorer section of the society to the richer ones.

In the developed countries, the reverse is prevalent and is normally tagged "tip". One school of thought even maintains that this type of bribery is healthy for economic growth. There are inherent dangers even here but it is less exploitative than the first.

A more dangerous aspect of corruption in this country is in its involvement with the foreign trader. A Ghanaian banker receives bribe and makes it easier for a foreign trader to illegally transfer millions of cedis in foreign exchange; an income tax official is bribed so that he would declare that a foreign company had made no profit— thus enabling the latter to escape taxation: a responsible government official receives bribe and signs a contract which he knows is detrimental to the country's interests. This is the type of corruption which devastates the economy. Corruption within the country and among the people, although equally distateful is not half as serious.

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

Miscellaneous

AN OPEN LETTER TO DR. BUSIA

Dear Dr. Busia,

IN this open reminder to you, Dr. Busia, I am not concerned with the rights and wrongs in the current quarrel between your government and the judiciary. A lengthy disquisition could be written, on the sequence of events that culminated in your very recent broadcast. My only purpose here—and I hope this will be shared by freedom-loving Ghanaians—is to bring to your notice and that of the wider public my concern about the psychological mood, the almost jumpy manner, in which you and your administration have approached what has now been christened as the "Sallah Affair".

After all, it is common knowledge, ever since you embarked on your political career, you have diligently and sincerely sought to present yourself as the very embodiment, indeed the paragon, of noble and liberal-democratic ideals; and some of us have accepted you as such in good faith. It is for this very reason, I think, that any attempt on your part to tackle any crises of even very serious dimensions which betrays the least sign of a hypersensitive—and anxiety-ridden—over-reaction, stands in grave danger of being counter-productive in certain directions By this I mean that such an attempt will have very serious repercussi on those of us who have taken kindly to your repeated promise to help establish a welfare and libe democracy in this dear nation of ours.

Certainly, not only is it true that it is the d of a government to govern, and to be firm if and wh the occasion demands; particularly is it true that o is a difficult country to govern—as even Kwame Nk mah, the arch-megalomaniac, belatedly discove to his chagrin and bitter cost. Even so, liberal-democratic leader, such as you sincer profess yourself and are genuinel believed to be, is pected to behave even in the most difficult situatio even in the face of the direst provocations, in a cert way. He is, that is to say, expected to maintain self-disciplined equanimity, a calmness, even **bonhomie,** such as will elicit the administration of m of your followers, and the envy of his rivals to so of whom, I am afraid, it is not given to behave in comparable manner.

Nor should a liberal-democratic leader be all readily tempted to brandish with a persistent but m placed glee the power of the huge and massive ma rity at his disposal in a National Assembly. For Busia, you know, as some of us do, that the democra technique, one-man-one-vote, is only a protective ra part against the abuse of power; not by any stret of the imagination can it be regarded as a fool-pro guarantee that power will be scrupulously and wis used? No! Rather does democracy, by which we me its liberal version, aim at encouraging rulers to beha **as though** they were paragons of virtue. And this, p cisely because it makes it possible for the decisions rulers to be subjected to open and free scrutiny — a criticism, whether "constructive" or "destructive" by both followers and rivals alike.

I am sure you will agree with me, Dr. Busia, th it is not beyond the power of the African to ke in mind, with a bewitching constancy, this simple b great tenet of democracy in all circumstances of wh ever description. Failing that, our second attempt democracy can only go off at half-cock. But since liberal-democratic leader has been, and still is, a reali in other parts of the world, there is no earthly reas why he cannot be a reality in Africa too—if **will** is there. And so what gives, Dr. Busia and yo administration?

Your's Sincere
Achimota Village **Publuis Game**

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Service-ful duti-able Ghana po-
Lice band sad to have to-
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EDITORIAL

GHANA'S AFRICAN FRIENDS

THERE CAN BE no doubt about the necessity of mending political fences between and among states as soon as it is discreet so to do; particularly where there's not only nothing to lose but everything to gain, or regain. In Ghana we once had many natural resources which almost by their intrinsic value alone made many friends for us and influenced many people, in all sorts of ways and directions advantageous or favourable to us. Nor were these just material resources alone; there were human values as well. But then we squandered and frittered a lot of them away, on the one hand. On the other, some of our old friends, to add insult to injury, misjudged our motives when we tried to halt the process, to rescue ourselves, cut our losses, salvage some of the disappearing goods, and restore our favourable image.

Hence it was that after the coup of February 1966 we had to send out high-powered delegations to explain ourselves to our neighbours, in a necessary attempt, especially, to pacify those of them who did not understand our revolt against the C.P.P. regime and had become openly contemptuous and hostile. With some of these our emissaries succeeded; with others they did not. The East and Central African block, especially, were irreconcileable: Presidents Nyerere, Obote and Kaunda were particularly bitter, and in effect barked at us to get the hell out of their sight! Sekou Toure of Guinea of course went one long step further, as we all know.

We came back consoled by our successes and sorry at our failures, but not defeated over the latter. Indeed, as far as the extreme cases of Toure and Kaunda — to a lesser extent also of Nyerere — were concerned we did in our turn tell them to go mind their own ruddy business too and keep their superior wisdom about our best interests to themselves! But quarrels like these between states struggling against the same kinds of internal and external enemies cannot rationally be allowed to continue indefinitely. That would be like indulging in the old and foolish game of the nose and the face.

It was therefore to be expected that at the right psychological moment we would return to the self — as well as mutual — interest task of winning back our former friends, our fellow-travellers along the road to self-emancipation. We of this paper, like all our countrymen, we hope, are happy to see that our new government has decided that *the* psychological moment has arrived to try again to mend



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the fences between us and our partners in distress. If the notable rate of success of the Victor Owusu missions to East and Central Africa is anything to go by, we shall soon be in the happy position of again working in relative harmony with our neighbours for the political and economic redemption of black Africa.

The visit to Ivory Coast of the Prime Minister himself, just ending, was not of quite the same kind as that of the Foreign Minister to Uganda, Zambia and those other countries on the other side of Africa; President Felix Houphouet-Boigny and his country had become reconciled to us long ago through the N.L.C. That, however, does not minimise the task undertaken by Dr. Busia in the Ivory Coast during the last fortnight or so. It was as important as Mr. Owusu's embassage to the East. It was a job of only-part consolidation; mostly, it sought and found a re-identification of mutual interests, especially in the economic and social fields.

As we indicate in some of our Notebook items in this issue, we do hope that both the remedial exercise of mending political fences, and the original need to make friends and influence people, will continue to engage that part of their time and attention which Dr. Busia and our other governors must of necessity allocate to such tasks. In this we give them congratulations for achievements so far and wish them even greater success in the future.

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Africa

ARCHAEOLOGY, ANTHROPOLOGY AND AFRICAN HISTORY

By

Akua Asaabea Ayisi

"When is a man a man, or what is a man like devoid of his own definition of himself?" — Mazisi Kunene.

UNTIL RECENTLY the words "African History" or the "History of Africa" merely drew open contempt among historians and scholars, and were swiftly and derisorily dismissed as the signs of pitiful ignorance about the true meaning of history. It was assumed that Africa had no history. In history books, examples abound of how easily this was done; assertions about the non-existence of African history were generally accepted almost as if they were scientifically established maxims.

Predictably since the advent of political independence in large areas of the continent, this view of Africa as a continent without a past has been considerably modified. As Africans, we are no longer told that:

We have nothing to do in the world.
We are parasites of the world.
And our job is to keep in line with the world.

Questioning Old Ideas

Within the last two decades, the pendulum seems to have swung to the opposite direction: quite a few reputable universities in England, Europe and America which until recently would never have tolerated on their curriculla any subject on Africa, unless it was about "colonial history" or "the study of primitive races", have flourishing institutes of African studies which include courses in various aspects of African history and institutions.

There are also the new African Universities and University Colleges, founded in the wake of political independence with a keen awareness of the need to question some of the old ideas about Africa and Africans which were the ideological handmaids of imperialism. In these institutions of learning the history of Africa is receiving serious attention. Gradually, it looks as though the myth that Africa has no history is being exploded, and the picture of our past as impenetrably dark appears to be fading. Yet the explosion is not so audible and the fading is

only around the edges. The central picture still endures in many subtle but significant forms.

The truth is that, in spite of the salvaging work of quite a few excellent modern historians, many dubious theories still cling to the subject, so that the very idea of African history remains somewhat emasculated. It has still not achieved a right to exist independently of bizarre technicalities of archaeology and anthropology. It is really no more than a glorified branch of the social sciences. Mysterious anthropological phrases, and curious archaeological terms are still put forward as African history.

Currently, three different schools of thought in relation to the subject of African history are discernible among historians, or "Africanists". There is what one might call the "Trevor Roper school", which bluntly questions any validity in African history and scorns it as a subject without any "purpose" or "significance". This clearly belongs to the old school and it is pointless to quarrel about it. Such a view takes it for granted that only Englishmen and Europeans have made history. One has merely to remember that, among these allegedly unique and historical peoples, there has, since the nineteenth century raged a nationalistic war of "historical superiority" which finally produced Hitler in Germany. That is certainly one example of a historical "purpose" or "significance". But I think African history can safely do without it.

Penetrating the 'Darkness'

There is a second "school" which does not overtly or perhaps even consciously denounce the teaching or studying of African history. But this approach essentially belongs to the same school as the first, because they are moulded in the same intellectual milieu. This school, unlike the first, is not deterred by the supposed "darkness" of the subject, or at any rate does not regard the darkness as "stark" and impenetrable. They accept the darkness theory, but maintain that sparks of light from the tools of archaeology and anthropology can, and on occasion do in fact, produce shafts of light. For this school, African history is the evidence presented by researches in archaeology and anthropology. In effect their contention is that the bulk of African history is pre-history, and is thus seriously impoverished by lack of demonstrable achievements.

The missing achievements are supposed to be strictly related to "an evolution in which the development of the human computer, which man's brain is, compared to that of other primates, was the most notable achievements". Here are echoes of Darwinism, with far reaching implications which boil down to the relative inferiority of African history.

There may be found, in various African sites, million-year-old bones and skulls, but what are all these compared with the wheel, the alphabet, the printing press, Charlemagne, Newton and Shakespeare? The weakness in this Darwinist view of history, though, is that it issues forth from a very controversial premise. Yet when archaeologists and anthropologists, whether as supporters or opponents of Darwinism, employ archaeology and anthropology as instruments of African history, the controversial nature of their premise is completely overlooked. For instance, an anthropologist or archaeologist may attach great importance to "the significance of man's origin from his primate ancestry" and look for the development of traditions, and man's ability to transmit ideas, and social techniques of one kind or another as in "themselves the material embodiment of ideas" and therefore cogent evidence, which "demonstrates a significant divergence from the behaviour of man's primate cousins".

No Real Answer

The flaw in this is that the question whether or not man had any "primate cousins" is not without controversy among scientists. For Darwin after all had as many informed opponents as his renowned disciples. The plain fact is that, evidence consisting of "the scatter of stone tools and broken food bones on the site of million year old camp sites" does not really answer the big question in African history. It merely confirms the dubiousness of the subject, if it is taken in the context of what archaeologists understand as "civilisation", namely "a complexity of material achievements readily demonstrated in the presence of cities, writing, currency, craft specialisation".

When Trevor Roper dismisses African history as devoid of purpose or significance, he merely re-echoes the old familiar charge that in none of these areas had Africa been a guiding light worthy of envy and emulation. Even if it is granted that such evidence as archaeologists and anthropologists can provide reveals that "evolved conceptual thought" can exist without writing and highly accomplished technical and artistic achievement is possible without towns, the problem is

not disposed of. Firstly it is held that no such African conceptual thought has been identified; and secondly, Africans are supposed to be inherently inferior because they did not produce the wheel, the printing press, or a Shakespeare.

At best the only significance that such evidence may produce for people like Trevor Roper is the mere fascination of a supposedly unspoilt charm of a primitive and dead culture. It is nothing but a kind of charitable Darwinism. Far from illuminating the darkness of African history it hardens the habit of looking at African history from the exalted and impressive heights of other peoples' achievements in history, from a creative past far back into the remote and dark ages, when lizardlike men oozed from the primeval slime.

These Darwinian presumptions are not the only shackles of African history. There are other pet theories, such as the 'Berber' theory by which the peoples of the African continent are classified into semi-white 'berber-races' and black sub-sahara races of negroid stock. Other theories meant to establish that the Sahara desert had insulated Africa from outside influence. All these are based upon highly controversial, and sometimes dubious, evidence.

Ethnological Divisions

Yet there has been little or no hesitation in using them to contradict any attempt to clothe the skeletons of archaeological and anthropological researches with the flesh of imaginative influences from other historical facts. Try, for instance, to find out at least why it is that a "materially and technically rich civilisation" like that of ancient Egypt failed to have the same impact on Africa as Greece has had on Europe, and you would promptly be found guilty of "weeping hypothesis".

One must bear in mind that the very ethnological division of Africans into "sub-saharan blacks" and Northern "Berber Africans" is more a matter of colonial political convenience than objective history or proven facts. It was fostered by the French colonialists in North Africa primarily to counteract Pan Arab nationalism. In essence, therefore, it is a racial separatist theory which was used to buttress the colonial system of "divide and rule". When in recent years we Africans South of the Sahara also began to assert ourselves and to demand political autonomy as well as a right to shape our own cultural and national destinies the "Berber Africans" and "Black Sahara Africans" theory was found to be a ready and convenient theory and an effective weapon against continental African nationalism. For a time it fitted in neatly with the notion that the Sahara had been a barrier between Black Africa and the rest of the world, and thus provided a plausible explanation of why Africa slept while the rest of the world, particularly Teutonic Europe, marched towards their glorious imperial destinies, as the chosen peoples of history.

The 'barrier' idea is gradually fading. It seems now accepted that:

> Though dessicated, the Sahara was still important for culture contact between the period of its desertion by the pastoralists around 3,500-2,500 BC and the commencement of the camel caravan trade of Islamic times.

Potent Dividing Factors

As between "black Africans" and Algerians the sense of separatism cannot therefore be attributed to the assumption, by some writers, that Algerians "neither feel nor look like Africans". It is possible after all to feel a sense of community with a people without looking or feeling like them. For instance we are told that "the Cartesian spirit is deeply rooted among the Algerian intellectuals" yet the last thing they want surely is to feel or look like the French. On the other hand the Algerians do feel and look like their Eastern brothers, but that fact alone has not bred in them a srong sense of cultural unity. Obviously the Algerians have imbibed French separatist ideas about "black Africa". Those ideas are that, far from any affinities with us, black Africans belong exclusively to the same black racial stock as the bushmen of South Africa. Such ideas are far more potent dividing factors than physical and cultural differences.

It is important to find out why and how the history of North Africa was "deliberately and systematically re-written" by the French. If not with new hypotheses, in the light of new evidence, how else are the distortions which are inherent in such a systematic and deliberate re-writing of other peoples' history to feed the national vanities of colonialists to be examined and exposed? For instance in a recent discourse on the role of archaeology in African history, Prof. M. Posnansky of the University of Ghana, has

denounced the use of hypotheses in African history as either "a counsel of defeat or an acknowledgement of over-scanty sources of information".

I should think this is one example of how difficult it is, given even the best will and the most scrupulous objectivity in the world, to be wholly liberated from the prejudices and presumptions which are accepted tenets in one's 'intellectual milieu'. For though it may appear, by the bulk of Prof. Posnansky's observations, that he neither accepts a counsel of defeat nor acknowledges over-scanty sources of information, he does not go the whole way, because he also berates what he describes as:

> A tendency for historians, particularly in the university of London, to regard the study of tropical Africa during the first millennium A.D. as African history rather than as pre-history.

He would prefer the opposite practice in Britain and America where "pre-Columbian history is rarely accorded historical status" just as the millennium preceding Julius Caesar is denied historical status in Britain, though according to him "for both these periods there probably are more evidence than for the first millennium A. D. of most of *Sub-Saharan Africa*".

Scrutinising the Theories

I wonder if Professor Posnansky's "sub-saharan Africa", is substantially different from the "sub-saharan Africa" of the French proponents of Berber North Africa doctrines. If it is, then surely whoever wants to broaden the perspective of African history, break down its isolation, and reveal its significance and purpose — three important objectives in African history to which Prof. Posnansky succinctly refers — must first scrutinise this huge and intimidating legacy of theories which were originally formulated with the primary object of reshaping the African past for the benefit of others. Such an exercise would seem to me to be more important than the most unusual archaeological discovery, not only because it would illuminate the 'darkness' of African history, but also because it would give greater meaning to the labours and discoveries of archaeologists and anthropologists in the study and teaching of African history.

Let us now turn to the third school, which happily brings us to the heart of the matter. It is open-minded and is championed by such writers as Roland Oliver, J. D. Fage and Basil Davidson. Without ignoring archaeological and anthropological evidence, they are not unduly obsessed with either the supposed darkness of African history, nor are they pre-occupied with "similiarities or divergence from man's primate cousins". Fully conscious of the limitations of the subject, they have tried to approach African history with the same imagination as they would bring to bear upon considerations of their own history, or to that part of their own history for which there is scanty evidence.

Moreover, they realise that, history has 'purposes' or 'significances' which are universal.

Admittedly, the current predominance of archaeology, anthropology and other 'sciences' in the study of history is not confined to the study of African history. Nor must one deny that archaeologists and anthropologists have made great contributions towards the rediscovery of the African past in recent years. It is largely thanks to their patient and meticulous labours that it has become possible to put forward the view that:

> "There is an unbroken sequence of human development, from man's origin, probably in some part of the drier areas of tropical Africa some two to three million years ago up to the present day" and that "Africa, the most populous continent in the stone age, was at no time far from the mainstreams of human history"

Obsession With Bare Facts

Not long ago, any such proposition would have been instantly submerged in the scornful smiles of many a distinguished historian. Yet the purposes of history do not consist merely in the presentation of factual or even 'scientific' evidence, and such an objective is not more important than the efforts which have been made by historians to retain the past as the source of vital and creative element in the living present. This is why as distinguished a historian as Prof. J. H. Plumb has recently lamented what he regards as the destruction of the past by a highly developed and highly sophisticated approach to history, and has likened the obsession with bare facts in history:

> To the wood worm which makes itself at home in the timbers of some ancient building, invisible to the naked eye, yet incessantly at work on its task of erosion and destruction which does not become apparent until the entire edifice



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is on the point of total collapse.

I am afraid this is what the whole awesome array of archaeological and anthropological "scientific tools" i.e. "resistivity meters, proton-magnetometers and aerial surveys", are doing to the emergent vision of African history. For if in the opinion of J. H. Plumb this threatens even well established histories of the world, then what chance has African history which is only just emerging from total oblivion? Certainly the purpose and significance of African history will continue to be buried in obscurity if our vision is so steadily and stubbornly fixed only upon the desserts of the stone age and the ruins of a forgotten past: we have to break the barriers of isolation by saying with Professor Disney that prehistory underlines the history of all civilisations alike and that it forms one essential preface to the libraries of literate humanity.

For us Africans, this means that we must cultivate the courage and discipline to look at our past realistically without glossing over patent but unflattering setbacks, or obvious limitations. We must cease to romanticise empty traditions. We must ponder over our inadequacies and find out really why we failed where we might have succeeded, and patiently and painfully try to redefine our reality, and our identity in our own terms.

The Economy

GHANA'S FOREIGN DEBTS

By

Kwabena Manu

IN THE PAST few weeks Ghanaians have become increasingly aware of the massive problems posed by our huge external debts. It has become indeed a great national issue because the debts present great obstacles to the future development of this country.

In 1966 when the N.L.C. took over the reins of administration, the country was faced with a debt service burden of over NC100 million a year and in order to alleviate this burden on the balance of payments, the government sought and secured the first of two reschedulings with our creditors. The first rescheduling exercise, as in the second one, concerned essentially the medium-term suppliers' credits with maturities of from 1-12 years contracted by the former government.

By 1968, after the second rescheduling, Ghana was still faced with a heavy debt service burden the bulk of which represented medium-term suppliers' credits, plus interest and amortization on long-term loans utilized on the construction of the Akosombo Dam, plus short-term loans from the International Monetary Fund's standby arrangements, economic aid granted to Ghana since 1966 and trade credits and banking loans.

The result of the two rescheduling exercises, plus the need to obtain further credits to sustain the economy, was that by early 1968 the country was faced with the dim prospect of an external debt service of NC780 million. Under the two reschedulings, however, our creditors imposed an additional interest on the deferred liability for the concessions granted Ghana.

Rescheduling of Our Debts

In spite of the reschedulings, there is still a heavy debt service burden to be carried by Ghana up to 1981, and this clearly indicates that we got a raw deal in the process. The burden is so heavy that it would exert great pressure on the resources of the country making it virtually impossible to honour our foreign obligations and simultaneously achieve a meaningful increase in our productive capacity. The two rescheduling exercises did not provide a permanent and reasonable solution to our debt service problems. In the 1966 rescheduling, principal and interest falling due between July 1966 and December 1968 plus arrears up to June 1966 were consolidated and rescheduled. Eighty per cent of the consolidated amount were to be paid in rising instalments from 1971 to 1979. During the grace period up to 1971 only the interest (about 6%) on the deferred debts, technically called moratorium interest, were to be paid.

The remaining 20% of the debt was to be paid during the last 18 months of the consolidation period, i.e. from June 1967 to December 1968.

The 1968 rescheduling meeting agreed that debts owed between January 1969 and June 1972 would be consolidated and deferred; 80% of the deferred amount would be paid beginning from July 1974 giving Ghana a grace period of two years. The remaining 20% of the debt was to be paid during the consolidation period, at interests not exceeding 6% per year.

It soon became apparent to many observers

after the 1968 rescheduling exercise that the country could still not achieve a reasonable rate of development under the terms of the rescheduling exercises and that there was an urgent need for the incoming civilian government to take another look at the problem.

This is the *raison d'etre* for a further payments arrangement with our creditors, an arrangement that will give the government a breathing space to embark on its objectives. The debt problem is to be viewed against the government's policy of tackling the basic problems facing the country and which the government is committed to solve, e.g. developing the infrastructure of the rural areas. A further attempt at working out a better arrangement with our creditors is imperative because in the first place the previous arrangements were not the best that the country could have had, taking into account the capacity of Ghana to pay. Our creditors took the rather short-sighted view that the debts were purely commercial and they were more interested in getting the maximum they could get rather than sympathetically considering the adverse effects of the debt payments on Ghana's long-term development efforts.

A Major Obstacle

Secondly, the debt service burden is a major obstacle to the future development of the economy and must somehow be solved. Without a proper solution commensurate with our ability to pay the economy cannot generate growth through the provision of more job openings, and the liberalisation of imports of essential goods. Unless the whole debt problem is cleared, the government cannot formulate any meaningful long-term development plan for the country. The present government is committed to an improvement in the standard of living of the people in this country and unless they see their way clear, there is very little they can do to fulfil their election promises.

Thirdly, the new call for better payments arrangement is firmly based on economic justification backed by technical analysis of the balance of payments and other considerations which were ignored in the two previous reschedulings.

Having given reasons why a new payments arrangement is necessary, the next problem is: what sort of arrangement do we want which will not place undue obstacles in our development aspiration?

Attempts are being made to obtain the refinancing of our debts in place of the costly exercise of rescheduling. The meaning of refinancing is that creditor countries will provide new credits to enable Ghana to continue debt service payments; that is, a fresh loan will be contracted in place of the original debt in order to pay off existing debts, the new loan may be made by the governments of our creditors. If the new loan is given on long-term basis, then the refinancing constitutes a moratorium, that is, Ghana could achieve a respite of say 30 years before resuming transfer of debt service payments.

No doubt, an agreement on refinancing will provide the relief necessary for the government to achieve a diversion of resources into major development efforts. On purely economic considerations, refinancing is in the long-term interest of our creditors; for if we are pushed far with our backs to the wall, and if the government stands firm on its election promises, then the only logical course to take is to default. On the other hand, if a refinancing is achieved, and if investments are channelled into productive areas, the growth of the economy will generate sufficient resources with which to make debt service payments at a future date. A solution therefore of our debts is essential to a reasonable rate of economic development in the next few years.

No Debt Is Sacrosanct

The Prime Minister has recently said that our debts are going to be X-rayed presumably because none of the debts is sacrosanct. What has not been made clear so far by the government is whether in the event of our creditors agreeing to a moratorium we will let sleeping dogs lie or whether — refinancing or not — the exercise of reviewing the debt will still go on. It is important to know the government's policy on this; there are many thoughtful Ghanaians who are dissatisfied with the peculiar circumstances surrounding some of the debts. The best way the government can derive the maximum support from the public on this major and complex issue is to take us into its confidence. After all, whatever decision the government takes is bound to affect all of us one way or the other.

Politics

INGREDIENTS OF AN AFRICAN IDEOLOGY — BEYOND THE NATION-STATE

by

Oburoni Muntu

THE central political gospel of our time, virtually everywhere among that half of the world's states which attained independence during the past thirty years, is that the key to progress is nation-building. It is not surprising that this faith is so widely held. As Dankwart Rustow says in the opening pages of his thoughtful book *A World of Nations*:

> Nation and modernity are among the most potent ideals of the twentieth century. They are distinct in concept but often reinforce each other in practice. Scientific discovery, new technical skills, and industrial production are among the tools of modernity; among the emotions of nationhood are common purpose and mutual trust. Nationality can lay the social foundation for the division of labour in modern science and industry; and the desire for modernity can bring national loyalties into focus... Together nationalism and modernity form an arena of tacit assumptions in which the vocal battle between political ideologies such as democracy and communism has been fought.
>
> ...The nation-state, like modernization, has roots, having grown out of the dynastic states of the twelfth to eighteenth century. But Western Nationalism did not burst forth fully until the American and French Revolutions, and in that same period it became linked to modernization. Since then, in Latin America, Asia, and Africa, nationhood and modernity have appeared as two facets of a single transformation—a dual revolution loudly proclaimed and often ardently desired but never accomplished quickly or with ease.

Nevertheless, the nation-state is already running into trouble in the Europe which brought it forth; and it poses severe problems of intercommunication in our rapidly shrinking globe. Rustow indeed notes these two points just two paragraphs beyond the passage quoted above:

> ...In Europe, economic and technical progress is bursting through the narrow boundaries drawn by monarchs and nationalists in the eighteenth and nineteenth century; hence democratic Europeans have been thrown into a protracted crisis of supranational unification... Where once nationhood was the proud achievement of a few peoples isolated from the rest of humanity, it now has become the vocal aspiration of 130 peoples all linked tightly through modern means of communication and transport. Where once the nation-state was the symbol of sovereign power and unfettered independence, today it means interdependence and common peril. Sometime in the nineteenth century in Europe, modernization was wedded to the nation-state, and in Asia and Africa that alliance is being consummated anew in the present day; but unless the marriage contract is renegotiated or dissolved in voluntary separation, it may well turn into a suicide pact.

Crisis of Modernization

All this is given special point by the meaning he attaches to modernization, which 'denotes rapidly widening control over nature through closer cooperation among men.' In this sense it is plainly a goal almost universally accepted, and Rustow cannot readily be faulted when he asserts in summing up his argument here, that 'only societies transformed into nations have shown themselves capable of attaining the more advanced forms of modernity, and only modernizing nations are likely to retain their identity in the present era of modernization.'

Even so, he concedes that other possibilities may yet emerge: 'It is conceivable that in some future period the connection between modernization and nationality will disappear, that modernization will find expression in political institutions that transcend and transform the nation-state.'

The case I want to argue is that the world is moving into a crisis where the continuation of its modernization, as Rustow terms it, or its progress as more commonly put, depends on finding such new institutions; that the parts of the world which have both the greatest need and the best chance to devise them are those where the nation-state has developed least; that of all such parts, Africa has the greatest need and the best chance of all; that African society and culture already contains in embryo some of the means

nd devices that are needed for the supersession f the nation-state; *but* that none of this can ome about, and the creative contribution that frica can make to the advancement of mankind vill not be made, unless and until Africans deve- op that special spiritual self-reliance which nables one to make use of one's own cultural esources and to cease to want or need to emulate Europe.

All the ingredients of an adequate African deology must be blended together at once, every onstituent needs all the rest: we can be sure f ourselves, of our place in the world, only when we know what kind of special contribution we can make to the common life of mankind. Thus we can know only when we know where to look in our own culture and heritage for the sources of this contribution; but to be able to do this we need faith in ourselves and the courage to break the habit of relying all the while on Western, or at any rate boreal, models.

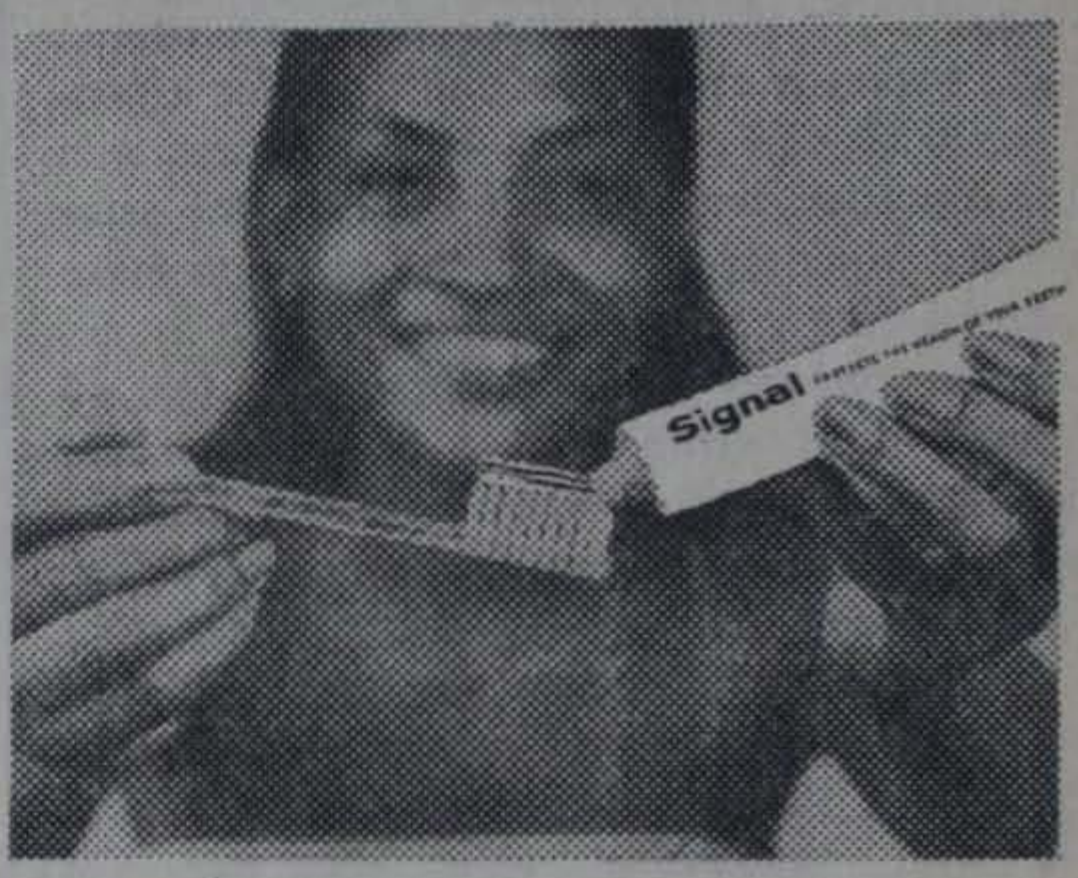
New Economic Developments

Part of the indictment of the nation-state has already been prepared by Rustow, in the words already quoted: it is too small for the new economic and technical developments that are coming into being, and it does not fit a pattern of interconnectedness. If this is true for economically highly developed countries, with high incomes and populations of fifty millions or more, can it be less true for small, poor, underdeveloped countries? Even Nigeria, which brags of its size on our continent, is no more populous than the United Kingdom or Western Germany, and only slightly more so than Italy or France; and its purchasing capacity, its size as a market, is no greater than that of Manchester.

A country like Ghana, for all its relative wealth in Africa, provides no economic market for any industry worth looking at twice. The same applies to questions of supply of raw materials, etc.: we all remember the corned-beef factory which could have used the entire cattle population of Ghana in six weeks. Any but the most footling kinds of economic development depend absolutely on effective cooperation with at least other West African countries, if not those beyond our own part of the continent.

All this is quite well known: the planning experts, the ECA people, and others, have been saying it for years. But it still seems to be thought in apparently responsible circles that you can have it both ways—that you can build close links

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with other countries, move toward economic union, while simultaneously making it more difficult for their citizens to come to your country. Yet the moves towards tightening up controls over non-citizens, the devising of new means of ticketing and docketing everyone and making sharp distinctions between Ghanaian citizens and everyone else, are all quite consistent with the philosophy and policy of nation-building.

Buliding a nation *means* minimising all distinctions inside the frontiers and maximising all those between nationals and non-nationals. Of course, Ghana makes it exceptionally difficult for a non-citizen to acquire citizenship, by comparison with most countries; but even if she didn't, the same principle would apply. If you are trying to make a nation-state out of something which is not that, you can only do it by emphasising that all or most of its denizens have in common and rejecting whatever they share with outsiders, as far as possible. A nationalist economic policy, in this sense of "nationalist", is one which seeks to foster first and foremost the presumed common economic interests of citizens against those of outsiders; such a policy is simply not compatible with establishing wider economic ties and larger units. You cannot have it both ways.

Thus Preston King's suggestion, already twice quoted, that we are "presented not merely with the task of nation building, but, equally, with the challenge of making a continent" is, as it stands, quite misleading. Properly understood, and certainly in the long economic term, we are presented not with the *task* of nation building but *instead* with the challenge of making a continent.

There is a lot more to be said about the nation-state and why and how we can and should do without it. Meanwhile, another ingredient of an African ideology can be offered as:

Building nations is against Africa's long-term economic interests.

BLACK POWER AND THE CARIBBEAN

By

A Political Correspondent

EVERY politician seeking the sympathy and active support, not to say sacrifice, of a people uses slogans. This is not a moral judgment but a universal observation. Julius Nyerere once called for "Uhuru na Umoja" — Freedom and Unity — and again "Uhuru na Kazi" — Freedom and Work. Busia called for "Progress — Sure"; Kenyatta for "Harambee" — Everyone pulling together — and even Hitler ranted about "Living Space".

"Black is Beautiful"; "Say it Loud I'm Black and Proud; "Black Power" — these are some of the powerful slogans of today. It is therefore to be expected that ambitious politicians everywhere should seize upon them. "Say it Loud" was adopted by one party very recently here in Ghana, for example. But it might be superficial to read from the scattered use of every slogan the necessary existence of much more than a common sympathy recognised as useful by certain politicians. An infrastructure of politically organized co-operation may follow, but it is not necessarily implied as soon as the slogan is used. Is "Black Power" such a slogan?

The question arises whether or not the "Black Power Movement" has "spread to the West Indies", as many observers throughout the world have somewhat glibly interpreted. Some examination of the structure and relationship of Black Power to the differing political realities of the United States and the Caribbean seems called for.

New Demands

Men have more often agreed on what needs to be done than on how to do it. The American Negro has consistently sought social justice since the days of formal slavery and before. Various methods of changing his lot have been tried, and, while not universally discarded, several formerly popular approaches have successively lost favour with new leaders — prayer, the freedom marches and sit-ins, and Luther King's non-violent Civil Rights Movement are among them.

Today the "moderate" leaders of yesterday and their white liberal associates are often violently denounced. The demand is no longer for equal status within American Society — but for recognition as a separate cultural entity or nation, outside of a "white" America. The term Negro has become discredited — "Afro-American" and now "Black" and African-American have replaced it. Simultaneously the writings and pronouncements of several more racially assertive opinion-formers, as Baldwin predicted in *The Fire Next Time* and other works, have been enthusiastically received. Most important, of course, is Eldridge Cleaver's *Soul on Ice*, but other works seek to free the "Black" mind from "White" values and consequently damaging psychological confusion. But this *must* lead to the rhetoric of separatism.

r slogans — such as "Burn, Baby, Burn", of ecent long hot summer—have been coined. In t, "Black Power" is associated with a greater ancy — for the present (and, some argue, for) it is against integration — and it has grown of frustration. Also it is associated in most ples' minds with violence.

ne movement in the United States has bor- ed much from the thoughts of revolutionaries where, but in response to special local condi- s, its dominant theme is and has remained al. A coherent political and economic con- us may not exist. Since Black migration, nly from the South, but to all the cities of United States, appears to be increasing, and e the birth and unemployment rates in the tos are far higher than the national average a captive and sympathetic audience for the an "Black Power" seems assured for many s.

the largest cities of America today integra- can only be seen as a "dream" of very low rity and probably a concept of academic rest merely. Among its adherents, Black ex- icemen returning from South-East Asia are a and significant factor. Some of the skills have learnt in the military are not irrelevant violent confrontation. But, as here in Africa, rising expectations of younger folk are also ey factor. Hence President Nixon speaks of 'ban Renewal" and of subsidy for "Black italism".

Various 'Power' Groups

There are several different Black Power groups organisations in almost every major American . Politically, they have some aims in common to gain control of the school curriculum and n the school itself; to have the ghettos policed Black policemen or their own vigilante groups, — but most aims are purely local. The Nation Islam or the Black Muslims was one of the t of the wider organisations, but its popularity declined since the deflection and subsequent assination of Malcoln X. Other wider organi- ions are the *Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating mmittee* (SNCC) and the *Congress of Racial uality*. From these, important leaders such as kely Carmichael and Floyd McKissick have erged. But these have little in common with politics — or at least the wider policy pro- uncements — of say the *Black Panthers* — ainst whom it is claimed the American Police totally committed. Nor with the *Republic of New Africa* which seeks an Independent State, not as Garvey did, in Africa, but South of the Mason-Dixon line in the United States itself.

In the Caribbean, the position is diffe- rent. Progressive political leaders, especially in Jamaica, and Trade Unionists, especially in Trini- dad, have long argued for a fairer economic deal for the mass of the people. The enemy has been identified as the black leaders of the Islands. The opposition has accused them of being "Uncle Toms" or the mere stewards of a foreign economic estate. Now that the popular slogans of "Black Power" have been seen to have considerable appeal, there is more talk of "black" and "white" but the detail remains economic. The heroes of the Caribbean Black Power Movement can thus remain Senor Castro and even Chairman Mao who are hardly "black". The honoured dead include Che Guevara and Ho Chi Minh.

Trouble in the Islands

This is not to say that separatists like the Ras Tafarians (named after Tafari Makonnen, now known as Haile Sellassie) have no influence in the Caribbean. They have had a following for years—but theirs is not on the increase. The Black Muslims also have influence and more recently even the Panthers, but it is poverty and opulence in close juxtaposition that is the real social irritant. And the existence of a flourishing tourist trade does not ease that. Serious riots occurred in Bermuda and Jamaica last year. As we go to press some soldiers are charged with treason in Trinidad and the state of emergency there is not yet over. But the basis of unrest—ex- cept perhaps in the final analysis of the ex- ploitation of man by man—differs in the Islands, with their colonial heritage of social and economic injustice, from the worsening situation in Ameri- ca's ghettos. And this, despite the fact that the communications satellite, the electronic tape, television and improved news media spread the appeal of America's slogans.

Here in Africa there is great interest both in America and the Islands, and in the movements there. Also, we must note that the cultural in- fluence of Africa on America is a two way process. Here in Ghana, at least our city youth, admire "Afro" styles; and even the haircut, if that is the correct word for it, is influencing certain young people. Colourful Afro-American styles of garment are said to be "from home". Neverthe- less, politically, we cannot easily call for an end to persistent colonialism in the Southern part of

this continent and the integration of all peoples there, while at the same time subscribing to "Black Power" in its more racial forms.

If we were to so subscribe, in our present circumstance we might well be led to take recourse in psychological analysis and define that, in the special post-colonial case, black can be white. But with all respect to Fanon, not everyone is mentally muddled. Honesty may well demand, whatever the slogan, whatever the political method, that we carry the limited political interpretation of "Black Power" a step further and expose tyranny where it exists with neither confusion nor compromise.

Obituary

LOVERIDGE NUKU KOFI ABABIO
1933-1970

By S. La-Anyane

Professor and Dean of the Faculty of Agriculture
University of Ghana, Legon.

NUKU KOFI ABABIO came to Legon in the Michaelmas term of 1963/64 as lecturer. He was 30 years old. He had won the Master of Science degree in Animal Science at the Prairie View Agricultural and Mechanical College a year earlier. During his tenure at that institution, he earned and maintained a high academic record. He impressed his tutors as a person with an inquisitive mind and as a competent student in all aspects of Animal Husbandry.

Legon was not new to Kofi Ababio. He was one of the few students to graduate in agriculture in the pioneering days of the Faculty of Agriculture of the University of Ghana. The Faculty was in those days a Department of Agriculture of the University College of the Gold Coast. Kofi Ababio was in the class of 1958, which had nine students. This class was a considerable improvement in numbers over the initial years of 1956 and 1957 when there were three students, and one student, in agriculture respectively. A general Bachelor of Science degree in agriculture was awarded at the end of a three-year programme. Kofi Ababio had no difficulty whatsoever in successfully completing the course, grading above average.

Mr. Ababio accepted the position of Agricultural Officer in the Ministry of Agriculture on graduation in 1958. In this capacity, he served in several parts of the country and was put in charge of extension education in the Kete Krachi district. He very quickly established himself as a competent officer of the Ministry, and within two years of his appointment he was selected by the government to join a delegation of four to represent Ghana at the 15th session of the C.C.T.A. conference in Antananarivo in the Malagasy Republic in February, 1960.

The practical field experience which he had acquired as an agricultural officer also contributed to his success as a lecturer in Animal Science in the University of Ghana. His field of specialisation was livestock production. He was particularly interested in the production of cattle and sheep. As a lecturer in this special field, Mr. Ababio showed a robust personality and certainly left a lasting impression on all the students who came under his care. He wrote several articles, including substantial contribution to *Background to Agricultural Policy in Ghana*, published by the University of Ghana Faculty of Agriculture in 1969.

Mr. Ababio's contribution, while a lecturer in this University, did not end in the lecture theatre and on the research station where he undertook research and trained students in practical agriculture. He was actively involved in many other activities within the University and outside of it. He was a Tutor of Mensah Sarbah Hall and served on several committees and boards.

Valuable Contributions

He was a member of the management committee of the Animal Research Institute, Animal Science Society, and the Agricultural Society of Ghana. He retained his links with the University after leaving it to engage in a private commercial agricultural enterprise, and served as a Director of the University of Ghana Farm Enterprises until his final day. He was also a member of the Board of Directors of the Ghana Commercial Bank and a founding member of the Legon Society On National Affairs, publishers of the "Legon Observer". A good debater, and generously imbued with a sense of humour, Mr. Ababio was always a pleasure to listen to at society and committee meetings. In his very pleasant and likeable manner, he always made a valuable contribution to the business of the society or committee on which he served.

After serving the University for five years, Mr. Ababio decided to accept a challenge with which

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he had lived for many years: the challenge to be a pioneer in the field of modern farming. The challenge was to prove that the immense knowledge he had acquired from college and university equipped him better than others for the successful operation of a private farm enterprise. The country was also in need of educated men and women trained in agriculture to engage in private commercial farming. No better time could be found to falsify the claims made by the critics that the educated agriculturist was a failure as a farmer and that he preferred the pen to the cutlass.

In his paper on "The Development of our Livestock Industry" which appeared in the Legon Faculty of Agriculture book, *Background to Agricultural Policy in Ghana*, published in 1969, Mr. Ababio had recommended that "the importance given to general education must now be transferred to agricultural production". As far back as his graduate days in Texas in the United States of America, he had written in a letter to a colleague expressing the desire to put his knowledge into practice in the field and produce animals as big as those he saw for the first time in Texas. He wrote, "...I could never have believed beef cattle can weigh over 3,000lb! The environmental conditions here are very similar to the savanna areas at home..." These were some of the forces which impelled him into a farm business two years ago.

Mr. Ababio was the operating partner in a livestock enterprise involving cattle on about one thousand acres of savanna along the Akosombo road. He appropriately named his farm Abel Modern Ranch. After the difficult initial gestation period of two to three years, Mr. Ababio had definitely emerged on the road to success. His point had been made. He was, however, not to live to enjoy the results. He met his end in an accident on the road to his farm.

Stimulating remarks, articles, positions held, and committees he served on — these are the thin documentary profile of the scholar and farmer. The imperishable reality is in the contents of what he wrote and did, and in moulding the thinking and ideas of his students, his colleagues, his friends, his relatives and all those who were fortunate to associate with him. Each of us who had the privilege of working closely with Kofi Ababio could not but be impressed by his love of truth, his respect for evidence, his humanity and optimistic faith in the success of agriculture and farm people in this country.



Observer Notebook

Ghana-Ivory Coast Relations

FLUCTUATION is the key-note in the relations between most states: our relations with the Ivory Coast are no exception, and most observers will feel nothing but pleasure at the warm reception accorded Dr. Busia and his high-powered entourage now visiting that country.

Thus fluctuations marked the Nkrumah era as well as more recent regimes. In the earlier period, Nkrumah's support of the dissident Anwis was a considerable source of friction. Besides, in the ideological sphere, the two Presidents had openly challenged each other to a ten-year contest with a view to seeing which mode of development would prove more effective — Nkrumah's radical socialism or Houphouet-Boigny's emphasis on capitalism as an economic strategy.

In more recent days, border troubles in the Krong-Ahafo area have been a cause for concern. It is entirely appropriate, therefore, that Dr. Busia's first excursion into the African arena since his accession to the Premiership should be his visit to the Ivory Coast. Indeed those eyebrows which were dramatically raised when Dr. Busia jetted away to the U.S.A. and Europe immediately on his assumption of the Premiership, could be seen being lowered as dramatically on the announcement of the current visit.

But what lies behind the diplomatic niceties delayed to us by the information media? The fact is that it makes plain economic and human sense that we should have cordial relations with our Francophone brothers and sisters. Our ethnic ties with them are very close, and cultural patterns are nearly identical. Our correspondent was pleasantly surprised to have been treated to authentic plantain fufu in Jackville early last year.

Smuggling is an area demanding close examination by the two countries. Our strategy for economic development — not to mention our lust for things foreign — has made it necessary for prohibitive customs and excise duties to be levied on imported goods. Neither Togo nor the Ivory Coast shows this tendency. Hence consumer goods are sometimes five times as dear here as in the neighbouring countries. Correspondingly, export duties are lighter there, so the less patriotic of our farmers smuggle their agricultural produce over the border. Clearly, we need the co-operation and understanding of our neighbours if this problem is to be solved. And it is only one of several problems.

One senses that the affirmations of friendship and of common interest have gone beyond what protocal requires, and that therefore we can hope for the quick solution to our border and other problems with the Ivory Coast. Of particular importance is the fact that a measure such as the recent Aliens' Compliance Order has neither been misunderstood nor misconstrued by our Ivorian brothers and sisters.

It is our hope that while maintaining accord through the Friendship Games and other cultural media, we shall be humble enough to want to learn from the Ivorians the method by which they have been able to grow enough food for their population. This is the first step to the solution of our economic problems. If the Ivorians, with geographical conditions similar to our own, cannot help us in this regard hardly anyone else can.

Ghana and Nigeria

TALKING ABOUT political fences and intra-African interests, recently there has been a bit of a storm-in-a-teacup tossing back and forth between "Ghana" and "Nigeria", that is, as staged by sections of the mass media apparatus of the two countries. In our humble opinion these were wasted efforts. Nigeria Radio first broadcast a vitriolic attack on Ghana over the aliens business, coupled with our alleged official and unofficial support of ex-Biafra. A section of the Nigerian press took up the cry (although in fact there had been previous attacks, all over), to be followed in due course by the self-defence of Ghana and a counter attack on Nigeria by a section of the Ghana press. It was all done mostly by name calling, by charging and counter charging. And it ended as it had begun: in smoke.

We ought to be paying close attention to matters of substance, to realities, instead. Attacks generated in or by the respective national mass media may in truth be straws in the wind; now and again they may have to be taken up and answered back in kind. But more often than not this amounts to mere chasing after shadows; the real diplomatic game is meanwhile being played at a vastly higher level — not necessarily higher than the *press* level but certainly than the *discussion* level of a mere surface comment or two, consisting mostly of abuse and threat on both sides. The realities which Nigerians and Ghanaians should mutually be deeply concerned

with, these days, are far more serious than the immediate ill-will created by the aliens exercise, serious and regrettable as that was; or than any real or imaginary conflict occasioned by Ghana's alleged support of Biafra. Where were we of the press, for one thing, when those two military glamour-boys and, at the time, contemporary heads of state, Brigadier Afrifa and General Gowon, were visiting each other and exchanging compliments right in the middle of the civil war, while their staffs worked on the substantive matters of state between their two countries? What did they talk about, and at what level? Do we know? How then can we take up a fight on these issues now, and on such a low pitch?

As far as Ghana should be concerned with the realities of Nigeria at any rate, the following considerations, it would seem to us, are elemental. First, cooperation with Nigeria in most fields today is essential for Ghana, both for ourselves and in aid of the African, if you like the O.A.U., cause; because, secondly, let's face it, Nigeria has come through a baptism of fire which has left her not weaker but, potentially at least, immeasurably stronger: politically, militarily and economically. Any reckoning in African terms today which does not take Nigeria's powerful position into top consideration would be plainly illusionary and disastrous. Our Ghanaian pride in our own potentialities and abilities would be strengthened, not diminished, by an all-fronts cooperation with our large and powerful neighbour. And it would yield concrete results.

An open-minded, open-hearted visit to Lagos, Ibadan, Kaduna, their Universities, and even some smaller communities in that vast country, today, would tend to confirm the impression of vitality, potentiality and "take-offability". We of the *Observer*, for our part, have started to look as closely as we can into the Nigerian scene. For a start we have taken an *Observer* interview each off the Vice-Chancellors of Ife and Lagos Universities, which we shall soon release, followed later by other material. We do not claim that we or the Nigerians have all the answers, or hold the key to the solution of all of Africa's immense problems. We do not even expect that every Ghanaian would agree with our analysis. All we plead for is patience and tolerance with ourselves, both in Accra and Lagos. The future of black Africa is still in the balance; more cooperation and less conflict are the greatest needs among us.

Ghana's Ties with East and Central Africa

ONE of the most successful foreign relation offensives of the Busia administration has been the projected resumption of diplomatic relations between Ghana and Zambia, which had been broken off entirely; and between Ghana and the East African countries of Uganda and Tanzania, which had become frozen since the 1966 coup d'etat.

Although East and Central African governments were agitated alike over the military overthrow of the Nkrumah regime, it was Zambia which appeared most vociferous in contempt and disrespect for Ghana's military government. Zambia's equation of Ghana with Nkrumah was pitiable enough, though understandable. The transport and communication network between Central and Western Africa is so bad that Central Africans have had the misfortune of being politically and culturally isolated in many respects.

What most Central Africans knew (and still know) about West Africa were personalities, rather than ideas and processes. It was no wonder that immediately after the coup in Ghana every Ghanaian in that part of the world was constantly confronted with the tormenting question: Why are Ghanaians so ungrateful? Nkrumah had come to be seen as principally an *African* leader, rather than a *Ghanaian* president. In a sense, therefore, Nkrumah's lavish spending on his *African* image 'paid off'.

One is relieved that Mr. Victor Owusu, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, has been able to arrange for the eventual strengthening of relations with these countries which had been originally hostile. Mr. Owusu must have seen, learnt, and exploited to Ghana's advantage, the fact that in East and Central Africa, even up to now, the best way to win friends is *not* to condemn Nkrumah, whose personal standing is apparently still high there, but rather to inform them about the realities of Ghana's political and economic situation, and the attempts at national reconstruction.

Nixon and Cambodia

PRESIDENT Nixon's announcement of the involvement of U.S. ground trops in Cambodia has shocked many people, including Americans, the world over. After all, has President Nixon not committed himself to, and has he not actually begun to implement, a policy of gradual U.S. troop withdrawals from South Vietnam? Has this not been sufficient evidence of the sincerity of his administration in its declared policy to see a

otiated, rather than a military, settlement of Vietnam War?

ut such reasoning has failed to reckon with imperatives of deep U.S. involvement in th East Asian affairs, as also with the nuances Nixon's April policy-speech on Vietnam. atever the fire and brimstone may be emitted the Fulbrights and the American "doves", U.S. administration—and none more so than headed by a person of Mr. Nixon's convic-s—could afford to go "soft" on the spectre ommunism.

gain, it is true that the Nixon administration gripped in an agonising hesitation about its onse to Gen. Lon Nol's personal call for help nst the two-pronged Viet-Cong-Communist st in Cambodia. And yet, in his April policy-ech, President Nixon offered dark hints as to t form the response, if the decision was ntually reached, would take. In that speech sharply warned Hanoi's leaders of the tremen-s risks they would be running if they so much ndangered the security of U.S. forces in South tnam "by increased military action in Viet-n, in Cambodia, or in Laos". In an address same week to the American Society of Inter-onal Law, the Secretary of State, Mr. William gers, revealed that "...more than 40,000 th Vietnamese and Viet-Cong troops have aded and now occupy Cambodia." And this, said, constituted a violation of the 1954 and 2 Geneva accords, which guaranteed the inde-dence and neutrality of Cambodia. He conti-d: "If states fail to honour their obligations nations have no recourse but to resort to ce to protect their sovereignty and territorial egrity".

Clearly, if these statements had been carefully died, President Nixon's favourable response to n. Lon Nol's appeal would not have come as hock to many people. And so with such a res-se Mr. Nixon has extended the Vietnam war Cambodia in order, as he explained, to shorten t war. Its possible extension to Laos cannot ruled out, if only because the situation there st be equally mucky to the Nixon adminis-tion.

However, it would be naive to conclude that U.S. action was wholly dictated by the offi-l reasons given. For the action, it would seem, s also dictated by the U.S. desire to prop up weak, non-communist and pro-American re-ne of conservative Cambodians, who only cently overthrew the radical and communist-ented regime of Prince Sihanouk. And for the State Department "neutrality" and "non-communism", or "anti-communism", are inter-changeable terms.

The extension of the Vietnam war to Cambodia has certainly added another dangerous twist to U.S. involvement in South-East Asian affairs. It can only serve to prolong rather than end that war quickly. It also strongly promises to add to Mr. Nixon's domestic problems by intensifying political protest over the war. Nor can the extension fail to galvanize the allies of the Indo-Chinese communists into such renewed activity as may dangerously upset world peace. We can only hope that the Nixon administration has not, with this latest decision, reached the point of no return in this long drawn-out-war in Indo-China.

Rallies and Demonstrations

MODERN party political rallies were developed, in Ghana, by the United Gold Coast Convention after its founding in 1946; they were popularised by the Convention Peoples' Party in the years following the Great Schism of June/July 1949. It was in the hands of the C.P.P. propaganda machine that the party rally became "Super-Monster". In the process of its "refinement" it took on the character of demonstrations precisely tooled for specific ends.

"Solidarity" with various causes, peoples or persons; displays of the exact opposite of solidarity-with; the expression of appreciation or of displeasure; the mounting of campaigns of political assassination—these became the order of business. Given time, the "Super-Monster" rally developed into a political-tribal orgy, in which ideological blood was freely and frequently spilled to appease the gods of the "Ah-rena" and set the stage for the next ritual sacrifice of party enemies. By 1964 the rally had become a frenzy of wholly irrational emotions out to kill all "enemies", known or merely suspected: "He who is not for us is against us"!...

The leaders of Ghana's political parties today ought to watch their step. "Super-Monster" rallies are a high political risk. Demonstrations of support and party loyalty in which judges, clergymen, teachers, and any particular classes are by thousands of party followers pilloried and assassinated in effigy and in the intention, for their saying or doing things displeasing to the party, are a positive danger in our politically new and always explosive situation.

We have seen it all before: the "telegrams and messages of 'loyalty' from all over the

country", the bowing and scraping before "the leader", the open invitations, the crowds in the chartered lorries, the frenzy, the "Hozannah!"—the "CRUCIFY HIM!"... We have seen it all before, and the experience was in the main bitter.

Letters

The Sallah Judgement

SIR—We had the misfortune to listen, on 20th April, 1970, to a long lecture on the correct uses of legal freedom in which we heard quotations from Justinian, Lord Denning, and excerpts from British newspapers of Court proceedings relevant to the Sallah type of cases; in short, a brief outline of a minor aspect of the British legal system.

The Prime Minister must know that this place is not Britain. We believe in the competence of our judges all right, and rising to such unnecessary heights of learning, as he often does in his speeches, by echoing Greeks and Englishmen (never an African) does not help in justifying his stand on this matter.

It is now clear that he has lately been caught between the dilemma of making his powers felt and at the same time going by the precepts of his favourite word 'democracy'.

Scarcely a day passes in the life of the Ghanaian without this political creed being thrown at him from various ranges. If the government is committed to democracy as it always proclaims, let it abide by the democratic process of things, which might make it unnecessary to sack 568 persons by giving such superficial reasons as these.

P.O. Box 159 **Agyare Larbi**
Accra

P.M. and the Sallah Case

SIR—The Prime Minister's recent broadcast left many of us sad and disappointed. Sad because his words and manner were reminiscent of the not too distant past, and disappointed, because those of us who were taken in by his utterances before the election certainly expected a different attitude.

If I were a potential foreign investor who had seen his performance on T.V. tonight, I would pack my bags and get out tomorrow. In Africa, when a government begins to get a persecution complex, look out!

P.O. Box 1934 **Marilynne Charles**
Kumasi.

The New Order

SIR—Dr. Busia was obviously at pains to impress upon his audience, at the Liberation Circle, the high sense of responsibility which his government felt for the welfare of all Ghanaians—every Ghanaian—judges, opposition M.Ps., farmers, clerks, policemen, soldiers, and all.

One wonders the extent of his government's sense of responsibility for the welfare of the over 500 public servants whom the government dismissed from office two months ago. These dismissed Ghanaians and their families are starving, and ironically enough, their plight was brought upon them by a government which now claims that "we are responsible for the welfare of every Ghanaian". In the same breath they tell the dismissed workers not to attempt to seek redress at court for wrongful dismissal.

Have these unfortunate brothers of ours lost their Ghanaian citizenship for not being sufficiently "forward looking?"

P.O. Box 1840 **Owusu Yaw**
Accra

Political Demonstrations

SIR—The political demonstrations which were reported to have been held in some parts of the country recently in support of the government's stand concerning the Supreme Court's judgement in the Sallah case remind one of the "relics" of the pre-coup regime. Most of us were witnesses of spontaneous and calculated demonstrations during the Nkrumah regime, notably the one against the acquittal of Mr. Adamafio and others.

One may ask what these demonstrations achieved. At home, they went a long way in hardening the dictator's heart and encouraged him to oppress his victims with more ruthlessness than before; abroad they only exposed the government and our country to criticism and ridicule.

One wonders why even today some personnel in our public service and workers in other establishments both in the public and private sectors of the economy should take time off duty to demonstrate for the government

I think it behoves the unemployable "unbiis" to engage in this exercise, probably in order to catch the eye of the 'big men" in the government or its party. In any case political demonstrations, whether for or against the government, are uncalled for, for they cast a slur on the country's image.

I would therefore like in a humble way to remind the leaders of the government, the Progress Party for that matter, that many of their people who in the past staged demonstrations either of their own volition or on the promptings of party propagandists in that regime, are among the rank and file of the Progres Party today. And since adulation, sycophancy and sometimes the so-called 'unflinching support' were some of the causes of what went wrong in Ghana, they need to view such actions of the masses or supporters with caution. I may add that the Prime Minister and his lieutenants have multitudinous admirers who are keen to see their government succeed; however, these admirers need not sing their hero's or master's praises.

P.O. Box 129 **Eugene K. Owiafe**
Winneba

The Kumasi Resignations

SIR—The circumstances surrounding the recent resignation of 24 engineering lecturers of the Kumasi University of Science and Technology, came rather surprisingly to many people in Ghana.

Perhaps that was the only alternative line of action the lecturers could take after waiting for weeks upon weeks without any signs of getting their grievances solved.

But it appears that the decision taken by these dons, to say the least, was rather harsh. For, in a country where there is already a shortage of qualified Ghanaian engineering lecturers, one expected these dons to show some sort of patriotic feeling or sympathy for our present economic situation.

It is hoped that a judicious compromise would soon be reached, so as to avoid the deepening of such crises

in the country's universities.

Kokomlemle **E. Y. Frempong-Mensah**
Accra

Reviving Pan-Africanism

SIR—The **Legon Observer** trickles irregularly into Akrokerri, so I have only just seen Mr. Obatala's article on "The Need for Reviving Pan-Africanism" (**L.O.** V/3), and would like to comment, if it not too late.

His starting point seems to be that the concept of an "African" should be extended to include not only those currently native to the geographical continent of Africa, but also American Negroes. This is fair enough: one can formulate any number of definitions of an "African" which might either include or exclude, according to one's own criteria, such groups as Egyptians, Kenyans of Asian origin and Africaners. However, to this basically reasonable premise he adds the asumption that all those who fall within his definition are of a sufficient cultural similarity to be able to act as a unit, and this is surely where his argument begins to crumble.

Firstly, he ignores the historical truism that for centuries many of our human races have been in a state of flux and migration, and that if the historical perspective is long enough, the definition of a member of almost any group of people may be ambiguous.

Secondly he ignores, to the detriment of his argument, the fact that the peoples of "geographical" Africa are now widely diverse socially, physically and linguistically, whether or not they were more homogeneous millenia ago—diverse both when one considers the whole continent and when one looks within the artificial national boundaries.

He oversimplifies in other ways too. His concept of the sharing with African countries of the skills of Afro-Americans is a generous one, but is there really such a clear cut distinction between this and what he terms as the degrading "charity of the white western world"? Again, he claims that Africans "at home and abroad" are facing "the common enemies of poverty, backwardness and economic exploitaion". But here too, I think, one has to insist that it is not so simple; the poverty of, say, a northern Ghanaian farmer and an unemployed urban Afro-American may have similar effects on their way of life, but the causes and possible solutions of their problems are quite unrelated.

Lastly, I think the final section of Mr. Obatala's article is rather depressing—I mean his attempt to dictate to African historians and artists what theme they should choose. This is a major topic which cannot be gone into deeply here, but he should realise that the artist, whatever his medium, writes, paints or carves whatever concerns **him**, and if, say, a Ghanaian playwright chooses to write about some conflict in local history, and not about a "Pan-African" theme (if such a thing can exist), this has no direct relation to the quality and value of the work he ultimately produces. Why should a slayer of Europeans be a greater, or a lesser, cultural hero than a layer of Africans?

I hope I have not given the impression of being out of sympathy with Mr. Obatala's hope of greater international co-operation and understanding; any activity, whether informal or under the auspicious of a formal organization, which leads towards this is surely worthwhile. But it does seem a pity that he should base his ideas on a mythical racial solidarity.

P.O. Box 32 **Michael Chandler**
Akrokerri

Play Review

"KONGI'S HARVEST"

By K. E. Senanu

WHEN I reviewed the George Wilson/Bertie Opoku production of Wole Soyinka's **The Lion and the Jewel** nearly three years ago, I complained of the lack of purposeful training for those who might lay the foundations of a virile popular theatre in Ghana. At the risk of sounding pedantic, I should like to say that the recent Wilson/Opoku production of **Kongi's Harvest** confirms some of the fears I expressed in 1967 and makes more urgent the need for action at governmental level, in order to rescue the parlous situation Messrs Wilson and Opoku have had to contend with in the production of **Kongi's Harvest***.

On two nights when I saw the production, Mr. Wilson stepped out, after the final curtain, to make a heart-rending appeal for financial support. One gathers that the institutionalized help which should come from the Arts Council is either denied or simply not available to talent such as Wilson's. It is a matter of great regret that such a situation should be allowed to mar the work of one so dedicated as Wilson is to making the theatre thrive in Ghana. To my mind to make a success of a play as difficult as **Kongi's Harvest,** Wilson needed to be spared the worry over production cost.

A Sign of Sensitivity

For the decision to produce **Kongi's Harvest** is, by itself, an indication of Wilson's continuous growth as a director, as well as a sign of his sensitivity to the interest of his audience. **Kongi's Harvest,** as many of the reviews in the daily press have pointed out, mirrors some of the appalling events which were well known in this country before the February Revolution. And, naturally this should interest a Ghanaian audience. But one must add that Wole Soyinka's play is not merely a picture of Nkrumah's grotesque attempts to exploit traditional uses to prop himself up as a messianic leader. And therefore much as one sympathises with George Wilson's interpretation of the play, which identifies Kongi almost entirely with Nkrumah, one is disturbed by the fact that this identification has prevented Wilson from giving the necessary emphasis to other aspects of the play.

For example, to allow the Carpenters' Brigade the degree of good feeling they enjoyed in the production when preparing the stage for Kongi's arrival at the harvest scene (while reminiscent of the enthusiasm of the Builders' Brigade on such occasions in Nkrumah's day) is to destroy any suggestion of nervousness on the part of Kongi's supporters, and to eliminate the hints of an assassination attempt in the offing. But the text requires that this suggestion should be there, to make credible Daodu's and Segi's abortive attempt.

In spite of such lapses, which result from seeing Kongi as Nkrumah's image, one ought to concede that a great deal of the vitality of the production derives from this implicit identification of the situation

---

*** The production was put on at the Drama Studio in Accra from 9th to 18th April, and from 28th April to 1st May.**

in **Kongi's Harvest** with events in Nkrumah's Ghana. A number of the actors found it easier, no doubt, to relate themselves to this aspect of the play and to bring their affective memory to bear on their roles. Memorable roles, like that of the Organising Secretary, played with aplomb by George Wilson himself; of Kongi, played by that dapper veteran Turkson-Ocran; of the members of the Reformed Awerri Fraternity, played with cunning competence by people like Villars and Botchway, struck one as felicitous

But the play, as a whole, demands a venture and the winning of laurels in a **mode** different from the kind of success with which the roles listed above were played. This is a mode approached tentatively by Kofi Middleton-Mends as Daodu and, intermittently, by Evans Hunter as Oba Danlola. I have no doubt in my mind that in **Kongi's Harvest** Soyinka approaches poetic drama. And the obvious 'difficulty' of this text is that the language which Soyinka uses gets in the way of any realistic acting, and demands an elaboration on realism, an emphatic structuring through rhythm and expressive gesture; demands a quality of production which one wants to call **style.** I believe Soyinka was himself cunningly aware of this need for style. In an ironic reference to the traditional uses upon which the Reformed Awerri Fraternity wishes to pattern itself, the first member of the Fraternity remarks,

> 'Oh, I do admit they (our predecessors) were a little old fashioned, but they had er . . . . a certain style. Yes, I think style is the word I want.'

And **style** is the thing one kept hankering for in the opening scene of the play called 'Hemlock'.

Difficulties with Language

Soyinka writes a predominantly trimeter verse with a strong dose of traditional proverbs and aphorisms. To make such language the natural speech for the actors is not easy. The words seem to get in the way of natural behaviour and realistic acting. But Soyinka builds his verse against the background of the rhythm of the gbedu drum. The greater part of the opening scene is therefore a **lyrical drama** of the Oba drinking the bitter cup (the hemlock) from Kongi's hand. And the style or mode of play required is of lyrical verse controlled by the expressive rhythm of the drum and the dance. Some amount of the **literal meaning** of the verse will inevitably be lost, but the rhythm of the drum and the dance would establish the lyrical feeling of deprivation built into the scene. One missed this from the Wilson/Opoku production.

A similar need for style is obvious in the scenes set in Segi's Bar, and especially in the lines given to Daodu. In effect, Soyinka contrasts the ceremonious life of tradition (How but in custom and in ceremony

Are innocence and beauty born)

in the scenes dominated by the Oba and his heirs, with the realistic but chilling scenes of Kongi and his henchmen. The warmth of the scenes between Daodu and Segi also require the lyricism of the opening scene.

Thus **Kongi's Harvest** makes demands on directors and actors who have, by long practice and by training of their talents, learnt to create beauty or style as the blossoming of life. They need to dig down to the life behind the beautifully wrought verse of the play. One is tempted to say this is a play which can only successfully be done by a repertory group, not by a group harrassed by mundane problems of financing the production.

And it is because such examples of stylization, of beauty as the blossoming of life, are available to us in the dance (when seen in an organic relationship with the verbal drama) that one regrets the lack of official patronage for a talent like Wilson's. He has made the best use of resources at his disposal. But what a plenitude would **Kongi's Harvest** have been if Wilson had actors and actresses with the trained ability to make both their voices and gestures expressive.

There was a glaring demonstration of this limitation in the final scene of the production.This is the scene in which Kongi is presented with the head of one of his victims instead of the pounded harvest yam on a tray. Soyinka asks for a harvest orgy in the text, a dance stylised enough to include the passing of the fatal tray from dancer to dancer until it is placed before Kongi. This climactic scene suffers most in the production. In fact the dance here became merely decorative and the tray was carried by Segi and deposited without any of the appalling irony built into the scene.

I believe I have given enough reasons already why one couldn't expect more than the success one gets in the realistic scenes of the production. But one is left asking, aren't there any funds available to the Arts Council for people like Wilson to get down to a thorough job of work on productions such as **Kongi's Harvest?**

News Items

Accra, May 4

Vice-Chancellor arrives in Budapest

THE Vice-Chancellor of the University of Science and Technology, Dr. E. Evan-Anfom, has arrived in Budapest, Hungary, to explore the possibility of recruiting staff for his University. An official statement from the Hungarian Embassy said here today that Dr. Evans-Anfom has already held discussions in this connection with officials of TESCO, an Organisation for International Technical and Scientific Co-operation.

UN Consultant Killed by Thugs

MR. Louis Cohen, 45, a United Nations Consultant on Secondment to the Public Works Department, died at the Korle Bu Hospital here at the week-end after he had been attacked by thieves at his Tesano residence. A Tesano Police spokesman said that Mr. Cohen had earlier on the day of his attack dismissed his night watchman. The police have mounted a search for the whereabouts of the watchman.

Washington, May 4

Senator Kennedy on his Political Future

SENATOR Edward Kennedy yesterday re-affirmed his position that he would not stand for the Presidency in 1972. Making his first comment on his political future since the release of the transcript of the inquest on Mary Jo Kopechne, in a radio interview broadcast here last night, Senator Kennedy said that he would neither seek nor accept the Democratic Party Presidential nomination. He emphasised: "I would not accept a draft and I have indicated as clearly, completely and precisely as the English language allows, that I would not be a candidate . . . for the Presidency."

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EDITORIAL

A NATION'S PROGRESS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In our next issue

The Presidency and the Constitution

by Kwame Afreh

Politics

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

By

Publius Gamesu

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

The Roots of the Problem

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

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

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

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

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

Undesirable Situation

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

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

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

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

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

"Ethnic Arithmetic"

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

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

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

Disguised Tribalism

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

> One special evil of tribalism [he said] is this. When we come to consider even Ministerial appointments, let us be frank, we must make sure that we must get somebody from the North, somebody from the Volta Region, somebody from the Western Region and from all the Regions. This is true, and if you look at it carefully it is actually an expression of tribalism. It is an expression of tribalism in disguise because all people from the North belong to a certain tribal group in one place. All people in the Western Region belong to a certain tribe, and in the Volta Region, they belong to a certain tribe. We may not be able to avoid this practice for the moment, but the danger is this; we may have the best persons in a particular party at a given time all coming from say the Western Region—that is, the cream of the party. But because of these tribal considerations, we are going to deprive ourselves of the use of the best people in the party and we may have to bypass the best persons in the Western Region to take a second grade person from say the Central Region just because we want to take account of tribal considerations. These are practical facts. When it comes to considering certain people for one post, what people normally think is, 'well, we have given the top post to somebody . . .' Let us say we want to appoint a director and a deputy director of a company. Several people have applied for these posts and we have given the post of director to somebody from say Brong-Ahafo. We now need somebody who will be a deputy director but we have another person also from Brong-Ahafo who has about the same qualification as the director. Is it not obvious that but for . . . tribal considerations the person to be appointed as deputy director is that person from Brong-Ahafo? But we have convinced ourselves already that if we do this, people will say this and that and so we must go to the Northern Region to appoint another person who comes number three in order of merit. In so doing, we are depriving ourselves of the services of the person who comes from Brong-Ahafo. These are things which, I think, we must guard against. (23/3/70, Columns 941-42.)

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

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

OBURONI MUNTU AND AFRICAN IDEOLOGY

By

Modibo T. Ocran

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

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

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

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

Means vs Ends

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

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

Every society needs an ideology. Indeed every society *has* an ideology. The difference between those countries (such as the Soviet Union and Peoples' China) with which we tend to associate ideologies, and the others, is essentially that the former countries are more articulate, more explicit, more "noisy", if you will, about their ideologies than the others. Mr. Richard Goodwin, one-time adviser to the late President John F. Kennedy, in his analysis of The Shape of American Politics, has challenged anyone who thinks that the United States has no ideology, to approach the U.S. Congress with measures and ideas that sound sufficiently "communistic", and watch the fury that will erupt from the hearts of most Congressmen.

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

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

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

Some Questionable Ingredients

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

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

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

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We love the little darlings. Even when they empty mum's handbag, paint lipstick on the seat and strip down to their nappies.

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As we said, we love loving the little ones, and what you love doing you do awfully well.

Of course! Only the little ones may play with Mickey Mouses.

Lufthansa

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

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

Shattered Values

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

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

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

Not Really Unique

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

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

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

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

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

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MANAGING DIRECTOR.

Africa

INSIDE THE APARTHEID KINGDOM — LETTER TO A FRIEND

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

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

Curious European Faces

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

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

That Communist Woman

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

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

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

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

Masters and Subjects

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

Eventually the driver, another of the big, blond, boastful-looking men one saw about, got in and pressed the button to shut the door. We were soon on a new-looking, very up-to-date motorway, quite resembling the one which leads from London Airport. There were the same clean, bright factories, mainly manufacturing consumer goods, to be seen at frequent intervals. It was obvious that one was in a well-developed industrial country. The terrain was more open than that around London Airport, however, and had a rough, unfinished look, as if everything had only just got there. With pleasure I caught glimpses of the red soil of Africa from time to time, and began to feel that this busy, self-confident European society was superimposed on something quite different and much older, that was not taking part in the bustle or the wealth.

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

Marking the "Coloured"

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

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

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

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

The Invisible Barriers

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

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

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

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

"Ah, That's the Place"!

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

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

moment's hesitation.

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

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

It is Growing, Growing . . .

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

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

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CENTRE FOR CIVIC EDUCATION

STAFF APPOINTMENTS

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

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

Qualifications:- Candidates must have:-

(a) A good educational background up to School Certificate or Teacher's Certificate 'A' or its equivalent plus at least five (5) years' post qualification experience in organisation work, preferably at Regional or National level.

(b) Should be of a pleasant disposition, have initiative, drive, integrity and high sense of responsibility.

(c) Have ability to interest Urban as well as Rural communities in their civic rights and responsibilities.

(d) Have good knowledge of Frafra and at least one other dialect spoken in the Region.

Age:- Not more than 45 years.

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

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

(a) To be in constant touch with all Sections of the Community in the Region and to liaise with the Chiefs and people in rural and urban areas, for the formation of discussion groups, i.e. Civic Clubs.

(b) To be responsible for arranging speakers for Seminars, Courses, Lectures and for inviting people to serve on the panel of speakers for the Region.

B. DISTRICT ORGANISERS (For all Regions)

Qualifications:- Candidates must:-

(a) Have a good general educational background preferably up to School Certificate or Teachers Certificate 'A' or its equivalent plus three (3) years' post qualification practical experience in organisational work, preferably at District level.

(b) Have good knowledge of at least two dialects spoken in the Region to which he will be posted.

Age:- Not more than 40 years.

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

NOTE:- A GOOD KNOWLEDGE (ORAL AND WRITTEN) OF THE MAIN DIALECT OF THE DISTRICT TO WHICH THE APPLICANT INTENDS TO BE POSTED IS ESSENTIAL.

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

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

Qualifications:- Candidates must:-

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

Age:- Not more than 40 years.

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

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

D. RESEARCH OFFICER

Qualifications:- Candidates must:-

(a) Be Graduates in the Social Sciences or have a post-graduate qualification in the Social Sciences.

(b) Have knowledge in one or more Ghanaian languages.

(c) Have experience in Research.

Duties:-

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

Age:- Not more than 45 years.

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

E. RESEARCH WRITER

Qualifications:- Candidates must:-

(a) Be holders of at least G.C.E. Advanced Level Certificate or its equivalent;

(b) be able to read and write two (one in the case of graduates) or more Ghanaian languages; and

(c) have a flair for writing.

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

Age:- Not more than 40 years.

Salary:- Range 45, 50—N₵1488—N₵1,740; N₵1,812—N₵2,124.

F. STENOGRAPHER SECRETARY

Qualifications:- Applicants must:-

(a) have passed at the Ordinary level in

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

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

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

Not more than 35 years.

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

TENOGRAPHER GRADE I

fications:- Applicants must:-

a) have passed at the Ordinary Level in the ... paper of the General Certificate ... the

at the ...
minutes, take shorthand at the ...
100 words a minute for 5 minutes and possess a certificate issued by the Principal, Government Secretarial School to that effect.

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

:- General secretarial work, taking minutes at meetings, typing confidential minutes and reports, and performance of other related duties.
Not more than 30 years.

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

ECUTIVE OFFICER
(For Regional Offices and Headquarters)

ications:- Candidates must have:-

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

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

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

Age:- Not more than 35 years.

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

I. TYPIST GRADE I
(For Regional Offices and Headquarters)

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

Duties: General clerical and administrative du-

... years.

K. ...

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

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

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

No Exaggeration

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

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

Yours, in deep concern,
Peter

Education

EDUCATION IN RURAL AREAS

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

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

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

The Rural Economy

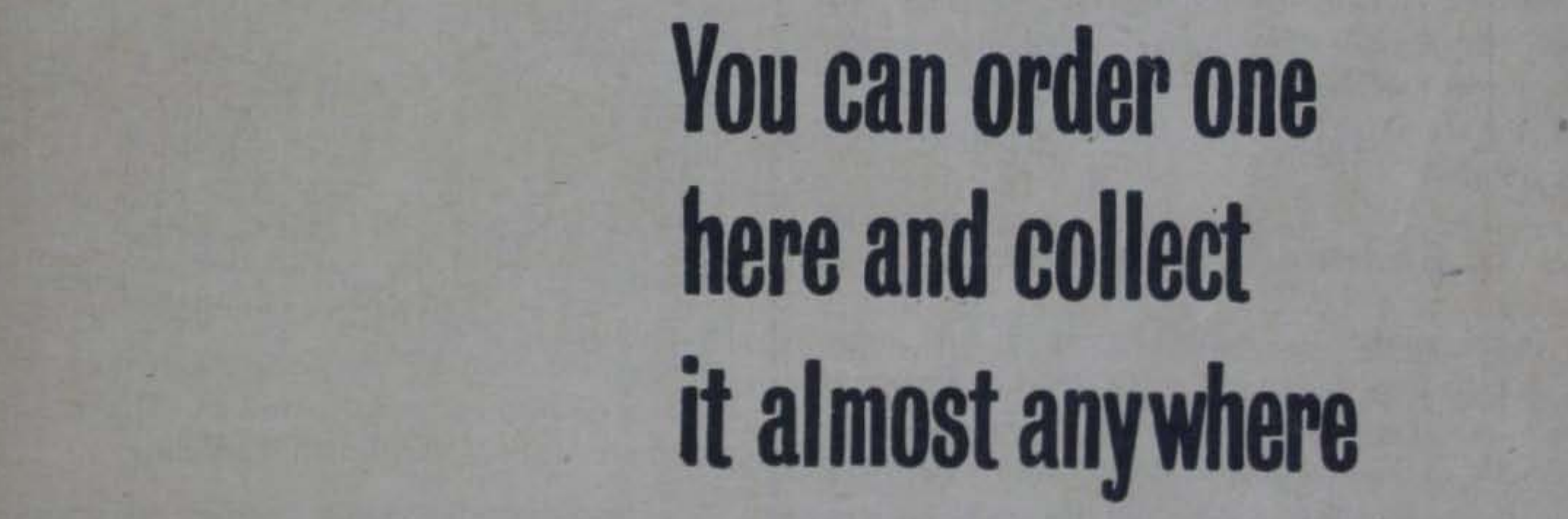
The economies of most of the developing countries are likely to remain predominantly agrarian and raw-material producing for some time, and, since two-thirds or more of the total population earn their living from the land, the highest priority should be given to developing the rural economy and improving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

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



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

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

Evidence of Rural Poverty

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

> The poor countries have neither the material resources nor the human skills in sufficient quantity to carry through some of the policies they begin. People who were bitter in landless poverty, find themselves just as poor on land holdings which they cannot manage, because the instruction and cash credit have not caught up with the politics. All over the poor world young people with education they cannot use, because there are no jobs for them, are beginning to look a more dangerous problem than illiteracy.

The evidence of rural poverty and underemployment together with the unwillingness of youth and able-bodied adults to remain in rural areas under existing conditions, the increase in migration to the already overcrowded towns and cities, and the growing problem of the unemployed school-leaver with little or no training for practical work, show up the failure of education to prepare citizens for useful adult life. The only mitigating factor is that the failure may not entirely be placed at the door of the educationists.

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

The Inherent Problems

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

(1) that dependent peoples preferred to copy the educational patterns of metropolitan countries, and

(2) that the colonizing powers deliberately held back technical and scientific training from their subject peoples.

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

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

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

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

Utilitarian Aspects

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

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

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

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

A Matter of Emphasis

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

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

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

Editor's Note:

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

Institute of African Studies, Legon

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Observer Notebook

Dahomey: Now a Presidential Troika

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

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

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

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

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

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

But Dahomey's basic e[illegible]blems will stare the new administrati[illegible]e from the word go. Her swarms of [illegible]vil servants who had to pack back ho[illegible] length and breadth of Franco-phone [illegible]e marathon independence harvest of [illegible]60s do not

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seem to have made much difference to the problems.

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

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

Banda and Apartheid

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

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

Apparently, many Malawians still regard Banda as god-sent: the type of hero worship and adulation showered on him in his country would cause a West African to marvel. But these are not entirely inexplicable. Malawi is poor, and has a fragile economy which is inextricably dependent on that of Rhodesia, Zambia, and South Africa. Since Zambia began to doubt the Africanness of Banda, Malawians have no longer had free access to the labour market of that country as they used to do, especially when the Central African federation was still in existence. Hence Banda's desire to lick the boots of Ian Smith, Vorster, and even Portuguese leaders whose policies Banda finds to be not too bad as to cause political repulsion.

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

Ghana and the Games

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

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

What IS the matter with Ghana now?

Letters

The New Order

IR—The letter written by Owusu Yaw in the **Legon bserver** (V/10) under the above caption is provoca-ve enough to require a rejoinder. Owusu Yaw ques-ons the government's sense of responsibility for the elfare of Ghanaians because it has dismissed over 500 orkers, leaving their families to suffer.

I wonder if Owusu Yaw wanted the government to tain these workers, whom it no longer wished to ork with. That is, to him, the economic well-being the whole nation should be sacrificed for the nefit of only a handful of workers and their families.

What the New Order tells us is that everybody should alize his responsibilities to the whole nation and help uplift the living standards of the people through rd work.

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

T.T.C. **Samuel Akwaboah**
inneba

Should Nkrumah be Pardoned?

R—Mr. Kofi Dake's letter on Nkrumah's role in story (**L.O.** V/8) must have given Ghanaians some ing to think about. The letter was factual and thought ovoking.

Immediately after the coup, everything which bore e name of Nkrumah was given a new name: Statues Nkrumah were demolished and their pieces given workers-on as souvenirs. All this was proper imme-ately after the coup, and we were all too happy re-icing over our newly won freedom.

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

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

mmonwealth Hall **E. G. Atta-Appiah**
gon

The Sallah Case

R—The point at issue in this case is a fundamental nstitutional question that calls for very serious debate, d it is indeed a pity that the arguments have raged re around personalities than around the cons-ution. What the Supreme Court was required to do, it is empowered by the Constitution to do, was give us an interpretation of Section 9(1) of the Transitional Provisions of the Constitution. This it has done, and then related it to Sallah's position.

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

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

P.O. Box 1840 **Owusu Yaw**
Accra

Cecil Rhodes and Rhodesia

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

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

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

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

Accra **Ike Minta**

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

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

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

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

Avenida Hotel **Robert Okorley**
Accra.

Cape Coast University College

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

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

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

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

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

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

Sekondi College **Cab Addae**
P.O. Box 190
Sekondi

Opposition Paper

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

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

I can immediately see two objections to a deal of this kind. One, the kind of magnanimity underlying this gesture is not only rare but unlikely to happen on this side of the grave. Two, I doubt whether any self-respecting journalist who understands the function of an Opposition Paper will be a party to this guilded hypocrisy. Surely the whole point of an Opposition Paper is that it must be independent of government patronage, either in the form of prestige or money, unless Mr. Oppong-Agyare is confusing criticism with its bastard kinsman called permitted criticism. An Opposition Paper financed by the government in any part of the World will sooner or later degenerate into a newspaper that is paid and silenced.

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

University College of Cape Coast **S. K. Opoku**
Cape Coast

Salary Increasses

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

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

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

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

Advanced Teacher's Training College **Ebenezer King**
Winneba

Mills Odoi and P & T Technicians

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

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

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

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

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

Prince C. T. Achina
P & T Engineering
Accra

These Multiple Taxes

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

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

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

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

No Certificates From S.I.C.?

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

Akwasi Darko
House No. D102/4
Knutsford Avenue
Accra

Play Review

THE MIKADO
A Play Review by
Jawa Apronti

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

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

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

The Star of the Show

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Miscellaneous

THE JUDICIARY AND THE LAW SCHOOL IN KONTOPIAATKROM

By

Kwame Kontopiaat

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

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

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

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

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

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

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EDITORIAL

CHIEFTAINCY ON TRIAL

THIS WEEK Ghanaians have been mourning the death of Nana Osei Agyeman Prempeh II, which sad event was officially announced the week before. Undoubtedly, the late Prempeh, who died at the ripe age of 78, was the incumbent of one of the most illustrious of traditional positions, not only in Ghana but throughout black Africa.

Although historically the concerns of the occupant of the Golden Stool have tended to be focused more on reinforcing and consolidating the gains and the strength of the Ashanti nation, the late Otumfuo had the mixed fortune of living at the cross roads of two historical epochs. It is not easy to live through three generations. Like any other chief in tribal-orientated social structures, the Otumfuo's first duty was naturally to his tribal people. Unlike his predecessors, however, he was also caught in the whirlwind of nation building. Even during the trying days of the secessionist National Liberation Movement, the Otumfuo never refused to combine his tribal leadership with his *Ghanaianness*. The shrewdness and tact with which he conceived — and reacted to — his dual orientations of governing his tribe and serving the nation may be regarded as the most enduring and at the same time chequered tribute that can be paid him.

The *Observer* ventures to predict that, with the passing away of the Asantehene, a new dimension in our conception of chieftaincy will certainly be experienced in Ghana. The Asantehene was, of course, not the only chief in the country; nor, indeed, could one regard him as the most typical representative of the 'medievalists'. His various pronouncements on education and on social welfare, and his acute knowledge of world events which he revealed to those who came in contact with him, are well remembered. But clearly the constitutional barometer of the future of chieftaincy tended to revolve around very few chiefs in Ghana — with the Asantehene as one of the most prominent.

For instance, it is reported that the Otumfuo died in Christ, and had the last sacraments administered to him, which tells much about the wind of change in the notions of chiefdom. The glare of publicity surrounding his death— being laid in state at his Manhyia palace, and at the St. Cyprian's Anglican Church for *all* to see; the mild temper with which the palace executioners have performed their otherwise excruciating functions: these and other circumstances indicate not only the increasing secularization of the office of the chief, but also the fact that men's conceptions of traditional statuses and roles have undergone drastic

changes.

For some time now, Ghanaians have been debating the relevance of chieftaincy in contemporary society. When the solemnity and passion of Otumfuo's death and funeral are over, the debate is bound to resume in an even sharper and more acute form. Although the position of chiefs is guaranteed in our Constitution, this in no way prevents a reappraisal of this aspect of our national life in changing Ghanaian society. The original role of the chief as a military warrior, which found fullest expression in the Ashanti kings of olden times, is now wholly inconceivable of expression in modern society.

The religious nature of the chief's office, as the hub around which the ritual life of the people revolved, is now undergoing a deflection in significance. The position of the chief as the repository of cultural integration and continuity of tradition and lore — this is no longer possible in transitional communities where values are in flux.

To ask what Ghanaians want to do with their chiefs is to make an enquiry which admits of no single, simple answer. Chieftaincy has for long been part of our traditional culture. Thus, the future significance of chieftaincy will be evaluated largely by, among other factors, the type of men who occupy the stools and skins, and their understanding of the changing nature of culture, and of their roles in nation building. This will be the test of the resilience of this institution.

It is a credit to the late Asantehene that he was able to grapple with the most difficult task of reconciling the values of the past with the cultural imperatives of the sociological present.

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Politics

THE ROLE OF THE PRESIDENT UNDER THE CONSTITUTION

By

Kwame Afreh

UNDER the Constitution the President is expected to play an important and active role in the development of democratic institutions in this country. The executive authority of Ghana is vested in him; all executive action is taken in his name. He is the Head of State, First Citizen of the Nation and the Commander-in-Chief. In the performance of his duties the President is not answerable to the National Assembly or liable to any proceedings in any Court. While in office, he is not liable to any civil or criminal proceedings whatsoever in any Court.

There is nothing original or extraordinary about any of these provisions; they are found in most constitutions all over the world. They confer only formal powers or are intended to preserve the dignity and honour of the Offices of President.

A Father-Figure

The person who occupies this august office must be a person of standing in society. Many would like to see him as the symbol of the nation or father-figure, above politics, yet able through his wisdom and influence to calm political passions, and deal with crises, check political excesses and keep public officers within the bounds of decency. He must not be too young: the Constitution says he should not be less than 40 years old. He is not expected to be as popular or powerful as the Prime Minister or even the Leader of the Opposition: yet he must be of enough standing to win not less than half of the votes of an Electoral College consisting of M.Ps, representatives of local government bodies and of Chiefs. In theory at least he must be well-known and respected in all parts of the country and in all sections of the society. But the Constitution expects something more: he must be capable of exercising power, if need be, contrary to the wishes of the Prime Minister and his Cabinet.

This is what makes the position and authority of the President of Ghana rather unique at least in Africa. He is not an executive President. But he is not a purely ceremonial head either. His position is somewhere between the two extremes. His position was summed up by the Constitutional provision:

Certain important functions normally associated



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with and vested in the Executive will be given to the President, sometimes assisted by the Council of State. Of course the executive authority of the state will formally be vested in the President and all executive acts of the Government are to be taken expressly in his name. Real executive power, however, will be with the Cabinet, but the exceptions to this rule will be important.

What are these important exceptions? Under the Constitution the President as a rule acts on the advice of the Cabinet or a Minister acting under the general authority of the Cabinet. But in specific cases, mostly in appointing certain public officers, the President is required to act in *consultation* with or on the *advice* of some person or authority other than the cabinet, or in his own *discretion*.

Cases where the President is required to act in Consultation with bodies other than the Cabinet.

In appointing some of the most important public officers the President is only required to act in consultation with the Council of State. Among such officers are the following:

1. The Auditor-General.
2. The Sole Commissioner or the Chairman and the other members of any Commission established by the Constitution; e.g. The Electoral Commissioner; The Chairman and other members of the Public Service Commission, and the Chairman and two members of the Lands Commission;
3. The Ombudsman;
4. The Chairman and the other members of the governing body of any institution established by an Act of Parliament or out of public funds for wireless broadcasting, Television, the press or other media, for mass communication, or information—eg. G.B.C., G.N.A., Graphic Corporation, New Times Ltd.
5. The Chief Justice.

The Chief of Defence Staff is appointed by the President acting in accordance with the *advice* of the Council of State.

Theoretically, where the President is only required to act in consultation with a body or person he is not bound to take the opinion or advice of that body or person. The final decision lies with him. The Council of State, which is part of the Presidential Household, is only there to help him to come to a correct decision. This is the theory. In practice, it may be different.

No wise President would ignore the views and wishes of the Prime Minister and his government. It will be rare indeed for the President to appoint some one in the teeth of opposition from the government; if he does he must be prepared for a showdown, a serious constitutional crisis.

But apart from this, much will depend upon how far the Council of State is independent of the party in power. If most of the members belong to one party and are active, leading members of that party, the President is likely to receive one-sided advice. And should there be any serious clash between the President and the Cabinet over an appointment, the majority of the Council are likely to desert him. The Council of State need not consist almost entirely of members of one party. Apart from the Prime Minister, the Speaker of the National Assembly, the Leader of the Opposition and the President of the National House of Chiefs, other members are appointed by the President in his discretion, subject to the condition that he should appoint some members from specified classes of people, e.g. ex-Presidents, ex-PMs, Chiefs, and women. By careful selection the President can ensure that as far as possible the most important interests and political views are represented, and at the same time that the Council is independent of political control.

Political Patronage

Whatever may be the practical problems it is important that the President and his Council should be above partisan interests. There are good reasons why certain officers are appointed by the President only in consultation with his own Council of State. Our experience under the old regime has taught us that once certain sensitive positions fall under the patronage of politicians the road to dictatorship is open.

We may now briefly compare what we have said above with those cases where the President must act in accordance with the advice of the Prime Minister or some other person. The governor and other members of the governing body of state-owned banks, the chairman and other members of the Council for Higher Education, and the chairman and other members of the governing body of statutory corporations other than those for information, the heads of the Police and Prison Services, are appointed by the President acting in accordance with the advice of the Prime Minister. Judges are appointed by the President

acting in accordance with the advice of the Judicial Council. In such cases the President has to appoint the person chosen by the Prime Minister or the Judicial Council, as the case may be. These cases also show that in those in which the President has only to consult the Council of State, the final decision lies with him.

The words "consultation", "advice" and "discretion" were chosen deliberately. The Constitutional Commission and the Constituent Assembly obviously thought it would be dangerous to entrust certain appointments to politicians. They obviously believed that all those fine words about free elections, freedom of expression, and the Rule of Law, would be meaningless if those entrusted with the direct responsibility of implementing and safeguarding them were nothing more than the puppets of politicians. It is only when such public officers are appointed by impartial, non-partisan bodies that we can really be sure that they are independent and that the best persons are appointed. In the absence of such a guarantee, it may not be enough that those public officers enjoy security of tenure of office.

The Necessary Safeguards

Since the return to civilian rule we have focused all our attention on the powers of the Prime Minister and his Cabinet. It is right that we should pay such attention to the performance of the Prime Minister and his ministers. They have the power; it is upon them that much of our economic and social well-being depends. But we should not forget the role that the President has been assigned in the preservation and defence of our democracy. It is a most crucial role. It is time we began to study how the Presidency operates.

Upon the first holders of the President's Office lies the responsibility of ensuring that the role, the power and authority assigned to the President under the Constitution are in no way diminished. If they allow a convention to get established that *all* Presidential powers *should* be exercised in accordance with the advice of the Cabinet, if they allow the Presidency to become a purely ceremonial office, they would be creating a situation which some unscrupulous politicians at some future date would use to establish, if not naked dictatorship, at least a perverted and hollow form of democracy.

International

AN AFRICAN IN LATIN-AMERICA

By E. Ofori-Akyea

MOST people generally know Latin America because of such topics as the unstable political situations, coups d'etat, Cuba, or Che Guevara. Any enquirer on Latin America is most unlikely to be told that the continent is bristling with political activity; that Argentina, for example, produces a considerable amount of wine and cattle; that Brazil comprises almost half the total land area of the continent and is a potential world power; or that the United States is seen as an imperialist power in Latin America.

Latin America is so vast that it may not make much sense to talk of the whole continent. It would be like trying to talk about the whole of Africa !

What is attempted in this essay is to provide some observations which apply specifically to Uruguay, Argentina and Brazil, but which to a lesser or greater extent applies to the whole continent.

Great Mobility

In certain significant ways Latin America is more homogeneous than Africa. For one thing, the Spanish invasion was very thorough, so the culture is Latin with a South American flavour. This means that Spanish as a language has spread throughout the continent. With the exception of Brazil where its population of about 90 million people speak nothing but Portuguese, Guyana, and Haiti, the rest of the continent is Spanish speaking.

This makes for a certain mobility to be possible on the continent. Perhaps the most famous example is to say that Che Guevara was born and educated in Rosanio, Buenos Aires, but he moved out of Argentina and applied his experience to the Cuban situation and helped in the Cuban revolution. Besides it is common to find Chileans working in Uruguay, Bolivians in Argentina, Paraguayans in Peru, and so on. The closeness of Spanish to Portuguese makes the communication barrier very insignificant indeed. In fact, Spanish and Portuguese are mutually intelligible.

The Spanish "Conquerors" made sure to eliminate the Indians from the centre of the

cultural place, and to impose their own language. They actually attempted to transport the Spanish culture to their new home and in this they succeeded. There are no significant populations of Indians left anywhere on the continent except in Bolivia and in Peru. Elsewhere the people are a mixture of Germans, Spanish, Portuguese, and Italians.

In Brazil, however, there is a substantial black population who have contributed in no small measure to the enrichment of the Brazilian culture and personality.

Latin America presents a wide spectrum of experiences, and it is difficult for the visitor not to be overwhelmed by these.

One begins to wonder if one is in Europe or America. The coca-cola signs are more numerous in Latin America than anywhere else I have seen; and the dress patterns look to the north. Besides there is the appalling institution of "country clubs" which is American to the core. But Europe remains the spiritual home to which almost everyone looks. The American association is thus one of convenience. Yet this convenience is working in the favour of the oligarchy in Latin America.

Ignorance about Africa

A surprise for a visitor from Africa is the abysmal ignorance exhibited by Latin Americans about Africa. The African continent remains to most of them, a closed exotic place which might be anywhere near heaven or hell.

A black visitor is taken for an American negro. After he has divested himself of such a description his hosts go through various stages of facial as well as mental convulsions. The question is shot back whether he really comes from Africa. No country in Africa mentioned registers except maybe South Africa and Biafra; even these they have no idea where on the map they are.

But read the following conversation!

Y. May I introduce Mr. so and so to you. He comes from Ghana (pronounced geena).

X. Oh, Canada? Welcome. Mr. so and so—
They shake hands.
As they shake hands the Ghanaian corrects—GHANA

X. Ghm Gha—what? GHANA (he repeats).

X. Ghana? Where's that?

Y. Oh West Africa—making use of intelligence communicated on a previous occasion.

X. Ah yes, is that Costa d'Oro? (Spanish for Gold Coast)

Y. Mr. so and so is that correct?

What the above dialogue depicts is a communication gap which needs filling or bridging through the use of the most daring engineering techniques. It is a shame that all that we know here about South America comes filtered through U.S. sources—and we get only the kind of news that serves their interests.

The U.S. news media are given to sending out the kind of news that businessmen like to read and what will preserve their sphere of influence in that hemisphere. If we can open a communication channel with Latin America our peoples can benefit. We can see, for example, the pernicious result of what foreign aid does to a country and a people, and they can take new heart in our situation and so create a new world situation in which the Third World will move from the rear seat into the driver's seat.

Portugal's Prestige

In Latin America it is common to call anyone who advocates for closer links or change in the status quo a Communist because the entrenched interests are afraid of any change. In fact, they will not tolerate it.

Linked with the question of ignorance about Africa is the great esteem in which Spain and Portugal are held in that part of the world. In Brazil Portugal is thought of as *the* land and people of the world. And yet Portugal is the most undeveloped country in Europe and in most parts of Africa. The people of Latin America are unaware of the atrocities committed by these two countries on the African continent. For instance an African who tells some Brazilians that Portugal is not a friend of Africans is looked at with incredulity and disbelief. Such knowledge does not even let the scales fall off their eyes. It dangles there with the possibility of falling off if more information is made available.

Then there is a substantial black population in Brazil who are just awakening to the situation in which they live. There is a great deal of racial harmony in Brazil but the example of the U.S. could be pernicious in many ways to the future relations with the country.

There is the need to let more information seep



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through to the ordinary person about what is happening and where. In this connection it is pertinent to comment that Ghana has only one Embassy in the whole of Latin America in Rio de Janeiro and one in the Middle Americas in Mexico. Chile and Argentina, not to speak of the whole of the central countries, Peru. Paraguay, Bolivia or the north, Venezuela, Guyana for example, or the whole of the Carribean have been left unexplored.

All the European countries are fully represented in such far away places as Uruguay and in such places as Papa Doc's Haiti. Given all the threats of assasinations and kidnappings these diplomats still remian.

The point here is that there is a potentially great market which we can tap there if we put our minds to it. There are also students who wish to broaden their outlook and who would want to see what it is like on the other side of the Atlantic. If we continue as we are we may wake up and find that 200 years have gone by while we slept like Rip Van Winkle.

Obituary

OTUMFUO NANA OSEI AGYEMAN PREMPEH II, ASHANTIHENE, 1892-1970 THE END OF A TRANSITION?

By Kwame Arhin

THE OLD men say that when an Ashantihene dies, the State Drummer beats out the history of the nation from the earliest times when, as the Drummer himself says, Odomankoma created the Osae Dynasty, the House of Mighty Warriors, and so of Heroes. At the death of the Otumfuo it is fitting to look at the contemporary meaning of that office, the symbol which to his people made him man among men. The contemporary meaning of that office is related to the fortunes of Ashanti and therefore of her kings from the last quarter of the nineteenth century to the present day.

For two centuries, the maternal descendants of Osei Tutu 'the just and the good' had held sway within an ever increasing area — the Ashanti Empire — until they came into friction with the European traders on the coast. Nearly a century ago, for three days — from the 29th to the 31st of January, 1874 — at the village of Amoafo, near Bekwai in southern Ashanti, the Ashantis mustered their forces in a vain attempt to beat back the invasion of Kumasi by British forces: non-professional musket-holders were no match for the trained riflemen of the British army. Sir Garnet Wolseley and his men pushed on to an abandoned Kumasi, looted and burned it, and then withdrew.

At Amoafo, the Ashanti army had fought as if they knew the invasion was a portent, that it was a tidal wave that would sweep away the Ashanti they had heard of and known for over two centuries. We know now that it was only a question of time before the proud Ashanti would bow to the British conqueror, that the Battle of Amoafo was an *nkwanhyia kese*, a point of no return.

Political Anomie

The Ashanti never recovered from that blow. Since it destroyed their belief in their own invincibility, it shattered their nerve. What was even more serious, the British presence on the coast was a standing source of encouragement to the fissiparous tendencies within central Ashanti. The result generally was political anomie: the loss of certainty about basic political values. In concrete terms, this meant that the Ashanti were no longer certain of the need for that unity under the Golden Stool which had made them supreme within the boundaries of present-day Ghana. The obvious signs of this anomie were the succession disputes and civil wars which continued in the reign of Kwaku Duah III (Prempeh I).

. The reign of Prempeh I coincided with the intensification of the European scramble for Africa and, since he would not voluntarily accede to the British request to him to accept their protection, Prempeh I had to be exiled in 1896 as a prelude to the division of Ashanti into its component units, so that it could be the more effectively ruled. Yaa Asantewaa fought in 1900-1901 and lost. Ashanti, together with the Gold Coast and the Northern Territories, came effectively under colonial rule.

It is in the character of colonial regimes to alter the nature of indigenous chiefships. For effective administrative purposes, and since the British in particular wanted to avoid the expense and trouble of brutal suppression, the colonial authorities relied on chiefs, who presumably had the ear of their peoples, for the transmission and execution of orders. Consequently, the chiefs became their executive agents. As such, they were identified by their people with the colonial

regime and regarded as traitors. Secondly, colonial administrations initially misunderstood the character of indigenous chiefships, believing them to be autocratic institutions when in fact government by chiefs was government by consensus.

When, therefore, it became a practice of the colonial authorities to transmit peremptory orders through the chiefs to their people, the chief was put into a quandary: he became an autocrat to his people and deserved to be destooled if he carried out these orders; but if he did not, the colonial authorities considered him disloyal to the British Crown and destooled him simply by withholding recognition by a Gazette Notice. The spate of destoolments in Ashanti and elsewhere on the Gold Coast in the first phase of colonial administration, 1896–1935, was evidence of the predicament into which the requirements of colonial administration and the exigencies of *Pax Britannica* had put the chief.

Restoring the Union

Ashanti provided special difficulties for the British. Prempeh I was in exile from 1896 to 1924. On the basis of the belief that a divided people were easier to rule, the colonial authorities maintained the fiction that Prempeh I had never been properly enstooled in 1888, and that he was not Ashantihene but Kumasihene, in which presumed capacity he was allowed to return to Kumasi in 1924. Yet the British knew that the people of Ashanti regarded Prempeh I as Ashantihene; that so long as the Golden Stool remained, so long would Ashantihenes remain in the hearts of all Ashanti; and that it did not matter whether the occupant was on the moon, or in the Seychelles Islands.

The patient patriotism of the Ashanti was rewarded in 1935 when the late Otumfuo, who had succeeded his uncle Prempeh I in 1931, prevailed upon the colonial authorities to restore the Ashanti Confederacy in 1935. This was a major achievement of Prempeh II. Ashanti was no longer the Ashanti of the nineteenth century, but it meant a good deal that her people were politically re-united; the vigour of Ashanti culture can only be maintained through the collective ritual performances of which the Ashantihene is the centre.

The restoration was no mere window dressing. Until the abolition of the Native Authority Courts in the nineteen-fifties, the Asanteman Council had judicial authority in customary matters over the Ashantihene's subjects. But it is questionable whether the grant of such powers by the colonial authorities did the chiefs any good. The bitterness evinced by many subjects towards their chiefs grew out of comparisons of judicial processes in the Magistrate's Courts with those in the Native Courts. And it did not help matters that appeals lay from the latter courts to the Magistrate's Courts. It was an invitation to potentially disobedient subjects to defy the chiefs.

Besides colonialism, the 'larger' nationalism of the modern state, with its different organisational requirements, has also left its mark on the institution of chiefship. Since 1946, when the late Otumfuo, to his credit, agreed to a legislative merger of the Gold Coast Colony with Ashanti, the latter has ceased to be a separate entity, which means that in the period 1946–1951 colonial officials wielded legislative authority over the Ashantihene and his subjects.

Party Politics

But the real problem for the Ashantihene and the chiefs came with the introduction of party politics and universal adult suffrage. When a people are supposed to independently exercise their will on public matters through secret voting, how can a chief, however elevated, claim to speak for his subjects? How, for example, could the National Liberation Movement, by virtue of the support of the Ashantihene, claim to speak for the Ashantis if the Ashantis had voted massively for the Convention People's Party? The situation was further complicated by the fact that Ashanti could not be considered in isolation but as part of a new entity, Ghana, so that its will could only be considered in relation to the will of Ghana as a whole. It would appear that in the political crisis of the fifties, the late Otumfuo did not see very clearly the implications of the merger of Ashanti with the Colony in 1946, and also of the introduction of the party system and of universal adult suffrage.

It became clear after the loss of the battle for federation that the tide to modernity could not be resisted, and it is a sign of his capacity for flexibility that the late Otumfuo settled his account with the Nkrumah regime and peaceably assumed the role that the steady march of time had left the rulers of Ashanti among lesser chiefs in Ghana: that of influential counsellors by virtue of their positions as the personal symbols of the historic and cultural diversities in the unity of Ghana. That role Nana Agyeman Prempeh II played to near perfection. For he was proud in his heritage and learned

in the ways of his ancestors.

I venture to suggest that his death marks the end of a transition. The curtain is now drawn over the turbulent times in which our chiefs, of whom Nana Prempeh was the leading representative, had to find a role. Now our chiefs have no doubt that they may reign and not govern, and that they exist at the will of their people.

Observer Notebook

Ghana's Ambassadors

MANY Ghanaians have viewed with enthusiasm the orientation course which was recently organised for our ambassadors. The *Observer* should, however, be quick to recall that this is not the first time that our representatives abroad have been lectured on the image which they should present in their accredited countries. Nkrumah used to do this, in the lavish and luxurious atmosphere of the defunct Winneba Ideological Institute; but it is difficult to know what impression these ambassadors got.

The situation today is different. The problems which Ghana is facing are complex, and it is fitting that our envoys should know these and inform those who also want to know about them. The various visits they have made to different parts of the country should acquaint them with the enormity of the task of national reconstruction. They leave to represent a nation which is poor — and the modesty of their style of living would go a long way to impress our friends and prospective friends abroad that the days of a fool's paradise are gone forever.

What is novel about this new approach is the way our ambassadors' wives have been brought into the orientation scheme. These august wives are no less representative of the nation. Many an ambassadors's life, and indeed the life of a nation, has been ruined through a misdeed (often unintentional) of the feminine partner. We would like to add our voice to the lectures our honourable ladies have already received: they should learn to spend less, talk less, listen more, and make foreigners — and Ghanaians in foreign countries — see that frugality, like charity, should always begin at home.

Travelling Salesman of Evil

THE news of Vorster of South Africa going to confer with Caetano of Portugal, after a similar conference with Smith of Rhodesia only last month, should sound like the death knell to hope in the ears of black people the world over. And when to these certainties you add the possibilities of South African bargains with France and West Germany (also named on the itenerary of the current high priest of the apartheid religion), the transition from alarm to despair is practically complete. Inclusion of Spain on Vorster's ticket does not, incidentally, add another dimension to this ominous panorama; it merely emphasises its grimness.

In other words, here, in spite of lofty idealisations to the contrary, is the spectacle of a getting together—nay a *bringing* together—of Christian capitalists, capitalist democrats, practising fascists, racialist fanatics, decadent survivors in imperialism, dynamic giants of modern industrialism—this strange mixture of principalities and powers getting together for the blatant purpose of self advancement and self protection. Now self advancement and self protection are *not* a crime in themselves for most groupings of peoples, but when a group is as mixed as this: in its component economic, political and moral philosophies, it makes one wonder what sense and what purpose there is in contemporary history for *anybody*.

The more so as, according to a recent BBC "World Today" analysis, the "Revolutionary Left", which alone attempts to fight this order of things, is itself in disarray: no direction, no coordination, no organisation, no central drive. Embattled students around the world, guerilla bands, intellectual radicals, executioner elite guards, and other groupings of the Revolutionary Left, are all described as being like the amoeba: dividing and splitting and going off in little pieces in divergent directions.

So, for the time being, Vorster and Smith and Caetano organise and strengthen themselves day by day, and mostly against already largely helpless Africans, while those among their racial kind who are not exactly of the same mentality look on equally helplessly, or make feeble efforts which avail nothing. Yet the fears which are really at the bottom of Vorster's activities will, like chickens, one day come home to roost.

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Application forms can be obtained from the Personnel Manager directly or through P.O. Box 211, Tema. Completed forms should reach him not later than 15th June, 1970.

A New Columnist

TODAY the *Observer* welcomes a new writer to its Miscellaneous columns. Under the *nom-de-plume* of "Kwame Ademoawa", our new humorist promises our readers a lot of "fun and games", much political satire, and a mixture of serious discussion, controversial debate and just plain cussedness. Ademoawa's mouthpiece and foil is a figure he has discovered and named "Joe Apalahala", the unique character who is "stoopid when sober and serious when soaked"!

Ademoawa and Apalahala will support our original funster, "Kontopiaat", who is given to the habit of periodic disappearance, sometimes on high-powered diplomatic missions abroad on behalf of the government and the people of Kontopiaat-krom. Or so Kontopiaat claims anyway!

We hope Ademoawa and his devil-twin-mascot will be able to live up to *their* promise to get us stimulated and amused whenever we can find space for them. If not—out they go!

Education

ON TEACHERS' UNIFORMS

By J. E. Opoku

ONE could begin this discussion of uniforms for teachers and pupils by asking a question: What has the dress which a student wears, or that which his teacher wears, got to do with the process of learning and teaching in the schools?

To me, it is rather naive to categorise or standardise the attire of pupils and teachers, in the way the practice has been with us in the elementary schools from the colonial era. On school attire the geographical location of the school community, economics, and the social desire of the students and teachers should be the only criteria that should be allowed to influence the dress habits of both pupils and teachers.

There has been a long tradition regarding pupils' uniforms, during the past forty-odd years, in the schools and colleges in Ghana. One particular item of school dress has even come to be generally termed "Achimota sandals". Educational research elsewhere has provided increasing evidence that the type of dress the pupils wear to school materially affects their attitude towards their relationships with others and their concern for the educational experiences they receive at their respective schools or colleges.

I need not remind readers of the importance alumni attach to their old school ties, or coat badges. Naturally and rightly, many schools and colleges in Ghana have developed codes of accepted dress to which their students must conform before they may be admitted to the institutions. Because most of these codes were developed cooperatively by students and teachers themselves, and because they were reasonable in their costs, they were successfully accepted by both students and parents. I know schools and colleges where the most costly item of dress, eg. the school blue or green coat is made optional according to economic means, so that only the pupils who can afford them buy the coats.

It is necessary that a school's code for uniforms should be acceptable to the pupils in terms of the economic potential of ALL students in the school community to buy such items of dress. That was the wisdom of the pioneer colonial Education Department, which prescribed khaki and similar drills for boys and girls school uniforms. There should always be a limitation on the school's authority to enforce any dress regulation. Up to date, I am not aware of any Education Act on what dress Ghana school children should wear.

What Mode of Dress?

In 1960, even in the city state of New York, a court of law ruled that if clothing worn by pupils was not immoral, or so suggestive that it could be construed to impair the moral atmosphere of the school, then the school was powerless to legislate against a particular mode of dress of pupils. I agree, however, that the school does have the right to expect its pupils to conform to a realistic pattern of dress for, say, sports, swimming, dancing, instructional classes, or attending religious services.

A short while ago, the Ghana National Association of Teachers resolved at a press conference that they and their colleagues — the Elementary School Teachers—had divested themselves of teachers' uniforms for good. Following this announcement, on Sunday, 18th of May 1970, there was a T.V. programme — "Comment" — on teachers' uniforms. Again, on Wednesday, 20th May 1970, an Accra daily carried an article entitled "Taking Government for a Ride?", by a Correspondent. His article condemned the teachers' stand on uniforms.

May I also remind readers that previously an editorial in an Accra newspaper condemned the teachers' decision against school uniforms. To my way of thinking, the question of uniforms for teachers is NOT one of the several educational problems facing the country at the moment. It would pay us better if we prevented our energies from being dissipated in bickerings as to what teachers should wear to school. I repeat: a

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teacher's uniform is not, and cannot be made to seem, an educational problem for Ghana. What we should rather exert all our energies on are some of the following: providing enough classrooms for all elementary and secondary schools at present using out-moded or temporary buildings; providing enough secondary school places for all youngsters between 13 and 18 years, with biases for academic, technical or trade courses; and providing middle school leavers trade training, so that they can be absorbed into the several sectors of the economy. One could continue to enumerate educational problems without ending.

But now, what about teachers' uniforms, really? My belief is that teachers in the elementary schools or at any other level of education should always dress in a manner befitting the members of a respected profession. We should leave it to the good sense and taste of school staff and head-teachers to see to it that at no time should female teachers wear "jeans" to school or male teachers "pioto" (underpants), or any other attire that would tend to reduce the professional dignity of the teacher. But here, too, there should be no exceptions to the rule; for, when teachers and their pupils go on nature study trips, camping, or field trips to the plains or castles, dress should be worn that is appropriate to the particular occasion—not uniforms.

Personal Preference

A teachers' attire should be on personal preference and good taste; so these items should be dictated by school community expectations and traditions, and not by a decree. My view on a teacher clothing is that it may be anything that is in keeping with the mores of the community in which the school operates, and the dress should uphold the dignity of the teacher's profession, and should also be appropriate to the type of instructional service the teacher is giving at any material moment. In discussing school attire, we should remember that parents buy the uniforms for their children, but teachers provide for themselves. We should remember also that teachers are adults, whereas school pupils are minors. Therefore my plea is that teachers should be allowed to wear any decent dress befitting their profession, without interference from anybody.

We know that those government workers who, for reasons of identification and smartness, have to wear uniforms are supplied the uniforms by the state—e.g. soldiers, sailors, nurses, the police, etc. I would never suggest that our government should supply uniforms to elementary school teachers, even if Ghana's economy were buoyant. Uniforms are unnecessary for teachers; they will not work any educational magic in the schools; they cannot be an educational prerequisite for the elementary school teachers of Ghana.

If the Ministry of Education thinks that elementary school teachers cannot be relied upon to dress properly by themselves, I suggest that they allow them to come to school without the prescribed uniform for the rest of the 1969/70 year, as an experimental period. I am sure my colleagues in the elementary schools will prove to the nation that teachers are a responsible group, and that they can dress decently by themselves without regimentation from above.

Letters

The Beaver Aircraft Accident

SIR—It took the Ghana Armed Forces five days to reach the wreckage of the Air Forces Beaver plane which crashed into the forest only 18 miles from Takoradi. They were supposedly going to the "rescue" of possible survivors.

We must feel ashamed of this very poor level of performance by the soldiers, for if there had been any lucky survivors of the crash they could not have lived in the forest, with their injuries, for five days without food, water, first aid, and shelter. The nation demands an enquiry into the apparent lack of drive on the part of our soldiers.

What kind of training are they getting if soldiers of the 3rd Infantry Brigade, based in Takoradi, do not know the terrain of the bush only 18 miles away? They are expected to parade less in the streets and train more in the jungle: battles are fought more in the bush than on paved highways.

P.O. Box 1840 **Owusu Yaw**
Accra

Archaeology and African History

SIR — I should like to clarify some of the points made in Miss Ayisi's article on "Archaelogy, Anthropology and African History" in which certain quotations from my Inaugural Lecture to the University of Ghana are quoted out of context (L.O. V/10). My work is quoted (though the quotation is not acknowledged) as evidence that the division between "Berber Africans" and "Black Sahara Africans" is fading, yet I am then credited with holding a view that places me in the same intellectual milieu as the "Trevor Roper School".

Miss Ayisi's main complaint appears to be that I regard the study of tropical Africa during the thousand years before A.D. 1000 as more appropriately falling within the discipline of prehistory rather than of history. I made a plea in my inaugural lecture "for treating the human past as a single unit rather

an segmenting it amongst different disciplines". I pinted out that under the present meaning of the rms, the word prehistory is used to denote the state our knowledge about the past. For the first millenium A.D. of the history of tropical Africa very few ritten documents are available, therefore it is impetive to make use of discoveries in many related disciines such as linguistics, palaeobotany, enthnography, man biology and archaeology.

Rather than decrying the African achievement I made e point that archaeology is demonstrating the "cultural nity" of West Africa and is providing "tangible evince", rather than theories based on undocumented potheses, to account for the past variations in human ciety in Africa. Speculation about the past is not cessarily wrong as Miss Ayisi seems to suggest hen she claims that I "denounced the use of hypoeses in African history"; rather it is an essential rt of the function of a historian, be he or she a storian using documentary or non-documentary urces; and I quoted some of my speculations about ntu migrations. What archaeologists have done is to ovide data on which speculations can be based for e period before written documents or oral traditions e abundant.

If some of the insights come from disciplines other an history, this can only serve to enrich African story and provide an awareness of the varied ckground and contacts of the present day Africa d its peoples.

epartment of Archaeology **Merrick Posnansky**
gon

R—Miss Akua Asaabea Ayisi's analysis of the histoans' flirtation with the inaccuracies of the African past ould be commended (**L.O.** V/10).

Some historians have claimed that Africans never iginated a civilization, nor have they successfully rrowed one. Others even contend that one of the imary races which have not made any creative conbution to civilization is the Black race. It is clear om Miss Asaabea's analysis that what motivated ese spurious and half-baked assertions was the whitean's desire to perpetuate the subjection of the African slavery.

The attempts by a few white historians such as Basil vidson to approach the continent's past from a diverent historical telescope, clearly indicate the profundity knowledge yet to be accumulated by consistent study d effort on our part.

I agree with Miss Asaabea Ayisi that the African st should be placed in its proper historical, archaeogical and anthropological perspective; Africa can longer be ignored in the study of world history.

O. Box 80 **King Osafo**
ccra

Preserving Ghana's Monuments

R — I am writing to suggest that either some Photoaphic Society or some government agency, newsper, or magazine, undertake the work of photographg the many beautiful old buildings in Cape Coast, mina (and in many other towns and villages) which e not likely to be left standing many more years om now.

It will be the greatest pity if some permanent record of the buildings is not made; and the photography, if exhibited and published in the form of a book, might well pay for itself.

Swedru Secondary School **K. B. Forge**
Private Post Bag
Agona Swedru

Ghana's Unemployment Problems

SIR—Mr. G. A. Donkor's article on Ghana's unemployment problems (**L.O.** V/8) made very interesting reading. But one finds it difficult to appreciate that his analysis would be complete without any indications of some of the measures for solving the unemployment problems.

In my view, the immediate solution of the problems is the creation of more job opportunities for the people. And to do this, it is necessary that foreign investment in Ghana be encouraged as much as possible.

For unless more factories are built and industries set up, it is difficult to envisage any immediate solution to the problem. Moreover, to advocate the encouragement of foreign investment would not be construed to mean that the nation's interest should be sacrificed or given away. Far from it.

The wealth and assets of the country must be utilised for the benefit of its people. There should also be greater effort to cut down government spending.

Could it not help if the retirement age of workers was reduced to about fifty, in order that more vacancies would be created for the young?

P.O. Box 9 **Joseph Gyinayeh**
Wenchi, B/A

Foreign Experts and Local Talents

SIR—By virtue of interdependence of nations both developed and underdeveloped countries have to rely on one another for various economic reasons. In developing countries in particular, economists often stress the need that foreign "experts" in one discipline or another are essential ingredients in the building of a very sound economy.

To this end, planners of the national economy, especially in developing countries, often tend to give special priority to the foreign "experts" in certain sectors of the economy even where local talents may exist. This has increasingly paved the way for all sorts of people under the guise of "experts" literally flying from one country to another.

After thirteen years of political independence, we still find that whenever an advice is sought, the resort is always to the foreign expert. This is a pity because our trained Ghanaians become neglected, despite the fact that they are better able to appreciate local conditions.

I agree with a recent suggestion in an Accra daily that foreign experts should be called in only when there are no qualified Ghanaians in particular areas of expertise.

Kokomlemle **E. Y. Frempong-Mensah**
Accra

Women and the Nation

SIR — I would like to comment on Mr. P. A. V. Ansah's letter in the **Observer** (L.O. V/8) against my article entitled "Women and the Nation" which appeared in a previous issue of the paper.

The idea of a University Women's Association is not peculiar to Ghana. And, by forming one, Ghanaian university women are not seeking to segregate themselves from the rest of Ghanaian womanhood. They feel that as a group of people with similar experiences and training background there would be better understanding among them in trying to find a solution to some of our national problems.

The extent of Mr. Ansah's lack of understanding of some of the problems existing in our society was clearly revealed in his dismissal of our activities as "more or less irrelevant symposia and conferences". The problem of the treatment meted out to widows and orphans in our various tribal societies is a pressing but long neglected one. Its neglect has resulted in many grave social problems which modern Ghana can no longer afford to ignore.

Mr. Ansah is entitled to his own opinions about issues such as career guidance for girls and help for market women. But I think that voluntary societies that are trying to help in the process of development should be allowed to do things in their own harmless way and at their own pace.

And incidentally, the Association has never had a tea party: not on one single occasion!

Balme Library **(Mrs.) Christiana O. Kissiedu**
Legon

Promotion of Teachers

SIR — The Ministry of Education has stated that as from next year promotion to the senior teacher grade would be by examination. But it seems many unpleasant consequences would emerge from this approach.

For example, any teacher who wishes to pass his examination will give more attention to his books. There is, therefore, the probability that some of the teachers, if not all, instead of teaching their pupils during school hours, will prefer to give more attention to their books. If this happens the pupils would suffer greatly.

Teachers should be given every encouragement to give their best to school children; they will be discouraged if they have to pass their examination before they are promoted.

I will therefore suggest that their promotions should be based on efficiency and dedication to service rather than on brilliance. What good do brilliant teachers do to Ghana if they fail to go about their work conscientiously?

P.O. Box 58 **Edward Obeng Yeboah**
Wenchi (B/A)

Teachers' Uniforms

SIR—I don't understand the fuss being made by some people concerning the teachers decision not to put on uniforms. I think the teachers have got a convincing "case" in abolishing them and people must leave the teachers alone. The teachers have already got their enormous problems. Any attempt therefore to duplicate and augment these difficulties would just amount to adding insult to injury.

Personally, I think the word "teacher" is being vaguely and ambiguously interpreted by some people in this country. They thought that the teaching profession is limited to only a class of these professionals—i.e. the elementary school teachers. What of those in our Secondary Schools and Training Colleges? Relatively, even those lecturers in our Universities are teachers!

Ghana, our dear country, is facing acute financial problems and these are immediate problems which should engage our attention rather than teachers' uniforms. After all, whether there are uniforms or not the teachers are already doing their work.

Commonwealth Hall **Sam Bruku**
Legon

Transfer Fees in Soccer

SIR— I read the views of many people on transfer fees which are now turned into training fees. But I have my reservations.

Take, for instance, the case of Mohammed Lawal. He played for almost all the football clubs in this country before finally going to Nigeria. If Lawal decided to rejoin Accra Hearts of Oak, which of the clubs should be said to have trained him? Is it Olympics, Hearts, B.A. United, Eleven Wise, Nima Lizards or Lagos Stationery Stores? Another example is Willie Andrews. He, was with Accra Great Olympics before going to Lagos Stationery Stores. On the question of training fees, which of these teams should benefit?

I think the mechanics of transfer fees should be clearly worked out, before the system is implemented.

29, The Folly **Ben. Akutteh**
Achimota

Miscellaneous

INTRODUCING JOE APALAHALA

By Kwame Ademoawa

I AM a new character myself in these columns, and by the universal standards of courtesy and procedure I should first be introducing myself to you, the reader. But I have a horror of talking about me. Besides, my friend and shadow, Joe Apalahala, is my real business today. He's the one I want to tell you about. From now on he and I are going to appear — irregularly, I hope! — in the **Observer.**

To know Joe Apalahala is to relish him to an almost excruciating degree, for the man is an extraordinary fellow. Without him my own life would not be worth one brown pesewa's value of fun, and I promise you that after a very short while neither will you be able to live without some fairly constant tickling of your funny bone by this man. Just you wait and see. In fact I am willing to take a bet with you: that within three issues of Joe's stuff in these columns you will become a rabid Apalahalan yourself, as I have. Wanna bet?

Now you couldn't learn much about a chap like me by studying my name, could you? ADE-MOA-WA—what is that? Perhaps a few readers of these columns may have heard the "name" before, I wouldn't be too sure; certainly the majority of you couldn't have a clue.

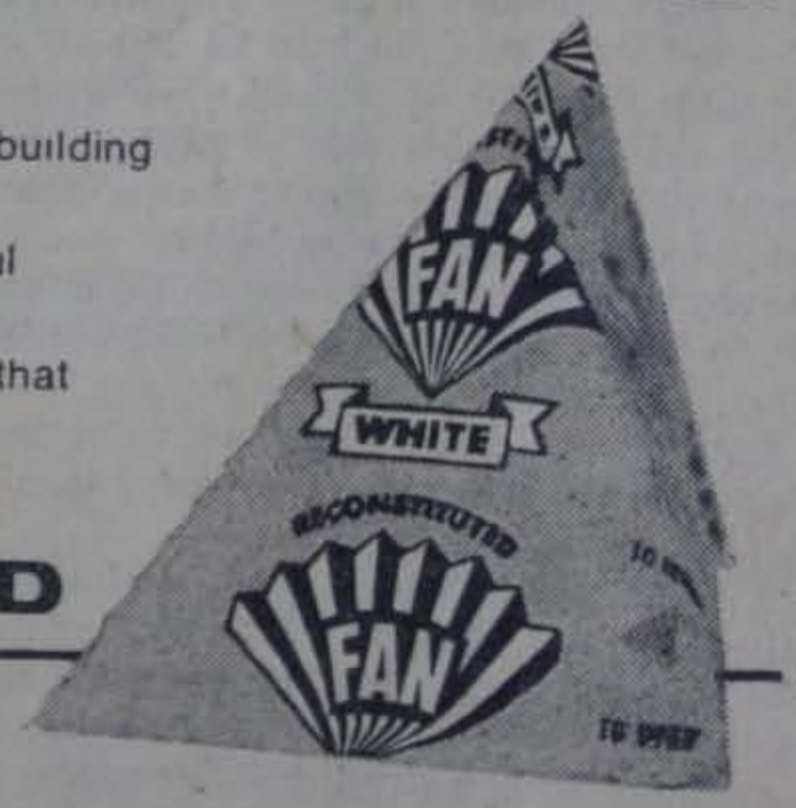
But if you then turn from me to Joe, you face an even bigger conundrum. Is Joe's name any better as an index to his personality and origins than mine is to me? APALAHALA? What is that doing being anybody's name? .... Yes, yes, that's right: some of you may know it, perhaps, as a **nickname** — a nickname for a "shortie", a figure of fun, anything except . . . !



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So the question is, did you ever see or hear of a real person carrying a label like "Apalahala" for a name?... Well, I'll tell you the truth: Joe is real all right, but not his name! As a matter of fact he and I often have fights about which of the two of us is the bigger fake, "Ademoawa" or "Apalahala".

However, when we get to that point we suddenly stop, out of deep mutual disrespect for each other's unconvincing traditions of origin, as the historians of "tribal" history call it. Moreover, since December last year we have in fact practically stopped arguing altogether about our origins or **nationality.** And you must know why, of course!

That brings us back to the question: Who and what is Joe Apalahala? And that is a tough one to answer, but I shall try my best to satisfy your curiosity. Joe is a mystery, even to me. His origins are even more obscure than mine, as you would have gathered by now. He does seem to have been born all right, though somewhat suddenly! It happened somewhere in Ghana, on a completely unspecifiable date.

In fact, about that date of Joe's sudden birth, here's the position. To this day, if you ever try to pin him down for the details of his own "nata fides" (that's a forgery, of course), he tells you to go promptly to hell and mind your own business down there. (Joe says hell is UP though, not down.)

Incidentally, that bit about his having been born suddenly is **not original.** I stole it. (I always confess my sins. Joe insists upon that . . . .) As I was saying, the joke about Joe's sudden birth is lifted straight out of a book by an American humorist with the typical name of Will Cuppy, and the title alone is worth the price of your first laugh from this priceless treasury of fun.

More Tit-Bits

The book is called **The Decline and Fall of Practically Everybody!,** and in it many of the famous as well as infamous characters of world history get a treatment designed to split the reader's sides with laughter. For instance, it was of Louis XIV of France, himself!, that Cuppy said that he had been born "rather suddenly" (in 1638)!

And of that great Fiddler of Rome he says this: "Since Nero's character leaves much to be desired, we are apt to forget his good side. We should try to remember that he did not murder his mother until he was twenty-one years old. Besides, he only did it to please his sweetheart, Poppaea Sabina, whom he later married and kicked to death while she was with child. It was her own fault, in a way, as she nagged him for coming home late from the races." (I must serve you with more tit-bits from this little gem of a book from time to time in these columns. That is, if Joe and I should last **that** long, of course.)

And so back to us. But let's leave Joe's origins and background alone for now, shall we? It is obviously a profitless activity to try to give him a respectable ancestry, for he can have none to speak of. Joe himself occasionally explains, with pointed indifference, that he was personally responsible neither for the choice of his parents nor for the fact of their fantastic obscurity!

So it is to Joe Apalahala, as Joe Apalahala, that we must get back. That is the important thing here . . . . Joe is quite extraordinary. I told you that before but have to repeat it, because this is the time to say **how** extraordinary.

Apalahala is absolutely unique as a character: the only one of his kind I've seen or heard of or read about anywhere in the world, or in history. **For Joe is the only person ever known to talk nonsense when he's sober and sense when he's drunk.** Some people are sensible and sane, whether sober or soaked; most are sensible when sober and slobbery when soaked; Joe alone is "stoopid" when sober and sound when soaked.

Please don't laugh. This is very serious! Joe Apalahala **is** a virtual illiterate, a joker, a murderer of language (especially English). He is a sometimes baffling, sometimes exasperating, often a riotous and very often an embarrassing nitwit — **when he has not even seen a bottle.** But when and as he drinks, he becomes, steadily, an unfolding revelation: serious, lucid, sharp as nails, devastating with wit and wisdom — yes, in a word, (even) intellectual.

So, all of a sudden, you are stopped dead in your hitherto casual interest in or amusement with Joe, you are now looking at the man with new eyes, and wondering what he really is all about: what his real story is, where he really comes from, how far he really got in school, why he seems to be covering up behind a split personality as different between the two halves as Dr. Jekyll was from Mr. Hyde, though fortunately not in the horrible form and manner of the Hyde **half**...

'Who are She'!

Well, that is my friend Joe Apalahala for you. With him I have endless conversations, arguments and fights (verbal, of course), in that order. Most of the time — of which he seems to have a lot — Joe is sober. Therefore most of the time he is cursing and swearing and talking nonsense by the chestful. And practically the whole time he is doing so in the most terrible English over squeezed out of that language in these parts.

For instance, should you ever venture, after one of Joe's more vile performances, to suggest to him, say, that Elizabeth of England would take a very dim view of his "handling" of the Queen's English, Joe would explode in your face with: "Ho, who are she!", adding immediately the one word: "Caustic!"

Just like that—"Caustic"!...And what does that mean? Well, who cares? Not Joe Apalahala. Besides **that,** anyway, is just one (though a favourite one) out of Joe's myriad brutalisations and shameless verbal forgeries. Some of these are utterly unbearable, being illiterate and nonsensical; **yet they are uttered when Apalahala is perfectly sober.** Nonsensical, yes, but expressive too, and somehow getting through with a message. Like this unbelievable expression. "Empty portmantos with empty holes"! Joe, what in heaven's name does **that** mean?

"Ho, what does **you** mean yourself?", counters Joe. "Caustic"!

Well that's Joe Apalahala — a little of him for now anyway. Next time I'll begin to relay to you full versions of my conversations and arguments with him. In fact I might as well call this series "Conversations with Joe Apalahala", "By Kwame Ademoawa."

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EDITORIAL

NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND REGIONAL CLAIMS

IN THE Sessional Address delivered at the opening of Busia's first parliament last October, the government through Brigadier Afrifa pledged itself to equable development throughout the country as a whole. Particular weight was thrown behind the undertaking to redress regional imbalance, and in both the expressed and implied arguments which discussion of the topic has generated since then, the cases of particular regions and areas have been pressed by advocates committed to these places. Readers of the *Legon Observer* will recall the elaborate case presented for the Volta Region last year by our occasional contributor "Educat", and the exhaustive rebuttal put forward by another writer calling himself "Ignoramus" (*L.O.* IV/22, 24, & 25).

During the present and closing stages of the first session of our first parliament under the new regime, the issue of equal and unequal regional development has been brought almost dramatically back to throbbing life, recalling the arguments and contentions of "Educat" and "Ignoramus". If the debate has not also succeeded in drawing an analogy with the famous and classic Nigerian one of revenue allocation by derivation *versus* development grants according to regional needs, this was no fault of the respective protagonists in that previous struggle; it was probably due only to the inapplicability of the derivation clause to the Ghanaian case. The point is that the argument, by the selective tricks of debate, can sway this way and that with great passion and seeming validity each way, where regional advocates have the evidence of poor development to push forward. But we can be led astray by what may be called progressive self-conviction, and this is what all good citizens have to guard themselves against in such matters.

On this occasion the issue of particularistic regional claims to priority consideration in the allocation of development funds was reopened with the motion of Mr. Ibrahim Mahama, the N.A.L. member for Tamale who is also secretary of the Alliance party. Mr. Mahama called for "a special accelerated development programme for the North", since, he stressed, the two northern regions (Northern and Upper) were "less developed" than others in the country. The motion called for this measure as a sure means of rapidly bridging "the gaps" between the north and the rest. Well, Mr. Mahama's plea promptly resurrected the temporarily "dead" issue between "Educat" and "Ignoramus": Is the North more backward or neglected than, say, the Volta Region? Is the Volta Region in worse

plight than equally extensive areas within Brong-Ahafo, the Central Region, or the West . . . ?

Debaters, we repeat, can ever score good points off the opposition, and they don't always have to be extremely clever to be able to do so either. The fact is, though, that under-development, poverty, and other symptoms of neglect — if we must grant the charge — can actually be measured and quantified, to show that though all areas may have been neglected, some may have been more neglected than others. But in a country like Ghana this simply means a difference in degree rather than in kind; it is not like the difference between, for example, Ghana and Botswana: a contrast between lush though hardly developed potentials, and a parched and thirsty land with a hungry, freezing people huddled on it perpetually. So that though we can admit that the North is by and large less developed than the South, and the Volta Region than Greater Accra, any planned attempt to mount a differential scheme of development intended to bridge gaps will assuredly create more problems than it sets out to solve.

A graduated scale in development-fund grants which recognises imbalance among regions but is not panicked thereby, is clearly to be preferred to the mounting of development programmes which in some cases are accelerated and in others retarded: for the former, Mr. Educat would nominate *only* the Volta Region, and Mr. Mahama *only* the North — two conflicting claims right there. And who is then going to name the "deserving" candidates for "retarded development programmes"? We do not say the government already has this problem "licked" by the schedule of regional planning allocations read out to the House by the junior minister of the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, Jones Ofori Atta; but we say that for its limited and provisional, almost tentative, purposes it makes good sense as far as it goes: Northern and Upper Regions, NC202,000 each; Volta Region and Brong-Ahafo, NC184,000 each; Eastern, NC154,000; Central, NC151,000; Ashanti, NC150,000; Greater Accra, NC82,000.

That this distribution does not go far enough and is not going to solve all regional development problems is quite another matter. The fact is that the whole country is crying out loud for development and the ideal should be that we all develop together, though perhaps at graduated rates. In our present economic condition it is impossible, of course, to find the money all at once for this; on the other hand, if we do not bestir ourselves more energetically to find it we shall die an economic death, slowly perhaps but surely. To save ourselves from slow economic death we need more imagination and greater resolve from our rulers, and from ourselves more seriousness and harder work.

International

INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTIVITY: SOVIET STYLE

By

Georgbeeyi Adali-Mortty

"MATERIAL Incentives for Specialists Working in Industrial Management Bodies" was one among other revealing and intriguing technical Papers circulated to the manpower experts who had come to attend the October 1969 Tashkent United Nations Inter-regional Seminar on the Employment, a Development and Role of Scientists and Technical Personnel in the Public Service of Developing Countries. The Author of this paper, the Moscow State University economist, Ghevork A. Egihazaryan, who was one of the Soviet Union consultants, was at hand to answer questions and to give elaborate analysis of the incentive system.

Even the manpower experts from the economically advanced countries of the West sat up to listen; and we, in whose home countries much is said about the need for higher productivity while little is done practically to raise labour output, could not but be particularly interested in the motivational gimmick. The special interest of our colleagues from the West derived from their awareness of the early Soviet approach to labour motivation.

Capitalistic Decadence

In the flush of Soviet socialist industrialization, the country had hoped to whip up labour enthusiasm at the job place by appealing to workers' sentiments of patriotism. Workers had at that time been exhorted to emulate high output units of labour. And, if any rewards were thought necessary at all, they were honours in the name of Lenin or in the odour of communistic sanctity. Material rewards would have been sheer heresy in the Stalinist period. Such material forms of incentive awards were believed to be bourgeois, and capitalistic decadence.

In Ghana, whether it be in religion, politics,

economics, socio-cultural or business problems, verbal exhortation flooded out concrete proposals and remedial action. Missionary-educated persons in positions of power today believe that, by merely moralizing or exhorting, their consciences would be set at peace, virtues would replace vice, and deeds would result.

Our business leaders, who are the more practical minded and the more realistic members of the society, ignore the application of commercial incentives. Contrary to general belief, salaries and wages which are time-based are not incentive-oriented. Recipients of such incomes do not link their job performance—its quantity and quality—with the end-of-month payments. There is no direct relationship between output and income. As in Ghana, a person is employed in the public services, and his progression through the salary scales is more or less automatic.

The Great Depression

After the expiration of the proving period, known hereabouts as the probationary period, an employee's periodic remuneration may be associated in some remotely vague way with job tenure at the pleasure of the employer, but this is gradually replaced by complacency and a sense of security. The ever-living consciousness usually associated with inducement earnings is replaced by a feeling of continuity of tenure, unless, perhaps, some gross misconduct or accidental collapse of the enterprise restores consciousness for earning one's keep. A feeling that one's job is there for keeps until some distant retiring age, when one attains the end of the employment contract with gratuity and pension, is the norm. The widespread terminations of tenure due to redundancy between 1966 and 1969 and, latterly, the termination of the 568 public servants had not been witnessed since the Depression years.

In the minds of employees, direct relationship between what one achieves by way of performance and one's paid income becomes opaque and then finally fades off. As an employee, one just carries on, and the job is held. Particularly is this the case in the public services, where involved procedures and rules insulate the employee against dismissals.

The principle of incentive payments rests on objective stimulation by the award of some form or other of reward, applied as a bribe, and aimed at the improvement of performance. In practice, there is usually a permanent or regular salary or wage, supplemented by a variable compensation depending upon additional output over and above the basic or expected normal output. In other words, a minimum unit of output is set more or less, which those workers who exceed it are remunerated for withal.

The active elements in incentive payments are: that they are the variable extra; that they are consciously earned by exceeding a given performance standard unit or level: that they are stimuli for output over and above what would be achieved without the incentive bait; and that the additional unit of performance is assessable by objective means. In other words, the additional is actively worked for, and actively expected, unlike the periodic salary or wage, the earning of which is measured by the time span, not the job done extra well or in excess of a unit norm.

As a necessary background to the system of the Soviet incentive payments, we need to remind ourselves of the organization and management of industry in that State-centred, at once sprawling and tightly controlled bureaucratic system of economic administration.

Within the framework of central planning, each administrative unit—"from the shop up to the ministry" level—is held financially responsible and independent within the framework laid down from above. This is the principle known in the Soviet Union as the self-supporting principle.

Economic Solvency

Given the initial resources in the form of capital fund, the self-supporting principle expects that the fund shall revolve and gather operational returns. For this reason resources are given operational or functional autonomy. In other words, the unit of resources is isolated and is given economically functional independence "within the framework of which the enterprise or trust can operate its resources and select the most effective way of their utilization." The unit plans its own turnover of funds and controls the utilization of the funds in such a way that expenses are covered by returns. The unit is thus held accountable for its solvency and economic fertility.

The "basic and circulating capital" which we shall call production funds may, by virtue of growth or expansion demands, draw upon a number of credit sources for supplementation, over and above the profit addition to the circulating capital.

The resources from which the various Head Offices, Production Trusts or Ministries make the above allocations towards the temporary financial assistance to enterprises may be one or a number of the following: capital investment reserves, wage fund reserves, sinking fund reserves, the last of which is earmarked for capital repairs.

Such financial assistance may be extended to enterprises or purposes of introducing new ma-

hinery or for the designing of new machinery.

The question, then arises: whence the origin of the reserves in question? An example will best illustrate where such monies come from. Take the case of the Ministry of Wood Industry. In this instance, 1.9% of the Industry's profit are set aside for temporary assistance; towards introduction of new machinery: 0. 25% of the "wage fund" is assigned; earmarked for material incentives: 10% of the profits are reserved; and centralized depreciation allocations are made up out of up to 50% of depreciation allowances.

Additional to such reserved allocations, some Trusts establish reserve wage funds of up to 2%; material resources reserve funds of up to 5%; reserve sinking fund for capital repairs of up to 10%.

Eyebrows were lifted in the West a couple of years back when the news filtered through for the first time that the Soviet Union too had embarked upon a search for profits, and that earnings were becoming more related to performance practices which had once been regarded by Soviets as bourgeois capitalist.

Incentive Developments

Whatever other considerations might have led the U.S.S.R. to embark upon direct material incentive payments, otherwise described as motivational awards of a financial nature, the fact of mankind's common humanity must have had something to do with them.

The development of incentive awards has since then gone a long way, and in certain respects, it has developed a wider coverage, on a national basis, than in many diversified and decentralized economies of the west.

Two basic criteria govern the size of the material incentive fund which enterprises and Trusts are permitted to set aside. These are:

1. the degree of profitableness as a ratio of the value of the production fund. The precise level of the ratio is a matter for higher authorities under which the particular enterprise operates; and
2. the rate of growth of profit or the growth in the volume of disposed produce in the given year as compared with that of the preceding year.

The alternative criterion has been arrived at in the interest of fairness. It is intended to spread the opportunities for sharing benefits on the part of different enterprises operating under different conditions. It is possible to continue making profits without necessarily improving the processes and operations. The particular enterprise may happen to be in a favourable consumer market. If profitableness alone were to be the criterion, such an enterprise might not have any further stimulus to improve its operations.

If, on the other hand, the rate of increase in the volume of sales or of the turn-over were the criterion, the enterprises with unutilized resources might have advantages over the "front-line' enterprises which have already utilized their natural resources advantages.

Production Quotas

We are not ignoring the over-riding performance test which must justify entitlement to bonus payment, viz., the fulfilment of the assigned plan within the framework of the central (or **Gos**) plan. As is well known, each operative unit in the Soviet Union works up to set production quotas or output targets. Now, any unit which exceeds its assigned target is assumed to have made a prima facie case for bonus payment. The target may take the form of sales volume in relation to the preceding period's volume; or the profit margin achieved.

Thus, assuming that the target for profit increases were 12% per annum and the bonus fund for the particular branch of industry were 0.2% of the wage fund for each per cent of profit increase then the bonus fund is 12 x 0.2 or 2.4%.

The rate of bonus fund in respect of turnover or volume of sales relative to the prior year's is set at 17% and the percentage assigned to this increase is 0.4%. The resulting figure is 17 x 0.4 or 6.8%.

Thus, one finds the equation: two yields 2.4+ 6.8 = 9.2% of the wage fund. This becomes the amount earmarked for the bonus or incentive fund. Now, since there is no ceiling for the incentive fund, so long as the formula governing the rate per cent is applied, the incentive potential of the fund does boost output and quality.

One of the novel aspects of the Russian practice, which deserves attention, is that material incentive payments are not limited to direct labour only. It is claimed that "specialists working in the administration of the enterprise receive their bonuses from the same material incentive fund and this make them personally interested in the operational results of the enterprise".

Furthermore, experts and members of research teams are also entitled to "material stimulation". Incentives of this nature are designed to speed up scientific and technical progress and to introduce new or improve engineering designs.

An indirect incentive element covers the various

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levels of background qualification. Whereas, previously in the Soviet Union, specialists with degrees who were employed in the industry drew less salaries than their counterparts in research institutions, now standard rates are paid for holders of similar degrees. This sysem has made industry an attractive place for highly qualified specialists to work in for the development of scientific research in enterprises.

For example, a shop manager with a degree draws the same rate of pay as a head of a department of a laboratory at a research institute, who holds the same degree.

Russia is presently experimenting with a system of payment to research workers. The system has been known and applied in the West with regard to piece rate workers. In the Karpov Research Institute of Physics and Chemistry in Moscow, this experiment was begun in December 1968. The output-related system of payment has been fixed at 20 to 30 per cent below the previous standard or guaranteed minimum wage. This became the base minimum wage. Those who showed "good results" could earn up to 20 through 30 per cent above the previous standard wage.

This new system covers skilled workers, white-collar workers, and laboratory assistants as well.

Those who have tried their hands at quantifying intangible quality of work such as that of the performance of an administrative staff personnel can well imagine the difficulty involved. Difficult, but that is not to say impossible. We are not going to enter into the methods and techniques by which to determine this type of intangible output. The practical working of the system of evaluation of this kind of performance, should, however, repay the effort.

The Rigid Systems

Not much of the Soviet type of industrial practice and wage administration has much to teach the more sophisticated systems obtaining in the West, or even in our types of economies. The relative freedom of movement and of the exercise of initiative enjoyed in our parts of the world are such that most people would not want to trade them for the centralized and rigid system of the centralized States of Russia, Eastern Europe and China. But, this is not to say that there is nothing whatever of appeal in the Soviet and such like economies.

We who are involved in the subject of human resources are concerned over the problem of a virtual absence of motivational methods of remuneration in commerce and industry. Low productivity and wastage of capacity are known to occasion serious handicaps in the course of resuscitating our sluggish economy. But, the country has not gone beyond merely decrying low output. Our incredible faith in wordy admonitions and exhortations stops short of prescribing practical remedies and of executing them.

To Ghana more than to any other country, studies of methods which stimulate motivation for high output are, and must be, of particular interest.

Education

THE STRUCTURE OF EDUCATION IN RURAL AREAS

By

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

THIS address is supplementary to an earlier one on rural education (*L.O.* V/10). It contains suggestions for a modified structure of education for rural areas, which is briefly as follows, as regards formal education, a primary cycle of seven years (comprising two sub-cycles of 4 years and 3 years successively) is suggested. The first sub-cycle aims at teaching basic communication skills and number operations; the second at practical, pre-vocational education related to agricultural, rural constructional and manufacturing activities, which will enable school-leavers to engage in productive employment and receive further training on the job.

Some authorities have suggested postponing the entry of children into the first grade to about the age of eight or nine so that at the terminal stage of the primary school, they are fifteen or sixteen, and therefore mature enough to utilize the prevocational training in productive work.

A junior secondary sub-cycle of 3 years and a senior sub-cycle of 2 years, offering a diversified curriculum in comprehensive rural schools is suggested. Technical, vocational, commercial and home science courses based on rurally relevant syllabuses, with emphasis on practical accomplishments are suggested. The proportion of primary school certificated pupils to be allowed into the next secondary cycle will have to be carefully worked out in relation to the resources of the country, its planned economic growth and manpower requirements, the absorptive capacity of the labour market for varying skills (which includes, of course, the supply of teachers and intake into post-secondary education). Rural post-secondary tertiary level facilities, offering flexible programmes of instruction and training should be provided,

with emphasis on the applied sciences and arts, and undertaking problem-oriented research related to rural development. It is also suggested that an extensive system of non-formal education be organized for the out-of-school youth, the adult active labour force, and women.

A. Primary Level—Duration 7 years

(*i*) The primary cycle extends over seven years, and comprises two sub-cycles of 4 years and 3 years. The first sub-cycle of four years (lower primary) is intended essentially to achieve a minimum level of literacy, including elementary number skills. It may be regarded as a preparation for the next sub-level of primary education (senior primary), and in cases where this is terminal its objective is also to prepare the mind to be receptive to new ideas. Educational attainment at this level does not prepare one for much more than unskilled labour. It will be noted that the duration, content and objectives of this sub-level are the same for the town and country child.

Two Educational Streams

(*ii*) The second sub-cycle of three years (senior primary) is common to all town children and the objective is to provide a general education, with emphasis on the further acquisition of language and number skills. In so far as the country child is concerned, there are two streams of educational experience offered:

(*a*) a small percentage (which is a matter for political decision) of children will pursue the same general education course as urban children in preparation mainly for an academic (or grammar school type) secondary education or secondary commercial education;

(*b*) the great majority of rural children will receive a practical type of prevocational education in rural farm schools, concentrating upon activities related to farming operations, rural handicrafts, and homecraft (for the girls), though instruction in language and number skills will not be neglected. The objective of this sub-cycle is to orient the mind of the child to a knowledge of the rural environment and rural activities in which he is likely to find the source of his livelihood. The sub-cycle is a preparation for the vocational education and training of the next secondary cycle, but it is more than likely that it will be terminal for many a youngster at the age of 13 or 14 (especially

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girls), in which case, further training will have to take place on the job. It is hoped that the methods of instruction and the content of the course will be sufficiently interesting to prevent the alienation of the rural child from his environment, and stimulate him to exploit the economic possibilities of small or large scale farming (perhaps through co-operatives).

In terms of **occupational fitness** this level of educational attainment will be regarded as the minimum for employment as drivers, junior shop assistants, messengers, postmen, petty repairmen, semi-skilled factory machine operators, apprentices, tailors, seamstresses, junior agricultural assistants, etc.

B. Secondary Level—Duration 5 years

The secondary cycle extends over 5 years, and comprises two sub-cycles of 3 years and 2 years. It should be noted that the end of the secondary stage is reached after twelve years from the admission of the child into the first grade. There are many developed countries whose stock of educated manpower was built upon a 12 year primary-secondary cycle, and at this stage of economic development it should also prove adequate for the needs and resources of African countries. The savings effected by a one-year reduction in the 13 year primary-secondary cycle adopted in some African countries, following the practice in industrialized countries, could be diverted to other educational purposes. It is important for African educational development to examine critically the need to adhere to traditional cycles or duration of successive stages of education. What is important is not the length of a course but the relevance of its content to the local situation.

(*ii*) The first sub-cycle of three years (junior secondary) is common to both the urban and rural sub-system. It represents the end of 10 years of schooling, and a big fall off in school enrolment beyond this stage, when young people enter the labour market (if they had commenced at the age of five or six); A diversified curriculum is offered in the urban and rural sub-systems. In the **urban** sector there are the usual general education, commercial, technical, home science, and vocational (trades) streams, which can be designed to be terminal for those who would wish to leave school and receive on-the-job training. In the **rural** sector, pupils completing the upper primary level (general or prevocational farm schools) have three broad optional streams of education with a technical/vocational bias. If comprehensive schools are set up, as I would propose, then a commercial stream may be added to these options. Some boys will enter the junior agriculture school stream to learn the theory and practice of agriculture (crop and animal production), and the related sciences, plus some language and literature; others more inclined towards engineering and constructional activity will enter the rural technical/vocational (trades) school and learn such things as engineering drawing, wood and metal work, bricklaying, brick making, house building, combustion engines, etc.; and, others clerical skills. In many ways the skills learnt in the rural technical/vocational junior high schools are applicable in urban industrial employment, if the growth in industries does exert a pull on the skilled rural labour force. Therefore, there is not much advantage for the rural youth to seek this kind of education and training in the urban system when it is readily available in the rural system. However, if the occasion should arise, junior secondary rural trades graduates will qualify to follow appropriate courses at the senior level in the urban system. On the other hand, urban secondary certificated school pupils may also be able to utilize their education and training in the rural economy.

Occupational Fitness

Girls, in general, will follow the junior home science courses, in the rural areas, and this should qualify them to enter a nursing school or a teacher training institute exactly in the same way as urban girls; but some would also enter the commercial stream.

In terms of **occupational fitness** the junior secondary level of educational attainment may be regarded as the minimum for employment as sales assistants, junior agricultural extension workers, clerical assistants, machine operators, craftsmen, and journeymen, policemen, small farm operators, etc.

(*iii*) The next sub-cycle (senior secondary) is of 2 years duration, and takes the student to the matriculation or university qualifying entrance stage, i.e. the end of the high school stage. The same diversified curricula are offered as continuation of the junior secondary school. Graduates of the senior secondary school would constitute the core of the

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supply of the middle-level manpower, and thus the courses are designed to be terminal at this sub-level, both in the urban and rural system. At the same time, the completion of the courses at this level would qualify for further academic, professional, scientific and technical education and training at the tertiary level.

In terms of **occupational fitness,** this level of education would overlap with the post-secondary undergraduate level of studies, and may be regarded as a minimum attainment for positions carrying a fair degree of individual responsibility as technicians, supervisors and foremen, nurses, stenographers, office machine operators, salesmen, sub-professional assistants, production engineers, draughtsmen, laboratory assistants, clerks, etc. In the rural sectors they could also be trained in management science to take charge of farming operations and small-scale rural industries.

C. **Tertiary Level**—Duration 1-6 years, or more.

(*i*) The tertiary cycle, ranging from 1-6 years or more, provides for progression from the secondary graduate level to a wide variety of education and training in the pure and applied sciences and arts. The terminal courses may also range from one-year to three-year diplomas of technical institutes in certain professional and technological studies and in applied sciences with undergraduate status; and from three to six-year degree courses at universities.

(*ii*) An important feature of the proposal is to eliminate the dichotomy that exists in the status between the kind of academic studies undertaken at traditional university-type institutions, and the kind of studies and training undertaken in the applied sciences and technology at advanced polytechnics, institutes or colleges of technology. The tendency—a carry over from the pre-industrial past—is to regard the practical and applied studies as being somewhat inferior to the so-called "pure", "theoretical" studies.

African countries which are trying to develop their economies and societies as rapidly as possible by the application of modern science and technology cannot be hampered by this artificial status division between the "pure" and the "applied", the "mental" and the "manual". Hence the proposal is to follow a uniform practice of awarding "certificates", "diplomas", and "degrees" irrespective of whether the tertiary level courses completed are in the "academic" or "applied" fields. Secondly, the proposals provide, in particular, for transfers from the "academic" to "applied" courses, and vice versa, depending upon the growing interests and aptitude of the individual for specialization. Thirdly, the proposals also provide for continuation of specialist studies and training for research in university-type institutions (academic or technological) from the undergraduate institutes, eg. technical institutes, agricultural institutes, rural engineering institutes and teacher-training institutes.

Fourthly, the proposals allow for mobility from the rural institutes to the urban advanced universities, in the appropriate field of specialization. For example, if the educational objective is to enable the rural population to throw up scientists or technologists whose area of interest continues to be in the development of rural economic and social activities, opportunity is provided for them to proceed from the agricultural institute or rural engineering institute to an academic type of university or a technological university. This assumes concurrence between the educational institutions on course credits, which is not impossible if the educators would take an integral view of education and national development needs, and are less tradition-bound. It is also feasible to establish completely autonomous rural universities, when developments justify this, with the focus on rural development needs and problems.

Adjusting to Rural Environment

(*iii*) Another feature of the proposals for coherent, parallel sub-systems of education is the provision made for teacher-training institutions both in the urban and the rural sectors, thus ensuring a supply of teachers, whose minds are adjusted to the rural environment, for the rural system of schools, colleges and institutes. The same applies to the training of rural nurses and social workers in the agricultural institute or the teacher-training institute. There need be no hard and fast lines of institutional separation in the early stages, at least, of the training of agricultural production specialists, agricultural extension workers, community development workers, nurses and

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social workers for there is much to be said for taking an integral and inter-disciplinary view of the development of human resources.

(*iv*) Both the agricultural and rural engineering institutes will provide a variety of one-year, two-year and three-year diploma level courses, in accordance with the high-level and middle-level skill requirements of the rural development plan. It is intended that the attention given to the basic agricultural sciences, as distinct from their applications to production, will encourage some young men and women to continue their studies with a view to engaging in pure or applied research of relevance to agricultural production, e.g. plant and animal genetics, plant and animal pathology, the conservation and utilization of soil and water resources, plant and animal posts, preservation, etc. Similarly, the rural engineering institute could provide engineering courses (civil, mechanical, electrical) of relevance to rural agricultural production as well as for the industrial processing of agricultural products. However, the needs of rapid development suggest a sharing of the curriculum time between the classroom/laboratory and the field of workshop. The field and workshop assignments can be made a real life experience if the students are allocated for appropriate periods in production enterprises, very much along the lines in which teachers, nurses, doctors, lawyers and accountants, for example, are trained.

D. Adult Education

Arrangements for (i) part-time education, and (ii) adult education programmes, especially functional literacy programmes, for those who are employed. Continuing education services should be available in the rural sector, and reinforced through the use of mass communication media (radio, television, films, newspapers, etc.) The emphasis of adult education will be on vocational training, on upgrading skills, and on creating receptivity to change.

Farmer training centres, offering full-time courses of 2-12 months duration for producing farmers, should be established.

Implementation

The reorganization of the rural sub-system of education so that it may become a realistic system, oriented to development needs and priorities is a long-term programme which should be, for each country, preceded by detailed surveys, studies, planning and preparation of administrative and teaching personnel. It is important that we should proceed cautiously, step by step, lest the whole programme founders through insufficient understanding and appreciation of the new goals set for rural education by the community at large and the educationists.

It is exceptionally difficult to bring about a conceptual change in educational practice modelled for generations on alien systems, and the resistance to change affects parents as well as the professionals themselves who are products of the archaic system. Perhaps, what we ought to do first is stimulate a dialogue on our university and teacher-training campuses on this concept of development education, of examinations and standards of achievement, of the alleged antinomy between the cultural and vocational in education, and so on. The curriculum of teacher education is not complete without a course on development education. It is paradoxical that such courses are more readily available in developed countries than in the universities of the developing countries.

Retraining the Teachers

The bottleneck in changing an educational system is not so much money as the lack of a suitably prepared teaching force. We often make the mistake of trying to introduce changes in educational practice without having taken the necessary steps to retrain the existing teachers in terms of content, attitudes and capabilities, and to ensure the adequate preparation of the future supply of teachers. It appears to me that because the development of the rural areas has not had the kind of attention it should have had, the theory and practice of rural education itself tended to be neglected.

This state of affairs would have to be remedied first by the establishment in rural areas of teacher-training institutes, staffed by teacher-educators of high calibre who will train teachers for the special needs of integrated rural development and will also promote and undertake research into the specific problems of rural education.

Organizationally, I think these teacher-training institutions should be incorporated within the framework of the rural agricultural /engineering colleges or institutes. Pilot projects of this kind should be established in

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selected areas before expanding the system. Since the emphasis in rural education, at this stage of the socio-economic development of most developing countries, would be on practical, work-oriented training on the farms, workshops, offices, clinics, laboratories and homes, we would need a large corps of instructors and demonstrators of vocational subjects or skills. The gross shortage of teachers of practical trade courses is likely to be the main constraint to the development of the rural education programme. The urban technical and vocational schools and the industries themselves are competing for the services of such trained personnel. Sufficient experience has been gained in the last World War and since then in the industrially-advanced countries, on short-intensive training of personnel in manual, mechanical and technical skills. The highest priority should be given to this part of the programme.

Agriculture and Mechanical Arts

Rural secondary schools should be organized on the lines of comprehesive schools offering a variety of courses. One might also look into the possibilities of devising a core curriculum exposing boys to both agriculture and mechanical arts, the girls to home science and agriculture or clerical skills. This is a complex operation full of problems, especially of location and accessibility to rural students. They would have to be established for their success in some central locations such as rural towns, or village complexes planned for rapid urban development. We see in this instance alone how important it is to co-ordinate the educational development programme with other social and economic development programmes. This suggests the early establishment of co-ordinating machinery at local, rural, and national levels.

I also think that the management of secondary and tertiary educational institutions should be closely associated, as partners in development, with the design, supervision and evaluation of integrated rural development projects. In this way, the educational institution will get to know whether it is turning out the type and quality of manpower skills required and whether or not its education content and methods are having the anticipated impact on individual motivations and attitudes.

What I have left for my last point is, perhaps, the most feasible area of educational action; and this is the development of non-formal educational services for the school-leavers who have left without any working skills and for the actively employed adults, men and women. Firstly, functional literacy classes should be started for farmers and industrial workers, men and women. Extension work—both agricultural and industrial—will have its best effect only if it is directed to a literate population. ◘

Some countries are finding that training of active farmers—men and women—at farmers' centres, for short periods yields immediate results in the way of increased farm production, which is the demonstration effect on which rural development can be brought about more quickly. The young school-leavers may also be enrolled at these centres and taught agricultural vocational skills, including some mechanical skills. In this field of action, the mass media of communication (newspapers, radio, films and television) also offer great possibilities for imparting techniques and general information, and for changing attitudes.

In conclusion, I might, perhaps, be allowed to observe that unless the people themselves are motivated ideologically and take to development as a religion, committing themselves to effort and sacrifices for a future life of abundance for themselves and their children, the results attending any scheme of education or economic progress are likely to be meagre.

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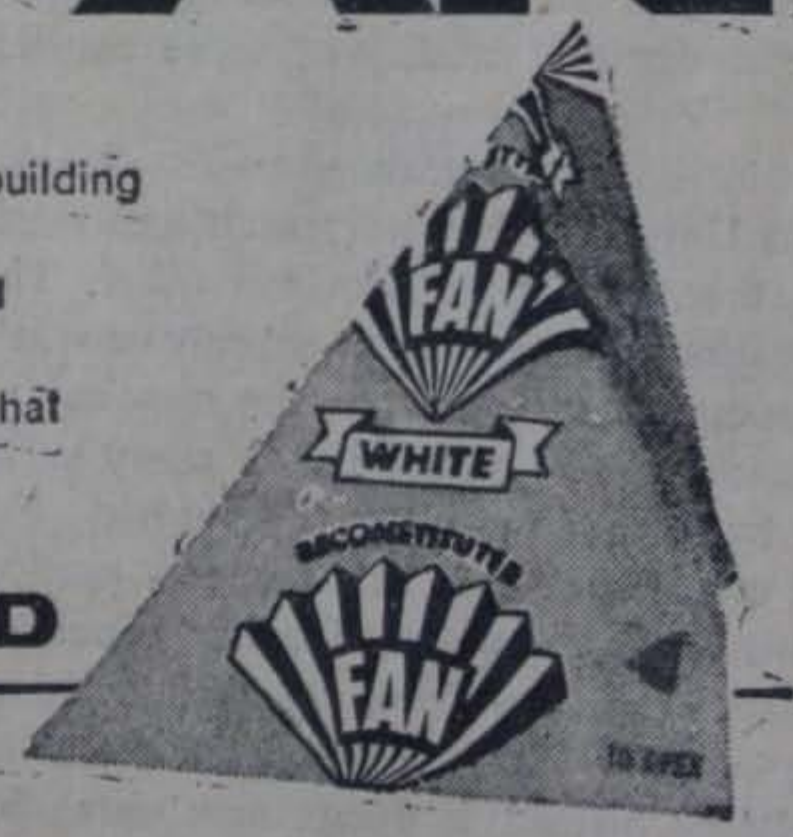
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CAPE COAST UNIVERSITY— A Rejoinder

By E. Asiedu-Akrofi

IN HIS article which appeared in the *Observer* of 10-23rd April, 1970, Mr. K. A. Karikari expressed concern about the primary and secondary aims of the U.C.C.C. The primary aim is to train "graduate teachers in arts and science subjects for secondary schools, teacher training colleges, polytechnics and technical institutes". The secondary aim is to "provide higher Education, to undertake research, to disseminate knowledge and to foster relationships with outside bodies and persons".

He pointed out that these aims need constant reappraisal in terms of the shifting changing demands of Ghanaian society. All people who are honestly involved in the affairs of this institution share this concern in one way or the other. However, in his anxiety to discuss some of the problems that face the college, he misled the public about the role of the Faculty of Education in the gamut and entirety of the work of the whole college.

Aristotelian Concept

Mr. Karikari made the following unfortunate assumptions:

(1) Fulfilling the primary aim of U.C.C.C. will not permit research;
(2) if the secondary aim is to be achieved, the primary aim will have to be sacrificed;
(3) students devote more time to Education and less to other subjects;
(4) very little research has been done by the Faculty of Education into students' needs.

Let us consider the validity of these assumptions.

In all institutions dealing with teacher education at University level, research and teaching go together. One reinforces the other. This type of educational research is an entirely new field now developing. It differs from the classical research in that it has to contend with many variables posed by its main subject, the student. This is the kind of research that this college's particular experiment exposes us to. Teacher education in Cape Coast neither sacrifices research nor does it make the institution look like a glorified teacher training college. Instead it opens new vistas for exploration and challenge to Lecturers.

The concept underlying Mr. Karikari's assumption is Aristotelian and out of fashion with modern scientific thinking. Like all people of Aristotelian persuasion, Mr. Karikari presumes that if a higher institution does not dispense with academically respectable subjects then it does not merit being called a university. He forgets that at the turn of the century economics and sociology were treated academically with as much scorn as it is being done to education today.

The uniqueness of the Cape Coast experiment is that education courses run concurrently with the content subjects instead of it being taught as a topping-up post-graduate course. The advantage of this is the creation of a bridge among the different specializations and the development in students of attitudes that cognitively compel a sense of responsibility to education as a whole. It is this posture of attitude that forces recognition of the social problems with which education must deal. It also makes students see teaching as a unified enterprise and not as segregated elements called subjects and methodology. In budgeting time for this purpose, education courses take 5 hours per week while the others take 22 hours per week. The five hours include teaching practice. No one can grudge the faculty of education with this time in an institution that is dedicated to education.

Unfortunately Mr. Karikari does not appear to be conversant with time budgeting in the U.C.C.C. He should be aware that this is the fashion in our sister universities in Africa. What is wrong with time budgeting in the other faculties is not the 5 hours devoted to education but rather unnecessary coverage of ponderous ambitions and improperly integrated syllabuses which take away student time and so rob them of even the opportunity to work out their lecture notes.

Time Budgeting

On this score Professor Kay, Pro-Vice Chancellor of Sheffield University who visited both the Faculty of Science and Education recently commented on time budgeting as follows:

> The Faculty of Education's courses can only contribute marginally to this tightening of the syllabuses since their proportion of the whole curriculum is relatively small. It would seem that the most effective action would aim, not so much at curtailing the length of Education course, as in integrating the work of the two Faculties.

Thus other experienced university opinions find Mr. Karikari's argument weightless and untrue. We can save student time by integrating the courses. For instance, the Science Faculty should stress the teaching of the biological sciences which are relevant to our schools instead of sticking to zoology and botany which have no meaning in our schools. Our students become

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of little or no use at all to the schools. The other faculties will have to learn that courses of study alone do not determine the degree of intellectual activity possible in students.

Mr. Karikari is, however, right to say that on the whole very little research has been done in the college. There are several reasons for this. A few are worth mentioning here:

(1) The heavy teaching load of lecturers, who are few, in relation to other duties;
(2) Lack of funds for research;
(3) Lack of encouragement on the part of the Ghana Universities Press which insists on *best sellers* as if they should only be interested in the world of novels and not materials that contribute to scientific konwledge.

These handicaps are shared by lecturers in all the three universities. Mr. Karikari, however, stumbles badly when he says that very little research into students' problems has been done by the faculty of education. At least the faculty can pride itself over a few in the field of teacher attitude among students.

Impasse Between the Faculties

Perhaps the most significant point made in his article is the impasse between the faculty of education, on one hand, and the faculties of science and arts on the other. It is ironical and unfortunate that a university dedicated to education has about 85% of its staff without any background in education. One would have expected a fair balance of interests. Among this number one finds people who think traditionally that one is necessarily a good teacher if one knows one's subject and can pour it out to students. Their subjects are more important than the students or anything else. If the lecture makes meaning to a student, God bless him; if it does not, he is a dunce. We of the faculty of education think differently. We consider three things:

(1) mastery over subject content;
(2) the manner of communicating subject matter to the student; and
(3) whether the subject matter makes meaning to the student. Learning does not occur until the student understands what is taught. Unless this is achieved the lecturer is deemed to have spoken for nothing.

Obviously these two stands create impasse between us. The impasse exists in all institutions of this kind. It is not bad in itself. It has the advantage of facilitating a dialogue. To encourage this, the faculty of education in co-operation with the other faculties has instituted occasional lectures called "Teaching in the University". At such lectures attended by people from all the faculties, we discuss modern teaching techniques in university teaching. I am proud to say it has made a good start. It is only people of Mr. Karikari's thinking who think that the faculty of education is imposing its will upon the other lecturers and who refuse to attend these in-service training discussions.

Lastly, there are about three reports on the faculty of science and on the college as a whole. The writers are eminent scholars drawn from European and American Universities. I wonder if we have exhausted their recommendations for improvements in the following areas.

(1) the quality of students;
(2) the nature of the staff;
(3) the quality of teaching;
(4) the facilities available for teaching;
(5) the structure, content and organization of courses; and
(6) examination requirements and conditions.

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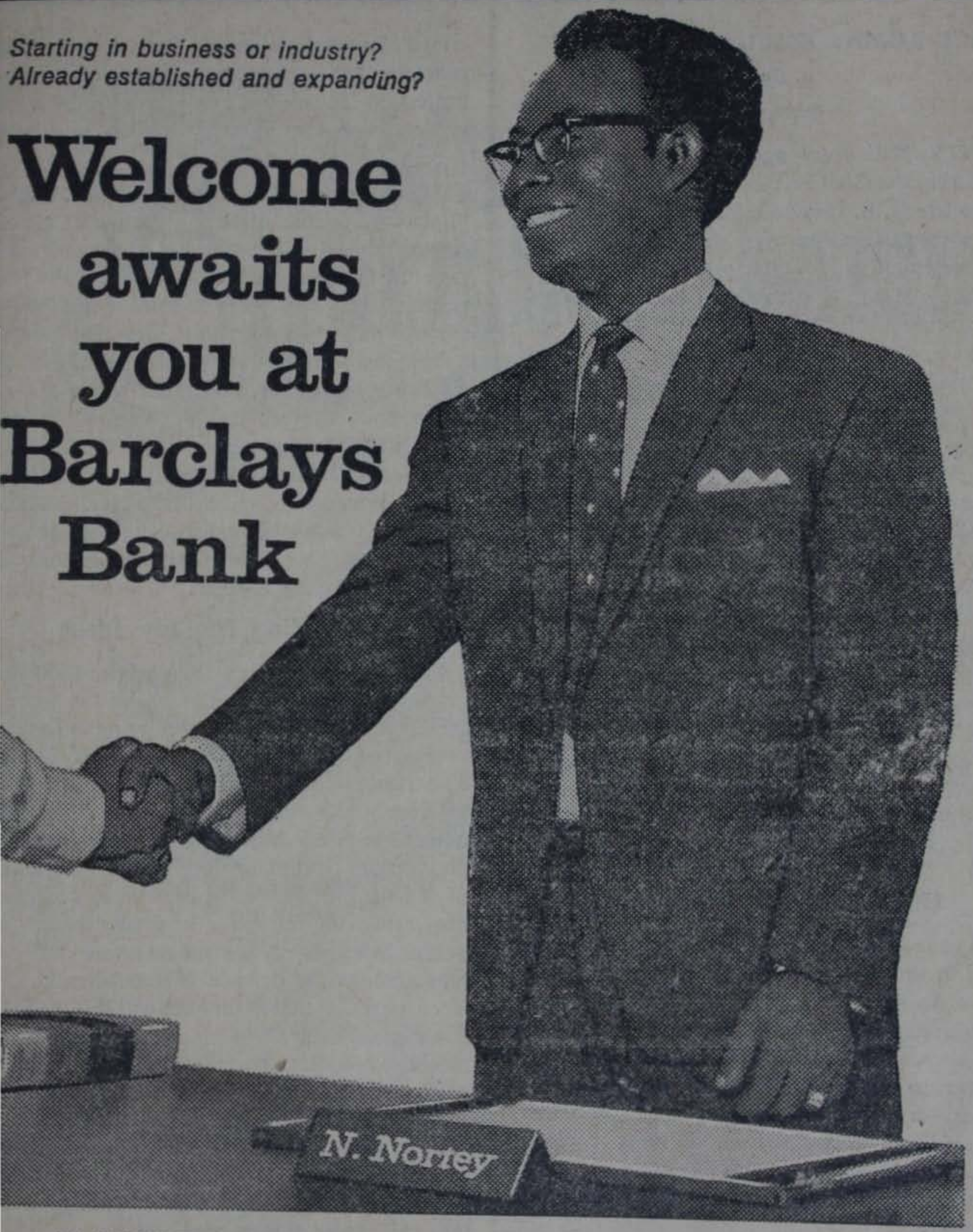
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ONCE AGAIN: TEACHERS' UNIFORM

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TWENTY-ONE years ago when I was seriously considering the Civil Service as a career, I consulted the late J. B. Danquah for advice. He pushed his lips forward, as he often did when he was in doubt or found a particular problem he's turning over in his mind distasteful, and said: "The Civil Service mind insofar as it can be said to have mind, works anti-clockwise and when it decides to back a certain point of view, it will go on backing it even when the point is no longer valid". I decided instead, to become a secondary school teacher.

Of course Danquah's opinion of the Civil Service at the time was much coloured by his frequent clashes with the top expatriate Civil Servants, though he was on excellent personal relations with one or two of them to whom he occasionally submitted his literary efforts (mainly poetry) for comment and criticism.

As I listened on Sunday (May 17, 1970) to Adjei Bekoe's lively T.V. programme, "Comment," I couldn't help recalling Danquah's rather cynical description of the Civil Service mind. The panel, you will recall, was made up of Messrs Hesse, (not Fifi), Panford and J. W. L. Mills, Chief Education Officer—and of course the host himself.

Unacceptable Comparisons

Only the previous day, I had been reading an article in the "Ghanaian Times" (May 16, 1970) by one Mr. E. T. Osabutey in which he demonstrably failed to give one sound or respectable reason why elementary school teachers should wear uniforms to school. There was the usual mindless comparison of school teachers with policemen and soldiers—a comparison, I must confess, which always puzzles me. Surely it is not with policemen and soldiers that teachers should be compared!

One profession—the teaching profession—is primarily concerned with teaching children how to think; the other professions, with teaching adults how to obey instructions. The distinction between the two professions is not so sharply marked but it will do for our purpose. In other words, there is all the difference between education and regimentation. For example, I would venture to suggest that there is more room in the teaching profession for argument, for the meeting of minds, between the teacher and his pupil, and between one pupil and another, than there is in the military or police service, where the meetings of officers and men can hardly be described as meetings of minds. But I do not therefor conclude that the teaching profession is a superio profession. The utmost I can claim for the teachin profession is that I would rather be a teache than a soldier or policeman.

I found some of the arguments of Mr. Osabute intolerably puerile. Here is a sample of his capa city for logical analysis, in his own words, accor ding to his remark in the Accra daily unde reference: "In fact both the teacher and the pries are not only public servants, but also God's re presentatives on earth. The teacher teaches Reli gious Knowledge in the school where the gooc foundation of every future generation is built" From these weighty reasons Mr. Osabutey con cludes that the teacher must wear a uniform t school. It might be inferred from Mr. Osabutey' article that if one is unfortunate to teach such mundane subjects as arithmetic or history, then he need not wear a uniform.

Defending Mouldy Ideas

You can imagine how relieved and delighted I was when Dr. Bekoe announced the topic fo Comment. Here at last we were going to be treated to reasoned argument which would surely be higher than the level attained by Mr. Osabutey. In fac by adroit and careful questioning, Adjei Beko tried to ensure a high level of discussion: it wa not his fault that he did not succeed. The Ministry of Education representative, I fear, was mainly responsible for this poor level of debate.

Mr. Mills struck me as one who was well rehearsed in the defence of mouldy and date ideas. He knew that as far back as 1961, the C.P.P government decided to impose uniforms on ele mentary school teachers, without assigning an reason whatsoever for this action. Whether Mr Mills agreed with this government action o even bothered to ascertain its underlying reason cannot be determined with certainty. Nevertheless like a good civil servant, he dutifully ensure that this order was carried out.

But he excelled himself when he came to giv what appeared to him to be reasons why teacher should wear uniforms to school. Wearing uniforms he informed listeners, enabled school childre to identify their teachers; again it enabled th species of important personages called Educatio Officers to identify the teachers. If teachers didn' wear uniforms, it would be difficult for a 5-yea old pupil to find someone help him find his wa to the toilet. If they did not wear uniforms, som teachers would wear cloth, top-hats, stocking etc. to school. And as for the female teachers they were not compelled to wear uniforms, elemen tary schools would degenerate into fashion parade

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and the female teachers would waste all their money on expensive clothes.

Mr. Mills's cold detachment was a trifling pompous, I thought, and it stood in sharp contrast to the warm and passionate hammer-strokes of Mr. Hesse who unmistakably gave me the impression of one who personally felt the insult of teachers being compelled to wear uniform—and, what is more, was prepared to do something about it. Whereas the Chief Education Officer was labouring hard to pronounce his words meticulously—and by so doing overdid the pronunciation of "tutors"—Mr. Hesse was mainly concerned with making his points as vigorously as possible, while Mr. Panford most calmly held the balance.

Imposed from Above

On my part I don't intend to concede that anything said by Mr. Mills that evening or anything I have come across so far in the local papers by the champions of uniforms for teachers remotely resembles reason. The fact of the matter simply is that the thing was imposed by somebody with a taste for seeing as many people as possible labelled so that he or his spies, to use the foolish phrase, could easily identify them. The taxi-drivers openly rebelled against being put into uniform, and because they were a sizeable political force, they got away with it. But teachers being the spineless creatures, we have always been slipped quietly into our uniforms and have worn them for more than nine years. And because teachers have worn them for nine years some people are trying to invent reasons why they should wear uniforms all their lives.

As Mr. Hesse pointed out that evening, elementary school teachers have not always worn uniforms in this country. And, as Mr. Mills very well knows, there are many countries where elementary school teachers do not wear uniform. But not even Mr. Mills would argue that the absence of uniforms made for indiscipline in the past in Ghana, or in any of the countries where teachers don't wear uniforms. Nor would he contend that this made it any more difficult for pupils to identify their teachers or for school inspectors to make out which teacher taught standard 6 or 7. But is it a fact that children recognized their teachers only by the uniform they wore? If an Education Officer cannot recognize the teachers in a school he is inspecting without the aid of uniforms to improve his vision or memory then hadn't he better consider a permanent job in an office? All this emphasis on identifying the teacher is a little humiliating, as if teachers were a sub-species of humanity who, in order to be identified, must first be labelled.

At one stage of the T.V. discussion I wasn't quite certain whether Mr. Mills meant to be taken seriously or whether he was being merely facetious, when he said that if teachers were given the option of wearing what they liked to school, some of them might turn up at school in top-hats, bowler hats, cloth and stockings. But good manners compel me to take the Chief Education Officer seriously since I cannot imagine a responsible public officer mounting a public platform to talk in the way he did.

Meanwhile, however, I say nothing about whether or not wearing bowler hats to school infringes the Constitution, the teachings of the Church or the Educational Code; or whether it interferes with anybody's freedom. But, granted that some teachers will wear these alarming costumes to school, is this a matter that should exercise the mind of the Ministry? On the contrary, I should have thought that wearing these conspicuous and unmistakable objects to school would solve one of Mr. Mill's serious educational problems, namely, the inability of school children and Education Officers to identify school teachers. Surely any Education Officer of minimum intelligence can identify a teacher in a bowler-hat.

The remaining points made by Mr. Mills do not deserve any notice. The shortest reply to all of them is that if Junior Civil Servants can wear what they choose to work, there can be no reason why primary school teachers should not, at least, enjoy the same freedom; unless of course, it is contended that Junior Civil Servants are more responsible than teachers. As for Mr. Mills's concern that the schools might degenerate into fashion parades if female teachers scandalously overdressed themselves to school, all I can say is that I have not noticed that in the University Primary Schools, the International and Private schools springing up all over the country, the female teachers dress immodestly to school. In one school some of the female teachers wear traditional attire to school.

I would be the first to concede that the schools I have listed above are exceptions. Nevertheless I would rather see the female teachers sometimes wear bright cotton prints to school than this drab white uniform some of them wear. But by far the most important consideration–the most overriding consideration– is that school teachers must have the right to choose the sort of clothes they wou y wear to school. They may all to a man decide wear uniform; well and good. Personally I wou regret their decision but I would respect it, nev theless, since it represents the clear decision responsible adults.

Observer Notebook

Mr. John Matthew Poku: The New Asantehene

HE newspapers reported on the 15th of June at Mr. John Matthew Poku, a nephew of the te Otumfuo the Asantehene, had been nominated the Asantehemaa and unanimously accepted both the Kumasi Traditional and Asanteman ouncils as the Asantehene-elect. Nana Atakora maniampong II, Mamponghene and Acting esident of the Ashanti Region House of Chiefs ho made the announcement to the Press is re-rted to have said that a convened meeting of e Asanteman Council had unanimously accepted ana Poku's nomination and declared to "cheers d wild applause": "Therefore I, Atakora naniampong II, Mamponghene and acting Pre-ent of the Ashanti Region House of Chiefs, behalf of the queenmother, paramount chiefs, e chiefs of Kumasi and on my own behalf, clare Nana John Matthew Poku as the. . . . antehene-elect."

No one who has been in Kumasi and other rts of Ashanti since the death of the late Otumfuo has any doubts that the 'cheers and wild applause' were representative of the affectionate feeling and respect that the people of Ashanti have for Nana Poku. Those who have known in his work as an official of the Kumasi Municipal Council, in his student days in London (where he was the uncrowned chief of the Ashanti community in that city) and in his brief career as a barrister readily testify to his courtesy and very humane qualities, very important prerequisites of modern chiefship: here is no person inclined to lord it over others. It was these qualities that won him high office under the National Liberation Council and have made him the widely acclaimed king of Ashanti.

He is the most successful blend of tradition and modernity that one could possibly come across and this capacity to combine tradition and modernity should serve him well as Asantehene in the middle of the twentieth century.

For the qualities required in a modern Asantehene are slightly different from those required in the Asantehenes of old. In the great days of Ashanti, her embattled people required an ambituios king who "knew no fear." Today what is



required is not so much fearlessness as cautious diplomacy, imaginative flexibility, a capacity for accommodation, forthrightness which would indicate ability to see and accept the inevitability of change.

Nana Poku should not find his new role difficult. He is a man of wide experience and in touch with most of the Ashanti articulate and influential youth who have wished him to be kind and who would be ready for consultation on matters relating both to Ashanti and to Ghana as a whole. He has a flair for getting on with people and has the support of the overwhelming majority of his people, particularly of those who know what should be the business of a modern Ghanaian chief.

The **Observer** congratulates the chiefs and people of Ashanti for a relatively smooth election and Nana Poku for the near-unanimity of his selection. We wish him a pleasant confinement in his **apatam,** a successful installation and a long and prosperous reign.

GBC-Television

IT will come as no sensational news to anyone even remotely connected with the developing world to be told that one of its most painful handicaps is technological inefficiency; also that this arises out of combinations of many factors, both human and material. Moreover, it does not require the imagination of dreamers and story-tellers to complete the picture of what happens in many places and on particular occasions; in other words, what we don't know for sure as the facts of our technological inefficiency we can easily imagine.

In the case of our television service from Broadcasting House for instance, we know that Ghana's economic plight in general affects them in particular, to as great a degree as in the case of any other government financed establishment in this country. We know they are often, or perhaps parmanently, short of essential equipment, either because they have not been able to buy the necessary machines themselves originally, or because these have broken down "and there are no spare-parts". We know too that trained and highly skilled technical manpower is (a) hard to get, (b) hard to retain, and (c) hard to replace. And we can imagine that efficiency on the human level often falls by default, by carelessness, negligence, irresponsibility, inability or sheer worthlessness, and that the transportation and handling of huge, complex, expensive equipment must present enormous technical problems and difficulties.

All this and more we know, or can imagine, and do understand. What we cannot accept is that therefore we have to endure anything at all that GBC-TV puts out. And much of what it does put out these days is a scandal on standards and an affront to our self respect.

First of all the handling of equipment is obviously incompetent, to an intolerable degree. Camera work is so poor as to be below the line of amateurism; projection, focus, continuity, sequence, lighting, angling, framing—all of these details of the cameraman's art are just a big laugh on GBC-TV at the moment. The newsreels and shots from outside-broadcast events are sometimes a mere succession of spooky blots and patches, though the work of individual newsreel cameramen is often beautiful. Overseas pictures and sequences are sometimes completely ruined in the mere screening here.

Granting that a lot of this affliction is the result of the handicaps we have listed before, the question is: do we have to be subjected to these intolerable standards? It were better we got the news straight from the fine voices and creditable delivery of our team of newscasters, **without the illustrations,** than be presented with these documentary and newsreel monstrosities. And why, oh why, do we have to endure persistent and prolonged bad focussing, so many breaks in transmission, so much disjunction and mis-juxtapositioning, so much jumping and twisting and turning of headless torsos and dismembered appendages?

We think the service can rid us all of some of these exasperating experiences by simply holding back camera items which are too poor to be shown. It is better to be thought poor and unable than to be dismissed as ignorant and vulgar. As for bad technicians, well, if you don't train more of them, give them status and make them proud of their function, those who are not all this will continue to ruin the best work of your high-powered script-writers, editors, producers, and what have you.

Those Afternoon Jumps

WITH THE impending school vacation, especially since it is a long vacation, some members of the older generation will by now have started developing ulcers about the afternoon jumps our younger set will be engaged in. What are the objections to these jumps?

It is held that they are venues for drinking

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and smoking by people who are too young to indulge in such things. They are also blamed for the alleged increase in promiscuity among our young people. That these are social problems is undeniable. But have the older set really examined their contribution to this woeful state of affairs?

If there had been proper parental care in all homes would there be any wayward children? If older men did not so persistently corrupt young girls, would there be as much of a twilight zone in our society? And, most important of all, what does the older generation expect our young folks to do with a two-month free time? What alternatives have we opened out for them?

Football? You can't watch football for ever! Besides, it is no fun always being a spectator; even in a spectator-sport like football there is more heroism in being a player.

National Service Corps? It is not off the ground yet. And it is not even entertainment. True, it will help direct some of the young energy into productive channels, but it is work, and after work our young people will seek relaxation.

No, the *Observer* believes the whole problem needs closer looking at. Certainly, the Kumasi City Council's proposal to just ban all such dances fights shy of the question. Is there not a real danger that the Council would be forcing the young people underground?

Even the proposal to restrict entry to people over 18 is not so simple to execute. What magic thing happens to a youth on his eighteenth birthday? With our very poor standard of documentation, how do we easily get people to provide evidence of their age?

A way out of this problem would be to combine any feasible checks on bad conduct with realistic alternative avenues of entertainment and relaxation. For instance, some schools have introduced traditional drumming and dancing into their programme, mostly for Speech Day delectation of parents and guardians. Is it not possible to organise some of the youth groups along these lines so that they can perform these dances in our cities, possibly on a commercial basis? Remember, these are open air activities, and they could even become part of the programme of the National Service Corps.

Our older generation cannot arrogate to themselves the outward-looking craze for Benzes, wigs and other consumer goods and expect any miracles from the youth. They merely look on and carry our *mores* to their logical extreme. If we want change from them, we have to provide the framework for change: not by clamping down on manifestations of their youthful exuberance, but by providing opportunities for their direction into more socially acceptable channels. And the first step to that is to change the whole value system and artistic orientation — first, that of the older generation.

Letters

Luxury And Sacrifice

SIR — I congratulate you on your recent Editorial (L.O. V/11) of which I share the views.

The Minister of Education tells me I have to accept a teaching appointment in a rural area or I will be sacked. After all somebody has to teach in such an area. Later the Minister goes on a tour of educational institutions in a region — the Brong Ahafo Region for instance. He is using a luxurious, comfortable Mercedes Benz 220SE Car. He visits the regional capital and other towns nearby which have, of course, tarred roads. He fails to do a thirty mile journey from Berekum to Dormaa-Ahenkro to visit Dormaa Secondary School — the highest in the region — presumably because the road is not tarred. This is what I believe.

Another officer from this same Ministry visited this same school on official duty. I received him, and the first thing he said after getting out of his car was "Ah! Ah! as for this your road. That's why I hate coming here".

What will you say if I refuse to accept an appointment in a rural area if my superior officer builds into me this negative attitude towards things rural?

Let us practise what we preach.

Dormaa Secondary School **Ernest Ocei**
Dormaa Ahenkro

Delays at the Licensing Offices

SIR—The Licensing Office near the Airport in Accra has been affectionately christened "House of Delays" by all well-meaning Ghanaians and foreigners alike. This is not a play on words but an apt description of events that go on there.

Frustration, tiredness, annoyance and dismay are the lot of those members of the community who possess motor vehicles and who are enjoined by law to obtain licences or renew them.

At the end of every quarter of the year, one sees long queues of persons seeking to obtain or renew their licences. One sees also Policemen in uniform either sitting behind the counter or walking to and fro in an atmosphere of empty dutifulness.

In order to avoid the long delay, I suggest that
(a) fast but accurate writers be put at the counter;
(b) collection of files and filling-in of vehicle record cards before licences are issued be stopped;
(c) files and records should be filled in and brought

up to date after licensing hours from the dupli-
cate or triplicate copies left in the receipt books;
) anomalies, which are bound to be few, can be
investigated and communicated to the owners of
the vehicles when detected later.

se criticisms and suggestions hold good for the
onal Licensing Office which is allegedly due to
blished soon at the Ridge Police Post; for it is
me administration, the same system of work, the
ideas and, perhaps, similarly instructed personnel
re going to be deployed there.

H. K. Akuffo

Chambers
. Hall

An African in Latin America

Mr. Ofori Akyea's interesting impressions from
America made me remember a thought that had
been at the back of my mind since I came to
seven years ago, and which might offer a prac-
nd feasible approach to the problem of changing
k of awareness of Ghana in some Latin American
ies. Why don't we try a recipe the U.S.A. have
xploited to their advantage and let Music be our
sador! The power of music over the heart of
Americans is undoubted (one has only to think
nivals, of the activities of Brazil's unique "mu-
of recorded sound", etc.).

re is a strong African flavour permeating their
r music, some of which reminds us of what we
here as "Congo" music. Generally, the level of
tication in orchestration (though not in drum-
appears to be higher in Latin America. Why
not our producers of records of African music
iming at breaking into the Latin American music
ts? (I am deliberately excluding any variety like
, influenced only too obviously by Western mo-
as this has not the ghost of a chance of com-
with what they have already got direct from the
and Europe)

in, why should we ourselves not import Latin
can records direct from Latin America, to give
ands some relevant and stimulating ideas? I am
hey would be much liked by Ghanaian music
. A musically knowledgeable private entrepreneur
well make a fortune on these ideas.

the government level a well-publicized tour by
est dancers and, above-all, drummers might help
ouse interest in and awareness of Ghana. Once
usic and drumming have opened peoples' hearts
hana, politicians could come and consolidate the
ill with their usual methods of diplomatic action.
several reasons I believe that Brazil would
tute a likely starting-point for such a campaign.

of Linguistics **H. M. J. Trutenau**

"Non-Education" for Africans?

Some people do not seem to want Africans to be
ted. I am referring, not to any white racialist out-
but to an article in **Insight** 1969, mostly about
nia, and also one of a recent issue of the
mist, which praises Botswana at the expense of
because the education there is rural, vocational,
conducted in little round huts, and says that it is somehow wrong for little Francophones to learn French poetry. Also many other articles. They seem to say four things.

The first is that education should be rural, manual, and simple, which is rather like saying "We do not want any education". And perhaps it should be—for the unschoolworthy. But why the unschoolworhy should have to be the Africans, in Botswana or anywhere else, nobody seems to say.

The second is that there ought not to be an elite, which means that if a lad is clever at something he ought not to be taught to do it, because the others cannot do it too.

The third is that education should be technological. The trouble with this one is that it is impossible to have technological education more complicated than scrubbing the floor without having an elite. It might be possible to avoid an elite of literary men, artists, and people who make life worth living, but why should anybody want to?

The fourth is that education should be patriotic: "Beowulf" for the English, but Ananse for the Ghanaians. That is magnificent so long as they do not include Greek and Latin literature on the black—or should it be the white?—list. After all, they are written in African languages, for if Arabic counts as an African language, brought into Africa by invaders in the seventh century AD, then Latin has to be one too, for it was spoken seven hundred years earlier: and so must Greek, for it was spoken more than five hunderd years before that.

A patriotic education might make one of these languages the medium of instruction throughout Africa, abolishing Anglophony, Francophony, and Cacophony.

Classics Dept. **Daphne Hereward**
Legon

The Plight of the Photographer Here

SIR—May I make an observation or two on the letter of K. B. Forge on "Preserving Ghana's Monuments" (**L.O.** V/12).

Photography, both amateur and professional, forms one of the main and effective means of recording current history, culture and tradition. In addition to these utilitarian aspects it is also an art capable of expressing beauty and mood. It is used extensively in research and at the same time may be a creative medium in the hands of the talented.

A photographic record has a distinctive role which transcends linguistic barriers. This is attested to by the impact of the pictures on television and in the newspapers of the funeral ceremonies of the late Asantehene. It is therefore a great pity that in Ghana today photography has become so prohibitively expensive as to make it virtually impossible to engage in it as a hobby. The professional photographers have been feeling the pinch for many years now.

The complaint is often made that not many Ghanaians have hobbies, and that we do not make good use of our leisure hours. Yet we frustrate any inclination towards the development of a better life by an injudicious system of taxation, and high overhead and profit margins by some wholesalers and retailers. An example would not come amiss. The basic price for one roll of 35mm Kodachrome II is NC1,90 for the 20 ex-

posure cassette. The same film sells in Ghana for NC6.75. The 36-exposure cassette is listed at NC2.80 basic, but sells here at NC9.25. The basic prices I have quoted are from the Kodak catalogue of November, 1969.

Thus, between freight and insurance, import duty, sales tax, wholesale and retail overheads and commissions, the selling price across the counter is more than triple the basic price.

If posterity has little or no visual record of our age and times except the written word, our historical records, our art and our culture will be that much the poorer.

Ghana Medical School **(Dr.) C. O. Quarcoopome**
Korle-Bu
Accra

Ghana's Unemployment Problems

SIR — I agree with Mr. Joseph Gyinayeh that Mr. G. A. Donkor's article on the above topic (**L.O.** V/8) was a good one. I however fail to agree with Mr. Gyinayeh's formula for solving the unemployment problems in Ghana (**L.O.** V/12).

Firstly, foreign investments or loans **per se** cannot bring about "real" employment. Many of Nkrumah's factories built through foreign loans did employ many people, but these factories were run at fantastic losses. What Ghana needs then is "sound economic policy" designed not only to pile up debts but to utilize the loans effectively. Ghana's educational system must be geared towards the production of skilled manpower to serve the factories which Mr. Gyinayeh recommends.

Secondly, the cutting down of the retiring age to 50 years in order to open up job opportunities for the youth is again an ad hoc solution to the unemployment problem. The cutting down of the retiring age may be necessary not for the sake of opening up job opportunities alone, but rather for bringing about effeciency.

Accra
Lagos Town **Isaac Tano**

Promotion of Teachers

SIR — I would like to comment on Mr. Edward Obeng Yeboah's article in the **Observer** (**L.O.** V/12) on "Promotion of Teachers".

While I appreciate Mr. Yeboah's fears that this may make teachers pay more attention to their books than teaching their pupils, I feel the promotion examination is necessary.

Promotion examinations are held in many establishments in this country, and I think the teaching profession, which has a direct influence on formal education, should be included. This will keep ambitious teachers reading in order to improve upon what they acquire from college. It is often said that "a teacher should know a gallon so that he may teach a pint."

In the rural areas, where the majority of teachers live and work, people approach teachers with many questions, academic as well as social. A teacher who fails to give a satisfactory answer to any of the questions is regarded as incompetent. Also, a teacher who neglects his books for about five years after college finds that he is falling fast behind current issues. For this reason, I feel that if professional efficiency is promoted at the expense of academic competence, the pupils will equally have much to lose.

P. O. Box 125 **Albert K. Tsetse**
Kpandu

Book Review

YORUBA POETRY: AN ANTHOLOGY OF TRADITIONAL POEMS
Ulli Beier, C.U.P., 1970, Prce 33/-)
Reviewed by Ime Ikiddeh

THIS is the latest in the now familiar series of Ulli Beier's translations and anthologies of African literature. From his Mbari publication of **Yoruba Poetry** in 1959 to **Political Spider** 1969, Mr. Beier's list in prose and verse is longer than any other collector in this field can claim. A fair proportion of these has been devoted to the Yorubas, the people among whom he lived and worked for many years until recently. Let it be said that like all devoted collectors everywhere. Mr. Beier has sometimes suffered from an obsession with quaint trifles and gorgeous nothings. Sometimes his missionary approach and over-confident pronouncements have threatened to bring the house down on his head. Yet even his critics recognize his over-all impact, and very few would deny that now and again he does make a considerable contribution — like the present volume.

Yoruba Poetry brings together samples of Yoruba praise-songs, the famous **oriki**, as well as the **ijala**, the poetry of hunters, a few dirges, children's songs, two ballads, and other forms of Yoruba traditional poetry. The value of this work notwithstanding, many scholars will be disappointed that once again they are treated to **samples** that carry a strong suggestion of material held back for another anthology and remind them of Mr. Beier's 1966 'volume', **African Poetry.**

The Yoruba pantheon must be among the largest on the African continent and Yoruba kings among the most numerous in African history. Given these. and the introductory statement: 'The **oriki** is the basic form of Yoruba poetry. Nothing is exempt from it; kings, gods, towns, animals, plants', one has expected for sometime a volume of the **oriki** comparable in wealth of material to Schapera's **Praise Poems of Tswana Chiefs.** Funeral songs alone could make up another volume of considerable size. Mr. Beier could have enlarged his present collection into such a work. He seems well placed enough to attempt more than pocket anthologies.

The poetry in the collection is interesting in its variety and beauty. Apart from its rich imagery, a significant feature of Yoruba praise-songs, even when directed to deities, is their subtle interplay of reverence, flattery, light-hearted humour, and sometimes, downright abuse. In the immensity of his power, Sango, the Thunder God, is the

> Invunerable one
> Who can behead a fly
> who can crush a tortoise
> who can swallow a hedgehog

his ways are unpredictable and his temper volcanic;
He lends money and does not ask it back.
If you do not offer him a seat
he will sit on top of your nose.
If you do not share your maize gruel with him
he will slip under your finger nail
and take his share.
larly, Ogun, the feared God of War is at once
Master of iron, chief of robbers....
Ogun is a mad god
who will ask questions after seven hundred
and eighty years.
God of the Forest is praised and insulted in
same breath:
Erinle mends the broken pot
Erinle mends the broken fortune
n two lines after comes the shocking abuse:
Erinle, ragged god,
Your cloth is full of lice
Beggar and thief!

Cultural Items

ne of the finest poems in the volume is the lone
e under 'Marriage', entitled, **Recitation of the**
le. It is a young woman's apprehensive expecta-
of the 'strange house' that is to be her new
e. There is something in the sentiment and move-
t of the song which constantly reminds one of
t p' Bitek's celebrated **Song of Lawino.** But some
ural items mentioned in the poem raise in my
d the basic question: What in fact is a **traditional**
n? The items include 'bright scarf' and 'angry
rs'. If traditional implies a handing down from
past, then it follows that either the translation
oo modern here, or that the poem is traditional
in **form,** or that traditional is used to embrace
oral forms whatever the period of composition.
Beier presenting Yoruba poetry as a living tradi-
which it is, would probably subscribe to the
view.

art of the value of this anthology is the Introduc-
On Translating Yoruba Poetry. This should be
nterest to translators and students of West African
uages generally. But Yoruba is a unique language.
peculiar modulations of tone and highly precipi-
patterns lend it that sing-song quality which is
the bane of the verse translator and the source
he possibility of rendering a whole poem in
ningful drum sounds. Mr. Beier has taken care
llustrate the rich tonal subtlety of the language
adequate examples.

r the benefit of literary historians and research-
however, it would have been appropriate here
rovide answers to such background questions as,
is the approximate date of the earliest known
, what proportion of it can be identified as
y modern, how widespread are changes in version,
differences might one expect in performers and
ence composition according to the type of poetry
function?

itical observers of Mr. Beier have good humoured-
ggested that he can only work among so-called
ward races, that he packed his bags the moment
ria became too 'civilized' for his taste and took
nore 'primitive' climes, namely, Papua and New Guinea. The present work on Yoruba poetry may convince such critics that if Ulli Beier has deserted Nigeria, his interest in Nigeria has not deserted him.

Miscellaneous

CONVERSATIONS WITH JOE APALAHALA

1. OF CRICKET AND POLITICS

By

Kwame Ademoawa

LAST week, so to speak, I introduced Joe to you as my companion-piece, my shadow, my devil-twin; a most extraordinary, exasperating, disgusting, delightful—in short, impossible —fellow. I said Joe and I spent a great deal of time in conversation, argument, and verbal fights, and I ended that introductory exercise by promising to reproduce for you today a typical set-to between Joe and me. Well, I am going to do just that, but first allow me to tell you a little more about Apalahala, the better for you to appreciate the fantastic complexities of the man when you come to them. Believe you me, this extended introduction will pay off handsomely for you.

By some unaccountable mental process, at any rate unaccountable to me, all the elements of speech: words, expressions, idioms, construction; as well as the **processes** of speech, of thought itself and meaning, are subject to lightning-fast transformation in Joe's mind So that in that mind words take on their own opposites in meaning, or become distorted, or assume alternative forms, or go through all these changes, in rapid succession within the same context or situation, sometimes within the same breath of Joe's lungs—which he calls his "breff bags", incidentally.

Often, Joe would mix not only words and ideas but accents. He would, for instance, in the same sentence use the correct form "English" as well as a distortion of it such as "Hinglish" (as he does in the Conversation which follows shortly hereunder). He would also often regale me with his rendition of the different forms of "pidgin" English. He would say "jodge", as in Sierra Leone or Nigeria, and "jedge" as in Ghana, for "judge"—as in English! He twists proverbs, indulges in "spoonerisms", mangles pet idioms, and altogether makes tatters of the English language. Especially the English language.

(A "spoonerism", I might explain in passing—for it isn't too familiar a figure of speech—is named after the Reverend William Spooner, and English Clergyman who lived from 1844 to 1930 and was a warden of New College, Oxford. Mr. Spooner was in the habit of transposing sounds in a succession of words, especially initial letters, in such a way as to achieve some very funny results sometimes. For an example from the dictionary: "A crushing blow" beocmes a "blushing crow"! Well, Joe invents his own spectacular spoonerisms all the time).

In addition, more than anybody else I know in Ghana, Joe makes a wreck of Twi, Ga and, say, Hausa. He sometimes talks in all three of these languages at once, in one cascade of purple words and phrases, uttered

without pause or breath. Needless to add, Joe curses and swears like a market woman too!

And all this, remember, **when he is sober,** "normal". When Joe has been keeping company with the palm-wine or pito calabash, then he is different, miraculously different. (O yes, I should have told you last time that palm-wine and pito are Joe's traditional **vehicles** to that other condition of mind I've been telling you about). Now to our first conversation. And, **You have been warned!**

Me: By the way, Joe, did you hear all about the English (bless them!) getting ready to provide the world with a certain spectacle during their coming summer?

Joe: Ho, the English can't promote any...

Me: I say provide.

Joe: Okay, okay. The English can never provides anytin. The English is a empty portmantos with empty holes!

Me: Joe, can't you be serious, once in a while, when you're not soaking drunk? I'm telling you about a very interesting thing about the English, and there you go starting your usual rubbish again.

Joe: Caustic!

Me: Caustic yourself, if it comes to that! Just the same, let me repeat. Did you hear how the English people were getting ready to do something I must describe as "Cricket in Arms"?

Joe: What are them?

Me: "It", you idiot! I'm talking about cricket.

Joe: Well, go on. Tell me what the English brokes was going to do with theirselfs.

Me: They invited the South Africans to come and play cricket in England this coming summer, right? But a lot of people, among the English themselves as well as among the foreign colonies there,...

Joe: Ho, the British has now transfer their koloniss to Hinglan, there at its own self?

Me: No, no, no. I mean the pockets of foreign people living in Britain.

Joe: Pockets? Some people is now living in other people's pocket? Coats, or trousers pockets?

Me: Oh, go to hell!... As I was trying to tell you, many English people and many foreigners were piping mad at the hypocrisy of those Englishmen who were insisting on bringing the South African cricketers to England and playing against them in these so-called Test matches. People were angry because the South Africans practice the racial discrimination thing in sports too. The protesters were led by people like the Bishop of Woolwich (who is himself the former great England cricketer, David Sheppard), by more clergymen, parliamentarians, educators, and others of note.

Joe: So what were going to happens during this cricket games?

Me: Well, it was going to happen **before** as well as during the games; and even long afterwards too. You see, because of the hostility of so many people in England to the South Africans, and because of these people's threats to disrupt the games and make life problematical for the players, the English hosts were going to some extraordinary lengths to protect the visitors, the grounds on which the matches were going to be played, and everything and everybody involved in the Test and other matches.

Joe: How dey were going to do dat?

Me: By hiring policemen at about £14 per man per day to guard the grounds, the players, some of the spectators, and so on. They put barbed wire around the pitches and between the spectators and the players; they were going to floodlight around the grounds...

Joe: Wa-la-hi! Caustic! But you know, mother is the invention of necessity!

Me: Eh? What did you say?

Joe: I sayed: Necessity is the invention of mother.

Me: Joe, what ARE you talking about now? First of all, the saying is: "Necessity is the mother of invention", not that nonsense you are mouthing. Secondly, what in the world have mothers and inventions got to do with what I'm telling you about? I think you are daft, Joe. In fact there's no doubt about it. You're cuckoo!

Joe: Yeah? But not like you. The Hinglish invented the cricket, are they not? That is the same like if they born it, right? So if you have a baby theres necessity to protect he, right?

Me: Yes, but it's not the cricket they were going to protect, it was the players. And the English were doing this because some of them pretend to believe that politics should not be allowed to interfere with sport. So, just to play cricket they were virtually going to fight people.

Joe: Yeah, but look-o, you too you are not tokking right. You mean they were going to fight cliket, not play it! Anyway, what about that Shakespiah?

Me: Shakespeare? What about him? What has Shakespeare got to do with this?

Joe: Nothing, but he has got to do with tennis, which is sport; and war, which is porritics.

Me: Shakespeare playing tennis and mixing it with politics?

Joe: Sure. You see, Kwame, I got an ejication more than you—sometimes. Shakespiah were not playing tennis hisself, it was Henry the Five. Henry was playing porritics with the Flench people—war porritics— and playing balls, tennis balls, with the French's king daughter. You don't know dat? Are you hig'orant in your own self? The British is a hypocrites for a long time now. They were mixing sporting with porritics for centuries ago. So what they are doing now is just plenty-plenty poli-tricks. I aglee wit you that the English is a master hypocrites! And it was that Shakespiah who telled me all dis.

Me: Joe, are you sure you were not in the palm-wine bar before coming here?

Joe: Caustic!

Me: But you can't be drunk, because if you were you would show the good sense of making some exceptions among the English, instead of making them all look like hypocrites and double-crossers. For instance, some of them forced the cricket bigshots to cancel the South African tour, and then others managed to have it replaced with an even more exciting international series, now under way already, this week. So not all the English are fakes and hypocrites, you see.

Joe: Walahi!

Me: Walahi what?

Joe: Walahi caustic!

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Four Years Old

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ANNIVERSARY MESSAGE

Four years of the Legon Observer

A YEAR AGO we began our Anniversary Message by admitting that "three years is a very short span of time indeed in the life of a newspaper". A year later, that is, today, the same opening would be apropos, for four years is still nothing much to make a lot of noise about. Nor do we intend to do so. It is only that, being so utterly unlike the real thing — real newspapers with money and men and material at their service — we have to keep encouraging ourselves by a reminder, at least once annually, concerning our survivability and of our duty so to survive.

We further said last year that life had not been easy for editors and assistants who, being part-timers, must write as they run, and dare not stop in either activity. In the ensuing twelve months since then the position has been exactly the same, though the person of the editor and his assistants has changed as before and must continue to change.

Basically, the absence of affluent means of support also continued to be the main feature of our existence. But in the process of our cultivation of the high art and science of survival we have learnt to cope with that condition too, indeed to overcome it. Today we are not rich, but have no tears remaining about the financial disasters that plagued our private dreams in the beginning, even though we did not narrate them to our best friends.

And our best friends continued to be those who in the beginning liked what they thought they saw in us and have supported us in all the essential ways ever since. Their number has never been great, unless of course you add to them our thousands of readers and subscribers in and out of Ghana. To these thousands we are grateful too, but their contribution to our continued existence and progress is a separate matter. We are really still referring here to the Proprietor of the Liberty Press, his General Manager and his other assistants; to all those machine men, typesetters and other workers at the Press who have helped to turn out the paper without fail every fortnight since the 8th of July, 1966; and to Dr. I. B. Asafu-Adjaye, of Kumasi, who still continued to support us in his unique way. During the year just past, Dr. Asafu-Adjaye achieved the honour of being appointed to the Council of State, the highest such body set up under Ghana's second republican constitution.

As we have noted previously above, our editorial personnel continue to change periodically. On this anniversary we must pay tribute to last year's Editor, P. A. V. Ansah, successor to Yaw Twumasi and Obed Asamoah. Mr. Ansah's tenure of our editorial chair had to come to an end at the beginning of our fourth year, when he was awarded a fellowship for further studies in his specialism of French and French-African literature. We expect Mr. Ansah to return soon and continue rendering his excellent services to us.

During the period under review a tremendous, awe-inspiring lot of history has rolled past us into the records and the archives. In Ghana alone we have undergone the exhilarating experience of getting back to the normal habit of government by civil authority; this was from a military-police regime as unusual and benevolent as it could possible be, but still acceptable only as long as it was absolutely necessary. That the change-over was effected on the best terms of mutuality and cooperation of all parties spoke volumes of praise on the Ghanaian people; it also engendered the hope that we may yet work out our own salvation, despite grievous indications of colossal difficulties in the way of these ambitions.

In the process of the recording of the history of contemporary man and contemporary Ghana during the last twelve months, the *Legon Observer* endeavoured to do its bit; we hope our friends will agree with this modest claim. We freely admit our inadequacies, but would not want to be understood as claming to be more than our very basis of existence can allow. It is our hope that our supporters and well-wishers will stay with us, and grow in numbers, through to our Fifth Anniversary in July 1971.

EDITORIAL

DILEMMA OF THE UNITED NATIONS

AST week, in the Opera House in San rancisco, world statesmen gathered to celebrate ie twenty-fifth anniversary of the inauguration f the United Nations Organization.

A twenty-five-year life span is an indication of naturation in the experience of any institution nd we deem it appropriate to look at some of ie achievements and difficulties, the hopes and ie disillusionments, that have beset this world ody which is, as yet, perhaps mankind's best itadel for existence.

When, in June 1945, men gathered to affirm ieir determination "to save succeeding genera- ons from the scourge of war," the fate of the ien moribund League of Nations must have een uppermost in their minds. Through the avages of the first World War, it had become ecessary in 1919 to set up an organization hich would serve as a forum for discussion nd for international understanding and co- peration. A human institution exists through aith rather than through preambles, and this as clearly evident in the ease with which the eague's lofty ideals met early death.

Although the U.N. is the successor to the eague of Nations, its ramifications are wider, nd so also are its difficulties. It is now entrust- d with the task of catering to human problems nprecedented in history. The U.N. is an oppor- unity par excellence for its over one hundred nd twenty member countries to do talking, ather than warring. Especially with the deco- onization era and the ascent to nationhood of everal countries, many nations, some with opulations which are less than a million, have ecome members of an organization which neoretically regards all such member countries s equally sovereign. That the countries are not qually powerful—economically, militarily, and therwise—is at once the institution's best dvantage and its worst disadvantage.

Within the U.N., smaller countries whose iability would have been difficult to ensure ave had the chance to interact with giant ations for purposes of economic and cultural o-operation. It is in this respect that the smal- r nations find more meaning in the U.N. hrough its various organs, such as the Economic nd Social Council, the International Court of ustice, the Food and Agricultural Organization, ie World Health Organization, and (recently) ie U.N.C.T.A.D. The extent to which some ountries have been able to enjoy their indepen- dence, however fragilely, and the movement towards the raising of the status of womanhood: these and other achievements are well known.

This does not mean that the U.N., as a peace keeper, is not of interest to the helpless countries which are often grouped under the general category of the Third World. Obviously they can continue to exist only within the context of a world peace. But what is true is that, when it comes to the U.N. as an agency of peace, we realize, with an indescribably poignant helplessness, that peace in the world depends (for the moment) on only two countries: the United States and the Soviet Union. These two countries are, of course, the pivots of two ideological power blocs, and the desire to score ideological points abroad and to enhance national prestige at home has appeared to be more important to them than the universal cry for world peace. These two countries have the weapons which can, each, cause untold ravage to mankind. If the available military arsenal were to be used, the memory of Hiroshima and Nagasaki would be child's play.

It is in this respect that the difficulties of U Thant, the Secretary-General, become glaring. He is now the frustrated number one world civil servant and it may need a lot of persuasion to get him to accept a further term of office when his present term expires. U Thant knows, as we all do, that it is not the United Nations that has kept the peace in the universe since its inception. Take, for instance, the Middle East, where both sides of the combat have freely repudiated U.N. Security Council decisions on the ceasefire. Take, also, Indo-China, where peace depends, not so much on the Indo-Chinese people themselves as on the correct interpretations of ideologies by particular individuals living hundreds of miles away from the scene of the conflict. And, back in Africa, take the U.N. operations in the Congo, where the interests of the Congolese appeared to be less significant than the images of some outlying power structures.

The dilemma of the U.N. is that in circumstances such as the foregoing it can do no more than condemn. Despite world-wide condemnations through the world body, apartheid still continues, and South Africa still refuses to surrender the U.N. Trust Territory of South-West Africa; Rhodesia's economy is still such that the rebel regime has not crumbled; innocent women and children in peasant areas in Asia suffer untold massacre from wars which are decided from outside their own subcontinent; and Communist China, with about a fourth of the world

population, is still excluded from the U.N. for reasons which appeal more to emotion and ideology than to logic and rationality.

But U Thant need not despair; and the world need not despair either. Human faith in existence has so far apparently outweighed its destructive instincts during the past twenty five years. Thus, even if the less glamorous and less publicised achievements of the U.N. escape public attention, the U.N. can claim, as a credit, that, if nothing else, it **has** survived.

L.S.N.A. Communication

THE FIRST SESSION OF GHANA'S PARLIAMENT

THE Busia government's first legislative session, marking our return to civilian rule, came to an end last week; the next session will begin towards the end of July, and will feature the 1970/71 Budget. It is appropriate to consider at this point how the country fared during this first exercise under our new regime.

The Progress Party had promised the country three major improvements above all others, at least in our interpretation: (1) all-round development, with concentration on the rural sector; (2) agricultural progress; and (3) radical boosting of the Ghanaian participation in business, that is in the economy. Other undertakings included that of improving Ghana's foreign relations, particularly with its African neighbours, who are also its companions in economic and social distress of many kinds.

The most easily attainable of these aims was undoubtedly in the last named area, that of international and intra-African relations. We have already commented upon the Prime Minister's visit to the Ivory Coast and Mr. Victor Owusu's to East Africa (**L.O.** V/10). To this we must add mention of the Prime Minister's tour of the United States and Europe, where he was able to discuss Ghana's economic problems with the Americans, the British and the French. This was with a view to the amelioration of our hardships as a debtor-country whose misfortunes in that field are not the first to have been recorded in world history. The results of these efforts are still awaited by the Ghanaian people, but the results of the missions to the African countries were immediate, positive, and on the whole gratifying.

As far as agriculture is concerned the problems are more complex and deeper than can be tackled in one session of anybody's parliament, least of all in any developing country with agriculture as its backstay. Cocoa alone, for Ghana, with its domestic scourge of diseased trees and its external tormentor of world market price behaviour, is enough to keep our economic blood pressure jumping up and down for many years to come. We will always appreciate any Ghanaian government's strenuous efforts to bring some agricultural progress to this country, and to the present government we convey our hopes for their eventual success in this area. We cannot say that we believe they have already begun to achieve this success yet.

The Progress Party government, during the session under review and true to their promise, showed great concern for, and were noticeably active in, development planning and rural development. The new principle of administrative decentralisation and the drive towards the strengthening of local government were under activation, but it is too early yet to say how well or otherwise these efforts are beginning to yield positive results. The resistance to regional pressures for preferential treatment during the session was in the right direction, graduated revenue allocation, such as was done under the last budget for regional planning and reminded to the House by the ministry, being likewise in a more rational direction.

Protecting Ghanaian Business

It was in the matter of Ghanaian participation in the economy that the first session of the first parliament of our Second Republic made its most dramatic and most effective impact. Now protectionism has vicious negative elements within it. In trade it generates international tariff walls and customs barriers galore, with all that this means in trade wars and cut-throat deals and counter deals. That is the meaning of the gathering economic communities of the day, the common markets, and the rest. They are being set up to counteract some of the evil effects of unilateral protectionism. Secondly, in internal business relations, protectionism carries with it unfortunate overtones and undertones of discrimination and inhumanity; it also generates its own brand of international ill will, and can call forth reprisals against the nationals of the protecting country who may be doing business in countries affected by the said acts of discrimination or deprivation against the latter's own nationals. Above all, to repeat: protectionism in business, within the national borders, tends more often than not to be inhumane and unfriendly.

Unfortunately, black Africa, and perhaps

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every other "Third World" continent and country, must sooner or later adopt this retrograde policy, through sheer economic and psychological necessity. A country like Ghana must feel it *has to do so*, particularly at the attainment of independence or soon thereafter; and the reasons are too clear to be "pretended" out of sight. In sum, previous colonial exploitation and rank callousness, together with particularly vicious brands of foreign economic domination, were the harbingers of this present bitter fruit of self-protective exclusion of foreign nationals from large sectors of our internal trade. The new governments of East, Central and West Africa are, in other words, acting to capture for their citizens what should with goodwill, honesty and enlightened self-interest have been developed for all, namely economic justice in a land of great material potential. This is the meaning of Busia's Ghanaian Business (Promotion) Bill, now passed into law by the first session of his parliament and greeted with great enthusiasm by the overwhelming majority of informed Ghanaians. Whether such drastic, almost Draconian, measures can always achieve the correctives they seek is yet to be demonstrated in every specific case.

Creditable Results

It can now be said of this schedule of promise and performance that in part the results are creditable and in part prospective at least; so that on balance the record is more positive than negative, for which the governing party and the National Assembly as a whole can be congratulated. Some non-legislative matters debated during the session were not, however, of this nature or in the best traditions of parliamentary light and leading. We comment on just two of such matters here.

First there was that old bogeyman again: tribalism. Perhaps the Leader of the Parliamentary Opposition was not too wise or too correct in basing his censure motion against the government so heavily on alleged tribalistic motivation as an element in the recent dismissals episode. Even so, the language of the response he received from the government benches, front and back, was so much more intemperate in condemnation of Dr. Agama's speech as even now, in retrospect, to continue to cause some dismay. In particular, the Foreign Minister, Mr. Victor Owusu, was verbally brutal in the extreme and quite uncharacteristic of himself, though all recognise him as sharp-witted and a dangerous debating adversary.

Secondly, the "Sallah Affair" made its perhaps inevitable parliamentary appearance in the House during the session. Here again there was a startling attack, this time by the Attorney General on the Judiciary; it was in connection with the controversial role and activities of the judges of the Sallah Case. Mr. Adade said that because of the circumstances under which the judgment was given and which therefore affected the latter to a fatal degree, in the interpretation and view of the government, that judgment was "hopelessly valueless by any standard". And much else he said, in great heat.

Order in the House

Lastly, though the government has patted its own back, and that of the Assembly as a whole, on the manner in which business was transacted in general in the House, one must express a little anxiety at the trouble to which the Speaker was so often put in his attempts to keep "ORDER—Order!" during debate. The heckling, to which members, of course, have a right, seemed sometimes to be so continuous and so infectious as to seem uncontrollable, and to cause us to wonder how much more could be accomplished without some of this expression of high spirits. Without doubt the first session did a lot of work. We hope our Asemblymen will do even more for the country in the succeeding sessions ahead of them and of all of us.

Education

LITERACY AND DEVELOPMENT

By

Kodjo Kudiabor

PROFESSOR Ofosu-Appiah appears determined to maintain the momentum of his one-man revolution for social change in this country. This lone voice in the wilderness has been heard for a long time now: it is rather curious that none from the ranks of his own colleagues has so far ventured a comment for or against his ideas and provocative pronouncements.

In the past the Professor has been chiselling a lot of glittering debris off our academic institutions and now, according to an Accra daily, he has come out with the findings that the supporting members of the academic structure are just

dead wood. Very provocative!

Even here dissension, when it did emerge, came from an unexpected camp: from the community of younger intellectuals whom the Professor, in a sketch of his vision of the 70's has described as "the powerful instrument for social change."

One thing is striking here. The mood of one of the dissenters, will appear to many to be an outburst of turbulent undercurrents characteristic of the attitude of the younger intellectuals in our present Ghanaian society: one is surely getting no applause from them for saying things and saying them nicely; one has got to convince them. They are taking no spoon-feeding, not even from Professor Ofosu-Appiah who, one believes, is clearly on their side.

My intention is not to set ablaze the dead wood discussions anew. I just want to draw attention to the future a little beyond the 1970's.

With the present dynamism smouldering in the academic youth today Mr. Ofosu-Appiah's hope of a powerful instrument for social change in the 1970's might well come true. But beyond, I think the fate of the intellectual community, to which the torches will be passed on, is rather uncertain and somewhat bleak. This is a fairly safe and sober prediction based on our present education policy:

> to limit the rate at which government will commit itself to further expenditure on education at the present time (NLC-Budget Statement for 1969-70)

Unexploited Brain-Power

The unhappy effect we can immediately expect from this policy is that still fewer talents are going to be utilised from our largely unexploited reservoir of brain-power in this country. And all that, in a fast changing world where knowledge (free for all) is rapidly accumulating, technical expertise becoming more sophisticated, human relation problems getting more complex and — what is immediately relevant to our present predicament — economic cut-throat competition growing even keener.

Beginning from the financial year 1969-70 there will be a growing percentage of children of school going age who will be equipped with cutlasses and hoes to start off in life. They will learn to use their heads to haul loads, while their Japanese and German counterparts and future competitors will be fast investing the precious time saved (by using more efficient tools) in learning to use their heads to understand the techniques of cybernetics and the patterns of commodity consumption, say, in Ghana. And in the 1980s even better models of Toyota and Mercedes Benz cars will emerge on the Ghanaian market to meet the craving demand for them. Meanwhile, the limited community of intellectuals available will have to be supplemented by imported foreign experts.

With the present level of education (considered one of the highest in Africa) our achievements so far are such that we feel visitors to Ghana are just being nice and courteous when they pay us compliments; among ourselves we even go straight to the point, and say that we should not think ourselves "as possessing a very capable ruling class" (J. H. Mensah) but just "dead wood" (Ofosu-Appiah).

'Wonderful Machine-Pedlars'

Indeed we have economically succeeded to manoeuvre ourselves (and allowed ourselves unwittingly to be manoeuvred in our red-carpeted conference-rooms by wittier counterparts, "pedlars of wonderful machines") into bankruptcy up to the ears.

We have turned the foreign embassies in our capital into some sort of charitable institutions where we go, often (not cap in hand), with great solemnity in black suit, to collect donations: wheat from Canada, pharmaceutics from Israel, books for our libraries from Britain and NC550 Vibraphone for the Police Band from the West German Government.

Within the short span of one generation we have created a government-subsidized affluent living for a small caste of "ebi-te-yies" in a society where onions are sold in halves to make the people afford them. There are "international" school children — Bonanza fans — on one side in this society and on the other the "khaki" school children: those half-frightened kids whose lot appears to be nobody's business, as they beg for a lift to shorten the journey between home and school. On the whole the impression we create is that our honours degrees in the history of the French and the Russian Revolution failed to carry the message to us: that history does not repeat itself, it is repeated by men!

The question is: what is the future performance going to be like with the **reduced** percentage of literacy: educationally, socially and economically?

Not very encouraging—would it?—unless we want to play deliberately optimistic, throw our lot into the hands of fate and hope that some mighty luck will come our way one day in the next decade: such as striking oil at sea.

There has been some public discussion of the controversial paragraph 55 of the 1969-70 Budget Statement. Very unfortunately it has also long disappeared into thin air with the puffs of cigarettes in the drinking bars.

One of the popular arguments in support of some restrictive measures on uncontrolled expansion of education is that middle and secondary school leavers, and even graduates, are pouring out year after year into the streets of the cities to compound the already existing redundancy problems.

This argument is strange: the corrective effect of low and decreasing literacy on the unemployment problems implied in that sounds a strange new theory and Ghana would be the first to experiment with it if indeed it was so intended in the Budget Statement.

Others believe, however, that it is comparatively more difficult to find jobs for the literate youth since anything below the rank of a messenger is considered in our society as menial job good only for illiterates.

Even here, the device of limiting educational opportunities aimed at changing attitudes towards work and influencing job preferences does not make sense to everybody. A more relevant and natural approach to such a problem would be to re-structure and re-orientate the system of education, which has hitherto produced middle school leavers equipped only for the messenger's job.

This sort of problem can hardly be solved by reducing literacy from, say, 10% to 9.5%.

The Budget Statement itself presents the purpose of the policy thus:

> In the meantime, the institutions of higher education have entered upon a period of consolidation — a period when the high standards already achieved will be pushed towards new levels of excellence, and the pressure of student numbers will be reduced, while the staff achieve more in the field of research.

This argument is more difficult to assail since the emphasis is not on quantity but quality—and quality requires an agreed yardstick to assess.

In any case it can be equally argued that, with zero percent literacy, educational standards will be at their lowest level; and, by the law of probability, individual geniuses who carry mediocre standards to peaks of excellence can only emerge in some proportion to growing literacy in a given society.

My appeal is: We shouldn't let 90% (if this is the illiteracy figure in Ghana) of the brain resources of 8 millions lie fallow. In a developing country, we can least afford that.

The Law

LAW AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

By

Modibo T. Ocran

THE ATTAINMENT of formal political independence by most African countries in the 'fifties and 'sixties was regarded by several political leaders and other citizens as merely the first of a "triple revolution" on the continent. The second aspect of the revolution was to consolidate the new political entities into nations, to make the fact of their sovereignty felt in the international arena, and to make efforts at some form of economic and political union on the continent. The third revolution was to pursue economic development, in order, basically, to give economic content to an otherwise hollow independence, and, as far as the left-wing leadership was concerned, to seek forms of economic organisations that would make the common man a thorough participant in the wealth to be created.

There have been interesting experiments and successes, as well as significant starts and failures with the two substantive aspects of the triple revolution. As far as the failures are concerned, the lion's share may appropriately be assigned to the politicians, since it is they who, in the final analysis, decide which specific policies to pursue out of the universe of potential alter-

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natives, and what technical advice to accept from economists, sociologists, lawyers, administrators, and other professionals involved in the process. But it would be propagandistic to lay the blame solely at the door of the political leadership, whatever psychic gratification we may derive as professionals from this "buck-passing" exercise. How is it that in countries where the political leadership is more susceptible to accept advice from bureaucrats and academics, we still find significant failures in certain sectors of the economy that cannot be attributed to an "act of God"?

It may well be that the technical advice we give as professionals is vitiated, among other things, by inadequate "homework" preparation, by wrong inarticulate premises on which it is built, and by irrelevant research pursuits. For example, in Tanzania and Zambia (to mention only two African countries), some private corporations which have been nationalised seem to have retained the same legal form as they had when they were in private hands. Obviously the assumption is that the same legal form is appropriate both for a public and private corporation. Is this assumption borne out by facts?

Does economic development (particularly centrally planned economic development) in Africa require new and different legal devices, or can it manage with the inherited colonial juristic legacy? Is there any relationship at all between law and economic development, or is development planning the concern of only economists, statisticians, and other social scientists? What do lawyers have to say about law *and* economic development?

Static Functions Only?

It is not apparent to many people that legal institutions have an important place in social change in general, and in the rate of economic development in particular. One reason for this lack of perception is that social scientists, with remarkable exceptions such as Arnold Rose, stress only the static functions of law as a mechanism for social control or conflict-resolution. Law is said to be concerned with the maintenance of order.

There is no question that law is a regulative mechanism and a specialised tension-management system. But there are other functions of law apart from these; and it is not clear at all that these aforementioned functions are in some sense better than others. Even when law appears formally as a regulative mechanism, it may in fact be only a warning system — a trip-wire designed to prevent rather than to punish transgressions and resulting conflicts.

Of much more interest is the role of law as a conveyer of new values, and therefore a tool of education and reform. In this way, law also provides a climate for social change, even when the actors who "cause" the change are not thinking of sanctions or subsidies.

Law communicates to the public, or a segment of it, a sense of problem and purpose. Law is an instrument for dispensing social justice, and can also provide a shield for protecting innovators. It may thus be used to accelerate social and economic change. Law and order are desired not as an end in themselves, but as conditions for the pursuit of positive life goals. Of greater significance is the positive role of law in the achievement of social priorities.

Legal Philosophy

That law is not readily seen as an intrument of social change is also due in part to certain attitudes among Anglo-American trained lawyers which Adam Podgorecki of the University of Warsaw calls "the prospective-accidental predisposition". This is the predisposition to *ad hoc* approaches to the transformation of society which, whatever its merits, certainly furnishes little systematic mode of thinking or reliable guide to decision-making.

A little extension of this attitude leads to the thought, often expressed by many practising lawyers, that law does not involve any philosophy of law. It is, of course, quite possible to be a brilliant practising lawyer or judge without bothering about legal philosophy. But the naive pragmatism that views law as if it existed outside a social context is itself a philosophical position of sorts.

Another possible theoretical position that can obscure the relationship between law and development is that legal systems can be adapted to any level and type of social development. A legal system, it may be argued, embodies certain values; but these values, reduced to essentials, are timeless. For example, for a thousand years, the common law maintained some sort of continuity, while absorbing and responding to the most fundamental kinds of social change—industrial revolution and all. Since legal institutions can accommodate themselves to social change, no special efforts need be made concerning the question of economic

development.

It is true, of course, that two of the greatest historical families of law — the Common Law and the Civil Law — have been able to support different levels of economy. But this fact does not take us very far. It merely means that over a long enough time period, legal institutions can accommodate themselves to a variety of social arrangements. On this view, law is no more than a register or codification of norms, values and habits already operative in society. This, incidentally, is supposed to be the classical sociological position, usually attributed to William Graham Sumner. This position, however, requires us to define the role of legal institutions rather narrowly, as it in effect enjoins law to follow social change always, like a prince consort.

One of the important tasks of legal academics in an African country engulfed in economic development is to free law of those limited functions, and to view it as a conscious instrument of *social engineering*.

Planning for Social Change

Social engineering is basically the notion of "engineering" or planning social life in a rational way. Largely due to the works of Roscoe Pound, the concept of social engineering through law has become popular in the jurisprudence, sociology of law, and political science of Western countries. With the socialist countries of Europe and Asia, this is seen as an integral part of the political philosophy itself. The "withering away" of the state and law does not come — if it comes at all — until law and other instruments of social control have been used affirmatively to usher in the age of abundance.

The function of law as social engineering concerns experimental ways of using law as a tool in planning and realising social change. It is the conscious and purposeful use of law to affect the behaviour of individuals and groups towards the desired social goals, whatever these goals are, and however one determines what these are. The emphasis is on the attributes, this conception of the function of law also becomes a potential instrument of *rapid* social change.

Social engineering through law is not simply of philosophical interest. Since what a society can accomplish is also a function of the entire range of constraints imposed on that society, what the law ought to do is a question which cannot be answered on philosophical grounds alone. Hence social engineering through law also implies a research for those conditions under which laws would be most efficacious. It involves, in other words, *the science of legislation*: predictions of the effects of proposed rules on the activity of role-occupants (public officials or ordinary citizens).

It is on these aspects of law that legal academics in Africa should focus their research. In Ghana, too much importance is still placed on providing purely descriptive and analytic information about traditional branches of law. Too much research effort is still directed to the law relating to family relations, inheritance, the ownership and alienation of land, and the structure and operations of corporations. I do not mean to deprecate works in these areas. Some of them are well-written, and are the product of manifestly brilliant minds. Besides, one has to know what the law is before one can postulate what the law ought to be. But what seems so obvious to me is that we do not need to duplicate research in these fields. The area of law and economic development is a relatively unchartered area to which intellectual explorers may do better to turn their attention increasingly.

How much research has been done in Ghana to know the effect of legislations dealing with agricultural co-operatives, marketing boards, and state farms? How many legal researchers in Ghana have gone beyond the question of describing the land law of Ghana, into the more interesting (if more difficult) task of evaluating these legal norms from the viewpoint of its impact on the economy? How many have studied the relationship between land tenure and economic size of farms? Do we know enough about public corporations — about legal forms that will make them function as *public* corporations, and not as private companies playing possum? Have we begun to direct our attention to planning commissions, in order to demonstrate that economic planning is a multidisciplinary process whose output may well be increased if lawyers and other professionals were consulted more frequently?

Legal academics need to remind themselves constantly of the fact that there is a relationship between legal institutions and the socio-economic structure of a given society. Unless this fact is constantly borne in mind, we are bound to fritter away already scarce resources and badly needed intellectual energy in misguided projects of law reform and low-priority research schemes.

International

EDWARD HEATH AND AFRICA

By

Max Assimeng

THERE ARE several significant aspects of the Conservative victory in the June 18 British General Election. As in the case of the Harry Truman victory in the 1948 presidential elections in the United States, the sephologists are now under suspicion as to the type of results which emerge from their opinion polls. (On lines with the psychologists' analyses of intelligence quotients, one begins to wonder what opinion polls actually elicit). It is usual that the general public remembers moments of failure than of success; but one believes that there is a need for a more serious appraisal of the approaches at political forecasting of voting patterns.

Apart from the fact that prediction is miles different from prophesying, watchers of political barometers may do well to realise that an opinion poll elicits what people say their intentions are; it is never a foolproof assurance of what voters would actually do when they take their ballot papers and make up their minds at the polling booths.

Economic Achievements

As for Mr. Harold Wilson, generally regarded as a very shrewd politician of an empirical temper, the defeat of Labour may appear as a personal tragedy. He had done his best, with the mind and heart of an economics superman to uplift the economy of his country unto a level of some buoyancy, albeit through unpopular mechanisms. Labourites had throughout their campaign concentrated on reminding the voters about Labour's economic achievements so far, and had warned Britain against a return to what the Socialists used to scornfully call "the thirteen wasted years" of Conservative rule (1951-1964) Were those "thirteen years" actually wasted, or were they not? The British public was the only accurate witness to this, but it appeared, to the uninterested observer, that in debates over such issues, the Labourites tended to score more points over the Conservatives.

Then what happened? There is an intriguing parallelism between the result of the British General Election, just held, and that of Ghana about a year ago. In both cases, what one discovered was that man lives, not by bread alone but by a whole network of complex factors, including sentiments. In Britain, as in Ghana, the elections were won or lost in terms (mostly) of personalities, because manifestoes did not appear to differ much.

The British are, of course, unimaginably conservative by centuries-old custom and tradition, and one believes that this election victory at least was just in tune with this mood and temperament. And, of course, the British people know best what is good for them. Here one can only admire the smoothness and maturity with which they have indicated, with a freedom of expression rare in the modern world, their choice of who should govern them. There is no question here of a disappointed rejectee — not even in the case of veterans such as George Brown and Jeannie Lee — furiously invoking dubiously relevant excuses to account for election failure.

Interesting Dimensions

The recent British elections raise many issues for students of voting behaviour. For the first time, the voting age was reduced to 18, and one would have thought that, in the age of mod, pop, and the hippy, the votes of the younger electors would have drifted unto a radical, pro-Labour ambit. But youthfulness is not necessarily correlated with socialism, and it seems as if the younger generation's anti-authority syndrome was directed against the Socialists as well. In any case, it would be interesting to know how many under-21's actually voted — and for whom. Another interesting dimension which would be useful to explore, although not in this very short essay, would be the changing distribution of labour in the industrial areas of Britain.

The foregoing preliminaries are, however, asides from the main issues raised in this paper. For, as Africans, as well as members of the Afro-Asian group of the British Commonwealth of Nations, the outcome of the elections should be of interest to us. And it is here that one should see the foreign relations implications of British politics. And it is in this connection, too, that Mr. Enoch Powell's relevance becomes strikingly evident.

Although Powell once belonged to the upper ranks of the Conservative Party, his teaching on immigration — that coloured immigrants should be repatriated to their home countries,

and that a complete halt should be made on their further immigration into Britain — transcended party boundaries. When he first articulated his teaching, expressing fears of a future Britain flowing with the blood of racial strife, it was the working-class folk, not traditionally identified with the Conservative Party, though with *conservatism*, who openly rallied to his corner, with open demonstrations in his favour. It must be granted, though, that Powell was repudiated officially by the Conservative Party, expelled from the shadow cabinet then, and has since been condemned by some bishops and clergymen.

Race, then, was certainly an issue in the General Election, official protestations to the contrary notwithstanding. And it would be hypocritical to deny Powell's post-election statement that his teaching did a lot to ensure the victory of the Conservative Party. But one would want to qualify this statement by saying that it ensured the victory of conservatism — with small letter *c*.

How, then, will the coloured immigrants in Britain fare under the new order? Already, since the enunciation of Powellism, race relations in Britain have considerably deteriorated. Visitors to Britain now give evidence that even places which were originally well noted for racial harmony have fallen to Powell. The new Home Secretary (Interior Minister), Mr. Reginald Maulding, is urbane, liberal (by Conservative standards) and moderate, and it is expected that he may be able to resist the "Keep Britain white" extreme gospellers. But, clearly, the Conservative Party policy on immigration differs very little in tone (although not exactly in its mechanics) from what the Powellite persuasion stands for. A further reduction in immigration quotas is to be predictably expected in the few years ahead, a situation which will undoubtedly in turn affect the image and position of Britain and the British in Afro-Asian-Caribbean countries.

On South Africa, Sir Alec Douglas-Home—the new Foreign Secretary — and his colleagues have been all along unambiguous and less hypocritical in their attitude. They are not avowed admirers of the Pretoria regime for what it stands for, it is true. But they believe, with a logic which may not readily appeal to the uninitiated, that it is possible to dislike a regime's socio-political structure, and at the same time



sell arms to that regime. The apparent assertion, here, is clearly that political taste (or distaste) should be distinguished from economic trade.

Although the Conservatives' flirtations with apartheid South Africa would be keenly watched, it would be on their attitude to Rhodesia that Africans would immediately watch all the more. Officially, while in Opposition, the Conservatives — or a majority of them — supported Harold Wilson's Rhodesia policy, especially on NIBMAR (no independence before majority rule). Rhodesia has travelled a long way since then on her infamous journey to rebellion. The rebellion is now almost five years old. Furthermore, since the early part of this year, she has become a republic, and has repudiated whatever links there were with the British crown.

More Meaningful Negotiations

Even to such adamant "we-sent-civilisation-to-Africa" Britons as Lord Salisbury, Rhodesia's new republican status has not been welcomed with much enthusiasm. Rhodesia's leaders had repeatedly stated that negotiations with Conservatives would be much easier, and more meaningful, than with Labour. And, although negotiations on Rhodesia antedated the Labour government, Mr. Ian Smith has deliberately avoided insulting the Conservatives in the open.

The misfortune here is that Mr. Edward Heath appears to know very little about Africans and their conditions. None of his previous portfolios in government has been concerned specifically with the handling of African problems. But Heath has Ian MacLeod, Reginald Maulding, and, of course, Sir Alec in his team. These three men are capable of counselling their leader on the realities of apartheidom (of which Rhodesia has just decided to join), and of minority rule. And his men in the United Nations headquarters should be able to brief him on the mood of the Afro-Asian bloc there.

Will Heath relax — or even lift — the sanctions against a country in which 230,000 whites are ruling over four million Africans? Will he now enter into negotiations with the rebels, so that the present rebellion later acquires a *de jure* status? Will he allow the rebellion to drag on, in the name of a philosophy of "what we have we hold", while many Africans are denied freedom, liberty, and humane citizenship? Or will Heath and his colleagues at the Downing Street now appreciate that, contrary to the odd effusions of one or two African political quislings, only a military intervention can quickly put an end to the dangerous racialist and minority nonsense in Rhodesia?

It is true that Mr. Heath was in the Opposition when Britain intervened militarily in Anguilla. It is also true that he is paramountly Europe-oriented, that his first duty is naturally to the people whose government he is now heading. The problems of the coloured races are now apparently no longer a "white man's burden". But surely if the Commonwealth and the United Nations still have any meaning and significance it is imperative that Heath and his new government make immediate pronouncements on the way they intend to deal with their colonial legacies of South Africa and (especially) of Rhodesia.

African leaders have consistently warned of possible future racial strife in southern Africa. These warnings may appear feeble, ineffectual and unorganized at the moment. But inevitable historical occurrences can stand considerable long delays. Thus, what the Conservatives intend to do on these issues would be a test of the relationship between Mr. Edward Heath and the people of black Africa. If he finds difficulty in convincing the "kith and kin" philosophers in his company, he deserves every good luck!

THE PLIGHT OF THE PALESTINIANS — THREE YEARS AFTER THE SIX DAY WAR

By

A Political Correspondent

LAST MONTH was the third anniversary of the 1967 Arab-Israeli war. That resounding defeat of Arab arms caused many to postulate that peace would **have** to come to the Middle East— that "realities" would have to be recognised. Yet there is no peace. **A modus vivendi** between those semetic cousins, the Arabs and the Jews, has yet to be found. And the problem is of concern to Africa. This is not just because Egypt, an African nation, is involved; nor is it just because the two super powers stand threateningly on opposite sides — but because the resultant jockeying for allianee and suport cannot but affect the politics of much of northern and eastern Africa and even further afield, and cannot but impede the ultimate aim of unity for this continent.

Perhaps the time has come to re-examine the

problems of the **Middle East** and such re-examination could well begin by discarding that very term. The vexed and troubled area of North-East Africa and South-West Asia is only middle to those who would have us see other parts of the world as **far.** It is essential that our thinking be not a copy of theirs — but that is more easily said than done, for the mass communications media of the world-books, journals and articles, films and television coverage—emanate in the main from committed parties. It is pertinent to enquire whether on this third sad anniversary we are fed by facts or cliches, by objective reporting or by clever but partisan persuasion.

Historical Continuity

After these three years, let us first pose the question — what have the Israelis achieved by their military prowess and subsequent exploits? Certainly, they have maintained the survival of the Zionist State which three years ago seemed in such mortal peril — that is a fact. But the frequent implication that it has thousands of years of historical continuity is but a claim to be examined.

The pirate-patch of General Moshe Dayan and more particularly his military brilliance and ruthlessness have led to his becoming a folk hero of Israel and indeed of New York City, and much of the United States of America. Mrs. Golda Meir, who was thought at first to be an interim Prime Minister, has also established herself as a strong figure in world politics and in the growing mythology of the Zionist State. She continues in firm control of her government and her "hard-line" against the Arabs is at once popular to her own electorate and to Israel's friends abroad, chiefly in the United States and Western Europe — but also in Africa.

From what does Zionist sympathy stem in Africa? Is it perhaps because of the thorough background in the Old Testament given to so many by Christian missionaries? That can only be part of the truth, especially in countries with so many Muslim citizens. We cannot so easily dismiss cultural bombardment by foreign information media. What is the accuracy of the media from which we in Africa have had to draw our information? Three years ago it was confidently prophesised by most members of the Western press that the President of the United Arab Republic could not long withstand the failure of his Armies in that year's debacle. But Nasser survives, and clashes across the Suez Canal continue.

The new series of raids conducted by Israel against Egyptian military and industrial targets and even villages, which began in 1969, have been sensational in their daring character. It is claimed that they are an attempt "to bring home the message of the war to the common people" of the United Arab Repubic. These raids, which have included horrendous tragedies, such as the bombing of Egyptian school children, have been most terrible: equally horrible was the blowing up of a school bus by the Arabs. The sadness of human losses is doubtless very real, but meantime most visitors report that Cairo continues on its way and, except for sandbags and the blackening of windows, seems on the surface oblivious or at least resigned to the war. But history can teach us that Egypt has long existed and that the Egyptians have absorbed the shocks of many invasions. Although Israel's armies are stronger, and her borders straighter than ever, she is sustaining losses in military personnel larger in proportion to her population than American losses in South-East Asia. The annexation of Jerusalem, the annexation of Gaza, the establishment of fortified **Kibbutz** in occupied Jordan and on the Golan Heights are no nearer acceptance by the Arabs — educated and uneducated alike. Among them are not a few who dearly hope for peace. Theirs are not the headlines. Yet today they must wonder just what options for peace remain.

Military Incursions

It is strange that when the Algerians took up arms against the **colons** and legionares of France they were described here in Africa as "resistance fighters" — not "terrorists" or even "guerillas". A recent **Time Magazine** describes the guerillas as "ultra-militant" and speaks of 'hotbeds of nationalism'. Earlier this week the B.B.C. announced that current Israeli military incursions into Syria were "to counter escalation" and prevent the Syrians from "over-reaching themselves". There is great danger in our being numbed by such phrases. But the moral issue of Zionism apart, the existence of Israel is synonymous with the displacement of almost an entire people — the Palestinian Arabs. This has parallels in colonial history. What therefore is being said when we reiterate that the Arabs must "face reality"? Has the wind of change so blown out that we in Africa do not pause with an open mind to enquire into the **background** which has bred such determination in those who

seek to challenge such great odds? If similar enquiry appears not to be found in the Western press, then is it because of the cultural affinity of Zionism with Europe and America?

The facts are indisputable that tough men are committed to another ideal — that of a secular non-Zionist (and hence non-Israeli) state in Palestine, in which religion and state would be constitutionally dissociated. This cannot be just brushed aside. **Al Fatah** has become a new power dimension in the already complicated power structure of the several states immediately concerned with this problem. Quite apart from Jordan, currently in the news, concessions have even been won from the Lebanon, sections of whose government have heretofore assiduously endeavoured to ignore the conflict as much as possible. Recent Israeli raiders — dignified by the description "commandos", a term with as clear and as opposite a propaganda connotation as "terrorist" or "guerilla" — foraging into Lebanon will probably only force that country to adopt a stronger military position vis-a-vis Israel.

Development of Nationalism

Behind the propaganda certain other facts emerge. Just as the 1967 war devastated the existing armament of the Arab states, so it prepared, to a degree foreseen by no one, the further development of Palestinian nationalism. Today the Palestinians have established and recognised groups fighting for what they would say was their very right to exist in their own country. The existence and achievements of these nationalists is undoubtedly a factor in the new political alignments of Sudan and Libya. They may be seen walking uniformed and respected, on the streets of Khartoum, Tripoli and Benghazi today. Because of them, President Nasser, whatever his inclinations, must commit himself more and more to Palestinian goals.

Behind the propaganda also lie the facts which need to be examined if the goals of those who have taken up arms are to be seriously weighed. That there is any such historical justification for this Palestinian patriotism is hardly obvious from the current spate of articles and reports on the Arab-Israeli conflict. Indeed Jerusalem is invariably portrayed today as a Zionist city. The role of Jerusalem in Christian tradition is well known, but there are other facts of relevance.

The Roman Emperor Hadrian—who (significantly) is presently known in Ghana more for his wall built against the Scottish than his other actions—obliterated Jewish influence from the old city of Jerusalem in the Second Century A.D. The city was destroyed and its site ploughed over. When the Romans rebuilt it, pagan gods were worshipped there. St. Matthew and St. Luke, making quotations from the lost document Q, suggest that Christ remarked in this context that "not one stone would be left upon another". Later, when certain Emperors and Empresses were converted to the Christian faith, many churches and the shrines of saints were established.

'Hems of Heaven'

Roman antipathy to the Jews decreased, and some few survivors lived on in Palestine, particularly in the Galilee region. However, in the Seventh Century they chose to aid and abet Persian invaders who sacked Jerusalem, but whose rule did not last. Heraclius recovered the city and most surviving Jews were put to the sword. Such was the historical situation at the time when the city acquired vital importance with the rise of Islam. Significantly it was in the direction of Jerusalem that the faithful bowed, before they were re-orientated towards Mecca.

It was from Jerusalem that the prophet is said to have ascended to visit the seventh heaven. Muhammad is said to have climbed a ladder from the rock—now the Dome of the rock—a continually significant symbolism, for even a poor poet of London saw the "hems of heaven" and a ladder "pitched betwixt heaven and Charing Cross."

It was a Christian, not a Jewish, Jerusalem that Patriarch Sophronius surrendered to the Caliph 'Umar after the Byzantine defeat. The safety of the Christians, their Churches and their crosses, was guaranteed and 'Umar, accompanied by several of the Prophets contemporaries and servants, immediately sought out the rock. The city's Roman name dropped into disuse. Jerusalem was known just as Bait al-Muquddas—the holy house—and then by variants on that theme, just as Mecca was known as the Sacred House. Muslim scholarship blossomed in Jerusalem and it took its place as the third holy city of the Islamic religion.

Of course very little work has been done in differentiating the religious philosophies of those times. They were not, as now, consolidated in firm definitive religious brackets. To some, for a time, Islam appeared almost as a Christian heresy.

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and early Christianity in the region was itself fret with divisions. Nevertheless the Muslims recognised three places of equal merit for the faithful in terms of prayer and pilgrimage—Mecca, Madina and Jerusalem.

The Umayyad and the Abbasid caliphs were no less concerned with Jerusalem, and several visited the city in those early days. Muslim mystics and scholars travelled from mosque to mosque, and one suspects from mosque to monastery and monastery to mosque, much as students use youth hostels in the world today. It was sometime before holy war, 'Jihad' or 'Crusade', bedevelled human relations between the followers of the one God—the same one God whom the Jews had worshipped for so many centuries.

Religious Tolerance

The Tenth Century Arab businessman and travelling scholar, Ibn Hauqual, wrote of the Jerusalem mosque in superlative terms. Al Muqaddasi wrote that Mecca and Madina had superiority by reason only of the Kaba (the sacred rock) and the Prophet, and he added, "in truth, on the judgment day both cities will come to Jerusalem and the excellencies of all will be united." A fifteenth century writer refers to 20,000 pilgrims in Jerusalem or al Quds—the Holy City. Within the last 600 years some, but by no means all, sources mention a synagogue as well as churches—but those references are far from clear.

It was in 1099 that Jerusalem was captured by the crusaders. Recent work on these crusades has been realized for a long time by progressive scholars—the savage inhumanity of the crusaders and the greed with which they plundered and looted the rich material culture of Islam and took it back to Europe. Muslim and Jew alike suffered under the sword of those who fought beneath the banner of Christ. Poems were written, as they have always been, and the heshima (pride) of the followers of Islam was only assuaged in 1187 when Saladin re-took the city. There is little evidence in contemporary writing of large Jewish communities in Jerusalem at that time, but Saladin as a ruler is known to have displayed universal religious tolerance. The Dome of the Rock and the great Aqsa mosque were ritually cleansed—since Saladin's liberation of the city was on the very date that the Prophet was said to have ascended to heaven from there. Saladin and most rulers who followed after him raised in Jerusalem several monuments and buildings sacred to the Muslim faith.

It was about this time that the trickle of Jewish refugees from Christian Europe and south-west Asia began. In those times it was Christians rather than Muslims who persecuted Jews. Saladin and his descendants; the Mamluks and the Turkish sultans: all these groups extended refuge to Jews who fled from persecution elsewhere. What we know about Jerusalem at that time is drawn from Islamic and Christian writers—not Jews who perhaps saw little to describe —but there are some references to small Jewish communities in Jerusalem. Under the Mamluk sultans more schools, hospitals and government buildings and mosques were built. These Islamic rulers defeated the Mongols in the north of Palestine and drove the colonial crusaders from Europe from the country. They, like the Ottoman sultans who succeed them, took the title "servants and guardians of the holy places of Mecca, Madina and Jerusalem". Much of present day Jerusalem was built by Salaiman the Magnificent.

Protecting the People

Muslim leaders everywhere continued to pay great attention to Jerusalem throughout this time and on into the 19th century. With the exception of monks and those whose specific job was to guard holy places, foreigners were not normally permitted to live in Jerusalem and had not been since the days of the Crusades. Pilgrims, of course, were permitted for certain limited periods. But Jewish refugees from Europe were exempted from these rules and at some time hereabouts they began to gather to pray near the western wall, which Zionist propaganda now claims as an ancient right.

The Egyptians who occupied the region in 1831 were also by no means intolerant towards either the Christians or the Jews. From this time also, British diplomatic pressure began to be brought to bear on the authorities on behalf of the several Jewish communities some of whom originated from western Europe, and others largely from the east. Many sought to take advantage of the British Consulate although they were not British. That was an era when Britain was prepared to "protect" many people in the world! Under this "protection" the Jews in Jerusalem came into the possession of many more goods and properties—attempts were even made to physically restore, and thus establish a claim to the wailing place near the wall.

In 1874 the British Consulate estimated the mber of Jews in Jerusalem at a mere 3,000, luding many destitute, many aged and many pilgrimage.

Great changes followed close upon the emer- nce of Zionism towards the end of the 19th ntury and only then did the issue of Jewish tlement really become political. Many refugees ived, fleeing from persecution in Imperial ssia. The Muslims continued to treat the Jews h great hospitality and tolerance—an attitude particularly typical of the world at that time but they were nevertheless increasingly cons- us of the many attempts to change the status the wailing place. By the outbreak of the First rld War the number of Jews in Palestine erally and in Jerusalem particularly had risen stantially.

Britain and the Jews

The story of how the Zionists obtained British mises during that war is well known. The lfour declaration of 1917 promised the Zio- ts "a national home in Palestine" in return their support. But 'perfidious Albion' also mised the Arabs independence in return for ance against the dying Ottoman empire which s allied with Imperial Germany. When the tish army finally occupied Jerusalem, Arab picions of the aims and intentions of the nists grew. Unrest mounted further when ish soldiers ignored a British ban on their ting Jerusalem and particularly the wailing l. Then alarm grew almost to despair when, r the League of Nations alloted Britain a ndate over Palestine, the British saw fit to ninate the Zionist Sir Herbert Samuel as ir first High Commissioner. The wall was tral to most of the disputes which ensued. small minority of Jews in Jerusalem started seek complete control. It is now known that Zionists publicly denied aims that they were the same time representing in secret to the tish Government. Struggles continued throu- ut the 1920s. Demonstrations were mounted both parties. Violence often ensued. Arab rs were greatly stimulated when Jewish nigration increased rapidly in the 1930s, be- se of the rise to power of Nazi racialists in many. The Arabs felt they might be colonised submerged by waves of immigrants—like the ples of Australia and America had been ore them — and they rose in revolt.

Disorders continued for three years. Meantime rnational Zionism grew stronger and Britain superseded by the United States as the power behind the Jewish demands. Plans for the partitioning of Palestine were developed in America and were pushed by her through the United Nations in 1947. Again bitter fighting resulted. Neither side asked for, or gave, any quarter. Like Vietnam today, Jewish immigration into Palestine became an American election issue and the interests of the people living there became almost marginal. Soon the terminology, especially in the western press, began to change — the Jewish immigrants were described as "defending" Jerusalem from the "tyranny of infamous and impious Arabs". Once the British mandate ended in 1948, the Jews attacked the city of Jerusalem, which action led to the intervention of King Addullah of Trans-Jordan. When the fighting subsided the old city remained in the Jordanian sector but the ambitions of Zionists to expand their territories further remained.

The Israeli 'frontier' was pushed forward on the 5th of June, 1967, when Israel attacked the U.A.R., Jordan and Syria. The United Nations called for a ceasefire—meantime Israel announced the annexation of Jerusalem. The United Nations resolved by a large majority that Israel should withdraw this claim and has since repeated its requests to no avail. Today, in the propaganda of Zionism, possession of the Western Wall is central to the propaganda of Israel's expansion. Israel owes its legal existence to the United Nations yet no country has been condemned more often by the Security Council and no country has ignored so many United Nations Resolutions. These are the brutal facts. Refugees from what the Arabs regard as twentieth century colonialism remain a major world problem.

We now know that technical breaks-through in knowledge have been made in many different parts of the world. They are not the permanent monopoly of any creed, race or peoples. We know however that one of the main reasons for the success of the Israelis in the recent war was technical superiority. However, neither history nor social development is static and it could be that the Arab nationalists are now demanding of **history** — and not just of the West and not just of Israel — the right to re-occupy a place they feel is theirs. Whether or not we in Africa would agree with that claim, we should endeavour to ensure that at least we hear it. For it may well be three years after the war, that Israeli expansion has already, or is about to over-extend itself in terms of territory and people overrun. And one lesson of colonial history is that that has been done before.

Observer Notebook

Labour Relations in Ghana

It is gratifying to note that the strike of the Obuasi miners has now been called off, and that most of the workers have resumed duty. Ghana's present economic mess is such that this is hardly a propitious occasion for labour strife.

We should, however, do well to remember that industrial lock-outs often occur with reasons which are more deep-seated and it is the responsibility of our leaders to look to some of these problems. Although the strike at Obuasi was said to have been sparked off by the delay in the publication of the Atta-Bedu report on the previous disturbances there, it is possible that the reasons for the strike are more than meet the eye. It is obviously impetuous for individuals to dictate the pace at which probe reports are issued by the government and by this the strikers did, whatever cause they had, a lot of damage.

Workers at the Obuasi mines do not appear to have felt happy since the Lonrho deal. There was the case of the severance pay, for instance. May it be then, that the Atta-Bedu report when published would offer the workers a millennium?

The Obuasi strike is an issue which deserves a more detailed analysis within the wider context of industrial relations in Ghana, and of the type of trade unionism we have in the country as a whole.

We caution the workers in Ghana to be sympathetic with the problems of the nation; and we ask those responsible for the publication of the Atta-Bedu report, as of other reports, to be more forward looking in their attitude to time and to work.

The *Observer* has advised before, and wishes to advise again: threats have never been a successful weapon in the conduct of industrial relations. And this is irrespective of the quarters from where the threats come.

The O.A.U. and the Freedom Fighters

The Organisation of African Unity was seven years old in May. In his review message on the occasion, Emperor Haile Selassie (of Ethiopia, where the headquarters of the O.A.U. is located) had the usual words of self-comfort and self-congratulation to send out. He also expressed for all the members the Organisation's distress at its continuing inability to make a direct and decisive impact on the struggles of oppressed Africans of black skin against their oppressors in South Africa, Rhodesia and the Portuguese-held territories of the continent. All black Africans share the O.A.U.'s distress.

The logistics of operation alone are formidable. Even if the O.A.U. had the means to equip and man all the strategic points of attack, the fight would still be uneven: witness the armed might of the opposition, their mobility, their reconnaisance capabilities, their interlocking alliance in forces and aims, their support by their great white allies. Doubly unfortunately, however, the O.A.U. cannot even supply the freedom guerillas with the basics, or not in sufficient quantities or at the necessary intervals.

Yet without the material support of black African governments and peoples the freedom fighters would be doomed, and their respective countries and peoples with them. From the security of our own relatively comfortable situations, we who are not South African or Rhodesian or Angolan blacks cannot presume to dictate impertinent instructions to those at the front line of fire and death and torture. We can only urge all member-states of the O.A.U. to falter not nor fail in paying their contributions to the general funds of the Organisation; for this is the starting point of all O.A.U. abilities.

Secondly, we suggest the working out of a scheme of collections and contributions in cash or kind which the ordinary people of black Africa can make their own, in support of our brave fighters out there facing the terrors of racial oppression and brutality. It will be complicated and extremely difficult to organise such a scheme, but it should not be impossible. All conscious black Africans, whether comfortable or not, should be eager to help save our brothers and sisters caught in the traps of inhuman creatures describing themselves as "civilized" and "Christian".

In fact this suggestion is seasonable in any case, having regard to the extremely interesting news announced from Rome this week. The Freedom fighters have taken the quite unexpected and revolutionary step of going to the very heartland of western democracy to make a bold bid for moral support from the Western powers, according to the sources. This is on the basic grounds that the western democracies on their

n evidence are against anti-democratic policies oppression, and that it is to the interest t hese powers to support movements for dom from the fascism of Vorster, Ian Smith the Portuguese. The alternative, the leaders the liberation movements threaten, could well a turning to Russia for assistance.

Other details on the agenda of the Rome nference were being kept under wraps, but they e supposed to include the enormous prob- s of legality in the handling and transporta- of the concrete facts of assistance: men, s, grenades, food, and the rest. Other forms assistance sought appear to be very likely of kind suggested above. All in all, some gress in freedom fighting in southern Africa desparately needed.

Now Labour, Now Conservative

MOST everyone in the Tory camp, especially t noble establishment the conservative press Britain, is going to pretend to have forgotten at Britain's situation was like for Labour en they took over in 1964 from 13 years of nservative government. The economy was not y on the rocks but slipping off them into the ths below; industrial and labour-government ations were absolutely chaotic, if not danger- ; social morality and manners among the ing class were under a heavy cloud; and tain's standing among her western contem- aries had altogether reached what the Ameri- s call "a new low".

Lest we forget, these are facts, abundantly cumented in the whole of the established rent literature of those days. So much so that other than Harold Wilson himself, then in position, said of the then Tory government: ll that is clear is that every month they are ging to office without a mandate. To continue erning weakens the authority of the country". e *Harold Wilson*, by G. E. Noel, p.9.) A ek or so before the election which has now nstalled the Tories, it was possible for Mr. ath to get back at Mr. Wilson and turn a e of the Labour leader against the joker him- f and to promise *him* a very long political liday instead! Luckily for Mr. Heath he has en able to make his own laugh the last this e. Such is the party game.

We who have adopted all the forms and emonies of the British parliamentary system uld be emulating its clear virtues (instead of

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ludicrously affecting some of its more culturally characteristic trappings). One of these clear virtues is the give-and-take of government party versus opposition. It is a political game which we must learn to play properly, if we are to stick to this modern version of the principle of majority rule. Otherwise we should scrap it. But if we do, about the only other practical alternative left to try is one-party government, and we have had our fill of that one.

Letters

The Games Politics Play

SIR — Even superficial reflection on the recent British General Election should lead one to become more suspicious than normally about generalisations and wise dicta on human behaviour, especially political behaviour. Consider the outstanding example of what has happened to Mr. Harold Wilson and Mr. Edward Heath.

Practically throughout the election campaign Mr. Heath was compared unfavourably with Mr Wilson as to their public images. Newspaper comment after comment, editorial and otherwise, said Mr. Health's T.V. and platform appearances were feeble gestures bordering on sadness and looking prematurely gray! On the other hand, Mr. Wilson was always his jaunty, confident self, tossing off contemptuous dismissals on Mr. Heath and his Conservative fellow-strugglers. So the newspapermen and pundits painted it.

Even worse. Since the pools said Mr. Wilson was winning anyway, therefore his performance on the political issues before the electorate, which were of course the heart of the matter, seemed to win approval, or at least to amuse the critics in a sort of indulgent, superior way. Mr. Heath, on the other hand, was given lukewarm soup for comfort by Wilson's supporters and admirers, in and out of the newspapers.

Came eventually the general election, the exposure and disgrace of the opinion pollsters, the defeat of Mr. Wilson and the victory of Mr. Heath. Now, lo and behold, all the previous weaknesses of the new Prime Minister became his strengths: "great personal triumph", "his courage and confidence", his correct interpretations, the "faith" he had to the last that he was winning, or was going to win — many other credits now given Heath, in equal measure with the previous cynicism, the damnation by faint praise. As for Wilson, they promptly turned his own tables on him. They now remembered his "overweening self-confidence"; the fact that he had been "smug"; that he had never, you know, really dealt with any political issues nor answered any questions on those raised by Mr. Heath; that he had been contemptuous without caution, and reckless without thought. Etcetera, etcetera.

This wonderful game of "hindsight prescience", by which we comfort ourselves with the claim of greatness, is common enough and pathetic enough; we all have to do something like that for sheer ego-survival. What really kills me about the Heath-Wilson case, however, is the additional thought that, had the opinion pools been proved right and Wilson come out victorious over Heath, the same commentators would have pranced up and down showing their under-feathers and crowing that the two men had only confirmed "what was so obvious to us all the time": that Harold Wilson was always the cool, unruffled master-politician, and Edward Heath the pale rider on a pale horse!

Legon **K. A. B. Jones-Quartey**

The Beaver Aircraft Accident

SIR — My attention has been called to Mr. Owusu Yaw's letter on the above topic which appeared in the **Legon Observer** (V/12). But for the inaccuracies in that letter we would have declined to comment.

The real facts are that

(a) the plane crash took place on Sunday afternoon 24 May 1970;

(b) a torn wing of the crashed plane was located, hanging halfway down a tree, from the air, on Tuesday, 26 May 1970 — two days after the crash. It must be emphasized that weather conditions then prevailing were such that flying had to be cut to the minimum;

(c) ground troops, airmen and police of the search and rescue team started their trekking through the thick impenetrable forest reserve on the afternoon of Tuesday, 26 May 1970, and reached the wreckage — in the deep forest — on Thursday 28 May — two days later!, with the help of Forest rangers who had in fact never been in that forest before;

(d) troops of the Engineer Regiment and 2nd Battalion then took approximately six hours to move their heavy equipment to the area, and built a helicopter landing pad in the thick forest, within four hours!! This was to enable the bodies to be moved to Takoradi for burial; and finally

(e) the autopsy had to be carried out on the spot in view of the state of the bodies, and the military pathologist had to be taken to the crash scene.

We would like to point out that there is in existence, by International requirement, a Search and Rescue Organisation which automatically goes into action within minutes as soon as an air accident occurs. This organisation is equipped with the necessary rescue equipment: radios, chain saws, axes, and all the necessary implements for quick rescue work. We do also have a standing arrangement whereby a military medical team could parachute into an area of a crash to tend to the wounded. This is quite apart from the fact that every Air Force plane has a survival kit on board.

In conclusion I would wish to invite Mr. Owusu Yaw, the publishers of your journal, and any other interested persons, to come with us to the crash scene. We would be only too pleased to let them see and travel through the terrain we are talking about.

F. F. Addae
Lieutenant-Colonel
Director of Public Relations

Ministry of Defence
Accra

Archaeology And African History

SIR—I cannot make 'out what Professor Posnansky means by his remark that he has been quoted by me without acknowledgement (**L.O.** V/12).

All extracts or quotations in the article in question (**L.O.** V/10), including Professor Posnansky's were either directly attributed to their authors or placed in inverted commas. This was done to avoid cluttering the obviously limited space of the **Legon Observer** with elaborate footnotes.

As for being quoted out of context, I think Professor Posnansky is entitled to his opinion, but it seems to me that he misunderstood the import of what he describes as my "main complaint" with regard to his view that "the study of Tropical Africa during the first millennium AD" belongs to "pre-history" and should therefore not be given "historical status".

At page six of his Inaugural Address he complained about a "tendency for historians, particularly in the University of London, to regard the study of **tropical Africa** during the first millennium AD as African history rather than pre-history". He further stated (same page, same paragraph) that "there is probably more evidence" for the same period in Britain and American histories, and yet neither in American nor British histories are those periods accorded "historical status". Whatever the nature of the historical evidence which exists for American and British histories of "the first millennium AD" and just how they become "probably more" than what could be found in Africa for the same period, are matters which I left without comment. What I found curious however was the use of the words "Tropical Africa" as well, or rather in spite of Professor Posnansky's "plea for treating the human past as a single unit rather than segmenting it amongst different disciplines".

"Africa South of the Sahara" is, in the present context, the same as "Tropical Africa". It is also sometimes called "Sub-Saharan Africa". Thus there is the inference that

> there is an immense difference between the history of "Africa South of the Sahara" and "Tropical Africa" and that one such "immense difference" is that Africa North has a history and "Africa South" or "Tropical Africa" has until recent times (presumably until the colonial era) been outside the main stream of human history, i.e. it had no history.

The question which I asked was whether Professor Posnansky's "Tropical Africa" is not the same as say Kingsnorth's "Africa South of the Sahara" and whether both are not the same as Professor Roper's "Africa". This was the sense in which I connected Professor Posnansky with the Trevor Roper School.

For I did not know how a plea for unity of the human past could be made in the same breath as a demand to "segment" the African past into "Tropical and other Africans". I happen also to be of the view that the above demarcation and classification of Africa and Africans are as arbitrary as the political partitioning of Africa which was a reflection of imperial whims and needs, and threfore did not necessarily correspond to the actual realities.

P. O. Box 7854 **Akua Asuabea Ayisi**
Accra

Accusations of Tribalism

SIR—The Minister of External Affairs is a member of government for whom I had the greatest respect until the recent debate on the dismissal of the 568 public officers. His attack on the Ewe ethnic group was quite vituperative and did seem to have personal overtones.

One of the redeeming features of ex-President Nkrumah's regime was that tribalism as it exists now was practically unheard of. No doubt this was a big contribution to his appeal to the people. If this government is to be a better one then it must strive to transcend all tribal animosities, and **must be seen** to be doing so. The first step towards doing this would be to publish a list of the 568 persons dismissed, with a brief explanation as to the reasons for their dismissal, e.g.:

Mr. A	inefficient, corrupt
Mr. B	inefficient
Mr. C	not forward looking; etc.

Surely this would be worth doing, if for no other reason than that it would eliminate from people's minds the perhaps erroneous idea that one or two ethnic groups had been victimised.

It is indeed ironical that an ethnic group, one of whose members played no small part in creating the free atmosphere of a parliament today, should be accused of being "inward-looking".

P.O. Box 1934 **Merilyn Charles**
Kumasi

Ghana's Unemployment Problems

SIR — I have read Mr. Gyinayeh's letter (**L.O.** V/12), and, while not pretending to know the cure for unemployment in Ghana, I wish to comment as follows.

Nobody would disagree with Mr. Gyinayeh that we can solve our unemployment problem through "the creation of more job opportunities" in the country. This is clearly self-evident. But one finds it hard to accept that the "immediate" solution to the problem is the encouragement of foreign investment. Presumably this would be followed by the encouragement of domestic investment as the final or long-run solution.

Mr. Gyinayeh's argument appears to be as follows: We can create more jobs by establishing more factories. This we cannot do ourselves; only foreign investors can establish more factories in Ghana. Therefore, let us encourage foreign investment. Also let us reduce the retirement age so as to create still more jobs!

This latter suggestion is hardly a solution. All it means is that the percentage of young people in our total employment should be raised. I find it difficult to see how such a measure can be considered as an "immediate solution" to our unemployment problem. If it is a long-run solution, then it has to be shown that young people in our work-force are more productive than the old.

With respect to the first solution (i.e. foreign investment), Mr. Gyinayeh was quick to add that we should be aware that there are certain attendant dangers. He nevertheless prefers it to private (and public) Ghanaian investment — for unstated reasons. Whatever those reasons may be, it seems to me that it is necessary for

us to know that foreign investors are not fundamentally different from indigenous Ghanaian investors. Are they both not motivated by profits?

Perhaps the view that the social and economic development of a country depends upon the efforts of its own people can still be repeated here for the benefit of Mr. Gyinayeh and me.

8206 14th Avenue **Yaw Owusu Adomako**
Hyattsville
Maryland 20783, USA

On Teachers' Uniforms

SIR—Mr. J. E. Opoku deserves the congratulations of all progressive Ghanaians for his mature and thought provoking article on the above in the *Legon Observer* (V/12).

As he rightly pointed out, the teachers' uniform is not an educational problem as appears to have been suggested by the action of the authorities of the Ministry of Education, the national press and those Ghanaians who deem it fitting and proper to shut up whenever teachers' salaries are delayed but who turn up later to condemn these poor teachers who rightly feel uniforms are unnecessary for their work.

May I ask these Ghanaians to think rather of the country's many educational problems enumerated in Mr. Opoku's article and help find solutions to them rather than waste their time and energy fussing over the overworked, underpaid and neglected Ghanaian teachers and their refusal to wear uniforms arbitrarily imposed on them.

Catholic Convent **J. H. Kodzo Fiafor**
Middle Girls' School
Post Office Box 20
Keta

Sports

THE GIFT OF BRAZILIAN FOOTBALL

By

A Correspondent

FOUR years ago, in 1966, Pele and his Brazilian teammates were probably better than they were four years later in 1970, if only because four years ago Pele was that much younger and stronger. At any rate he himself has said, when referring more and more frequently to the need for his retirement, that he finds it progressively difficult to keep in condition. In spite of this disclaimer, Pele's form in the World Cup tournament just ended in triumph for Brazil gave regretted indications of what he must have had to offer in England in 1966. It was to the loss of the pleasure of countless millions of soccer enthusiasts around the world that Brazil was never allowed to display their dazzling wealth of talent in the 1966 tournament.

For even until as recently as that, football, international or domestic, has been played in many parts of the world with extreme savagery, and nowhere else and on no other occasions with more savagery than in the World Cup competition itself. Thus until 1966 the aim of many aspirants to world championship was to get it by any means, fair or foul—foul, if they thought it necessary for success and if they could get away with it. Very often they did just that, too. Certainly in Liverpool in 1966 Bulgaria and then Portugal deliberately, brutally, in front of the whole world, jumped on Pele and stamped him out of the competition; in 1962 also Pele got the same treatment. And with his incapacitation, plus injuries to one or two others of his team-mates, went the whole of the Brazilian morale. They were out of the competition at the end of the first round.

The '66 tournament proceeded, of course, and eventually England won. The later rounds generated a lot of excitement, because of course there was a lot of good football played; but only after Mexico-1970 has the soccer world come to realize that soccer magic had been absent from the 1966 show, for the simple reason that Brazil was absent from it also, very early. That world had learnt its lesson, though, and had taken a firm oath "never again . . .". The result was the relatively chaste conduct of the 9th World Cup Competition, Mexico-1970, and the final demonstration that in the Brazilians and in the person of their national idol, Pele, the world's most popular spectator sport had attained its loveliest flowering.

Artistry and High Skills

"Method versus Magic", "artistic", "genius", "filigree patterns", "incomparable", "the Master", "the King", are some of the superlatives used to describe the play of the Brazilians, as a team and as individuals, by the various newspapers and sportswriters of the world press. In some of the more distinguished papers, even serious essays have appeared on the subject; they have praised, not merely the quality of the Brazilian—and to an extent the whole South American—game, with its artistry and its high skills, but even more the spirit of joy and adventure which backs up that quality.

Again and again the commentators described as overwhelming the creativity, the fresh inventiveness of that golden forwardline of Pele, Tostao and Jairzinho, backed by the commanding generalship of Gerson, the cool authority of Captain Alberto, and the bursting energy of Rivelino, equalled only by that of Jair on the forwardline. Again and again they said this was sheer magic, even if that level was not consistently sustained throughout the final match. In the end even Italy, beaten helplessly by four goals to one in that last game, counted themselves proud and honoured to have come second to such standards. In Brazil itself, of course,

> joy has been unconfined,
> since youth and artistry met in Mexico
> to chase the bouncing ball with flying feet!

(Apologies to the Poet's successors and publishers).

And where does Africa stand in the midst of all this glory, created mostly by people of our own blood? This year, for the first time, the continent was represented by one country, Morocco. These North Africans —more Arab than African of course—did not exactly disgrace themselves, but they were quickly eliminated. With Israel and El Salvador they were not only the weakest of the 16 finalists but also hardly in the same

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class with the other 13. The reasons are not far to seek: newness to the whole thing, resulting in lack of experience; lack of facilities even now, which is in turn due, for most African countries, to economic incapacity.

Ghana, in spite of these real handicaps, was coming along very nicely in soccer some years ago; even at this moment we are not lacking in native talent, or hopeless as potential future world competitors. But alas, the handling of our entire sports organization has been a huge joke for the last six to seven years. This was long before the Nkrumah-Ohene Djan era came to its inglorious end—the same regime which had, admittedly, seen us through and on our way to the top, in Africa at least.

In addition to our own ineptitude in management at home, there are quarrels between the African soccer countries and the world authorities of the International Football Federation. The Africans feel discriminated against in the allocation, or in availability to them, of facilities leading to qualification and placement in the World competition. They may have a case, and probably do. But it would seem to this one enthusiastic observer, at least, that the footballing African countries have a lot of homework to do before they can justify their right to fight for a place in the World Cup sun. . .

Hard Luck for England

The case of England, the overthrown champions, is one of sheer hard luck. They may not have the flair of the South Americans, for only the South Americans have flair in abundance; except perhaps the Italians, of the Latin temperament, at their best; and the French, somewhat of similar mental cut, especially when re-inforced by players from France d'Outre Mer. But England had won a most natural and logical victory in 1966 at home, and it was held to have been a very good thing for football that they did win the World championship. Throughout the four years following the 8th Tournament the England squad were accepted everywhere as strong candidates for the retention of their supremacy. It would have been the crowning satisfaction of Sir Alf Ramsey's career as the man who did most for English soccer in the last 10 years.

Alas, they were edged out of their position by narrow wins over them by Brazil and then West Germany. They had put up a fighting show right to their last ditch, but were unfortunate to be beaten so marginally by two of the other three frontliners of the competition. Thus they fell, and thus they also set the stage in an intriguing manner for 1974 in Munich. In that year there will be at least four World teams with closely matching potentialities: the present champions, Brazil; the rejuvenated runners-up, Italy; the ex-champions, England; and West Germany, which is always near the winning post.

Sir Alf Ramsey deserves sympathy for narrowly missing a crown of glory. He has a chance to restore England's prestige and grip the next time, but the struggle is going to be tough for him. With victory hot in their nostrils and enthusiasm for the demonstration effects of superiority in their blood, the present champions are going to take some beating in future competitions. Meanwhile, all praise to Peerless Pele and the wonderful footballers of Brazil.

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EDITORIAL

WHEN ARE STRIKES LEGAL?

WHEN WORKERS decide to withdraw their labour in the course of industrial disputes, they do so for a number of reasons. They may have genuinely experienced that the returns which accrue to their labour do not adequately compensate for their efforts. Or, they may have discovered that the profits which their productivity yields to their management are high enough for the workers to be entitled to a just share. Or, again, strikes may be the result of the workers increasingly finding difficulty to make ends meet. Whatever the reasons, strikes tend to be resorted to when all other avenues for redressing grievances have been explored. This is the ideal.

In Ghana the foregoing reasons cannot be dismissed lightly by any serious student of the vagaries of cost of living in the country. Nor, indeed, should one ignore the fact that the right to withdraw one's labour is inalienable in meaningful democracies. But this right becomes even more meaningful only when there is a sensible collective bargaining system on the labour market.

As is well known, the productivity of the average Ghanaian worker is anything but enviable, although this is for a number of reasons some of which are extraneous to the workers. What is equally unenviable is the image—as well as the observable sense of serious concern—of those who have taken upon themselves the task of leading the workers in their struggle for fair conditions of service. Since 1958 when the Industrial Relations Act was passed, trade unionism in this country has become virtually moribund and ineffectual. Immediately after this Act, the T.U.C. came to be seen as the industrial wing of the then ruling Convention Peoples' Party, and its leaders (some of whom became Ministers Plenipotentiary and Ambassadors Extraordinary, while the workers had become silenced) lived in such luxury that their self-styled claim as champions of workers became a mere joke. Strikes, of course, became illegal, and preventive detention became the governmental response.

This Industrial Relations Act is still in force, and has undergone very little alteration since then. Strikes are still illegal, in a way which workers regard as more oppressive than meaningful. And the image of a trade union, as an instrument which must be aligned with the government of the day, still remains.

This has given rise to mistrust in the T.U.C. leadership; and the leaders probably now find themselves in a dilemma. At what time, for instance, can they officially lead their workers when there is an industrial dispute?

And what effective, responsible leadership can they offer when they cannot lead their followers towards militant action (for fear of their being locked up) or towards sober collective bargaining when the economy has very little room for the immediate improvement of working conditions at the moment? When, in other words, is a strike legal? Some of the reasons for strikes led by self-appointed "spokesmen" must be found in these factors.

The **Observer** believes that trade unionism has a confused, misplaced orientation in this country. A workers' organization should obviously be concerned not only with increase in the pay packet, but also with increase in productivity. There is a need for change in our image of workers as a mere category of irresponsible, ungrateful, and subversive people. Workers, too, are human! Equally, our assumption of management (and of government) as a structure which merely exploits the sweat of labour, should also be re-examined.

We are not saying thereby that the relations between workers and employers would be absolutely harmonious. One might as well expect pigs to fly. But what we are calling for is a radical change in our conception of the structure of industrial relations. Trade union leadership must be made up of people who are dedicated, honest, patriotic, and trustworthy; they must not be merely schooled in the art of demagogic oratory (which helps neither the workers nor the employers) but in the art of understanding the conditions and aspirations of the workers, and the economic problems facing the nation.

Thus the **Observer** will be following, with keen interest, the outcome of the forthcoming T.U.C. elections which take place at Winneba. It is hoped that a leadership would emerge that would be able to put concrete proposals to the government with regard to the conditions of workers in this country, as well as the need to revise those unworkable, outdated aspects of our industrial relations laws. And, of course, it is hoped that the next T.U.C. leadership would give a pledge that the solution to Ghana's economic problems is to be found not by the government alone, but by the entire nation —workers featuring prominently.

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The Economy

INCENTIVES AND THE STIMULATION OF GHANA'S ECONOMY

By
A. N. Hakam

A DEVELOPING country facing productivity and growth problems could resort to incentives. Now incentives are nothing new, even to a lesser developed economy such as Ghana. Several industrial firms apply the incentives technique to their labour, and it is used in some agricultural production such as tobacco. However, the real test for a successful incentives system is the costlessness to the government as a result of the increased revenues that accrue from it, and the long term net social benefits to the economy.

Here are some of the useful applications that could solve some of Ghana's problems:

1. **Agriculture:** In agriculture in Ghana, one can recommend cash and goods prizes to be offered as quality and quantity incentive so as to stimulate greater production. The Ghanaian is highly responsive to physical rewards and in this case, radios, television sets, and other consumers' durables can be quite effective in improving productivity. A firm that has tried this method is Pioneer Tobacco, a firm that was enabled through incentives to develop tobacco growing in Ghana into a sizeable crop. Another method would be realistic "price support" to stimulate the production of key crops.

Of course, this is not to say that all of the agricultural problems are to be solved this way. In the long run, measures such as fertilizers, adequate transport, insecticides, seeds, water for irrigation, research and demonstration stations, co-operatives, agricultural marketing, storage, shows and fairs, rural education, rural electrification and provision of other amenities are needed.

2. **Exports:** Perhaps this is the most critical problem Ghana faces. She must expand exports to earn the foreign exchange needed for her expanded industrial programme. At this stage, growth of the economy is constricted by the inability to expand exports. Some incentive measures are needed here to make it possible for Ghanaians to expand exports. One method would be to let Ghanaian exporters earn a bonus from export proceeds. Another method would be to allow the industrialists who export Ghana manufactures to capture an import licence of a greater

amount than that which has been exported. A yet useful method would be to allow an actual retention of the foreign exchange proceeds by the exporter, and to have these freed from most restrictions as to their use, including resale to government authorities at a premium.

A good aim would be to encourage the export of those commodities whose imported input to total value is relatively small. These include agricultural fruits and vegetables and their products (raw, canned or bottled), wood products (which are already good performers in the export picture), and as cotton industry grows, textiles, and garments, and possibly leather and shoes. There is every justification in applying initially export subsidies for these industries; once they are on their feet, they can establish a foothold on the foreign markets, so that subsidy would no longer be essential.

The question then is what kind of subsidies would make such industries competitive abroad? One can start with the foreign exchange rebates just mentioned, but these industries deserve an extra push. Here what is needed is subsidized research at home to improve and standardize products and sales promotion agents abroad to publicize and create and recognize market opportunities. Resident marketing representatives attached to Ghana embassies in the main foreign markets could do a lot to stimulate exports.

3. **City Improvement:** Accra and the other major cities abound with deteriorating buildings. Sidewalks are virtually non-existent. This not only adds to the insanitary conditions but also to congestion (in the case of sidewalks, as it forces pedestrians, hawkers, etc. to the streets). What can be done to alleviate this problem by way of incentives? One could introduce a property tax that would penalize property holders who do not maintain a minimum standard of property improvement and a minimum size of sidewalk adjacent to that property. In other words the property holder who does not have a minimum standard is to pay a higher rate of tax than the one who does. A clear definition of the type of sidewalk and building maintenance is to be made.

Furthermore, Property taxes are relatively low in this country, and their increase, though not palatable to many, can lead to increase in funds available to maintain adequate sanitation and road maintenance by agents such as Accra City Council. For instance, in the United States Property taxes pay the bulk of the cost of public school systems. Of course the built-in incentive to pay less taxes through property improvement will contribute to make the cities more beautiful and reduce the burden of city authorities in maintaining sidewalks.

The same measures could be applied to large multi-storey apartment and office buildings, where now there would be an incentive to build large pedestrian piazzas, fountains, parking facilities etc. The government would not feel the burden of the added incentives, since this is coming from new added taxes and the tax-payer will eventually think that he is getting something worthwhile; for, value added to his property will additionally be rewarded by his having to pay less taxes.

Eliminating Eyesores

Similarly depressed and hastily built sections of major cities can be made attractive by a negative property tax that tends to allocate taxes inversely proportional to the level of development including aesthetics of the property. This would discourage idle land (and would also tend to discourage land speculation) and temporary substandard structures that do not conform to the zoning codes of the area. (It would then be interesting to see whether Accra, for instance, would develop all that land adjacent to the sea. Most European and some French African cities adjacent to a sea, lake or river tend to have their most beautiful boulevards facing the waterfronts and this adds immeasurably to the beauty of such cities. Accra, on the other hand, gives the impression of being the opposite in that the sea lies in the back of the city and not on its front).

That does not necessarily mean that tax incentives could automatically eliminate "eyesores" and slums from Ghana's cities. These could begin to disappear if the tax measures are coupled with other measures, such as activating the building industry by providing soft loans for low cost housing projects. This, however, will depend on the long run problem of reducing the import content of the building industry. In the building industry, it must be remembered, is to be found a nucleus for stimulating economic activity in a depressed economy; for, this industry is highly interdependent with other industries (that is it depends on local cement, woods, stones, glass, furniture and fixtures, aluminium, steel rods, electrical products, tiles, sanitary ware, pipes and paint) and most important in the case of Ghana, this industry can be highly labour intensive. In the end a stimulated building industry cannot only alleviate the housing shortage for the lower income groups, but ultimately lead to slum clearance and the physical improvement of the

cities.

Property taxes with the relative complexity outlined above may be criticised in a developing country, where simplicity and ease of collecting of taxes is the objective of tax authorities. But then it should also be pointed out that a differentiated tax system already exists in the manufacturing industries, where similar methods exist in the tax allowances given to those industrialists who undertake capital expenditures on their plant and equipment. Another fear would be that any property tax levied on landlords may translate in higher rents for the urban workers and the lower income groups. However, a progressive property tax would vary geometrically with the revenue derived from a property. If that does not assure a fair rent to workers, then rent control methods would have to be supplemented to the tax measures.

•

4. **Rural—Urban Drift:** The rural urban drift which characterises Ghana cannot be eliminated by simple formula. However a lot can be done to solve the imbalance of incomes that prevail between urban and rural populations. Agricultural price supports is one method of stimulating higher incomes among the farming population The exemption from taxes of industries located in rural areas is a good method of inducing certain industries in locating away from the big cities. (This is to be weighed against external economic advantages of location in big industrial centres). The offer of wage and salary bonuses for government workers, such as teachers, doctors, nurses, and agriculturists that work in the remote areas so as to attract some of these well educated and trained men and women away from the main urban centres must be tried. Easier loan policies for the educated to start farming is already being attempted.

However, much more must be done to get a bootstrap operation that involves "everybody" in development. What is needed is more self help projects and community projects with the minimum of "foreign" cost of personnel and capital. The operations would essentially depend on men and women who are already educated and who are willing to teach the less educated rural population some useful art that leads to greater output. Now the National Service Corps has such an aim, but the N.S.C. would have relatively little effect in stimulating the rural areas if the bulk of its men and women are composed of nothing but middle school certificate holders.

Some countries, notably Iran, have attempted schemes which can be applied to Ghana. How does one get the educated university graduate into the rural areas? Introduce a compulsory military selective service for certain able bodied men and women of one year duration (make it really selective, i.e. to be deferred for those who are still continuing their full-time education and to exempt those who are doing farming). The University graduate would thus be faced with having to serve in the armed forces for one year. Here the government can make him feel useful by giving him the alternative of serving in a rural job corp, donating a year of his post graduate years in service as a teacher, agricultural extension worker, medical aide, administrator, etc. in lieu of serving in the armed services, at a rate of pay slightly better than that received by the armed services. Here the graduates would feel they are getting a "good deal" since now they would not have to serve in the armed services but instead a worthwhile cause in developing the backward areas of their country, assuming that a good size of the graduates would be working and serving as the "brains" in community development projects. The government moreover should not feel hesitant in demanding the service of one year of those men and women whose education it has been subsidizing throughout.

Africa

SOUTH AFRICA—BACKGROUND TO RECENT POLITICAL TRENDS

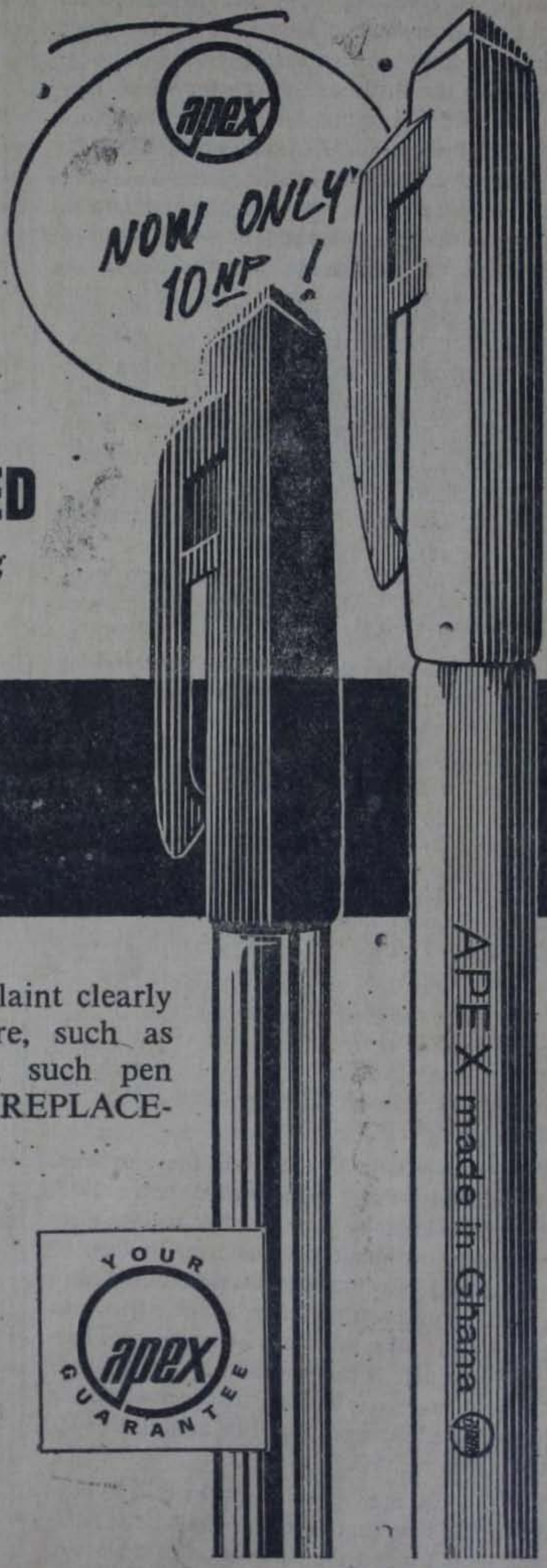
By

"Kitosh"

It seems as if Prime Minister Vorster has not only succeeded in cramping the style of Dr. Albert Hertzog's extremist **verkramptes**—"the cramped ones"—but has virtually liquidated any forlorn hopes the Herstigte Nasionale Party might have cherished before their resounding defeat in the general elections of 22nd April. But maybe we ought to give kudos to the recalcitrant Dr. Hertzog for being bad enough to have goaded Balthazar Johannes Vorster out of his cool to come down parading in his toughest jack-boot image—rather mildly reminiscent of his old Nazi self—just to show the world how really "verkrampt" he could be!

History has never justified the logic of events, for the simple reason that the logic of events is not history. But history does repeat itself—and

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it has been repeating itself in Afrikanerdom.

After the Boer War in May 1902 the two Boer republics in South Africa surrendered their independence to the British, in return for which they were promised full responsible government before the issue of votes for Africans was settled. As before, and afterwards in the Act of Union, Britain only saw her own immediate interests, not those of the Africans whose cause she flaunted periodically, as propaganda gains required.

After the night of the generals, the Nationalist Party (formed by the last of the Boer generals, J.B.M. Hertzog, for recalcitrant Afrikaners who opposed the reconciliation of English and Afrikaans-speaking whites under the former two), after a series of mergers and fusion governments, was returned to power on the hitherto unique platform of apartheid. This victory for apartheid engendered a spate of racist laws. There was, for instance, prohibition of miscegenation when one of the parties is white; also the enforcement of housing and labour segregation, aimed at suppressing the African while securely entrenching the Nationalist Party in power and ingratiating it with the security-conscious white electorate, some 60% of which is Afrikaan.

Confusion and Insecurity

These people are very much aware that the key to white domination in South Africa is Afrikaner unity. The idea that the English-speakers are more liberal—in the context of apartheid—and the fact that they were defeated by the British in the Boer war have become part of Afrikaner folklore, like a venomous canker, and have contributed to the subsequent rise of a monolithic Afrikanerdom to power.

The April general election was the fifth since the Nationalist Party came to power in 1948, and for once in many years of static politics there was uncertainty about the outcome. In fact, so confused and insecure was the situation before the election proper that white South Africa was showing signs of a total loss of confidence. Perhaps this attitude is best depicted by the situation on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange, where the values of listed shares dropped by more than 40% in the last 10 months.

The financial damage done can be said to have been greater than that experienced after the Sharpeville shooting and the declaration of a state of emergency 10 years ago. Of course, this did not then and does not now mean that white South Africa is about to collapse in ruins; but it does mean that white South Africa is undergoing an acute attack of nerves.

In the 1948 general election the Nationalist-Afrikaner Party coalition, though polling 140,000 votes fewer than its opponents, won 79 seats in the House of Assembly, as against 74 for the combined opposition. Since then, the Nationalist Party has increased its majority at each election.

The result of the 1966 election, in which only the white voters of South Africa and South-West Africa were involved, was: Nationalist Party, 126 seats; United Party, 39; Progressive Party, one seat. The Nationalist Party won 58.6% of the total number of votes cast, the highest figure it has ever attained. Thus the overwhelming parliamentary strength of the Nationalist Party has been based on a comparatively small electoral majority.

Token Representation Ended

This may in part explain the continuous sense of insecurity from which the Nationalist Party has suffered. Pressures on that party have intensified during the last decade and ultimately proved too great for the leadership to cope with. The breakaway of the Herstigte Nasionale Party last October has brought greater fluidity to the parliamentary scene than at any time since 1948.

The new parliament consists of a total of 166 seats, representing the white electorate of South Africa and South West Africa only. The Republic's estimated population in mid-1969 totalled 19,618,000, made up of 13,340,000 Africans, 3,728,000 whites, 1,959,000 Coloureds and 591,000 Asiatics. Out of these, Asians have never been represented in the South African parliament, and the token African representation by **three whites** ended by the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act of 1969; the token Coloured representation by **four whites** likewise came to an end with the passage of the Separate Representation of Voters Amendment Act of 1968. Thus the new Assembly was elected by and is responsible to whites only.

So that for the first time since the union, the non-white majority have absolutely no say of any kind in the central legislature of their native land.

Nomination day for the election was 13th March. Eleven candidates were returned unopposed, six United Party and five Nationalist Party. A record of 407 candidates contested the remaining 155 seats, including seven women; they represented eight political parties and five independents.

The parties were: the ruling Nationalist Party, with 145 candidates; the opposition United Party,

49; the Herstigte Nasionale Party of Dr. Hertzog, 30; the Progressive Party (which favours integra-ion), 19; the National Alliance Party (English speaking supporters of the Nationalist Party led by ex-Nationalist Member of Parliament Mr. Blyth Thompson) four; and three small right wing breakaway Nationalist groups: Democratic N.P., two; Independent N.R., two; and the Front (confined to Natal), one candidate.

Of all the political parties, it is significant that seven represent one form or another of racial segregation and white domination. Only the tiny Progressive Party stands for a non-racial franchise, but with income and educational qualifications which are under revision due to a fall in value of the rand. Even here power would still effectively be in the hands of the whites.

Economic Policies

Campaigning at Waterkloof, Pretoria, for votes, Albert Hertzog, verkrampt son of the former Prime Minister of that ilk (who was ousted from power for supporting the German invasion of Poland, to die an abandoned, bitter and forgotten man in 1942), expressed his desire to make Afrikaans the only official language, and attacked Vorster for turning soft. He also ominously emphasised that Vorster's verligte economic policies threatened the lily-white way of life of the electorate.

In short, Vorster was going soft on economic links with neighbouring African States and economic integration within, which would make South Africa anything but whiter than white. But this demonstration of obsession with, and this strength of, colour prejudice is, ironically, its greatest weakness, for the fear of defeat comes out of the deep recognition of the easiness of that defeat. Anyway, it is apparent that Dr. Hertzog, now 70 and an old hand at politics who had been M.P. for 21 years (since 1948 and until he was outmanoeuvred from the party last September), was playing with an unknown quantity.

Girding up his loins, Balthazar Johannes Vorster, the "unknown quantity" who was ejected from the exclusive Afrikaner OSSEWABRANDWAG for his ultra-Afrikaner views—he was the man who gave the police force such efficiency, and such torture devices, as to make Verwoerd embarrassed—decided to upset Hertzog's applecart. (The OX-WAGON GUARD was formed in 1938 to perpertuate the belief that the Boer trekkers had to take cover within the circle of their covered wagons in the face of British and native attacks). Vorster charged the purist leader for saying that the Bureau of State Security (B.O.S.S.) his—Vorster's—own brain-child and sole responsibility, would cost £50 million and not the estimated R4 million, and that it was a spy-system against political opponents.

Still jackbooting to the right, he issued a decree prohibiting blacks from holding a wide range of semi-skilled jobs, as of last May, which date was postponed indefinitely upon protest; he barred black tennis star Arthur Ashe from playing in South Africa, and on election announced specific measures of discrimination against the giant conglomerate empire, Anglo-America Corp, for practising economic integration. Incidentally, the Chairman of Anglo-American is Harry Oppenheimer, whose "more-than-adequate" fortune succours the non-racialist Progressive Party.

(To be concluded).

SOUTH AFRICA'S APARTHEID: AN INVITATION TO A BLOODBATH

By

J. Oppong-Agyare

I RECENTLY took part in a symposium on South Africa's apartheid policy. And my mind has undergone some drastic changes since. I have been spending a great deal of my waking hours musing over South Africa. An idle exercise? Maybe. But not altogether useless. At any rate it has set me thinking seriously for the first time on the problem of apartheid.

For some time now some of us have been behaving like the proverbial ostrich. We have been hiding from the reality of apartheid, thinking that that would give us comfort. Our defence has been that any reflection on the intolerable situation in South Africa, Rhodesia, Angola or Mozambique tends to give us bad sensations in the stomach, with even a threat of palpitation of the heart; and life is precious .... Selfishness at its worst? Maybe. And it affects lots of us.

That indeed is the crux of the matter. We have not bothered at all. Whenever we are forced to, by a report of spasmodic eruptions of violence in any of these places, we show a brief interest, blame the white man in our hearts and secretly also blame the black man for his docility and weakness. But what right have we to assume such superior airs in order to salve our conscience?

Some of us in post-coup Ghana often refer to the Nkrumah era as the nightmare of our

existence. Our main reason for saying so is that we were denied our fundamental freedoms, that the number of security men was such that Ghana stood the real danger of becoming a police state. This vision took such hold of us that we became almost insensitive to everything else.

If we suffered mental and spiritual agonies under Nkrumah, let us multiply that a million times and we shall then have a faint idea of what it is for a black man to live in South Africa, Rhodesia, Mozambique or Angola. Whereas under Nkrumah we were at least free to move about, no African in South Africa is permitted by law to move a few steps from "home" without carrying his pass — that symbol of white supremacy and black shame and degradation.

What Must be Done?

If nobody lives unto himself, it is particularly so with the African. No African should live unto himself, thinking he is free and happy, while millions of black men elsewhere are treated like mere playthings — nonentities — whose only justification for existence is to slave to death to make all white men happy and comfortable.

I feel strongly that the situation in South Africa and Rhodesia calls for a new appraisal. It should be tackled by all African states that call themselves independent. And the best way to tackle the problem is for each African state to try to answer the question that formed the topic of a recent symposium at Ahmadiyya Secondary School, Kumasi: "If sanctions, condemnatory resolutions and a policy of international isolation have all proved futile in stopping the practice of apartheid in South Africa, WHAT MUST BE DONE NOW?"

I argued that there are only two ways of answering the question: by saying simply, having regard to all the insurmountable difficulties before us, that nothing can be done; or by maintaining, in the face of all the formidable odds, that Africa must take on South Africa militarily. It may not be entirely correct, as I said, that anybody who says that nothing can be done is a weak-kneed pessimist. He may be a realist for all that. He certainly does not shut his eyes to the main problems facing Africa, as some advocates of immediate military solution blissfully and flippantly suggest.

There is certainly some truth in the contention that the whole of black Africa can ultimately take on South Africa militarily. It is to doubt this that can render anybody liable to the charge of being a weak-kneed pessimist. For I firmly believe that one day Africa will be in a position to do something to end the white man's insolence and callousness in Africa.

What the present generation of Africans should do is to keep this image of gross effrontery and injustice permanently aglow in their hearts, and work purposively against that day when there may be a bloodbath in Africa.

Obviously, then, it is urged on all African governments to keep the problem of white domination in clear perspective every day. Doing this will certainly help us see ourselves as others see us — a potentially powerful people, endowed with every good thing, every mineral wealth and material resource that can with advantage be exploited to make us economically independent and powerful; but who, nevertheless, remain poor and weak because of petty jealousies and internecine suspicions and divisions.

It may not be the fault of present African leaders that Africa is still so much divided on tribal, cultural, ideological and linguistic grounds. But no African leader should escape blame who is not working ardently to remove these unfortunate causes of our divisions, in the main source of our weakness.

A New Orientation

In this respect, one does not have to be an Nkrumaist to realise that our salvation lies in only one thing, **unity**. Africa must unite. This must **not** be seen as a mere slogan. If we suspected Nkrumah of some ulterior motives, at least he is not now on the scene, and there is no earthly reason why we cannot work relentlessly for African Unity **now.** It is only unity that will break down the custom barriers and promote the much needed inter-African trade on which, ultimately, our hope for economic power depends. And economic power will not be a far cry from political and military power.

The realisation of this aim will surely call for a new political and economic orientation. For instance, Africa must begin to take greater pride in inter-African political and economic groupings than is the case at the moment. This means that the position of the African states in the Commonwealth should for the first time be subjected to a thorough analysis and examination. And the O.C.A.M. too, or the desire to

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enter the European Economic Community.

Some Africans are misled by the activities of white liberals into thinking that when the day of reckoning comes, there will be some white people to fight on the side of Africa against apartheid. I wish I could share in this optimism. I doubt it, and my doubt is based on the truism that blood is thicker than water. If Britain did not crush the Rhodesian rebellion, there is no logical reason to believe that she will raise a finger against apartheid when Africans take on South Africa.

Is it the enormity of the problem that has lured many African leaders into a policy of introspection and near isolation? If it is, I welcome it. African states must set their houses in order. There must be the drive to increase productivity and inculcate the idea of self-reliance in the people. Exercises to improve our self-respect must be assiduously pursued.

The aim of all such measures should be obvious —a physical confrontation with South Africa. In the meantime, Africans in these parts should learn the rudiments of self-defence and guerrilla tactics. They must, at the least opportunity, deal all possible blows at the oppressive system. South Africa's policies, like those of her racist neighbours, are invitations to a bloodbath, which, though unfortunate and beastly, must be accepted by us.

International

THE DILEMMA OF ISRAEL

By

A Political Correspondent

THE dilemma that Israel faces is unenviable. How can this tiny state continue to enjoy the goodwill of its friends the world over while it continues to be portrayed as a conqueror nation and an occupier of conquered territory? On the other hand, Arabs have exploited this situation to the fullest, portraying themselves as "third world" underdogs fighting for their "national liberation against a colonizing stooge of Western imperialism". The sympathy that the Israelis have been enjoying as long oppressed and persecuted people fighting for their survival is being threatened by the new image that the Arabs are preaching about Israel. Is this portrayal fair? Let us look at some of the facts and fictions of the case.

Firstly why have the Israelis occupied the new territories? If we go back to May 1967, we shall discover that Israel's very survival was then being threatened. Nasser amassed 200,000 heavily armed troops in Sinai close to Israel's border. Egypt and Jordan coordinated their armies under one command. Syria was accelerating the shelling of Israeli border settlements. The blockade of Israel was begun by the closing, to Israeli shipping, of the entrance to the Gulf after the U.N. observer forces at Sharm Al Sheikh had been ordered to leave by Nasser. Furthermore, Arab radio stations, newspapers and Arab heads of state all pointed out that the hour of Arab destiny had arrived and that they were about to engage Israel in the final battle to destroy her. By any international law definition any of these Arab measures constitutes "aggression", whereas the armed blockade of Israel could be nothing less than an "act of war". So, rather than being strangulated, Israel struck in "self defence" against tremendous odds (a nation of 2.3 million inhabitants, confined to a small geographical area, with difficulty in defending her borders, surrounded by Arab countries having altogether over sixty million people and with armies and weapons several times more numerous than that possessed by Israel). To the surprise of all, the routing of the Arabs was so rapid (six days) and so decisive, that it enabled tiny Israel to push to the Suez Canal on the Egyptian front, to complete the conquest of the remaining portion of "Mandate" Palestine that was then occupied by Jordan, and to occupy on the Syrian front the relatively small but highly strategic territory that was known as the Golan Heights from where Syrian long range artillery was formerly bombarding Israeli settlements. It is now three years since the 1967 war. The Israelis still hold on to the territories they captured during that war.

The conflict is reaching a point of intensity which may draw the Great Powers into a collision in that the Americans will attempt to thwart the Russians from establishing a hegemony over Eastern Mediterranean. The Israelis, while holding on to the Arab territories, want to negotiate these territories for permanent peace in the area. They had so far insisted on direct negotiation, but recently they seem more flexible on this point. The Egyptians, while claiming to abide by the November resolution of the Security Council (i.e. Israeli withdrawals from all territories conquered during the six-day war, recognition of all States in the area, and freedom of navigation in the international

terways of the area) have been inconsistent. hile paying lip service to the resolution, which cidentally they interpret as total Israeli thdrawal first before recognition of the State Israel, the Egyptians have also pledged total pport for the guerillas. The guerillas backed Syria, Iraq and the financial help of Saudi abia and Kuwait, want nothing less than the tal destruction of Israel as a state. In sum, the ab side has not so far come with a formula at will allow Israel to exist. The closest ing to Israel's existence would be, according to Fatah, a non-Israeli state and they are ry vague as to the proportion of Arabs and ws living within it.

Understandably, any solution to the Israeli-rab conflict must include a solution of its ntral issue of conflict, that is, the solution of e Arab refugee problem. Israel has recently lled for an international conference that would clude the Great powers, the Arab States, Israel nd the Palestinians to tackle this issue. Israeli nd international financial and technical assis-nce would be provided to help resettle those fugees who are not already integrated. This rought no reply from the Arab side. The Arabs ave been using the refugees as a political issue, er since the first Israeli-Arab war of 1948.

Resettling the Refugees

It must be remembered that the Arab govern-ents of the time were partly responsible in eating the refugee problem by calling on them the beginning of that war to move out of ewish occupied areas of Palestine and to come ack later to their lands when Israel was con-uered. Well, that time never came. They ought Israel in three wars and were defeated hree times and the refugees are still there. Now ther countries with refugee problems have been ble to resettle such refugees and to integrate hem into their economies. Pakistan, India, ormosa, Western Germany are a few of the ountries that within the post-World War II era bsorbed literally millions of refugees.

On the other hand Arab governments had laced the refugees in camps and quite often heir movements were restricted. For instance, he refugees that were encamped in the Gaza trip, which was under Egyptian administration, ere forbidden to travel to Egypt proper. It was stimated that the total number of refugees was bout one million. Now Arabs have between hem an area of land stretching from the Persian Gulf to the Atlantic Ocean, and income from petroleum (in billions of dollars) unrivalled by any other portion of the globe. Now surely with all that land and all that wealth many times that number of refugees could have been reset-tled? In the past twenty three years several international attempts to settle the refugee issue were fruitless because of Arab refusal to co-operate. One attempt during U.S. President Eisenhower's term of office envisaged massive expenditure to irrigate and develop the areas on both sides of the Jordan River and, in the pro-cess, provide enough agricultural land to resettle the bulk of the refugees. This plan, though ap-proved by the Arab experts, was later rejected by the Arab politicians. Israel herself absorbed more than half a million Jewish-Arab refugees who because of the Israeli-Arab conflict had been forced to leave their countries. The refu-gee problem can thus be viewed as a sort of an exchange of Jewish and non-Jewish population in the area.

Israel's Options

Viewed from the Israeli side, what are the op-tions open for Israel to settle the conflict once and for all?

1. Withdrawal from all conquered territories in the June War of 1967. Here withdrawal of Israeli troops without a peace settlement would be suicidal for Israel in that the pre-1967 war borders of Israel are hardly defensible against modern Russian rocketry and long range guns. The previous border, it should be remembered, was strategically very favourable to the Arabs. Withdrawal would now expose Israeli cities such as Jerusalem and Tel Aviv to Arab artillery. In any case a unilateral Israeli withdrawal will not assure the acceptance of Israel as a state. The Arab guerillas, and Syria and Iraq, for instance, never accepted the November 1967 Security Council resolution that relates the recognition of Israel's right to exist with the withdrawal from conquered territories.

The implementation of the Security Council's resolution which is rather vague on many points, and is interpreted in diferent ways by the Israelis and the Egyptians will be very difficult. That is why some kind of negotiation is needed. The Israelis have been calling for direct negotiation in the belief that the conflict of the area has to be resolved by the belligerents themselves. The Arabs have so far refused to sit together with Israelis for purposes of negotiation or on any other matter. In recent times even the worst of enemies still resorted to negotiations. The Ame-

ricans and the North Koreans, the Indians and Pakistanis in Samerk and U.S.S.R., and more recently the Americans and North Vietnameses in Paris. Even the Communist Chinese and Americans have been meeting in Warsaw to discuss the issues that confront them.

2. Another option would be to maintain the existing illusionary status quo. That is, Israel would continue to hold on through her air superiority against the policy of attrition practised by the Arabs. This is becoming more difficult for Israel to do, since a new element has ben introduced into the Middle East conflict. This is the direct Russian military presence and involvement in the area. Aside from having poured two billion dollars worth of the most sophisticated weapons into Arab lands (principally Egypt), the Russians are estimated to have some eight thousand military men and technicians in Egypt alone.

Balance of Power

The Russians are manning themselves the missile sites and flying many of the planes they have supplied to Egypt. Previously Israel used to bomb Egypt mainly to destroy the network of aerial defenses that makes it possible for Egypt to launch an invasion against Israeli occupied territory. Increasingly such bombing is becoming more difficult and is confined to a narrow strip across the Suez Canal. With Russian air cover to back them, the Egyptians have become increasingly emboldened in carrying out their attrition policy. Thus, the balance of power has shifted in Egypt's favour. In contrast Israel has been finding it extremely difficult to get the weapons she needs. France, her principal weapon supplier before the 1967 war, is now backing the Arabs. The U.S., at the time of writing this article, has yet to promise the supply of twenty five Phantoms which Israel has requested several months ago.

3. The third option would be to accept the Arab demand and cease to exist as a Jewish state. This is so ridiculous from the Israeli view that it can never be considered as an option. Israel would have to be so thoroughly defeated, with much of its population annihilated, before such an alternative could be imposed on her. Israel is a legal entity, her creation backed by the United Nations, recognized by some eighty five countries, including Russia, and *de facto* by some Islamic countries, such as Iran and Turkey. She has been independent for twenty three years and has fought three wars to preserve her independence. Should she now surrender and give up her sovereignty!

To the Israelis, this is now their only land. They have no other country to go to. Emotionally, spiritually and physically they have been tied to this land for the past four thousand years. Admittedly, when they started to migrate again to this land after 1,500 years of diaspora, (characterised by massacres, inquisitions, rejections and persecutions almost everywhere they went), the Arabs were there. The land was then under Turkish rule, very thinly settled, and not very popular with the Arabs. It was only after Jewish settlers had created new opportunities in the area that the wave of new Arab immigrants moved in there.

At the time of the partition of Palestine by the United Nations into Jewish and Arab states, the Arabs still outnumbered the Jews in all of Palestine by a considerable margin, but that is because while the Arabs were not restricted in their movements into the area, the Jews found it extremely difficult to migrate there during the British mandate period. Now, even if all the Palestinian refugees are counted the Jews would still outnumber the Arabs. Therefore, the situation cannot be compared to Algeria or some other colonial situation which the Arabs like to compare, the Jews are not a minority trying to rule over a majority by force, but rather a majority trying to live peacefully with a minority.

Theoretically, an independent Palestinian Arab state could exist on the the west bank of the Jordan, living peacefully and economically very fruitfully with its neighbour Israel, but at present this looks like a dream. A solution could come about when the Arabs begin to accept the reality of Israel's existence. This reality is that she is there to stay.

A NOTE ON JAPAN, AFRICA AND APARTHEID

By

Afum Karikari

JAPAN has risen from the wreckage of the second World War to become one of the richest and most highly industrialised countries in the second half of the 20th century. This is the reward of hard work, sacrifice, tenacity and sensible

onomic planning, an example which must give e developing world inspiration and optimism.

Japan has a large population but limited sources for economic growth; it must import eat quantities of raw materials to feed its lustries. It has therefore established trade ations with many countries the world over.

Last year alone it needed about 48 tons of ld for industrial use. Domestic production s some 18 tons, so the government had to plement this by purchasing additional gold m Britain and elsewhere. As in many count- s the importation of gold by individuals is hibited, but the great demand for the "king metals" has engendered a flourishing black rket where the price of gold is almost twice international price for successful smugglers.

In spite of Japan's large imports the balance trade is in its favour. Its chemical industry nks third in the world, in the production of sic chemical raw materials for use in modern ustry.

Its exports are mostly consumed by Asian ntries and by the United States; the U.S. ne takes about one-third of the total. In ana, on almost every major road is now to seen the swift Datsun cars, solely distributed Japan Motors (Ghana) Ltd., which has an embly plant at Tema. By 1964 Japan had the world for eight consecutive years, since 56, by launching 4,205,000 tons in ship- ilding.

Partnership in Africa

Japan's affluence is shown by the rising wage e of ten per-cent a year since 1960. Average ome per person was 690 dollars and 830 llars in 1965 and 1968 respectively. Since 55 the Gross National Product has risen at average rate of 10% yearly (141,900 dollars 1968). Now its G.N.P. ranks third, only after U.S. and Russia.

The Japanese government has in recent times lised the need to utilise part of the nation's alth as aid to Africa. In 1961 the African ciety of Japan was established to promote tual understanding between African people d Japan "by promoting and assisting econo- c and business partnerships in Africa".

As part of the aid, some African countries, luding Ethiopia, Kenya and Ghana, are being ped to develop their textile industries. (In ana they are helping at Akosombo Textile Manufacturing Ltd., Ghana Textile Ltd., and the Tema Textile Training Centre.) In 1965 the Sanyo Electrical Corporation was set up in Ghana by an amalgamation of Japanese firms in partnership with the Ghana government.

In February, 1970, a Japanese government economic and trade delegation toured some African countries (visiting Ghana between the 20th and 25th of that month) to "explore the possibilities of strengthening international trade between Japan and Ghana—and other African States". Ghana and other states responded well and participated in "Expo '70", the superscale international trade fair still on in Osaka. And Ethiopia's Emperor Haile Selassie, in a speech to mark Ethiopia's National Day at the Fair, invited Japanese "participation in large scale agricultural enterprises, in the building of dams for irrigation and for generation of electricity, and in the expansion of mining and industry in Ethiopia". Japanese fishermen are found in the seas of West Africa, as well as in East Africa (where the Tanzanian government, however, recently deplored their activities, since they were alleged to have been the main "culprits of overfishing").

Growing Investments

Japan's investments in Africa are growing fast. Recently a Japanese consortium of about twenty firms, the Overseas Uranium Resources Development Corporation, signed an agreement with the government of Niger and the French Atomic Energy Commission to develop Uranium deposits in the Republic.

Japan is rich and looks like one of the few nations whose economic aid to developing countries has few (or not any) strings attached to it. It also seems to be less involved in international feuds that hamper progressive international trade. But there is one major problem about the country that threatens its peaceful trade with Africa in the future. This is Japan's economic relations with racist South Africa and Rhodesia.

Like many developed countries, it professes abhorrence of South Africa's and Rhodesia's racist policies. And it has rightly been asserted that only by economic sanctions and boycotts can some sense be knocked into the heads of these arch-racists. But Japan's trade with the recalcitrant countries is an encouragement of the oppression practised by the non-Europeans in those parts of Africa.

The Japanese must know that what they obtain from the two places are the results of

the strength and sweat of the non-Europeans, who virtually have no share in the profits of their labour. If the Japanese want to maintain understanding with Africans they have to help them to solve some of their major problems — and the race problem is the heartache of Black Africa.

For economic reasons the government of Japan will wink at South Africa's apartheid policy, unless it is pestered at all international gatherings. It becomes imperative, therefore, that African governments and their officials, their various information media, and others, use their services to persuade the Japanese, with relentless effort, to stop flirting with Africa's oppressors. Britain, the U.S. and France, for their part have made it known that they **will never** cease to support oppression in Southern Africa. Japan must not join these and the other oppressors of the Black race, for as Richard Novey has said, "The wealth of nations is men, not silk, cotton and gold".

Observer Notebook

Ghana's Financial Woes

THE long-awaited meeting between Ghana and her foreign creditor nations has apparently produced no agreement.

We shall comment at a later stage on the meeting, after the Minister of Finance and Economic Planning has made a full report to the government which, one hopes, will be made public. Even a provisional evaluation of the London meeting is difficult at the moment, because of the variety of considerations bearing on it; what is quite clear is that we do have many troubles.

The somewhat vexing question is how we ought to view the outcome of the talks, a question to which we ought to give some thought even before seeing the official report. The reported unsatisfactory outcome of the meeting arouses our interest once more in the matter of our external debts in a most provocative way, by propounding a theory or policy that we are unlikely to accept. This is essentially that the debts have purely commercial implications and therefore ought to be solved as such. This myopic view ignores the adverse effects of debt payments on Ghana's long-term development efforts.

There seem to be two approaches to take. In the first place, we can hasten to praise or blame the debt talks in proportion as the outcome agrees with our preconceptions. But this natural response is an unattractive one, in that it dismisses Ghana's stand as if it were unimportant. The other course is to wait until the government comes out with a statement about the failure of the meeting. It seems to us that this is what we ought to do. It leaves us temporarily in an awkward position, the blame for which we must put upon the government's blanket acceptance of very dubious debts.

Our Contributors and Correspondents

IN our 4th Anniversary issue (L.O. V/14) we completely omitted to pay tribute to the nearly 2,000 writers and correspondents who in the four years of our existence have been our editorial mainstay. Without these readers who also write to and for us we could not have survived through four issues, let alone four months, four years, or the next 40. Even if we had a very large editorial staff and were full-timers, we could not by ourselves write everything; and if we could, our readers, as much as ourselves, would be bored to tears by a vice of style called monotony.

So we offer today to those who write the articles and the letters for our columns the heartwhole gratitude of the Legon Society on National Affairs and the Editorial Committee of the **Observer**. We are perfectly aware of the fact that our "prices" are not competitive, for in fact we have no price to put on any articles, though we know some of them are worth their weight in journalistic gold. Theirs as well as ours are no more and no less than a labour of love, which we are certain no financial competition will be powerful enough to kill.

However, since we are also aware that man cannot live by love alone we have every intention of doing the right thing by our contributors, financially, as soon as ever it becomes possible for us to do so. Again our thanks and appreciation.

This Prestige Consciousness

STUDENTS of group phenomena are surely reaping a rich harvest in the urban communities of Ghana. Apparently, the tribal associations have not been enough to satisfy the search for status in the rapidly changing set-up of the society.

But what appears to be novel in these associations is the new phenomenon of status-seeking by derivation. Thus we now have such exclusive and elitist groups as Lawyers' Wives' Association, Doctors' Wives' Association, and very soon (we hope!) Drivers' Wives' Association.

There are significant problems about which the student will have difficulty in unravelling. Supposing the wife of a doctor is herself a lawyer who belongs to the Bar Association, on which of these two Associations shall she place more emphasis? And

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supposing one had a counter organization such as Doctors' **Husbands** Association, who would then be pulling whom to such associational gatherings?

Ghanaian women are outstripping their male-folk in this search for eminence and position. Presumably women, more than men, conform better to the supposition that human beings possess instincts which tend at once towards gregariousness and exclusiveness! What do our women say?

The Edinburgh Games

THE Commonwealth Games were due to open on Thursday, 16th July, according to schedule, as we were going to press with this issue. This year's event, saved from disaster at the nick of time by the 11th-hour cancellation of the then scheduled South African cricket tour of England, will certainly be the biggest and fanciest of the whole nine in the series; it is hoped it will also be the greatest so far. The Mexico-68 Olympic Games and the World Cup soccer tournament at the same venue both came off with that kind of reputation, and there is no reason why the Edinburgh affair should not chalk up the same history. After all, like Tokyo ('66) and Mexico, the City Fathers of Edinburgh have set up the best-ever Games complex for this event in the series.

Ghana's chances of making and leaving an indelible mark on this occasion are probably bright, but only on a minor sort of scale. We are a small country not yet developed fully in any particular area or direction; to put ourselves permanently on the world map in any field of endeavour will demand far greater effort, concentration, devotion, and material means than we have ever been able to find or expend. Yet the potential is there and has often showed flashes of itself. Which is not too surprising. After all, Kenya and Jamaica are small countries too—and New Zealand and Sweden and Norway. Yet they have produced and will keep producing, even if with breaks in between, great athletes of world renown and great players in team and individual sports like tennis and cricket, like football, golf and rugby.

It is true that our Mike Aheys and S.K. Alloteys are no longer performing, at their previous peak standards; that we are no longer the undisputed Commonwealth boxing champion country or Africa-wide soccer kings. We are also anxious about the inclusion of individuals like the boxer Adonis Ray in the Ghana team for Edinburgh, and about how long our boxing coach, the otherwise able Roy Ankrah, can continue without competent, fresh replacement. However, after we have done with all these speculations of doubt and fear, we can still remain hopeful in a few bright spots. Like in Alice Anum; and in Smith, still improving in the high jump, though still quite far away from international standards. And in Daniels, and the relay team which still includes Mike Ahey; and in Bugri and Frempong.

Well, we wish them and Ghana great good luck.

Letters

Austerity Patterns: Somalia and Ghana

SIR - Somalia celebrated the tenth anniversary of her independence with austerity — there were no invitations to foreign diplomats, and there was no military parade. Which country needs to emulate this national self-denial of luxuries more than Ghana? — a country saddled with external debts and heavily burdened with unemployment.

There is no doubt that Ghana can save a lot in all aspects of economic life if our state functions could be handled with less pomp, and if our state dinners were suspended. What will foreign nations think of us if we incessantly cry for a breathing space in the payment of our debts and yet within our borders we lead a life of a country with a viable economy? They will surely not take us serious.

Surely we owe no obligation to any country to entertain her head of state or her diplomats with expensive dishes?

It is my humble suggestion that for at least the next five years the example from Somalia should be our guiding principle.

Kwame Frimpong

Commonwealth Hall

Legon

Stop Preaching Tribalism

SIR - During the four-day debate in the General Assembly last month, in which the Opposition lost the motion on the 568 workers dismissed, the P.P. Member for the Nkwanta Constituency is reported to have said that if the N.A.L. members in the Volta Region really felt (bad) for the unemployed they should establish enterprises for them in the region.

My opinion about this M.P. is that he does not feel for others and consequently he does not know why he is in the National Assembly. I wish to bring to his attention the fact that a member of Parliament is not expected to speak in favour of either his region or his constituency only, but for the betterment of the nation as a whole.

If such speeches continue to be made in our National Assembly then I would not be wrong to say that those M.Ps who make them are singing the song of tribalism, which some people are endeavouring to eradicate from the minds of the youth of our country. This can also be bad politics. That the M.P. I have referred to said this in the National Assembly would suggest that he supports what the Leader of the Opposition had charged: that the dismissal of the 568 was done tribalistically.

I should like to suggest to members of Parliament not

e such unworthy remarks and speeches, else those ake them would lead others to insist that the P.P. ment in fact does things on the basis of tribal feelings.

New Town M. A. S. Wormenor

Developing the North

our Editorial: "National Development and Regional " (L.O. V/13) made interesting reading not so for the logic in your argument but for the way in you sought to rescue the government out of the nto which the language of Jones Ofori-Atta aced the government's attitude towards Ibrahim na's motion calling upon the government to draw pecial accelerated programme to develop the North h up with the others of the country's regions.

ly, Mr. Mahama's motion had a harmless intention, lr. Madjitey's amendment should even have been readily acceptable. But strangely enough the rn parliamentarians in the Progress Party govern- who should have inspired the government to accept na's motion, did not do so.

a pity that men who have earned so much respect past for their ability and mature attitude towards al issues should today exhibit such tendencies during ry first parliament of the Second Republic.

n not myself interested in personalities. My only ere is to remind the new government that the more hibit such strange personal feelings the more they it difficutlt to defend themselves tomorrow, and re they lose the sympathy of those who, in spite y valid fears about them, still felt that they are the of men who could be counted upon to rule more ly.

ink that Dr. Busia and his colleagues would wish e the opportunity to do a radical self-examination r conscience and open a new chapter in the next of parliament. That would do them a lot of good. you.

ry S. M. Sibidow
A. (Accra Branch)
ox 1660,

Public Telephone Booths

ne of the most glaring defective aspects of our com- tion system is the complete lack of public telephone in our cities, towns and villages. By any modest ion there are no more than five or six public booths around the Accra-Tema municipality. Nearly all of re located in the main post offices and are frequen- of order. Where a booth is in working condition the has to exhaust lots of patience before the sleeping r grudgingly answers "hello". This is a deplorable n in a country where house telephone is considered y if not a prestigious asset.

country where tourism is being encouraged this s inadequacy is disastrous. Even in the developed es where house telephone is a necessity, public ne booths are located in every nook and cranny of nd towns. This should be the case even more here less than 15% of the population can lay hands on telephones in an emergency. It should not be a luxury to have public booths in our markets, big shops, airports, lorry and railway stations, banks and top hotels etc.

There is not a single public booth in the whole of Labadi, and other suburbs in and around the city are no exception. The situation calls for immediate action.

King Osafo.

P.O. Box 80
Accra.

Pickpocket Extraordinary

SIR—I wish to inform the authorities, or the person who invited Mr. Bob Arno, the world widely known pick-pocket, that his visit to Ghana was not necessary at all. At present, there are a lot of gangsters around who are doing bad enough things to the innocent public, and the police are doing their best to prevent these evil doings.

Now, if we are trying to outlaw criminal acts from our beloved country, why should we at the same time invite such a character to visit us and demonstrate his evil skills to us? I care little about the points he raised in the **Daily Graphic**, because these were going to be read by both good and bad people.

I am sure some films are prohibited from being shown in our cinema halls because the spectators do not gain anything from them except evil thoughts. If this is the case, why should the Bob Arnos come here to worsen things? We must all bear in mind that by his demonstrations our "guys" may learn even worse things.

P.O. Box 5712 Wofa Yaw Twum
Accra

Making the Observer "Lively"

SIR - I read, with profound interest, of your fourth anniversary in your last issue; this is very remarkable. Your style of writing and the way you compile articles is also commendable. Pats on your elbows. I have copies of all your issues, which I am keeping as "keepsake".

I would also like to suggest that you "bring in" colour photographs to make your articles "more lively."

Ampadu-Mari.

P.O. Box 567
Accra.

Editor's Note: The suggestion in the last paragraph is noted with thanks!

Legon, July 15

Course For MPs on Nationnl Budget

A one-week course for Members of the National Assembly was today opened at Mensah Sarbah Hall, University of Ghana, Legon. The course which is being organised by the Institute of Adult Education in conjunction with the office of the Minister of State for Parliamentary Affairs and the office of the Clerk of the National Assembly will be expected to discuss among other things, Parliamentary procedures and the National Budget.

It is expected that the Prime Minister and the leader of the opposition would address the closing session of the seminar.

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EDITORIAL

CRUMBLING ALLIANCES

EARLY last week, the British Conservative government of Mr. Edward Heath announced its long expected, but less surprising, intention to supply arms of a selected nature to South Africa. As Sir Alec Douglas-Home told the House of Commons: "we should be ready to consider within that context . . . applications for the export to South Africa of certain limited categories of arms, so long as they are for maritime defence directly related to the security of the sea routes."

The **context** which Sir Alec has in mind is, of course, the provision of the Simonstown agreement which ensures "free passage of ships in all circumstances on the vital sea routes round southern Africa." And, in an attempt to assuage the growing, and legitimate, fears of the (mainly African and Asian) anti-apartheid group of the Commonwealth of Nations, Sir Alec has offered an explanation which can be said to be appealing to only the South Africa lobby in Britain, and to no one else. Said the former, fourteenth Earl of Home: "In no circumstances would there be sales to South Africa of arms for the enforcement of apartheid or universal repression." Presumably after the sale of arms to South Africa, a special British commission would be permanently stationed in Pretoria to supervise the use to which British arms would be put. But, surely, whose intelligence is Britain insulting?

If this decision has been taken in order to counteract the fear of Soviet naval penetration into the Indian Ocean, then one thinks that Britain is miserably mistaken. Strategic studies have shown that the Indian Ocean is no longer significant for Soviet maritime power; furthermore, Soviet naval strength presently is virtually at par with that of the United States. The Russians are already in the Mediterranean waters; and they are also very powerful in the Atlantic, which used to be a U.S. monopoly. Where does Britain stand, in the event of a modern naval confrontation?

The defence of Britain is, of course, a basically British problem; and their assessment of their defence needs, on whatever bases the assessment is done, should essentially be a British affair. But Britain is no longer an island in isolation. It is in this respect that her decision should be considered alongside that country's relations with other nations in the world.

Although Britain is no longer the centre of the universe, as elementary school textbooks used to make her, she is still a formidable country whose decisions should reverberate beyond the confines of that little island which she occupies. She is a power of sorts, and a significant member of the

United Nations to whose members she is presumably obliged to set an example about commitment to U.N. ideals and aspirations. For instance, how far is it from a selective sale of arms to South Africa, to a selective relaxation of economic sanctions against Rhodesia which is presently in some kind of a military league with South Africa?

There used to be a time when the Commonwealth as an institution was almost synonymous with Britain. But, as an eminent Australian statesman said some time ago, the Commonwealth began to lose its meaning and significance when "all sorts of countries" became members. The implication, of course, is that Britain has now been obliged to look elsewhere, and that the interest of Commonwealth countries, especially if they are Africans, do not matter. Now that Commonwealth African countries can decide on which market to sell their raw materials, perhaps this is as things should be?

The British government is obviously already committed on the resumption of the sale of arms to South Africa. The Commonwealth partners, who are said to be about to be consulted on this issue, can do very little to persuade Britain on this. On what significant issue of vital interest to British economy, has the Commonwealth been able to reverse a British decision? Indeed, the threat of some African countries to quit the organization, as a consequence, is very welcome to the right-wing, anti-coloured, Conservatives who have been rather irritated by the fraternization with "all sorts of countries," and who would want the body to revert to the original (Britain, Canada, New Zealand, Australia, South Africa) white complexion.

Those African countries who believe that somehow some gods will descend to fight their battles for them, should now become awake to the realities of their predicament. They make themselves merely ridiculous in the eyes of the outside world, with their "threat to quit" bait: when, over Rhodesia, some African governments broke off diplomatic relations with Britain unless she took a drastic action to topple the racist minority regime, it was these same governments which prospected for, and later gained, the restoration of the diplomatic relations. Britain never begged them. The plain fact is that African membership of the Commonwealth is no longer an advantage—economically, politically, or militarily to Britain. On the contrary, as the Brussels started to crumble. Periodic conferences at which the views of fellow members are ignored with impunity are mere international facades. Whether it is on Vietnam, Nigeria, coloured immigration to Britain, Rhodesia, and now on South Africa, it has been clear all along that the Commonwealth is increasingly coming to be seen as nothing more than a hypocritical club under whose umbrella Britain assiduously and unwaveringly engages in cynical activities.

And as for the African countries of the Commonwealth, they would be well advised to reexamine their international alliances, assess their capabilities for helping themselves towards survival, and cultivate the philosophy of self-reliance which has made certain civilizations more enduring. One becomes sick when one witnesses African leaders dodging the real issues of their defence and survival, and merely engaging in tantrum exhibitions which create the impression that we still look to Britain as if she were our mother.

Industrial Relations

STRIKES AND INDUSTRIAL HARMONY

By

Seth Twum

WHEN THINGS go wrong it is in the nature of mankind to look round for scape-goats. Since the return to civilian rule, Ghana has witnessed an increasing number of strikes both in industry and in commerce.

Often, when strikes have occurred in Ghana the government has called upon the workers involved in the strike to return to work and to adopt the procedure laid down by law for the settlement of their grievances. There is a fallacy in this apparently laudable advice, for the advice assumes that the procedure blue-printed first by the Industrial Relations Act of 1958 and subsequently re-enacted in the Industrial Relations Act of 1965 was meant to outlaw strikes in the country.

Introducing the Industrial Relations Bill in 1958 the Minister piously opined: "The purpose of this machinery or procedure is to enable grievances to be solved in a rational manner, with full discussions and investigation and to render the use of strikes and lock-outs which harm the pockets of both employers and employ-

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Act and states: "It shall be the duty both of the trade union appointed in a certificate issued under S.3 and of the employer of the employees of the class to which the certificate relates to nominate representatives authorised to negotiate on their behalf and such representatives shall be members of a standing negotiating committee which shall be set up to negotiate on matters referred to them under this Act". By Section 6(1) "negotiations on all matters concerned with the employment or non-employment or with the terms of employment or with the conditions of labour of any employees of the class specified in a certificate issued under Section 3 shall be conducted through the standing negotiating committee set up under Section 5".

The truth is that the procedure the Minister was referring to was no negotiating procedure at all. Section 5 merely placed a legal duty on standing negotiating committees to negotiate terms and conditions of employment and stipulated how the standing negotiating committees were to be empanelled. A comon feature of grievance procedures is the fact of "reference upwards of disputes" organised on a three-tier or four-tier basis with the channels of communication deeply dug to receive all types of complaints. A good negotiating procedure will also set a time limit for the handling of a grievance at every stage. If this is not done, frustration sets in and destroys confidence in the procedure; workers then suspect that it is merely a device to postpone settlement.

Forms of Conflict

Whether a grievance procedure is good or not must be tested against two standards; acceptability and appropriateness. A procedure devised by an undertaking itself is clearly acceptable by it. Industrial disputes are of two main types — 'conflicts of rights' disputes and 'conflicts of interest' disputes. Different procedures are required for dealing with each type. Conflicts of rights disputes are those emanating from the meaning and application of an existing collective agreement. Here the type of procedure found most appropriate is the conciliation procedure. Conflicts of interest disputes are those which do not arise out of any existing agreement; rather they are concerned with what provisions a new collective agreement must contain. In this type of dispute the "emergency procedure" which enables disputes to be resolved without delay is most appropriate. It is here that the tier arrangement has relevance.

From what has been said above, it is clear that it is no indictment against the Industrial Relations Act of 1965 that it offers no negotiating procedure. It had to leave each business undertaking to examine its circumstances and then devise a negotiating procedure tailored to suit its needs. The fallacy is the assumption that a duty to negotiate imposes a duty to agree. It is ironic but true to point out that part of the reason for the many strikes in the country must be that the Industrial Relations Act (1965) is actually working well, for, by making it obligatory for employers to negotiate with their employees' union, many more bargaining situations are created. Real collective bargaining involves more than the holding of conferences and the exchange of pleasantries. It implies the making of demands followed by hard (sometimes even acrimonious) wrangling over concessions. As long as either side is sincerely trying to persuade the other to accept his point of view it is idle to pretend that a statutory negotiating procedure will make strikes obsolete.

Collective Bargaining

On the contrary! As more and more true collective bargaining goes on, so also will strikes increase. Concessions become much more difficult to win unless the economy expands sufficiently during the same period to accommodate them. The unpleasant truth is that the law can compel the parties to go to the collective bargaining table. It cannot compel them to agree. One can only hope that, the law having brought them "eye-ball-to-eye-ball" to the collective bargaining table, the parties will approach the negotiations with an open mind and make a reasonable effort to reach a common ground of agreement. When that fails either side may seek to achieve their aims by the application of economic sanctions; strikes in the case of workers and lock-outs in the case of employers.

It is no secret that in practice trade unions use the strike instrument more often than employers use the lock-outs. This is because traditionally, trade unions make demands for increases in wages and improvements in their conditions of employment. It is generally not in the nature of employers, not even the most enlightened ones, to offer "new deals" to their employees without a previous demand by the workers. Whenever a demand is made by the unions and resisted by the employers a bargaining situation arises. Collective bargaining is real

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DIRECTOR

if the parties enjoy *equality* of bargaining power. Where unemployment in the country is estimated to be 25% of the working population, the unions are clearly at a disadvantage. In such a situation workers tend to use strikes and the threat of strikes to augment their bargaining power.

In Ghana the problem of strikes has been dealt with mainly by stringent prohibitory legislation. For this reason the criminal law and the threat of criminal sanctions play a predominant role in our industrial relations set-up. The following strikes are illegal:

Legislation Against Strikes

i. Under Section 6 of the Conspiracy and Protection of Property Ordinance, any strike is illegal if it has any object other than or in addition to the furtherance of a trade dispute within the trade or industry in which the strikers are engaged, and is a strike designed or calculated to coerce the government either directly or by inflicting hardships upon the community;

ii. By Section 21 of the Industrial Relations Act (1965) a strike of employees who are not of a class specified in a collective bargaining certificate is unlawful under any circumstances;

iii. A spontaneous strike is illegal;

iv. A strike over the interpretation of collective agreements is illegal (By law such disputes must be settled by arbitration or otherwise);

v. A strike over an issue partly or wholly covered by a collective agreement is illegal;

vi. Probably a strike by certain local government officers is illegal since they cannot be certified for collective bargaining purposes.

It is pertinent then to ask whether strikes can be contained by legislation? After all, it is not because strikes are legal that they occur but because there arise in industrial disputes which, to the workers, cannot at some point be settled in any other way. The Mills Odoi Commission recommended that the right to strike should be restored, but this did not find favour with the government.

To the government, the argument has always been that strikes impede the economic development of the country. But so also do "absenteeism", "illness, real or spurious" and "lateness to work" but no legislation exists outlawing these. Furthermore, experience in the more industrialised countries demonstrates that trade union pressure for higher wages and better living conditions based on the power to strike is an important factor for industrial innovations.

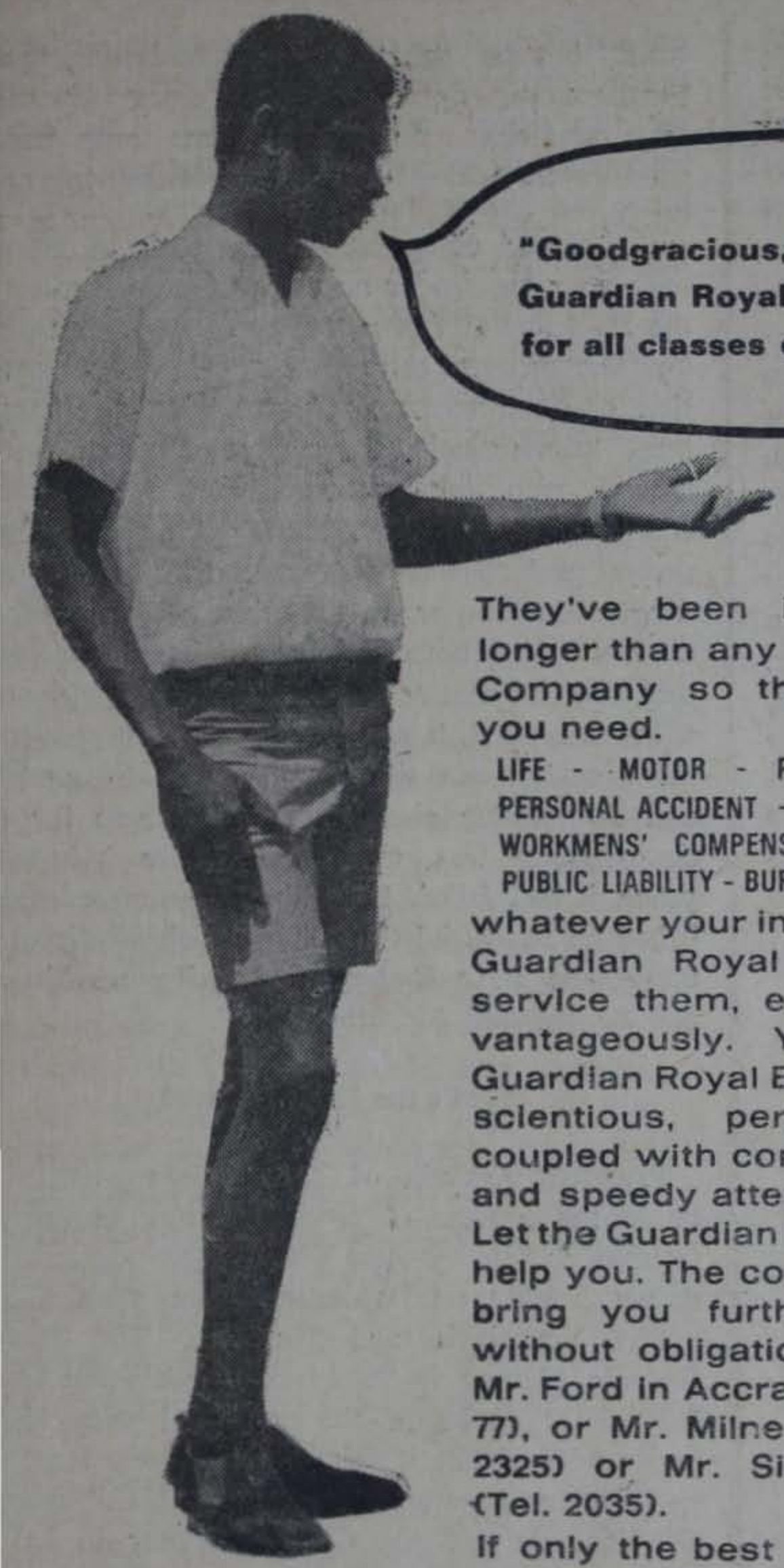
There is a dichotomy of views on the role of legislation in containing strikes. One school of thought holds the view that the more restrictive the regulation on strikes is, the higher the incidence of strikes. British voluntarism appears to favour this view. On the other hand there are those who believe that only those countries in which the strike incidence is high find it necessary to regulate them by statute. This view appears to be endorsed in this country.

Prohibitory legislation has not, however, lessened the incidence of strikes in this country. The lesson seems quite clear. The causes of industrial discontent are many. They include the problems of division of labour and the need for some people to undertake monotonous and repetitive operations in industry; the control of individuals by individuals, and, of course, how the proceeds of industry can be most fairly shared. It is therefore fallacious to assume, as we in Ghana appear to be doing, that whenever a strike is declared, the parties necessarily wish to resolve an economic dispute. The strike instrument provides an outlet value for workers to release their pent-up feelings, be they industrial or psychological. (The recent Obuasi strike is a case in point.)

Penalising the Leaders

The truth is that if the number of strikes increases in any one country this may mean that industrial discontent is manifesting itself in strikes whereas if the number decreases it is not necessarily the case that industrial discontent is waning. It may mean that discontent is finding expression in other ways; such as "go-slow", bad workmanship, poor productivity; or that it has not been given free play.

One other aspect of prohibitory legislation on strikes is the question of the enforcement of any penalties imposed when such legislation is broken. The legislation of the Commonwealth of Australia attempted to penalize strike action but the penal sanction was found to be unworkable and the only penalties imposed are in respect of incitement of union members not to work in accordance with an arbitration award. The position in Ghana resembles the Australian example. Under Section 6 (2) of the Conspiracy



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and Protection of Property Ordinance (Cap. 90) and also under Section 22 of the Industrial Relations Act 1965 "no person shall be deemed to have comitted an offence by reason only of his having ceased to work or refused to accept employment". In other words, a person who *merely participates* in an illegal strike does not commit any offence.

The reason for this attitude is the problem of enforcement and the effect the enforcement will have on our industrial relations system. Where 2,000 workers go on strike it will be unrealistic to prosecute them, for if they were convicted a fine or imprisonment would have to be imposed. To imprison 2,000 workers is a responsibility no government will assume lightly. For this reason, only the person who "declares, instigates or incites others to take part in or otherwise acts in furtherance of an illegal strike or lock-out" commits an offence. (S.6 (2) of Cap 90 and S.22 of Industrial Relations Act 1965.)

A Complex Phenomenon

The main point being canvassed here is that to blame all our industrial ills on strikes is to take a myopic view of a complex phenomenon. Many factors account for industrial unrest. Among these may be mentioned managerial ineptitude, lack of understanding of the respective roles of the two sides of industry — management and labour; inadequate negotiating machinery, but above all, the human factor. Any experiment to resolve industrial unrest which discounts the national temperament is doomed to failure. New Zealand, the land of the Kiwis, has achieved relative industrial peace through a fairly comprehensive regulation of labour by law. Britain and Sweden enjoy a marked degree of non-interference. In Australia on the other hand, it is considered that the complex official system of conciliation and arbitration destroys the need to resort to strike action. Consequently, some states forbid all strikes, while others prohibit stoppages by the minority. Some further distinguish between strikes with and without notice, or action decided upon by secret ballot as distinct from other methods.

In the United States of America emergency legislation allows the President to seek an injunction to prevent for a period of 80 days any strike, actual or threatened, which he thinks will imperil national safety. Again in America, the employer is entitled to replace workers who are on a strike not caused by his own unfair labour practice. In Kenya an Industrial Relations Charter was signed in October, 1962. This was a declaration of intent by the government, management and labour that they recognise "that consultation and co-operation on a basis of mutual understanding render an essential contribution to the efficiency and productivity of an undertaking and that progress can only be made on a foundation of good terms and conditions of employment which include security of service and income, also the improvement of the workers' conditions of service". During 1962 and 1963 several prolonged strikes occurred in that country despite the Charter. In the midst of these strikes the late Tom Mboya, the then Minister of Labour, told the Legislative Council: "If the right to strike is abused, it will be removed. The government cannot see the country held to ransom and do nothing about it". So that, so far as the Charter was meant to ensure industrial peace, it had failed. Later the government established an Industrial Court "to which all disputes unresolved by voluntary negotiating machinery will be referred for arbitration".

What's the Real Answer?

President Kaunda of Zambia is reported to be in the process of erecting a new industrial relations system by three Bills. He has apparently drawn heavily on inspiration from West Germany, Yugoslavia and Rumania. The *Daily Graphic* (Accra) in its leading article on 17th July, 1970 spoke of the new deal with high praise adding that it "should be closely studied by both our government and the T.U.C." President Kaunda and the *Graphic* appear to have discounted one elementary factor — the human element. International comparisons, looked at superficially without giving due consideration to the national temperament, the level of literacy in the countries concerned, their association with and the tradition of working in industry, provide no support for the proposition that legal regulation is an effective answer to the strike problem.

The real answer to industrial peace is mainly right here with us — in our blood! If we are bloody-minded enough to want to earn more money without doing a stroke of work, no amount of legislation can cure our industrial ills. But given a modest sacrifice from all of us, particularly those in the high income bracket, our Industrial Relations Act 1965 is as good as any system we will devise to assure us industrial peace.

Administration

THE TRAINING OF LOCAL COUNCIL STAFF IN GHANA

By

A. T. K. Nanor

NOTHING is of more central importance in Ghana han the training of local council employees.

It will be evident that there are many probems which await solution before the new local government councils can play their full role in he economic development of Ghana. These are ore-eminent, both in importance and difficulty: *inance* and *staffing*. Though the finance which is vailable to many councils is woefully meagre, here are others where the willingness of repreentative councils to tax their people is almost n embarrassment. This may be due to total gnorance of the legislation, or to misapprehenion of its effect. Unless the money is well spent he tax payers cannot be expected to continue heir willingness to contribute; but it will not e well spent unless the staff to organize the pending, and organize it efficiently, is there.

The problem of staffing is at its most difficult n Ghana, but it is by no means only in Ghana hat it arises. There is need, in each of these ases, for more able persons to be attracted into he local government service; but for that, better ay would be required. The inadequacy of local inances thus sets up a vicious circle, ill-paid taff doing a poor job; but even with the availble personnel, better work could be done if here were more training.

Selecting the Staff

In Ghana, the problem of staffing is complicated by the attitude of top administrators who ppoint trained personnel (from the School of Administration) to responsible positions (Clerks of Council and Treasurers). For example, to nention but the least — a typist who has acquired the requisite training comes back to the yping pool for an indefinite period. I have ffirmed my unremitting opposition to the ystem, and my determination to see it liquidated y every possible means. But this does not end he matter. There is a second point to consider.

Under the Native Authority system there was o standardized accounting, or any procedure o deal with establishment matters. Many of he Native Authority staff were of poor quality; they were less capable because of their lack of education. The present local council employees (majority) are no exception. It will be necessary to make a clean sweep and to start again. The highest rank, senior officials running really large towns (who need of course to be most carefully selected), must clearly have full professional qualifications. At the next level, for urban or middle sized towns and rural districts, professional qualifications in the strict sense are perhaps not necessary; but a general education is certainly necessary, and a special training, perhaps of a year's duration, should certainly be required, but some means must be found for ensuring that they are not merely honest and diligent, with an elementary education in their own language and knowledge of English, but also that they have some knowledge of the outside world. Since the aim is to amalgamate the local councils with the civil service, where facilities for training will be available throughout so that one can enter at the lowest level and equip himself for promotion to the highest post, it should now be necessary to regard local government work as a professional career.

Courses for Councillors

My discussion so far has been concerned with the training of local government staff — the new indigenous staff. I may, however, conclude with a reference to a couple of questions of training which fall outside the field. When things go wrong with new councils, it is generally the case that members of the councils are more at fault than the officers. It is therefore a question whether some training should not be provided for councillors also. In the United Kingdom a new councillor who takes his duties seriously, will endeavour to equip himself for the job; he reads books on local government; he may attend classes or courses arranged by the various Associations of Local Councils, or by the Workers' Educational Association.

In Ghana, the Centre for Civic Education would be the best instituion in this endeavour. Training is necessary for elected members and for chiefs and others who may be on the council *ex officio*; indeed it may be even more necessary for the latter, since their standard of education is often lower, and they may be less familiar with the outside world than are those who seek popular election. The idea is to get such councillors to local government training schools for short residential courses, so that they can study

the solution to individual problems. Such men will not usually be able to spare the time from their own jobs for a long course; nor is there any need for them to do so, since they do not require a technical training. What they do need is to get a good understanding of the general objectives of local government and of its working — especially of their own proper conduct in relation to officers, and also of the award of contracts. Beyond this they have their procedural business to learn: digesting agenda, making effective speeches, and taking the chair.

The other question not so far discussed, is that of the central government officials concerned with local government administration — including those whose business is the *inspection* of local authorities, going round and advising them and keeping a watch upon their accounts. The duties of this class may be considered to form a sequel to those of the ex-Government Agents (expatriate District Officers). These officers should not be apprentice Executive Officers but rather officers trained about problems of law and procedure in local administration; it should be the duty of this class of officials to look at things more widely. It is more important to have a knowledge of the principles of local government than of the details; and it is equally important to have a knowledge of economics, especially the economics of development.

I do not want to be radical in my approach to our local government problems. I prefer frankness to the catalogue of our shortcomings even at the risk of downright opposition to what I have suggested.

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Africa

SOUTH AFRICA — BACKGROUND TO RECENT POLITICAL TRENDS — 2

by "Kitosh"

VORSTER also went as far as to tell a crowded public meeting in the City Hall, Cape Town, that South Africans would be going to the polls to decide their own future, the future of the Republic, the future of the nation and of the generations who are to follow. "I trust you to make the right choice because I have faith in your sound judgment and common sense. With me it's not a question of how many English-speaking people vote for the N.P. It is a question of principle. It will remain my policy [English as a second official language] even if not a single English-speaking person votes for the N.P. on April 22nd."

No wonder the English-speaking community, which forms a well-off 40% of the white population and hold most of the important positions in the economy, did not get the reassurance they were expecting from Voster; hence they chose to cast in their lot with the ideologically sterile United Party. This, no doubt, was the dominant factor that gave the U.P. an increase of 10 seats on the 39 they got in 1966 and led to the loss of nine seats to the N.P., so that their 126 majority in 1966 decreased to 117 (and so did their percentage of votes, from 58.6% to 54%).

Economic Factors

A liberal fringe of the same electorate apparently chose to give their votes to the Progressive Party, thus increasing its number of votes and tripling that of Mrs. Helen Suzman, their only successful M.P. But one of the deciding factors of the English vote might have been economic, too.

Assuming power on a platform of separate development the Nationalist Government has come face to face with its most deeply felt dilemma, that will-o-the-wisp, labour apartheid. The English-speaking industrialists are not partial to a government that would sacrifice economic growth for apartheid labour. This heretical stand, as they deem it, was vindicated on election eve, when Vorster's Planning Minister announced specific discriminatory measures against Oppenheimer's Anglo-American Corporation.

It was no surprise therefore that the Progres-



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The families of these landowners developed medieval fiefdoms so that the second stage of the present day Latin American society was built up by the struggles between various 'lords' in regions to gain more political control and so get more land.

The result of that struggle gave birth to the small Latin American country of Uruguay which is still described as the Eastern Province of Argentina, the United States of Brazil, the present Chile as well as Peru and Bolivia.

This is where the armies which have been so prominent in Latin American political life cropped up. Each Lord kept an army and it became a status symbol to gain social advancement through the army and more especially the navy which was and still is a most prestigious institution in Latin America today.

U.S. Encroachments

It was at this point in the early part of this century that the business links with the U.S. took shape. With the big drive towards exports by the U.S. and the cutting off of the European supplies as a result of the First World War coupled with the enunciation of the doctrine of the sphere of influence, the U.S. saw its own safety tied to the safety of the Western Hemisphere and would not allow any outside power to interfere with that area.

Under the umbrella of military cover U.S. business quickly moved into the lucrative market of the Latin Americans, consumer tastes were created, and the labour was found to be cheap. Besides the ruling elite aligned themselves to the investors; thus the companies had Latin facades.

The ruling oligarchy which was also the armed forces became increasingly corrupt as they gained more power and the army moved in to seize power. Thus power play developed between rival factions of the army.

With the end of the Second World War a big influx of German immigrants, made up mainly of Nazi criminals, Spaniards of all shades, Portuguese, Italians and Greeks flooded the South American continent. They went to swell the numbers of those already dispossessed and a few of these made it by way of joining the army.

So until today a sure way of social advancement has been to attend the army or navy school — and it is expensive! So only children of a certain group can attend.

Such an unstable situation as can be found in Latin America serves U.S. interests very well. In the first place they will continue to provide good investment returns for the U.S., and secondly they will never be strong enough to question the U.S. Thus it is often said that the U.S. makes some of the coups in Latin America by financing some of the Generals. When these Generals are becoming too strong they quickly find themselves out with a fat bank account in Zurich or Geneva.

However, since the 1950s the regimes of Latin America have become more and more repressive and totally immune to the voice of the people. The armed forces are a factor that cannot be ignored in this regard. Armies by their very nature are undemocratic so it becomes a false premise to rely on an army to bring about a democratic process as the U.S. is doing in Latin America and elsewhere.

In the latest example, for no apparent reason, the armed forces chiefs in Argentina decided to oust President Ongania because he was unacceptable to them. They did this to forestall the growing liberality that seemed to go with a civilian administration and fear of the erosion of their power. They have installed a less known man — the military attache to the Argentinian Embassy in Washington D.C. — as the new President.

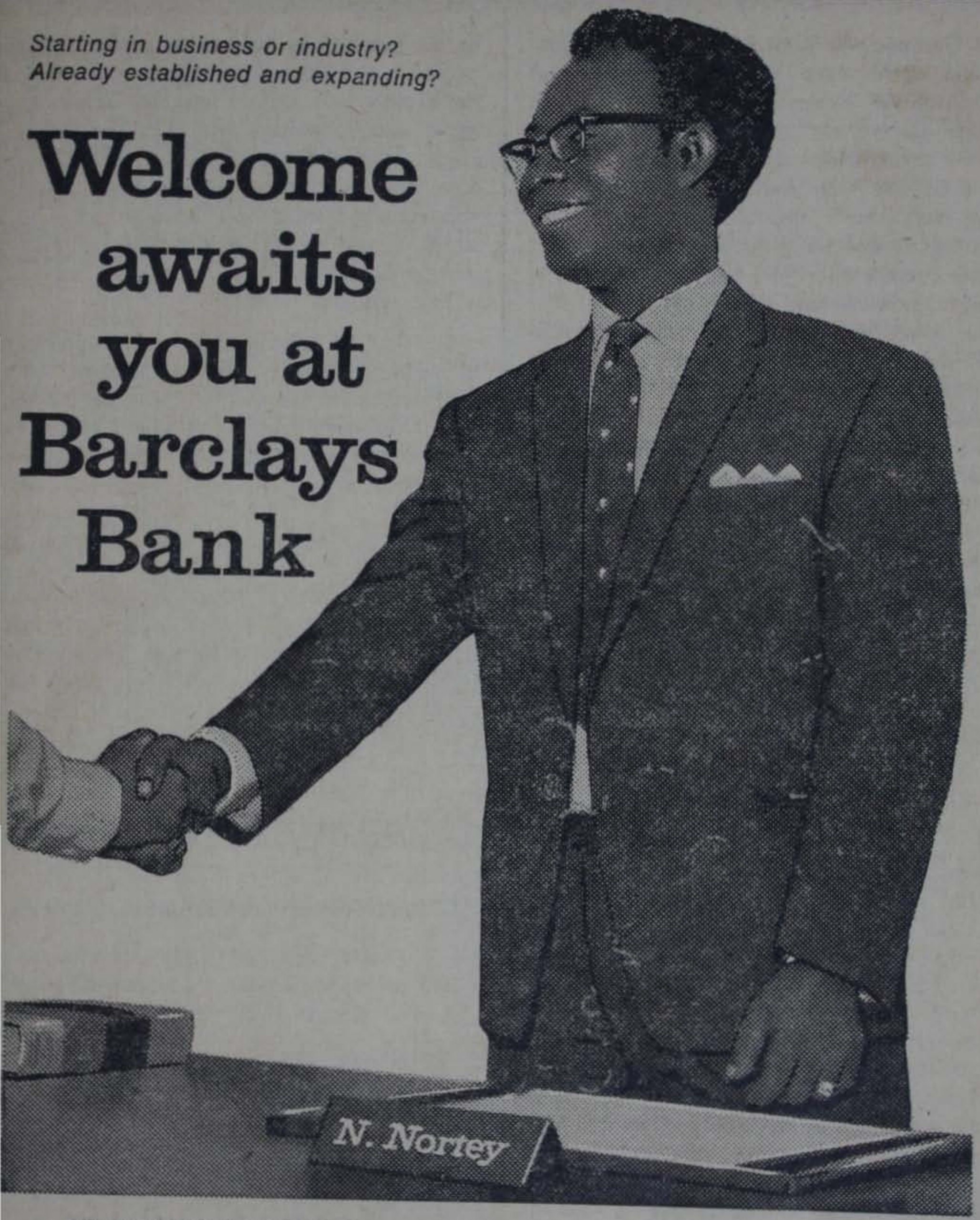
Guerillas Vs Reactionaries

Another situation was that which happened in Brazil in 1968. Parliament was happily working its way through a new law to bring about some liberal reforms. Suddenly under pressure from the army the Parliamentary immunity of certain known opponents were lifted and they were promptly jailed for sedition etc. Parliament reacted by trying to challenge the order. In the confusion the army moved in to 'restore law and order'. Parliament was dissolved and has not met since. The government has progressively moved to the right, and become dictatorial and reactionary. A well placed Brazilian told me 'since two years now we have law and order in this country and the U.S. press says so'.

In this situation it is inevitable that a subpolitical group will emerge. Thus the revolutionary and the guerilla have become part of the political scene of Latin America. Credence is let to these movements as a result of the success of Che Guevara and Fidel Castro in overthrowing the rickety corrupt regime of Batista in Cuba and establishing a new order of social justice in the land.

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Che Guevara was born in Rosario in Argentina and could have joined the system and become rich but chose to study medicine which he brilliantly did in Buenos Aires. His parents were well connected and could be said to have been rich. But Che could not be part of a corrupt and unjust system. So he began his wanderings around Latin America which brought him into contact with Fidel Castro. They masterminded the movement which got rid of the Batista regime in Cuba and the consequence failure of the Bay of Pigs adventure by the late President John F. Kennedy's C.I.A.

Unlike the Arab world where the guerilla is a law unto himself and can manipulate the governments as has happened in Jordan and Lebanon, the guerilla in Latin America faces formidable odds. He has to contend with a largely complacent citizenry. 'Look at my house and my family, do you wish me to risk this?' asked an Argentinian when I asked about the possibility of people like him siding with the guerillas who were demanding social justice. He had, however, spent time berating the regime of Ongania.

Signs of Repression

The guerilla has also had to contend with the powerful communications media which can get what they like across. 'We know about the whole world but not enough about Brazil' said a friend in Belo Horizonte when he read in the news day after day about the abortive Apollo 13 flight and the Guatemalan kidnapping. Converse to this are the obvious signs of repression around. Certain words are not to be uttered depending on which country you are in. The same goes for certain records and books. The police can stop you at any time and demand your papers. There are pictures posted in all public places about 'wanted people'.

Thus the kind of public reaction to Rockefeller's visit to Latin America is not the work of a few people but a spontaneous outflow of anger and frustration. For every 5 dollars invested in Latin America 4 come from Latin America itself and only one from the U.S. and the Rockefellers own vast properties in Latin America.

Therefore, for the guerilla to make his point he has to resort to the dramatic and the unusual. The options open to him now are limited. Besides, the great powers appear to be cooperating with the military regimes. So the only way left is to kidnap an ambassador of either the U.S. or West Germany — who are seen by the guerillas as the leading exploiting accomplices — or France coming in a poor third, and Swiss officers. In certain instances British envoys might also be wanted men. The rest can go to sleep, especially the Russians. The Russians have lost the respect of the Latin American revolutionary since the invasion of Czechoslovakia, and other incidents. It is true the guerilla is left-inclined, but he is inclined to a just and free society.

We shall be hearing of more kidnappings and hi-jackings, and maybe some burnings. Already bank robberies are part of the everyday scene: as a Uruguayan told me 'I would be surprised if I should not find in a day's edition the account of a bank robbery'.

The military will have to change before nemesis strikes, or they will fall, with all the king's horsemen behind them, like Humpty Dumpty. It is so because a system that makes it possible for Bolivia, one of the richest tin producing countries in the world, to be poor, or that allows peasants in north Brazil to die of hunger — this system cries out for change.

Observer Notebook

Ghana's Economy and her Minerals Industry

IN recent weeks there have been a lot of announcements, and in some cases, what one may term as noise about the enormous boom that is awaiting the country due to the discovery of oil offshore, followed by yet another discovery of rich gold deposits at Bibiani. In the former case, the government have conducted a public exhibition of the oil samples to boost up our hopes for a great future. An official at the Ministry of Lands and Mineral Resources is reported to have appealed for a national day of prayer to back the oil exploration programme! In the case of the report of the gold discovery at Bibiani the government have dumped the announcement as untrue, but at the same time have assured the country that prospecting is still going on at Bibiani to find out the extent of certain deposits.

Whatever the truth may be, the average man in the street has been left with no doubt that Ghana in the face of crippling foreign debts still remains the sleeping giant of Africa wallowing in abundant and rich natural resources. The great boom has just been temporarily deferred. All that we have to do is to tighten our belts even tighter for

he glorious day.

However, this is the time that politicians and experts alike, are supposed to be more guarded and adopt an attitude of cautious optimism and be more level headed. The minerals industry is so complex that it will be unwise to make premature statements which would only serve to confound issues. Let us give the geologists and the drillers a chance to prove the extent of minerals that can be economically extracted.

In the meantime, we appeal to the Government to come out with a more comprehensive minerals policy in anticipation of the great economic activity that all the discoveries may bring to Ghana.

Nurses and Politeness

THE TENTH annual meeting of the Ghana Registered Nurses' Association was opened by the Prime Minister this week. Dr. Busia's exhortation, to the nation, that locally trained nurses and doctors should be held in equal esteem as those who are "made-in-there" is welcome. Hitherto it had been assumed that a nurse became better qualified only if she had been trained abroad.

But, surely, there is another point to this? People who have visited hospitals in Europe and America will bear testimony to the diligence, sense of duty and politeness of nurses in those areas. In Ghana, on the other hand, a patient shows surprise when he finds a nurse who exhibits the qualities we have mentioned above. Why?

It seems that, like so many professions in Ghana, people have entered into nursing without reading the life history of Florence Nightingale. The desire to get a job, rather than to uphold the ideals of the nursing profession, has been the predominant motive. This is why we believe that during their current conference, Ghanaian nurses should come to grips with what the wider public has been thinking about them.

For, after all, how much does it cost to be polite?

Commonwealth Games Results

OUR assessment of Ghana's chances in the 9th Commonwealth Games was not far off the mark: "probably bright, but on a minor scale... Our Mike Aheys and S. K. Alloteys... no longer performing at their previous peak standards..." Well, that is exactly what happened. We got two gold medals (to Australia's 37, for instance!), three silver and two bronze; with Mike Ahey failing to win anything, and so on.

Obviously we stand in need of better, longer training, more coaching, superior physical facilities indoors and out, and everything else necessary for the development of excellence in sport. It is true that even with provision and availability of all these factors of success we cannot expect to go higher than our size as a country would make possible. We pointed this out before. But neither can we predict or predetermine our limitations before we have really extended our human resources to the full, so that there is in fact a certain degree of maximal achievement we can reasonably anticipate in the future, given favourable conditions and strenuous effort. After all, we have our remarkable record of past performance in soccer to cite again and again.

Australia, England and Canada will presumably always run away with the most laurels in all these Commonwealth meets. And for obvious reasons. The analogy is with the Olympic Games where, for the identical reasons, those world giants, the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., will equally certainly continue to capture the greatest number of the prizes available. That is not to take anything away from the English or the Australians; there are games in which, even on a global competition basis, they excel and will continue often to do so. For instance in cricket, football, tennis and swimming.

Also, we have pointed out that even in the case of the smaller countries, notably New Zealand, the island communities of the West Indies, Norway, and others, outstanding athletic ability is far from being conspicuously absent; it has in fact been conspicuously present, to such a degree as to record some of the world's finest performances ever: Paavo Nurmi in long distance running; Constantine and (currently) Gary Sobers in cricket, to mention only two from Norway and the West Indies. So there is still hope for a country like Ghana, not merely to resume its leading place in soccer, for instance, but even to go on to great achievement in other games and in athletics as such.

Meanwhile, we have to commend our returned Commonwealth Games team for what they achieved for us. In particular, no praise would be too much for gallant little Alice Anum, who practically out of nothing from past performance pulled off two silver medals. This promising young lady will get very far for Ghana, if carefully nurtured as an athlete.

Book Review

KWAME NKRUMAH, The Anatomy of an African Dictatorship, by T. Peter Omari (Accra, Moxon Paperbacks, 1970 N₵1.80)

Reviewed by Max Assimeng

WRITING on the danger of dictators in Africa, D.K. Chisiza, then secretary-general of the Malawi Congress Party, noted in 1961:

> The real problem is posed by those leaders who will lapse into dictatorial tendencies because their countrymen trust them either too much or too little. When too much trust is reposed in a leader (sometimes) the thing goes to his head and makes him believe that he is infallible. Such a man is not likely to brook criticism or to welcome alternative suggestions.

The above remark by Chisiza, which he made in **Realities of African Independence** (1961), a year before his untimely death, probably had the incipient dictatorship in Malawi in mind; but essentially it was as prophetic as it was applicable to most African countries. The specifically Ghanaian experience has now been analysed by Peter Omari, formerly of the social administration department of the University of Ghana, and now with the United Nations in New York. Omari is probably already known to readers through his useful but humorous book **Marriage Guidance for Young Ghanaians.** In the present book under review, however, he is serious.

What Omari does in this book on Kwame Nkrumah, which he subtitled "An Anatomy of African Dictatorship", is to present a social-structural analysis which reveals that even political lunacy cannot be studied successfully except within the context of a specific cultural setting. He traces the history of the nationalist strivings for political independence in Ghana, with stress on the early phases when political agitation was virtually an elitist preoccupation.

The turning point for Ghana's emancipation, and for Nkrumah's opportunity, was the formation of the United Gold Coast Convention in 1947.

Prophetic Role

Apparently, after about twelve years' sojourn altogether in the United States and the United Kingdom, Nkrumah's intellectual ambitions had not been sufficiently realized. And particularly in Britain where difficulties in his study of law were coupled with racial discrimination and post-war economic hardships, Nkrumah must have always had the thought constantly dangling in his mind as to what to do next. That it took very little persuasion on the part of Ako Adjei to get Nkrumah back home to assume the general-secretaryship of the U.G.C.C., is significant in this respect, although in the prophetic role into which he cast himself, Nkrumah could well have said that he was coming to Ghana in 1947 in response to a "Come over to Macedonia" call. The belief that some men have been called to save their nations has been the main building block of dictatorship in Africa.

The fact that Nkrumah was a brilliant organizer of men and galvanizer of ideas, even his bitterest foes should be willing to admit. He was what one could call the outwitter extraordinary. Presumably he would not have been a successful preacher in pulpits (his first university degree was in divinity); but certainly as a speaker on political platforms he was superb. Nkrumah was ambitious, as all rational men are, but it is not certain that mere ambition made him leave the fold of the U.G.C.C. to found the C.P.P. There had been a deep split in the ranks of the party which invited him to the country, on issues of personality clashes and organizational tactics for the attainment of independence. But whatever the reasons, Nkrumah clearly stole the show thenceforth, and became literally the Show Boy.

Omari goes over a familiar ground about Nkrumah's role in the attainment of independence, and the reconstruction of the country in terms of the provision (or acceleration in the development) of such necessary infrastructure as education, health services, roads, the building of the Volta River Project, and the Tema harbour and township. Although all these were not the achievement of one man alone, his leadership role cannot be underplayed. Nkrumah's balance sheet contains some sort of a credit side as well.

Then what went wrong? As far back as the 1950s (or probably even earlier), men such as the late Obetsebi Lamptey had begun to see Nkrumah as "a mad dog". What they meant by this was by no means clear then, until the "dog" began to bite.

Heroes of Anti-Dictators

The present reviewer is suspicious of any tendency to regard men as having any inherent dictatorial predispositions. Personality development is a processual affair, and the constant interaction between the person and his environmental background should be stressed. In the presentation of Nkrumah's psychology, especially in the implied reference to the relationship between deprivation and compensation, Omari has been rather less successful and more titillating. It is not clear what personal contact he ever had with Nkrumah; and relying on anecdotes of men who were once Nkrumah's friends and later became turn-coats, is certainly not the best procedure in the objective presentation of a (still living) person of Nkrumah's stature.

But if this study can be regarded as a rather dull exercise in differential psychology, Omari was at his best in his analysis of and strictures on those social diseases in Ghana which made Nkrumah into the near god that he became. The cowardice, the insatiable desire for money, the preparedness to sell a fellow man for a mess of pottage, the readiness to keep quiet as long as it is the other fellow who is suffering—Omari spares no Ghanaian in his strictures, although he has some heroes in a minority core of anti-dictators such as the late J.B. Danquah and Mr. J.A. Braimah whose parliamentary speech on the notorious Preventive Detention Act Omari quotes approvingly in verbatim.

Peter Omari's most biting strictures are reserved for the Bench towards the latter days of the Nkrumah rule. To the layman, the way judgments went, especially in cases on detention or deportation, appeared quite puzzling. But here Omari should have known the excruciating circumstances under which the Judges worked. Ghana at that time had some of the best brains on the Judiciary. Principally, as Mr. Justice Nii Amaa Ollennu brilliantly shows in the foreword, Nkrumah was a great respecter of "constitutionality"; the little law Nkrumah read, and the giant constitutional advisers who surrounded him, apparently convinced him of this necessity. Consequently Judges had very little room for manoeuvre.

Omari is also against "what went wrong" university dons who, he said, should have behaved better and struggled

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more in the pursuit of liberty under the Nkrumah dictatorship. And he makes an implied attack on the **Legon Observer** for not being constructive enough. These are welcome strictures; but curiously enough his own book is an essay **par excellence** on what went wrong in Ghana! This, of course, does not make his book less welcome. The scourge of one-man-rule must be seen from as many angles as possible, including the approach of Omari.

Any study of the rise and fall of Nkrumah should be a source of enlightenment to present and future leaders of Africa. Nkrumah came to Ghana and was hailed as a messiah; on his overthrow, those who welcomed the news most were the women who had shown him the most avid adolation. Which goes to support D.K. Chisiza's other statement, namely:

> A man who makes up his mind to be another Napoleon, Hitler or Mussolini, in these changed times, can be certain that resurgent Africa will deal with him the way Europe dealt with the above-mentioned misanthropes. People cannot heave off the yoke of colonialism and then fail to pulverise under their feet a demented individual who wants to sit on their necks.

LEOPOLD SEDAR SENGHOR AND THE POLITICS OF NEGRITUDE

(by Irving Leonard Markovitz, London: Heinemann, 1969)

Reviewed by
Yaw Saffu

IF A scholarly work is to be recognized by the length of footnotes and bibliography and other such appurtenances, here is one without any shadow of a doubt. There are 49 pages of bibliography, 33 of notes, and ten of index, a total of 92 pages out of the whole book's 300. By any standard, this is a goodly portion. Luckily, this section of the book is also goodly, in the second sense of quality.

The study, as it is of Senghor, is appropriately complex. First, what are the relationships between Senghor's ideas and his politics? Second, what relevance do Senghor's theories and values have to Senegalese realities? Like a good dissertation that the study originally was, hypotheses follow hard on the questions, on the very first page.

The first hypothesis, which appears most surprising at first sight, is that Senghor's ideas and his politics harmonize. There is a happy marriage of thought and action. The second hypothesis, which possibly contradicts the first, is that Senghor's theories and values in their very complexity, profundity and abstractness are irrelevant to the political and social situation in Senegal, and that they sometimes render objectives more difficult, if not impossible, to achieve. Senghor's ideology therefore, at least in the way it is packaged and delivered, is dysfunctional. How then do thought, negritude, later technicity, harmonize with action, politics at home and abroad?

One answer is to say that there is hardly any action; that Senghor has mastered coalitional-balancing techniques, that he knows the art of survival, but that that is basically all the action that there is in Senegal; that for this, the ideology is not only adequate, it is supremely helpful. The dysfunctionality of his ideology would be apparent only if Senghor seriously meant to actualize his famous humanitarian and socialist objectives. This is a line of argument employed by the author part of the time.

Another answer is to say that Senghor has increasingly turned from abstract philosophy to technical and pragmatic methodology for development; that increasingly, "an assertion of the necessity to be non-ideological becomes the prevailing ideology" (p.28). That is to say that an "end of ideology" ideology is proclaimed, and emphasis is laid on technology or means, to the exclusion of, or at any rate, utter diminution in considerations of ends. This is another line which the author plumps for.

Emphasis on technology, Mr. Markovitz argues, has led to a renewed faith in, and reliance on, French expertise, technicians and bureaucrats, especially those of the army. It has also led to a dwindling of the role and influence of the party functionaries (the familiar case of African one-party states quickly becoming no-party states!). It has led, above all, to a bypassing of the **animateurs ruraux**, those who sought to mobilize the masses for self-development

Conception of Negritude

This bypassing of the masses, Mr. Markovitz shows, is another basic feature of Senghor's thought and politics. Senghor, he says, has never "attuned his personal or political style to stimulating mass political participation". Just as he started in the Paris of the thirties, so he goes on. There is no rapport with the masses, there is no appeal to them. Just as the old negritude was "a bridge to the colonial establishment", an appeal to an elite—the intellectual and social elite especially in France itself—so is the new technicity an appeal to an elite—the technological and bureaucratic elite. The elitist nature of Senghor's thought and politics is one abiding theme of Mr. Markovitz's book.

Negritude, for instance, as Markovitz outlines its evolution, has meant all sorts of things to all sorts of people. It was

> "a critique of imperialism; a revolutionary African development distinguished from the proletarian revolt; the birth of a new black civilization; a philosophy of life; an ideology for African unity; a methodology for development; a justification for rule by indigenous elites; a defence of the dignity of cultured blacks"

However, he goes on, "In Senghor's hands, negritude became above all an appeal to the French" (p.42). And it was an appeal, let it be said, which echoed, with impressive mystification, just what the targeted audience liked to hear. Some of their members in the past had in fact said the very things which Senghor now says often with elegance, always with eloquence.

Senghor's negro is, in truth, the slave and plantation owner's image of him: his reasoning is essentially instinctive, not discursive; it is "expressed by the emotions through an abandonment of self and a complete identification with the object"; his natural and peculiar gifts are the sense of communion, the gift of imagination or myth-making, and the gift of rhythm. What gifts! Senghor's conception of negritude neither inherently nor historically posed any threat to France or European colonialism. In this area, Senghor's occasional radicalism and reformism seem to be of the Burkean hue: mild, peripheral concessions for the better preservation of the core.

Similarly, Senghor's conception of socialism is quaint and innocuous. The familiar features of classical socialism are absent. Class struggle is abandoned; proletarian mobilization is, consequently, otiose. Nationalization is not only inexpedient, it is unnecessary. Marxian materialism is rejected. Does one wonder if there is anything left of socialism for Senghor, why he persists in saying he is a socia-

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list? The dominant variety of African socialism, to which Senghor belongs, is of course, in theory, democratic socialism. And as for why he persists, it is probably a mere matter of habit picked up in the earlier, youthful days in Paris when to be leftist was the intellectual fad, and the expected reflexes of a lionized negro.

Expectedly, Senghor's socialism is also held to have acted as "more of a barrier than an aid to development". "Because it is a doctrine of such complexity, it adds to the already great difficulties of achieving a rapprochement between peasants and functionaries, planners and workers". Not only does the complexity make "it difficult to stimulate popular enthusiasm, but it also results in confining politics to a relatively small number of people". pp. 120 and 121).

Here is one more instance of a divergence between the exigencies of development and those of survival of the top man. True, Senghor's socialism does not result in mass revolutionary movements. But it does not also constitute a threat to the powerful interests in Senegal: "His analyses of the class struggle, Marxist materialism, atheism and racism enable him to attract labour, young socialists, intellectuals and black chauvinists; at the same time, he manages not to offend the business middle class, reli gious adherents, traditional leaders, or Europeans" (p.126).

The thing about this book that strikes one above all others is the neatness, the rigour, of progression from hypotheses to conclusions. There is a wealth of information which reveals Senghor as an extremely complex person. Yet, in spite of that, two hypotheses suffice for Markovitz to explain all of Senghor's public behaviour.

This public behaviour is, in fact, susceptible to an even simpler explanation. Senghor is basically a conservative politician. Conservatism is more of an opportunist doctrine than any other. Senghor's essential opportunism is thereby explained. The only trouble is that one seems to need some of the skills of an acrobat to make such relatively simple explanations intellectually respectable.

Letters

Oil And The Economy

SIR—Rendering our unreserved gratitude to God for enriching our soil with oil, let us feverishly pray that it will be oil in plenty.

This period of our history should be a one of prayer (for plenty), careful planning and proper management. Sooner, God willing, we might look into a very bright future with hope of plenty manna. Yet, I am afraid, we have to cease star-gazing and big talking until a concise estimate has been made of the richness of our soil.

I thought it would have been wise to have invited to the crude oil sample exhibition, only the prospective oil concerns who would be incited to indulge in serious drilling and search for oil, rather than the public who are only after capital and job openings. Oil is synonymous with politics, I am tutored, but the mere discovery of large barrels of crude oil will not change Ghana, any better; what will make Ghana a dreamland is how best this oil can be exploited.

Let us get on our knees in fervent prayer!

U.S.T. John Adu Jnr.
Kumasi.

Incentives and Ghana's Economy

SIR—In your last issue of July 17—30 (L.O. V/15), Mr. Hakam, writing on "Incentives and the Stimulation of Ghana's Economy", prescribes some panacea for our economic problems.

Economics, as a discipline, is becoming more and more quantitative; and economic analysis must, of necessity become more and more rigorous. Unfortunately, Mr Hakam's article is fraught with several obtuse generalizations- which are not misleading but grossly erroneous

No one doubts that incentives would stimulate economic activity in certain sectors. Edwin Dean in The Supply Responses of African Farmers, employs analysis of variance tests to demonstrate that tobacco growers in Malawi do respond favourably to price increases. But the way Mr. Hakam would apply his incentives theory across the board leaves much to be desired.

Mr. Hakam calls for the introduction of "a property tax that would penalize property holders who do not maintain a minimum of sidewalk adjacent to that property". The appropriate size of sidewalks in front of buildings is a matter for the architect to decide. It should, however, be noted that landlords in Accra always get the plans of their houses approved by the Accra City Council before they start building. Also the Accra City Council has applied different standards at different times. To apply a progressive property tax, which is inversely correlated to the size of the sidewalks in front of property, would therefore be a traversty of justice. In his discussion of progressive property tax, Mr. Hakam claims that "in the United States property taxes pay the bulk of the cost of public school systems". The statement is not only ambiguous but grossly misleading.

Public education in the United States has three main streams: Elementary schools, High (Secondary) schools, and then State Colleges or Universities. The elementary and high schools are usually under the management of city or municipal governments, and Universities are controlled by the State Governments. But each one of the three streams may receive funds simultaneously from the Federal, State or City governments. And, especially at the University level, private organisations such as the Ford Foundation may award grants to the public schools. It will therefore be wrong indeed to try to equate expenditures on the public school systems with the taxes of any particular government.

Also, it is difficult to conceive of a situation where a government would allocate the receipts from a specific tax, say excise tax, to only one function.

By claiming that "in the United States property taxes pay the bulk of the cost of the public school systems", Mr. Hakam may have meant that the cost of a government (be it City, State or Federal) of public school systems is matched by its receipts from property taxes.

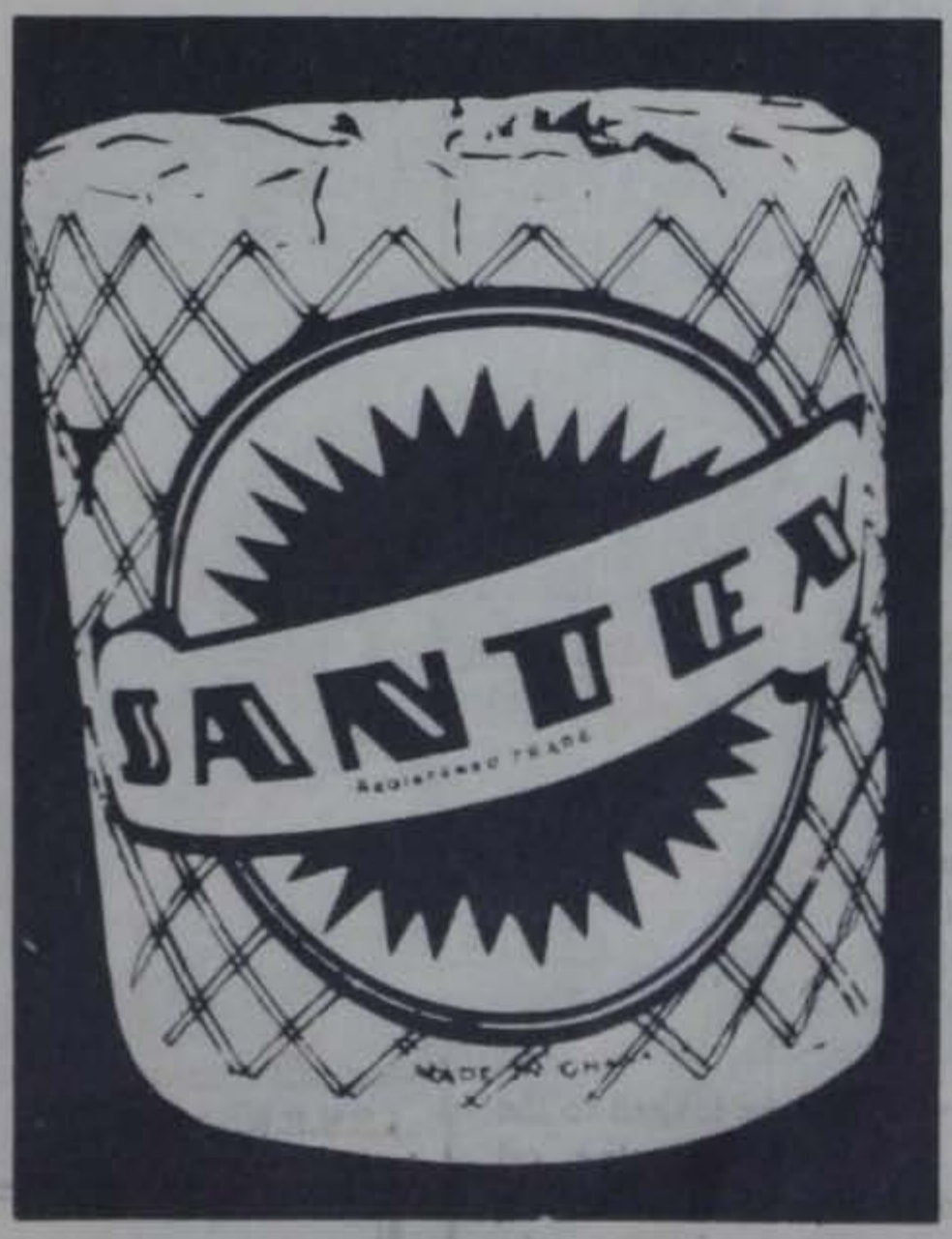
We should be wary of policy prescriptions based on references from the advanced nations, especially when such references are grossly erroneous.

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tial electoral college. We Ghanaians are engaged on the supreme duty of experimenting with constitution building; equally, we have the problem of welding the disparate tribal groupings to form a strong, enduring nation. As in the case of any written constitution, the personality of the incumbent to that high office is quite critical. Ghana is not ready for the type of a President who would like merely to make a fetish of the "written word", instead of considering the spirit in which the Constitution is conceived. The slow processes of bickering over words, leading often to deadlock between the Executive and the President, can be a considerable source of irritation and administrative delay. But a weak person who would merely rubber-stamp the decisions of the Executive, would certainly be unsuitable for this office because of the enormity of the President's own discretionary powers. But above all else, a President must be capable of commanding respect throughout the nation, and beyond. He needs to be an astute politician whose first loyalty should be to the nation, rather than to a party or a tribe.

As for the fight over the age qualification for the President being forty and over, the arguments have missed the crucial point. Although maturity is not measured necessarily in terms of chronological age, we do well to recognize the importance of wisdom emerging as a result of the process of 'coming of age'. In prayerful anticipation, therefore, we expect to have, as a President, a person who knows the needs and aspirations of the nation so well that he would wish to be above personality, tribal and sectional interests in this trying period of the history of our country. What he accomplishes in the first four years of office would serve as a yardstick for determining the right of Ghanaians to claim that, as they did in the emancipation struggle of the black man, they have once again scored a significant FIRST.

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Politics

LT.-GENERAL AFRIFA AND THE CONSTITUTION

By

Kwame Afreh

VALEDICTORY speeches are expected to be amiable and uncontroversial. No fireworks, no provocative statements. A brief "Farewell. Thank you" is all that we expect on such occasions. If anyone expected this from Lt.-General Afrifa he was bound to be disappointed. He is well-known for his plain-speaking. And true to form he chose on his last day in office to express certain views on the Constitution which need serious consideration.

In answer to a question the Lt.-General is reported to have said:

> I think the past ten months that we have been here have been extremely interesting. We've had time to see the Constitution in practice. We've operated it during this period. It's been a very interesting Constitution. And my view is that for a developing country we should proceed to effect amendments here and there. Quite rightly, those who made the Constitution thought about the agonies of the Nkrumah regime; and of the past; the sufferings in Preventive Detention, the cruelties of the regime, and I think these influences weighed heavily over their minds as they drafted the Articles of the Constitution. The result is that the Constitution is backward-looking, and certainly not a Constitution for progress and quick development.
>
> I think there are articles in this Constitution that prevent the Prime Minister from even choosing his own Public Servants to work with. The President has to choose them for him. There is also another Article that makes the Bar Association choose judges before whom they want to practise.
>
> These are matters, to mention but a few, that I think, as we leave the scene, the people should discuss and correct, because unless the Prime Minister and President speak the same language there would be virtually no Government at all on the operation of the Constitution. (**Daily Graphic**, August 7, 1970).

This is a serious criticism especially as it comes



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later its chairman, was in one way or the other involved in the making of the Constitution.

But before we proceed to examine Lt.-General Afrifa's general views on the Constitution, there is one elementary error in his statement which must be corrected. It is not true that the "Bar Association choose the judges before whom they want to practise". The Chief Justice is appointed by the President acting in **consultation** with the Council of State, and other judges of the Superior Court of Judicature (i.e. The Supreme Court, Court of Appeal and the High Court) are appointed by the President **acting in accordance with the advice** of the Judicial Council.

The Judicial Council consists of (a) The Chief Justice; (b) the most senior Justice of the Supreme Court; (c) the most senior justice of the Court of Appeal; (d) the most senior Justice of the High Court of Justice; (e) the Attorney General; (f) **three** practising Counsel of not less than ten years' standing appointed by the Ghana Bar Association and (g) one other person not being Counsel appointed by the President. [Article 119 (i) of the Constitution].

Appointing the Judges

It is clear from this provision that out of nine members on the Council only three are Counsel appointed by the Bar Association. How can the Bar Association be said to be choosing the judges before whom they want to practise?

It may, however, be argued that there should be more laymen on the Council. While there is some merit in this suggestion it must be remembered that judges and lawyers are in a better position than the layman to judge who is competent to sit on the judicial bench. A popular, successful **advocate** will not necessarily be a good judge. For instance he may be deficient as a **lawyer;** he may lack the right temperament and he may not always be fair and honest in his dealings. These deficiencies are in most cases known to only those with whom or before whom he practises.

We could, of course, have adopted another method for appointing judges. We could, for instance, have adopted the method of electing judges by popular vote, as it is done in certain states in the United States or the Soviet Union; or the method of empowering the President to appoint judges **with** the approval of the National Assembly as it is the case in the appointment of United States Supreme Court Judges and other federal judges. But these two methods subject the appointment of judges to "political considerations and influences". The method adopted in the Constitution is, as the Constitutional Commission (who had indeed proposed that Judges 'other than the Chief Justice' should be appointed by the President on the advice of the Chief Justice) thought, "The most effective way of ensuring that political considerations and influences shall not be allowed to dictate these appointments".

The other criticisms of Lt.-General Afrifa are more serious, because they strike at the root of our Constitution. How should power be distributed in a country such as ours? What limitations, if any, should be placed on the powers of the Prime Minister and his government? To what extent should the public services be independent of political control? These are not easy questions to answer, but I think, within their terms of reference and in the circumstances the Constitutional Commission and the Constituent Assembly did the best they could to give us solutions which, while allowing the governmental machinery to run smoothly and efficiently, would truly guarantee our liberties.

The most serious charge levelled by Lt.-General Afrifa against the Constitution is that it is "backward-looking and certainly not a Constitution for progress and quick development". If this is so, much of the blame should be put at the door of the N.L.C., of which the Lt.-General was a member.

The N.L.C.'s Guidelines

The Constitutional Commission was appointed under NLCD 102. Paragraph 4 of the Decree provided:

> The Commission shall, in the preparation of its proposals for the enactment of a Constitution for Ghana under Paragraph 3 of the Decree:
>
> (a) ensure the inclusion in the Constitution for Ghana of a provision which will guarantee, that so far as is consistent with good government, the Executive, Legislative and Judicial Powers of the State shall be exercised by three separate and independent organs;
>
> (b) ensure that the said Constitution contains a provision guaranteeing the enjoyment by every individual in Ghana of the maximum freedom within the law consistent with the right of others also to enjoy such freedom and consistent also with the Security of the State and with requirements of public order and morality and with the welfare of the people of Ghana as a whole and that the said Constitution provides an effective machinery

for the protection of such freedom from violation by the state or by any other body or person; and

(c) ensure in particular, under and subject to the provisions of sub-paragraph (b) of this paragraph, that the said Constitution guarantees the enjoyment by every individual in Ghana of the following fundamental freedoms:

(i) freedom of opinion and expression

(ii) freedom of assembly and association

(iii) freedom from arbitrary arrest and detention

(iv) freedom of thought, conscience and religion.

Certain fundamental principles emerge from this provision. The Constitution was to be based on the doctrine of Separation of Powers. If paragraph 4 (a) had been carried to its logical conclusion we would have had a Constitution very much like the Constitution of the United States: an Executive President who along with his Ministers does not sit in the Legislature and presumably elected by popular vote, and who may not command a majority in the National Assembly. Subject to the power of the Legislature and the Judiciary and any other provision in the Constitution he would be free to act in any way that he deems fit for the good and effective government of the country.

The P.M. and Parliament

The Legislature would be free from direct control by the Prime Minister and his Cabinet. The political career of Government supporters in Parliament, would not depend directly on the President. Thus independent, they would be free to vote as individuals and according to their consciences. The party whip cannot crack too hard. Only party loyalty and common aim would bind them to the Executive.

But the Constitutional Commission and especially the Constituent Assembly did not go that far because such a constitution often leads to conflict between the Executive and the Legislature, stalemate, political wheeling and dealing and horse-trading.

Under the Constitution the Prime Minister and his Cabinet are members of Parliament. The Prime Minister must command a majority in Parliament. He exercises direct control and direction over members. He can always be sure (unless there is big revolt against him) of getting his policies through Parliament.

Any government which wants quick action and quick development has ample powers under the Constitution to do so. There can be progress and quick development under the Constitution.

But what apparently irks Lt.-General Afrifa is that the Prime Minister does not have power to appoint all the Public Officers he has to work with. Is that as bad as the Lt.-General seems to imply? But let us see first whether it is correct to say that the Prime Minister cannot appoint Public Officers "to work with".

There are two main types of public officers—political appointees who include the Ministers, Ministerial Secretaries, and other persons who have been brought into the administration for particular purposes; and career officers. Political appointees are appointed by the Prime Minister and/or the Cabinet or Ministers acting under the general direction of the Cabinet. Ministers are—or are supposed to be—in control of the departments under them. No one in the department can prevent them from formulating and seeing to the execution of policies. The civil servants under them are under a duty to carry out those policies. If they refuse or fail to carry out those policies they can be dismissed from the service or moved to other posts. Depending upon his rank, the career public servant may have some independence and need not always refer everything to the Minister. But ultimately he acts on the instructions of the Minister and the general policies laid down by the government.

The Appointing Authority

Apart from the Ministers several persons from outside the career public service have been appointed to important and sensitive positions in the government. The Director of the Special Branch, the Solicitor-General, the Director of Medical Services, to cite only three examples, were all appointed from outside the career public service above career officers who have served the nation with distinction for several years. The reason for such appointments is obvious. The Prime Minister or the government preferred these men to the career officers.

Some of the most important officers in the nation, such as the Head of the Police Service, the Head of the Prisons Services, the Governor and other members of the banks (state-owned only?), the Chairman and other members of the Council for Higher Education, the Chairman and other members of the governing body of any corporation (other than for wireless broadcasting, television, press and other media for mass com-

munication or information) are, under the Constitution, appointed by the President acting **on the advice** of the Prime Minister.

It is true that all these officers are appointed in the name of the President. But this is only a formality. The real appointing authority is the Prime Minister or the Cabinet or a Minister acting under the general direction of the Cabinet. Should this formality be abolished?

Perhaps what worries the Lt.-General is that the Prime Minister has no **direct** control over the appointment, removal and promotion of most career public servants. As a rule public servants are appointed by the President acting in accordance with the advice of the Public Service Commission. But it must be remembered that even in this regard the President may delegate some of his functions to the Public Service Commission or to a Committee thereof or to any member of the Commission or to any public officer. So that the President may direct that public officers or certain classes of them may be appointed by the Prime Minister acting in accordance with the advice of the Public Service Commission.

Whatever may be its powers, the Public Service Commission cannot force any Minister to work with a person he does not want to work with. For instance a Minister cannot be forced to have as his principal secretary somebody he does not want in his department.

The Reality of Power

The other category of public officers over whose appointment the Prime Minister does not have direct control include: The Electoral Commissioner, the Auditor-General, the sole Commissioner or Chairman and members of any Commission established by the Constitution, the Ombudsman, the Chairman and members of the governing body of any public corporation for broadcasting and the press or information, the Chief of Defence Staff, the Chief Justice and the Judges. The Chief of Defence Staff is appointed by the President acting on the advice of the Council of State and judges of the Superior Court of Judicature (other than the Chief Justice) are appointed by the President acting on the advice of the Judicial Council. The others are appointed by the President acting in consultation with the Council of State.

But even here we must not forget the realities of power. Because the majority of the members of the present Council of State are supporters of the governing party it has not been difficult for the government to have their choice appointed. For instance, all the members of the governing bodies of the G.B.C., the Graphic Corporation and the New Times Limited and Ghana News Agency, were chosen by the Prime Minister and his Cabinet. And most of them are well-known, loyal supporters of the Progress Party.

With regard to the other corporations the boards of most corporations have been reconstituted since the Progress Party came into power and all the new members were chosen by the new government.

The new government inherited the present Auditor-General, the Electoral Commissioner, the Chief Justice. But even here so long as the Prime Minister commands a majority on the Council of State he can always have his men appointed.

Suppose the majority of the Council of State did not belong to the Prime Minister's party? Is it not possible they would appoint men the Prime Minister would not have? A serious Constitutional crisis may arise. This is what apparently Lt.-General Afrifa fears would happen if the President and the Prime Minister do not speak the same language.

Limitations vs. Progress

There were good reasons why the Constitution does not vest the power to appoint these officers in the Prime Minister. Kwame Nkrumah eventually succeeded in establishing a one-party state not only because he had the P.D.A. but also because he controlled all appointments in the public service. We should say goodbye to democracy and freedom if the Electoral Commissioner, the Auditor-General, the Ombudsman and all public officers held their appointments at the pleasure of the Prime Minister and his government. If democracy is to be preserved in reality and not merely in name, these officers must as far as possible be free from political pressures and considerations. And this is what the Constitution wants to achieve. Will Lt.-General Afrifa say this is wrong? How does this limitation of power of the Prime Minister retard "progress and quick development?" Or does the Lt.-General want us to revert to the system we had under Nkrumah, a system he himself and majority of Ghanaians have condemned? If that is what he wants why was it then necessary to spend so much money and time drawing up a Constitution which avowedly was intended to avoid the abuses and mistakes during the Kwame Nkrumah regime?

The Constitutional Commission and the Constituent Assembly were right in having what happened during the Nkrumah regime "weigh heavily

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over" their minds. Far from giving us a backward-looking Constitution they gave us as forward-looking a Constitution as we could have, considering the sort of Constitution the country wanted to have. Under the Constitution we can have as much progress and quick development as our means would allow.

The Constitution was not drawn up in a vacuum by unrealistic intellectuals living in a cosy ivory tower. It is the product of consultations throughout the country with all classes of people. The Constitutional Commission which drafted the Constitution included some of the ablest men in the country: The Chief Justice, J. A. Braimah, William Ofori-Atta, B. D. G. Folson, E. V C. de Graft Johnson, A. S. Y. Andoh, to mention only some of them, are all men of undoubted ability, vision and realism. Most of them hold important positions in the country today. The members of the Constituent Assembly included the Prime Minister and about ten Cabinet Ministers of the present government, several of the present Ministerial Secretaries and members of the National Assembly. Could all of them have been so wrong, so short-sighted, so unrealistic, so backward-looking? What Lt.-General Afrifa said is an insult to these men and indeed to the whole country.

Insult to the Youth?

As to the Constitution being an insult to the youths of this country because it limits the Presidency to persons of 40 years or more, little need to be said about it. I think majority of the youth, on whose behalf the Lt.-General purported to be speaking, do not feel insulted. While they would not object if the age limit was reduced to 30 or 21 or whatever age, most of them I am sure would not think of becoming President before forty. The youths of this country believe that the President must be a man who has given distinguished service to his nation for several years.

Someone they can look up to as a father; a man who has gone through the trials and temptations of this world and has emerged unscathed. Not a young man who may yet fall before he has had chance to prove fully his ability and character. If there is any "whizz-kid" around let him use his abilities in assisting actively and energetically in the reconstruction of this nation in active politics, in the civil service, in business or in the army. Not all of us can have the opportunity of demonstrating our abilities as dramatically as Lt-General Afrifa did on 24th February, 1966 and for 4½ years thereafter. Most of us accept that we have to prove ourselves for a long time before we can hope to become the First Citizen of this nation.

The Constitution is not a "fetish". It is not Holy Script, the revealed word of God. It is alterable; it may be repealed, suspended or amended. But before one proceeds to demand or suggest in public that this or that article must be amended, one must carefully consider what is wrong with the particular article one wants amended and what may be put in its place. If we start demanding amendments any time some difficulty arises we may soon end up with a Constitution which has no respect, no clear objective and not worth the paper it is written on. The pace of Constitutional Development is often slow and painful. It may try one's patience. But we should never allow ourselves to be panicked into actions which may undermine the democracy we all want to see established in Ghana.

THE DANGERS OF TRIBALISM

by W. E. A. Osei

IF there are any differences between the true flame and the "tribal flame" I am blind to them all but one: the true flame can be seen and the latter cannot.

The true flame can be as useful as it can be destructive; and the "tribal flame" is no less so. The true flame, with heat causes great discomfort to whoever draws near it; and the "tribal flame" is no more sympathetic to whoever falls into it.

While the true flame may give out light to guide man, it can, in no time, destroy all that it guides man to achieve. In the same way, the "tribal flame" reveals man's origin to him, throws light on his culture, shows him his language and customs, and brings to his realisation those he can call his tribesmen—preparing him and his tribesmen just revealed to him, to work in concert for the well-being of their tribe. There is nothing wrong with this. If every tribe can develop itself, all the better for the building of our nations and continent. But this is not what the "tribal flame" will allow to go on. It is as good in showing the way to social progress, within individual tribes, as it is in destroying tribal, national and continental development.

There is no peace where the "tribal flame" is kindled; there is no progress where it is allowed to keep spreading; and it leaves those who fall

nto it with nothing but pride, dishonesty, envy, natred, animosity—all of which can lead to social, economic and political destruction.

It is into this destructive "flame" that Africa has been plunged. Our continent is too much divided tribally and tribal feelings are too strong among us. There is disunity among us, there is social injustice in our midst, and we are at a point of being devastated by this deadly flame. Kikuyu and Luo clashes in Kenya after the murder of Tom Mboya in the middle of last year, nearly plunged the country into a civil war; Nigeria is recuperating from the blast of a tribal war; and in Ghana, the "tribal flame" is fast spreading—burning away the bond that holds us together.

This poses a threat to our national and continental development, and it is not surprising that a politician, out of an uneasiness of mind, has suggested that we eliminate the word "tribe" from official use, and, in effect, abolish the existence of tribes.

Spreading "Tribal Flames"

This will certainly be a very difficult exercise, if not an impossible one. We cannot possibly abolish the use of, or the existence of tribes. Our tribes are identified through our languages, customs and practices; and even our names, though not always, in most cases reflect our tribes. It now becomes clear that once we keep our languages, customs, names, etc., tribes can never cease to exist; and since these traditional set-ups cannot possibly be abolished without worsening the situation, we cannot successfully abolish the existence of tribes.

The need, however, still remains for something to be done about the spreading "tribal flame". It is good flame which overlaps the bounds of its goodness once we fail to keep tight rein on it; and since experience has proved we are unequal to the task of keeping it under control, all we are left with is to kill it. But how do we go about with this, if the idea of abolishing the existence of tribes is to be ruled out?

To tackle this in Ghana, people have prescribed a number of remedies. It is suggested that the various government departments cease asking candidates for employment to indicate their tribes, and that school children be made to learn a language other than their mother tongues.

To these may be added others. The Ministry of Social Welfare must intensify its drive to educate the public against tribalism, and in schools, our children must be taught that the feeling of tribal superiority leads to nothing but national disaster.

At home the oral tradition is passed on to the child as to how powerful his ancestors were in the past. He is told of their wars of conquest and their subjugation of all the neighbouring tribes. At school, this is corroborated by the history teacher, and from then the "tribal flame" is lighted in him. He is now filled with pride, he recognises those of his own tribe, and he starts holding all others in contempt.

What about the child from the despised tribe? His is hatred, animosity, and envy towards the other. He hates listening to the boastfulness of the other; the other's contemptuous utterances make his gorge rise, and he grows up sworn never to make friends from among the other's tribe. With the creation of this situation comes disunity, which yields to tribal grouping. Under mild conditions the war is a cold one—exchanging insults, abuses, curses, insulting remarks, and practising the much hated vices of nepotism and favouritism. Then if this situation is not arrested, things flare up, and the war turns hot. And the result turns to be national disaster!

Influence of History

This is what our school children and our parents are to be made aware of. No tribe is superior to the other. Each tribe has the potentiality of achieving what the other has achieved. It is all a matter of history—what happened in the past—and nothing else.

The fact that one's tribe built a vast empire long, long ago, does not make one's tribe the greatest in this century. We still read of the Roman Empire, but today Rome is only a capital city; and Italy in which Rome is situated cannot boast of being superior to Britain, which was once part of the Roman empire. Not very long ago—not after 1971, to be precise—the Russians could be said to belong to the world's community of backward peoples. But today, who dares point a finger at a Soviet, telling him: "You are backward?" What, if he replies with a missile?

So that is how history goes. A tribe may be less developed today, but this situation does not condemn it to an everlasting backwardness. We must try to understand the ways of life of our neighbours, learn their difficulties, and help them if we can, or sympathise with them if we cannot

render help. As for laughing, we must never laugh at them—we may be at their mercy one day.

We can best understand the customs of our neighbours by living among them. This is why students and workers need be advised to study and work in any part of their countries. This is not easy. Social amenities are unequally distributed within most African countries. Certain areas in individual African countries are more developed than others, and as is human nature, people hate leaving the developed areas they are used to, for less developed areas. Nevertheless we must be prepared to sacrifice our pleasures if we are not to see the cinders or even the ashes of our burned nations.

Many Europeans have left their more developed lands and are working among us—they are working even in areas we ourselves are reluctant to be stationed in. This is because they have learned to sacrifice pleasure, and we have not. We must not also forget that their continual presence on our land is to the detriment of our economy. We must therefore wake up; we must rise and save our economy while we attempt to ameliorate the tribal situation. It is even in our free movement within our countries to study and work that a greater encouragement can be given to inter-tribal marriage, which can be yet a a stronger extinguisher of the "tribal flame".

Fighting Through Writings

What can be the role of our writers in this fight? When in Europe the industrial revolution created an unpleasant social situation, the poets and novelists of the time rose to the occasion to combat the situation through their writings. Their toils yielded encouraging results.

In the fight for independence in West Africa, the same thing happened. The poets and novelists of the time— the Senghors, the Diops, etc. —were quick in rising in conflict with the colonial administrators; and their efforts were met with no less success than those of the Dickenses of Europe. The same thing has happened before, and is still happening in East Africa, and in southern Africa protests against the Smith and apartheid governments are still going on through works of poetry and prose.

Can't the same thing be done about this tribal situation? We are in the "tribal flame", and where do we end up? In cinders or in ashes?

The Economy

RAISING MINIMUM WAGES?

by Safo Mensa Ntim

ON May Day, "a day dedicated to the International Brotherhood of workers", Mr. B. A. Bentum, the Secretary-General of the Ghana Trades Union Congress, went on the air and, true to character, delivered a speech "devoted to the upliftment of the ideals and aspirations of the working man". Mr. Bentum briefly reviewed "the problems and what [was] to be done to ensure the creation of a just and contented society" in Ghana in the following order:

> Full employment, job security; wage increase; lowering the high cost of living; minimum wage increase; bridging the gap between wide income differentials; industrial peace and social security.

Mr. Bentum was not allowed to have the last word and it is the intention of this article to focus attention on some of the faulty strands in the issues raised.

Much as one sympathises with the plight of the low-income workers—especially low incomes in the face of a rapidly rising cost of living—one cannot agree with the Secretary-General who sees the solution to the problem in a rise of the minimum wage rate and is, thus, led to demand "an immediate increase in the minimum wage rate to at least NC1.00 a day... if workers in Ghana are to be saved from becoming beggars on their own God-given land".

Differential Income

Most often people fail to understand the potentialities and delicate nature of the minimum wage rate as an instrument of economic policy. Briefly the minimum wage rate has two functions. Firstly, it acts as an economic sluice-gate of sorts controlling the flow of labour from the rural to the urban sectors of the economy. The wider the differential between the minimum wage of the wage-earning sector and the income of the self-employed in the rural sector, the greater the incentive provided for, and the greater the flow of, labour from the traditional sector to the urban area in search of wage-employment. Already, the existence of this income-differential in Ghana is generally admitted. Surely, this is an important factor to be borne in mind when one makes any

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demand for minimum wage increases?

Furthermore, the minimum wage rate determines, to a large extent, the amount of labour demanded by firms. For most workers in Ghana the minimum wage is the effective rate (i.e. over 30% of wage-earning workers are at the minimum wage rate or thereabouts) and a discreet jump in the minimum wage adds dramatically to the costs of firms—with the obvious consequences. At least, Ghana's economic history records the effect of the 1960 minimum wage increase on the gold mining sector. It was only the direct take-over by the government that averted the closure of certain marginal gold mines and the lay-off of thousands of workers.

A realisation of the functions of the minimum wage rate cautions are against tampering unduly with that instrument.. For, undue interference with that tool will, on the one hand, lead to a great surge of labour from the rural areas, and on the other, constrict, to some extent, the absorptive capacity of firms for that type of labour. The convergence of the two effects will compound the unemployment problem in the urban centres. This is not a welcome prospect —not least for the T.U.C. which calls for full employment and job-security and in the same breadth calls for a rise in the minimum wage rate.

Getting Right Priorities

It is to be noted that several unemployment estimates put the level of unemployment in Ghana variously between 300,000 and 600,000—much of this in the urban centres. The solution to this problem is much more worth our attention than that of the raising of the minimum wage rate. We have to get our priorities right as a nation. However, it is not advocated here that the minimum wage rate should be forever fossilized at its present level. The wage structure should (and, in fact, does) carry within itself pay progression and career prospects for the able and hard-working individual. It should also provide avenues for additional payments in the shape of payments by results, especially for manual workers in jobs in which output is measurable and this system of payment by labour-performance is feasible. What is being argued against is an uncritical demand for a rise is the minimum wage rate—a move which would, perhaps, benefit only a handful of workers already in wage-employment, but which carries with it doubtful consequences for the economy as a whole.

Another aspect of the Secretary-General's speech which calls for comment is his rather peremptory demand that the "ratio between the remuneration of the low income and the high-income groups should not be less than 1:10". There is hardly any quarrel with the lofty social objective of equitable income-distribution. Informed opinion in Ghana would agree that the existing gap between the high and low income groups is more than sufficient to provide incentives to people to bear the expenses and rigours of training for the upper galleries of occupations.

The quarrel is with the method (implicit in the speech) of achieving this objective.

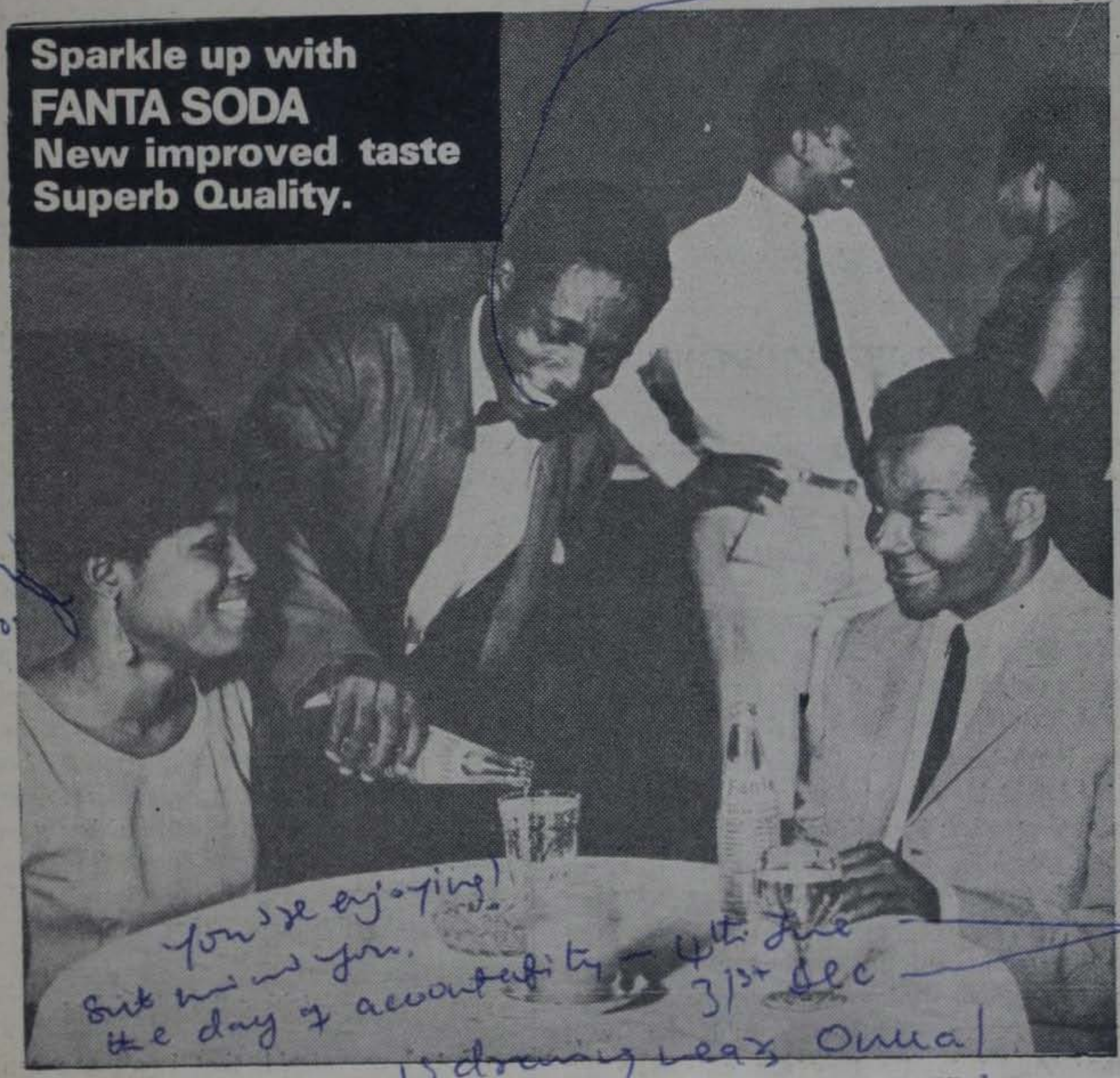
Gap-bridging

Theoretically, the gap-bridging can take one of three shapes. The first method is to raise the minimum wage (and overall incomes of the low-income groups)—the method obviously favoured by the T.U.C. Secondly, a policy of a forcible downward revision of the salary-scales of the high-income group can be pursued. (None of the privileged few including, alas, the senior officials of the T.U.C. would take kindly to this). On lastly, the more sober approach of keeping the incomes of the high income-group fairly constant (or, actually falling in real terms through the corrosive action of inflation) while making gradual and modest increases in the incomes of the low-income group, can be followed.

Minimum wage increase is a crude instrument for effecting such a social goal as equity in income-distribution. In the short-run fiscal instruments, rates of taxation, are by far superior. But the problem of equitable income distribution asks essentially for a long-term solution. For a long-run solution, emphasis should be placed on effecting structural changes in the sectors of the economy that underlie the existing pattern of income distribution. More specifically, measures should be taken to correct any mal-distribution in educational opportunities and skills. This is the only reasonable (i.e. inexpensive) way out. There cannot be any shortcut solution.

Thus, the solution to the multiple problem facing the labour-employment sector of the economy does not lie in raising the minimum wage-rate. Such a simplistic solution carries with it more problems than the solution it proffers

One sympathises with Mr. Bentum for his preoccupation with the lot of the ordinary worker.



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After all, he is paid to do just that: "to continue the struggle for a just and prosperous life for all workers". But we are equally entitled to ask: "what about the poor farmer in the rural area (father, mother, cousin...) who has for so long borne patiently, with hardly a groan, the burden of our development effort but to whom so little has been spent so far? Who speaks for him?

Editor's Note: Since this essay was received, the Ghana T.U.C. has passed a resolution calling on the government to raise the minimum wage to NC1.50.

The Press

THE PRESS AFTER THE COUP

BY E. Y. Aduamah

It is certainly true that freedom of speech and of the Press has today improved. Wherever Ghanaians are — in the mammy trucks, drinking bars, market places — they no longer hesitate to express their views on public matters. And it was clear to readers that our newspapers were not dictated to by the ruling authority on what line to take about the decree on rumours or about the Abbott Agreement.

Our journalists criticised the political manifestoes and laid bare what were simply generalisations and exercises in political cliches a meaningless pseudo-philosophical theories, some of which theories had some time ago been meant to inform even research and skew all their results. The journalists examined the conduct of last year's general elections laying bare wrong methods so that future elections could be well planned. And presently they are criticising the salaries for members of parliament (although they seem to be rather unconcerned about their own pay).

The expanding enlightenment which the February 1966 Revolution afforded the public shows itself in ways as diverse as the simple spread of newspapers which has increased the number of people who exercise judgment on public affairs, the poetry readings at the Arts Centre, the spontaneous literary gatherings that have become commonplace, and the rise of various cultural movements. If dictatorship has become more dangerous today than it had been in the time of Hitler, then it is all proper that culture should be responsible, for the safety and harmony of persons, for inspiring and animating everyday life.

The appearance of the Legon Society on National Affairs and such famous men of What Went Wrong in such a brief period testifies to the toleration and the free inquiry which the Revolution in Ghanaian life afforded. A few of these men had written before and they were as a result exposed to violence and personal persecution. But the vast majority had refused to write (or even talk), because they knew that if they did so, they would do badly, or betray their art; or because they felt that their words could not reach the minds and touch the feelings of their own contemporaries. These men therefore had to keep their manuscripts, in the hope that, some day, there might be a generation for whom their words could come alive.

What a sad fate! They had failed to dicharge their professional duties when they failed to concern themselves with their own Ghanaians at a time when their fate itself was uncertain. It is understood, however, that many readers have come to regard the silence of certain writers and critics as more significant than the carrying on of men like Adanko and the Socialist Boys.

Under the N.L.C. there were signs that Ghanaians were awakening to the need for libraries. Post coup Ghana has no place for a Professor Abraham Committee that might inspect and suppress publications in bookshops and libraries. The numerous Accra Presses are now pouring forth books and pamphlets in astonishing profusion. The Ghana Book Fair which formed part of last year's Independence Day anniversary activities helped teachers and the general public to appreciate the extent of general publishing.

Watching the Watchdog

But, I am afraid, that is all one can say in praise of the period. Now the question arises: granted that the Press has become a watchdog, who watches the watchdog? How do we hinder the freedom of the Press from being a hollow expression, an excuse for selfishness? Where you have freedom you are almost sure to have some people abusing it. That is to say, a newspaper can use the freedom given it by the politicians in another way. It may twist the facts of each day into whatever form seems best suited to its inclination. It denounces injustice and oppression, but it gives no evidence of liking democracy and it rather allows writers to use its columns freely for character assassination and rumour-mongering.

Is it possible that the law of libel has no meaning for some of our writers? Is it possible that character assassination is threatening to become

tom sanctioned by law in our country?
section of the press, however, is not heavily ame. In fact one is often surprised by the line and good taste displayed in some of journals; one can hardly find in them any e biting animosity that is all too common in s, and happily, no wildness or indecency.
is true that even in some of those writers whom one deeply disagrees, one can perceive — fine art and the gift for using words. hey waste their talents, for their writings and ons can be appreciated only today but not llowing day.
need not be surprised, and the Ghanaian alist ought not be incensed, if his professional om is here being called in question and re- ined, or even if he is accused of having be- a powerful agency that produces the tribal iousness in this country. It includes such s as offensive references to tribal groups, re- nendations for the removal of qualified public rs from their posts (no doubt on tribal nds), and the scorn of institutions and tradi- sacred to certain communities. Virtue, merit everything that is praiseworthy are made the ct of ridicule and buffoonery.

Integrated Society

is state of affairs is unfortunate. The presence d Zongos in indigenous communities, our tra- nal hospitality, the cordial discussions of our rate elders in the pito and palm-wine places, our longstanding inter-marriage which cuts ss tribal boundaries portray the ideal life set he Ghanaian culture for itself as a closely rated and frictionless one. We have not been or bred by careless parents.

ne Akan, the Ewe, the Ga, the Northerner, all g welded together as one unit, will increasingly to the newspapers that are printed in the s of Accra and Kumasi for the story of their mon interests and about their national insti- ns such as the wholesale stores, the libraries, museums, and the Universities most of which centred in the two cities.
hrough the proceedings of the Commissions of iry, the political campaign, the construction ne cabinet, the inauguration of the Presidential mission and the civilian government, the press actively on the job watching every move. ons living in remote Alavanyo, Kofikrom or ra would therefore expect the Press to keep n informed and they would be greatly disap- ted if instead the press engaged in nothing but sion of their institutions, jokes at whatever is gressive, man-hater theories, a blend of menda- cious suggestions, abuse and slander, and in sowing the seeds of tribalism.

The scantiness of information now available about such great Nigerian talents as Wole Soyinka and Chinua Achebe must be enough to teach our preachers of tribalism the lesson that national conflict could impose on themselves, as writers, grave mental and emotional strain.

Our writers should take the advice. The people cannot be fooled all the time. We have seen clearly how the Adankos and the politicians who had gagged the Press had in the long run had their actions accounted for. Education has increased and every writer now has to address himself to intelligent citizens, men and women of critical and discerning minds.

We are happy to note that our new Minister of Information has already assured the public that the government would maintain the freedom of the Press. But as already stated, even in a democracy we have to watch for fear of interference by some dim-witted public officials, by the pressure of a foolish law, or by the unauthorised activity of private organisations.

The free Press should check all undue secrecy and scandalous misuse of power. We expect the uncensored free Press to combat ignorance, intemperance, excessive drinking and law-breaking and to awaken interest in scientific, philosophical and historical questions in the minds of young Ghanaians. And finally we should all refrain from using words in which we ourselves do not believe.

International

BRITAIN'S CENTRAL POSITION WITHIN THE MULTI-RACIAL COMMONWEALTH

by K. A. Karikari

PLAINLY the situation in Southern Africa has had a major impact on the Commonwealth, but in analysing the crisis there is a danger of isolating it and thereby distorting its importance. South Africa and lately Rhodesia have confronted the Commonwealth with unique challenges, but that is not all. In a sense, southern Africa has sharpened and speeded up developments which were inherent in the Commonwealth of the 1960's.

Of late, Mr. Victor Owusu, Ghana's Foreign Minister has said in public that, if Britain resumed the sale of arms to South Africa, Britain may be expelled from the Commonwealth. Can the African members of the Commonwealth really expel Britain from that body? I believe, one

major issue within the Commonwealth must be examined. And that is Britain's central position within the Commonwealth of nations.

Britain has always been and remains the principal centralising factor in the Commonwealth. Britain's strengths and weaknesses, her attitudes and actions, her ambitions and her moods are of direct relevance to the Commonwealth as a whole in a way which is not true of any other member. In fact new members are born into the Commonwealth. And the Commonwealth association is a demonstration of adulthood from colonial status. A new country joins as soon as she attains independence. A country may refuse to join, but to date most of the newly emergent African and Asian members of the Commonwealth, have found it inconvenient not to belong to it. They are not forced into the Commonwealth. But it is convenient to join it. And it is Britain that gives the Commonwealth the mystic and a binding force. If you expel Britain there would be no Commonwealth of Nations.

Price for Influence

When Britain invaded Suez, when she applied to join the EEC in 1961, and now, during the southern African crises, there has been a real threat that the Commonwealth would disintegrate. Yet India and Pakistan have fought a war, Australia and New Zealand have been fighting in Vietnam, and in Nigeria there has already been a bloody, ruthless civil war, without creating a real threat to the Commonwealth. However, while Britain has retained her central position, the role she has been prepared to play has changed. Although throughout the post-war period there have been many critics in Britain prepared to write off the Commonwealth as a meaningless sham, in fact the Commonwealth, as well as the Empire from which it sprang, has been vital to British aspirations. It has given her the geographical spread of interests and the image of an influence extending to every continent. Britain's claims to be anything more than a major European power have rested on her position at the centre of vast Commonwealth and Empire.

Thus, to retain a world role through the Commonwealth Britain has been prepared to pay a substantial price. The inescapable responsibilities of a Great Power intent on preserving peace were seen to involve not only heavy military expenditure but the maintenance of the sterlin area, the provision of aid to Commonweal countries, and the willingness not only to giv advice but also to listen to others and to seek a wide a consensus as possible within the Commo wealth.

Obviously, Britain paid the price because sh thought it in her interest to do so. But interest are not static, and increasingly Britain's amb tions have been under pressure both from doubt about her ability to sustain global commitment and from further doubts about whether sh wanted to go on trying. During the 1960's, in th balance between paying the price of a world rol and satisfying economic demands at home, th scales have tilted heavily in favour of the latter

Growing Ambivalence

Britain has therefore withdrawn from som areas and such a withdrawal has rested no on reasoned choice but on policy failure. Thi was true in the Middle East after Suez and it i true of Southern Africa after the Rhodesia failure. Now Britain has announced she ma renew arms sale to South Africa. It now seem clear that Britain has virtually no control ove events in Southern Africa. Thus although Britis statesmen have seen the Commonwealth as a instrument of international influence and pres tige, in the long dark days of the Southern African crises the Commonwealth has often been a source of humiliation, not of prestige The Commonwealth meetings of 1965 and 196 took on the air of trial, with Mr. Wilson i the dock facing his Commonwealth accusers This, of course, underlined existing doubts More pointedly than ever, the question was ask ed: Is the price of a world role through th Commonwealth worth paying? Even if th answer was not a direct negative, British politi cians have played down the Commonwealth, s that during 1967, 1968 and 1969 it became low key issue of British politics. Mr. Wilson an his colleagues pointedly stated that the Com monwealth must accept that Britain was also a independent country which decided its own policy

Naturally, the other members of the Com monwealth have judged the shifts in Britis attitudes and abilities according to their own con ceived interests. As Britain has revealed a ambivalence over her world role, so the othe members have revealed an ambivalence toward Britain's central position in the Commonwealth

They have rightly insisted that Britain has no right to dictate to them but they have valued what Britain has been prepared to offer.

After all is said and done, the Commonwealth ties and idealism have now become evaporated. The new Asian and African states have looked to the Commonwealth as the only multi-racial community where their interests could be pursued. They had hoped that with Britain as the mother country, they might take consolation in their posture of military weakness and economic underdevelopment, and use the Commonwealth as an umbrella to pursue and promote their world wide interests.

But with British hypocrisy coupled with her cold attitude towards the new nations in their unwelcomed adventures in southern Africa and southern Asia, the new members have come to realise that the multi-racial Commonwealth is nothing more but a sham, calculated to promote the interests of Britain and some of the older members of the club. Today, the Commonwealth ties mean very little to the Asian and the African members. On the contrary, in its changing role it has confirmed the old nostalgia of the older members. Thus we find these days that the wire between London and Ottawa, or between Melbourne and London is more cordial and confident than say between Accra and London or for that matter between Lagos and London.

The solution to the situation in southern Africa within the framework of the Commonwealth is not just to attempt the impossible of expelling Britain, but a real demonstration of the newer members of the Commonwealth to confront Britain—even at the expense of the Commonwealth breaking up as a multi-racial community.



Observer Notebook

Mfodwo's Headaches

IT appears as if the Ghana Broadcasting Corporation is competing with quite a few establishments in the country for medals in inefficiency. Which is quite surprising, because the centre of the government's medium of communications is expected to set an example of the ideals of efficiency that the government stands for.

Apart from the irritations which are often experienced by listeners, it now seems, according to correspondents, that the internal organizational structure is far from proper. As an example, it looks as if GBC is the only medium of communication where lay men, in the capacity as administrators, can override the the decision of trained professional programme organizers. Independent flair and creativity are not encouraged, for some inexplicable reasons.

That the educational, informative and entertaining functions are possible only through willing and contented artistes, means nothing at all to some of the administrators and accounting staff, some of whom are very insolent. For this reason, there are difficulties in getting qualified artistes for certain programmes, and this tends to pollute the content of some of the programmes.

Most of the mechanical gadgets are almost always unworkable. The GBC bosses cannot claim financial strain as an excuse, since they found it proper to vote huge sums of money to give their buildings a whiter wash!

And, incidentally, what happened to cause the suspension of the government-appointed Committee which was to have investigated the internal affairs of the Corporation.

Although Legon will be sorry to lose Mr. S. B. Mfodwo, the nation should be happy that the has been given the opportunity to run the affairs of G.B.C. As the Senior Assistant Registrar in charge of academic matters, Mr. Mfodwo's desire for efficiency and hard work is well known. He is, thus, well equipped to assume the high office of Director-General of that Corporation. He faces challenges, obviously. Having been with them before, Mr. Mfodwo should be quite aware of the organizational problems in that Corporation. But he should not allow relationships—friendship, kinship, or whatever they may be—to deter him from his wish to make G.B.C. a success. If he finds that there are some officials who are a stumbling block to efficiency and sense of duty, he should be bold to urge such officials to be prepared either to get on properly with their job, or to get out!

After 35 years of broadcasting Ghanaians expect G.B.C. to prove its worth.

Political Concerts

IN our letters column today, we publish a piece by a correspondent who is worried about the prospect of a durable democracy in Ghana. The fear, according to the correspondent, is on the fact that people in the opposition political parties have been resigning from their parties to join the ranks of the governing Progress Party.

The concern is understandable, especially at a time when Ghanaians have begun to pride themselves in their adherence to the ideals of democracy. But the *Observer* would have been more interested in a much deeper analysis of the reasons for this concert-like switch of political alliances.

As is well known, in Africa political power and economic power tend to be fused, and one's feeling is that democracy survives best when economic structure is less subject to political manipulation. Obviously one becomes disturbed if men who had certain deeply-felt political views, and who were foundation members of those ideals, cross the carpet for a mere desire to be with the powers that be.

But the record must be put straight; it should not be suggested that these constant switchers are forced by any body into their chamelion-like game. Some of them are perfectly honourable, and highly free thinking men, who probably come to realise that one eats before one can uphold ideals. All these indicate that economic independence is significant for the upholding of principles, even if these principles go counter to the thinking of the majority. Does this mean then that the days of the Danquahs are over?

The Plight of the Engineering Faculty at Kumasi

THE IMPASSE between the 24 Ghanaian lecturers in the Faculty of Engineering and the Council of the University of Science and Technology, Kumasi needs to be given a national attention, particularly at the time when we want to mobilise all resources in the development of Ghana.

There is no doubt that the conditions of serv-

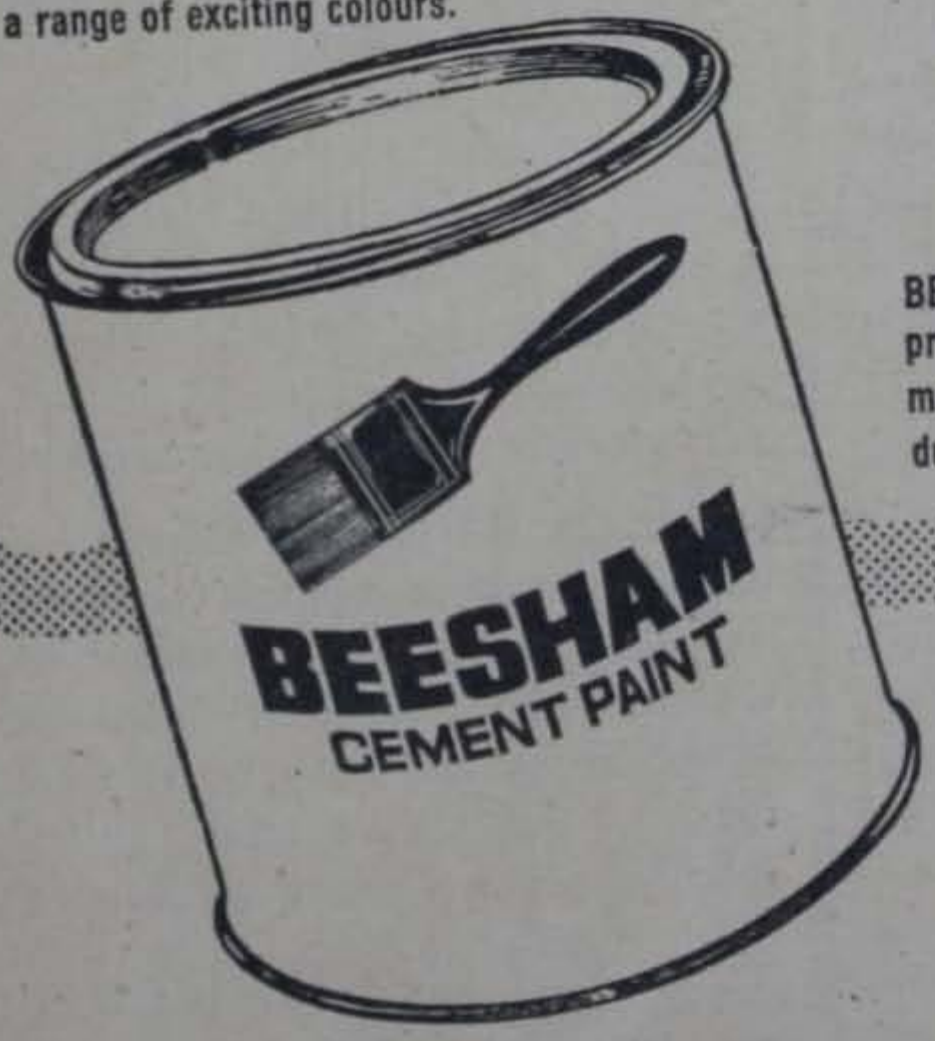
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ice in the universities need a thorough review, in the light of similar conditions which obtain in other professions and even in the civil service, where the university don can easily transfer his employment. And, in spite of the laudable demands of the Engineers at Kumasi, the government appointed the Twum-Barimah Committee to investigate the conditions of service in the three universities and recommend unified conditions of service for our universities. In fact, a government statement specified that the Twum-Barimah Committee must bring out an interim report to meet the demands of the Engineering lecturers.

Yet, before the completion and publication of the Twum-Barimah report, the 24 Ghanaian lecturers' resignations have been accepted by the University authorities. And this has further complicated the situation in the Engineering Faculty. About half of the lecturers whose resignations have been accepted have now taken up jobs in industry and in the army; and in fact some have taken jobs outside the country.

Who is to be blamed? Is it the University authorities or the Ghanaian lecturers?

It is true that the Ghanaian lecturers should have withdrawn their resignations soon after the government appointed the Twum-Barimah Committee.

However, the University authorities should not have accepted the resignations till after the publication of the Twum-Barimah Committee's report. No doubt the Vice-Chancellor would want to make sure that there would be adequate staff by the beginning of the next session. But whom is he going to recruit? Surely, expatriate lecturers!

It appears something has to be done about the situation at Kumasi. What is happening now is bluffs and counter-bluffs from the lecturers and the University authorities. After all, we have invested in the Ghanaians and the tax-payer cannot understand the reasons for such a deadlock. The *Observer* hopes to bring out a detailed study of the events taking place at Kumasi.

Science Degree Examination at Cape Coast

THE RESULTS of the Final Year B.Sc. Education degree examination at the University College of Cape Coast show that out of the 22 candidates officially presented by the Science Faculty, 9 were successful. The suspension of the majority of the final year science students early this year has complicated any view that must be taken at this time concerning the role and performance of the U.C.C.C's Faculty of Science.

And in addition it should be noted that out of the 145 candidates who did resit the B.Sc. education degree examination this year only 4 were successful.

Such results bring the Faculty of Science at Cape Coast once more into national focus. Surely if we look critically at the situation in the Science Faculty, it is difficult to justify its existence in terms of the economic return from such a limited graduate turnover. Of late, many reasons have been given for the poor performance of the students in the Science Faculty. Some of these are: poor student intake, shortage of staff, and previous refusal of science students to take promotional examinations.

Irrespective, however, of the reasons offered, the conclusion that must be obvious to the Ghanaian citizenry is that the time has come for the whole Faculty to rethink and re-examine its role and performance in the light of the hard realities of Ghana's economic condition. The Science Faculty and the University as a whole must recognise that the state cannot justify continuing high wastage on education industry. To produce only 9 science graduates, when we consider the resources at the disposal of Cape Coast, is very poor indeed. We agree that the early history of many science Faculties has demonstrated low output. Both Legon and Kumasi, at their early stages, revealed poor examination results in their Science Faculties. The University of Ibadan had a similar experience. But in the case of Cape Coast, these bad examination results over the past four years seem to have taken on a permanent feature in the Science Faculty.

Perhaps U.C.C.C's Science Faculty might consider running diploma courses. Such courses may in fact meet the demands of some of the students who have now failed their final year examinations and may assist Ghana to retrieve some of education's present wastage of scarce resources. The Faculty of Science could run a year's crash-programme in the teaching of science in Secondary Schools. Policy-decisions along these lines might help the future of this young university at Cape Coast. The nation, however, expects and demands the Faculty of Science to demonstrate beyond all reasonable doubt that it can produce more and competent science graduates as from June 1971.

Middle East: Peace Prospects

s reassuring to note that both Egypt and el have accepted the new United States posal for a united ceasefire, and eventual e talks, to avert a possible imminent serious osion of the Middle East conflict.

nce the 1967 June war, which resulted in Israeli occupation of tracts of Arab territory, e has not been known in that part of the ld.

he split in the ranks of the Palestinian guer- s on the feasibility of the Rogers plan is rtunate, but understandable. If any peaceful lement emerges from the current mission of Thant's special envoy Gunnar Jarring, the that can be expected is that Israel might e to withdraw from all the territories she upied in 1967, except perhaps the Jordanian or of Jerusalem. That will, however, not be end to the problem which is basic to the estinians, most of whom believe that the very itory which is Israel should change hands hus, while Egypt and Israel are willing, ough with reservations, to come to terms h one another, it is hoped that the Palestinian ugee problem will have top priority considera- n in any eventual peace proposals. With erica and Russia now operating with a rare nsensus of interest, this may well be the rld's last chance to avert a future Middle st violence the perimeters of which will not easy to plot.

Letters

Kwame Nkrumah Revisited

R — I have reluctantly undertaken to comment on a review of my book, *Kwame Nkrumah* not cause I am particularly interested in favourable views or that I want to court cheap publicity. I ite about a book which the general Ghanaian public s already accepted with acclaim judging by the fact at the first local edition of 5,000 copies was sold t three weeks after publication, and before the review question appeared. I would like to write in the terest of scholarship. I failed to see the point of e review in question appearing in the *Legon Observer* /16).

To begin with, Max Assimeng, the reviewer, intro- ces me to his readers as the author of a "useful t humorous book *Marriage Guidance for Young hanaians*". This book published in 1962 which became standard gift to newly-weds, which quickly sold out d has been out of print for some time now, was very *serious* work. To call it "humorous" is either reveal Mr. Assimeng's ignorance of the contents f that book or his inability to assess the work of holarship; for it represented the result of five years of research on the subject.

Concerning the present work, if I may be so bold as to appear boastful, there is much material of economic, legal, sociological and political significance to Ghana worthy of the consideration of the *Observer's* readers that could have been analysed and criticised for my own benefit as well as for that of the readers, besides the "strictures" that I present. To devote about 1,280 words telling us next to nothing about the contents of the book is nothing short of underestimating the intelligence of the readership of the *Observer* or lack of a sense of the needs of Ghana at the moment.

My own objective for writing the book was not to offer "strictures" for Ghanaians. As a matter of fact, the title of the review could more appropriately have been "Ghana Revisited". To think that I intended to write only about Nkrumah is to miss the point of the book completely. So that my criticism of the judiciary and of the legal machinery which Mr. Assimeng would like his readers to think Mr. Justice Ollennu does not share in his *Foreword* is quite misunderstood. Excellent brains are meant to be used not preserved. What Max Assimeng wanted to know about my association with Nkrumah or how the material was collected and analyzed could have been ascertained from me personally if he had been more than superficially interested in the task he had undertaken in reviewing the book. The reviewers of *The Pioneer*, the *Graphic* and the *Ghanaian Times* were both quick to get the main point which I was making which is that Ghana and Ghanaians made Nkrumah what he became. The cover jacket of the paper-back edition (there are both American and British editions in cloth bound which the reviewer failed to mention) makes this point amply clear. The task, of course, was easier because of the personality characteristics of Nkrumah himself. I challenge Mr. Assimeng to come up with contrary evidence.

Mpraeso **T. Peter Omari**
Kwahu

Moral Corruption in Ghana

SIR — One thing startling we learnt about the ex-President and his "Animal Farm" was about their numerous girl friends and how our money was lavished on them. Even more serious than this, Nkrumah himself as head of state was alleged to have had a 16-year-old student girl friend at Achimota School.

No doubt Ghanaians are now watching with an eagle's eye to buttress any of such "moves" by any government that is, or may come to power.

And it is in the like mind that I doff my hat for the Busia government on the relentless effort now being waged against bribery, corruption, immorality, lack of foresight in administration, etc. But let Dr. Busia and his colleagues know that corruption, or whatever it is, is corruption and there should be no sentimentality about that.

Therefore I humbly admonish the present government to look out! If it wants faithfully to stamp out bribery, corruption, immorality (any kind) then the total war against these vices must start from the government itself.

Commonwealth Hall **Sammy Brookes**
Legon

This Changing of Sides

SIR—If democracy proves to be a failure in Ghana we shall have no one to blame but ourselves. There are indications that some members of certain political parties have been defecting to the other side. The ruling party in particular, would do well to discourage such people from joining its ranks as their behaviour would seem to give credence to the rumour that one has to belong to the ruling party in order to get ahead.

P.O. Box 1934 **Marilynne Charles**
Kumasi

Split in the Volta Region

SIR—I read with shock and dismay in the July 25th issue of the "Daily Graphic" the news that the Kete-Krachi District wanted to break away from the Volta Region to join the Brong Ahafo or Northern Region because the district had for long been neglected and treated as an "outcast". What shocked me most was the fact that this uncalled for statement should come from a responsible leader such as the Krachi-Wura. Is he trying to suggest that the Volta Region is responsible for the alleged neglect of the Kete-Krachi District? Is he not aware that developments in the regions are planned by the national government?

The above statement is as unfortunate as it is uncalled for. The fact is that the Krachi District may have been neglected; but one can name other areas of the Volta Region which may have been equally neglected, if not more! Perhaps these areas must also secede to join other regions, leading to the virtual erasing of the Volta Region from the map of Ghana?

I call upon the Honourable M.P. for Nkwanta and his people of the Kete-Krachi District to be bold to "call a spade a spade" by telling Ghanaians and the whole world why they want to secede from the Volta Region at this time of our history.

Cath. Convent Mid. Girls' Sch. **J. H. Kodzo Fiafor**
P.O. Box 20
Keta

The Plight of ex-Convicts

SIR—The hue and cry from all quarters about increase in crime seems to be falling on deaf ears because the authorities have not tackled this social cancer from the right angle.

Almost all crimes are committed by or through ex-convicts. These criminals are termed hardened criminals. Let us take the first offender. He comes out of prison after having paid society for the crime committed by serving his sentence. He becomes a social outcast where nobody will have anything to do with him. Neither is any employer prepared to employ him even if he turns on the newest leaf.

Being a human being he must eat, and as he must eat, he must work. And as he cannot be legally employed for being an ex-convict, by any employer (both the government and the private sector) he resorts to any type of work be it crime or anything in order to eat, be clothed and sheltered.

The most pathetic ex-convict is the family man who watches his children go hungry every day, whose wife deserts him and their children because he no longer works.

On behalf of every ex-convict, I appeal to the government and the Opposition, the Christian Council of Ghana, and all clear thinking citizens to do their best to see to the rehabilitation of ex-convicts (especially the first offender). If this is done, I am sure crime will decrease by a very great and relieving percentage.

P.O. Box 29 **Capt. G. A. K. Noagbedzi**
Madina, Accra

Ghana's Passports!

SIR—It seems there is something radically wrong about the way in which passports are issued in Ghana.

There are instances in which it takes up a year or more to get a Ghana Passport. Ghanaian students overseas have to wait sometimes up to three years to get a passport. Are there any special reasons for this?

At present, all applications for passports from Ghanaians abroad have to be sent to the Passport Office in Accra through the Ghana Embassies. If the Ministry of Foreign Affairs authorized the Ghana Embassies to issue passports to Ghanaians overseas, the work of the Passport Office may be lessened.

May I appeal to the Minister of Foreign Affairs to advise his Chief Passport Officer to issue passports to those Ghanaians who have applied for Ghana Passports for all this time?

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EDITORIAL

THE PLIGHT OF POVERTY

THE long-awaited first budget of the Busia administration is now out. And, as the Minister of Finance began to reveal his economic remedies to the nation, one discerned the poignant accuracy of the maxim that the poverty of the poor is the greatest barrier to their becoming rich. The bitter disappointment of the government over the latest debt rescheduling meeting in London obviously showed in the content of the financial proposals, which, to say the least, had very little room for manoeuvre.

For a government which is committed to honouring an inherited, huge international indebtedness (some of which is of a clearly spurious nature), it was difficult to see how it could reconcile the desire to generate private economic expansion at home with the large-scale governmental expenditure, especially on rural development. The government did not promise any magical solution to our problems; indeed the realism of the budget was academically flawless. But in the end, one saw very little in the budget that was reassuring to the poor. It had been assumed that the tax structure would be rearranged during this financial year. But the budget said very little on this, beyond assuring Ghanaians that the whole tax system is being studied.

The attempt to help the small businessman and the prospective farmer by way of loan schemes is laudable, but who, in the final analysis, qualifies for such loans? It has been found that, as a matter of fact, those who obtain these loans are persons who are already economically self-sustaining. As for the drive to get men in the public services to undertake farming, it would be interesting to see how many persons have actually taken advantage of the opportunity. And how does the government reconcile the desire to encourage Ghanaian enterprise with the new gamble of placing very many commodity items on an open general licence?

The crux of the problem, as the government has realised, is the huge drift of Ghanaians from the rural areas to the urban centres. The budget is, in fact, rural development oriented, presumably because it has been found that the high cost of living, especially as reflected in the current price index on ordinary domestic budgeting, is due to the low yield of food production in the country. Ghanaians have come to depend on foreign aid so much that it has never occurred to most of them that a nation's development must be undertaken on the basis of local initiative.

At the moment, as the Minister of Finance indicated, unemployment is one of our biggest headaches; so many mouths are increasingly produced, without the wherewithal to feed them. The crime rate is increasing, for reasons which cannot be divorced from the economic stagnation of the nation.

For a very long time now, we Ghanaians have been giving the economic situation as an excuse for hanging on to all kinds of social injustices in this country. The salary structure, for instance, is palpably senseless and callous, when one considers that we expect a man to keep a family on the wage dole of 75np a day. One hopes that the advantages of the fifty percent reduction on commercial vehicle licences may be passed down to the economically unfortunate segments of our communities; but even here one cannot be sure. What can be expected is that the cost of riding on the "Tro-Tro" may not be further increased for a few months hence.

It was refreshingly welcome that on the day of the budget, the Prime Minister and members of his government decided to reduce their salaries. We are prepared to discount, for the moment, the political point-scoring involved in this. Rather, we want to look at the sanity of the decision, and how our discourse on the budget becomes meaningful in the light of Dr. Busia's decision. If we are indeed committed to the building of a welfare state, then one sees very little sense when some fellow Ghanaians are living on the salary margins which the Premier revealed in his budget day radio and television speech. If, *at the expense of the state*, some individuals are paid N¢14,000 per annum, should we continue to tolerate a situation where others are earning N¢270 per annum? Here we think Busia should have acted more rigorously. and attacked the many allowances as well, instead of merely expecting that others too might voluntarily come up to offer similar sacrifice. We would even go further to suggest that it should be imperative for the salaries of the top men to be slashed even more drastically. How many Ghanaians has Dr. Busia ever encountered sacrificing their portions of salary, or even working harder and faster. in response to mere exhortation?

Budget statements may be theoretically sound, economically reassuring, and statistically balancing. But we budget for the welfare of people. And. unless the plight of the Ghanaian disprivileged class is seriously taken into account, and unless the fortunate in our midst set serious examples of austerity, it is difficult to see how we can stimulate our large reservoir of human material for the task of national reconstruction that lies ahead of the country.

The Economy

PREVIEW OF THE BUDGET

by
Ken Brew

THERE has been much speculation over the delay in the reading of the budget for the 1970/71 financial year. In official circles the reason was given that the estimates were not ready in time, but one cannot discount the fact that the unfavourable results—at least as far as the Ghanaian delegation was concerned—of the debt rescheduling talks might have been partly responsible for the delay.

With the failure of the debt talks one would expect things to be somewhat tighter than what they would otherwise have been. Also the Minister of Finance and Economic Planning has reiterated over and over again that sustained growth is not yet in sight and therefore under the present economic conditions one may expect some amount of "belt tightening". One cannot, however, easily anticipate the form and extent.

Investment in Rural Development

In the field of investment one cannot envisage much change in total amount although the structure might change. With much talk about rural development one can expect that this would take precedence over other things. However, considering the immensity of the problem, this may be taken only at a rudimentary level, with emphasis on improving general infra-structure which may be at the expense of the urban areas, perhaps to reduce the rural/urban inequalities. In fact it is likely that expenditure on infra-structure as a proportion of total government expenditure will fall.

The government is not likely to engage on any new form of directly productive investment except perhaps in the rural areas. Even in this case since infra-structure is not as yet developed enough it may be on a very small scale. On the other hand we may see the encouragement of private Ghanaian investment. There may also be some improvement in the provision of social services with the governments' promises of a

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welfare state. However, if this is looked at in relation to rural development one may find that the government would be taking on too much. The successful marrying of both rural development and improving general social services, with keeping down government investment expenditure, would perhaps be one of the most important achievements of the budget.

With respect to recurrent expenditure also one cannot expect much by way of reduction, since by its nature, the government is committed to it by the policies of the previous governments. However, a rationalisation of government expenditure in general will keep it within reasonable limits.

Since the N.L.C. took office there have been various salary and wage review commissions, and various segments of the working population have had improvements in their emoluments and general conditions of service. Although one cannot say that these improvements are adequate, one cannot expect anything more at the moment. Perhaps other measures may be used to improve the general living conditions; and this brings us to the question of taxation.

Tax Relief for the Poor

The government has as yet not come out with any favourable statement on the TUC's demand to raise the minimum wage. In view of the recent labour unrest one may expect tax relief for the low income recipients by way of appeasement. If the government is to get enough revenue, however, this may mean introducing a more progressive form of taxation. On the other hand if this is pushed far enough it may prove to be inimical to private investment. With the ban on the importation of expensive cars, one can also expect further increments on duties on luxury items which would mainly effect the rich. On the whole one can expect a very cautious budget, for, even if the debtor must eat, he will have to eat less than the creditor.

EDITOR'S NOTE: This short article was received before the budget statement was read last Tuesday.

Urban Problems

ASHIAMAN—EYESORE AND OPPORTUNITY

by

Margaret Peil

WHEN people talk about slums in Ghana, they usually refer to Nima in Accra, which has received considerably attention as a place with poor housing, dusty streets, grossly inadequate water supply and sanitation and an oversupply of poverty, disease and criminals. A town which can challenge Nima's insalubrious reputation, where conditions are if anything even worse than in Nima, is Ashiaman, a suburb of Tema. This town is tucked away out of sight on the north side of the motorway, where politicians, Tema residents and other Ghanaians can conveniently ignore its existence. But this is no bush village, important only to those who are born there. This is a town of nearly 30,000 people, which supplies between a quarter and a third of Tema's labour force, whose residents are getting tired of being ignored by their fellow Ghanaians.

Very Rapid Growth

Since Ashiaman is not well known, here are a few facts about it : It was listed in the 1960 Census as Tema Junction, a village of 2,624 inhabitants. Since then, Ashiaman has grown very fast because so many people who migrate to Tema cannot find housing there. A sample census in 1968 showed the population to be about 27,000, a ten-fold increase in eight years! Since then, many aliens have left, but many southern Ghanaians have come. A few houses have been abandoned and fallen apart, but new and larger houses have been built. Thus, it seems likely that Ashiaman's population today is in the region of 30,000.

Some people have the impression that most of the people in Ashiaman are (or were) aliens and northerners. There was a fairly high proportion of non-Ghanaians among the adult population in 1968, about a quarter, but since many of these did not have their children with them, the proportion of foreigners in the total population was much smaller. Today, of course, it is difficult to tell how many non-Ghanaians remain, but a large number have certainly left. Their place has been taken by southern Ghanaians. There are about equal numbers of Akan, Ga and

we households. There have always been rela-vely few northern Ghanaians in Ashiaman, as Tema.

Ashiaman is 4–5 miles from Tema. Several large rms transport their workers by bus, but large umbers are dependent on lorries, for which they ust pay 5np each way. Those who cannot afford he lorry fare (which includes all the unemploy-d) must walk. Municipal buses come about once n hour, which makes them of little use to work-rs. On a recent evening, over 90 lorries and ompany buses arrived from Tema and 30 came rom Accra between 5:15 p.m. and 6.15 p.m.— o a lorry park which is crowded when it con-ains 20 lorries. Over 1100 walkers were count-d between 5.45 and 7.45 one morning. This gives some idea of the magnitude of Ashiaman's contribution to the Tema labour force.

In 1968, about three quarters of the men were doing manual work and 14% were unemployed. Two thirds of the women over the age 25 were trading. Unemployment seems to be lower now than in 1968, perhaps because many men who could not find work have returned home. How-ever, many others are engaged in small-scale trading and the number of self-employed crafts-men, especially carpenters and tailors, is very large for a town this size. Quite a few of these would be better off financially if they could find regu-lar wage employment. Meanwhile, they provide a pool of experienced labour which is available whenever it is needed in Tema.

A Terrible Eyesore

There are a few fine cement houses in Ashia-man; three or four even have garages. The majo-rity of houses furnish 'average' urban accommo-dation. But there are a large number of houses, especially in the older sections on both sides of the entry road, which were built some years ago of packing cases and tin sheets. These are gra-dually disintegrating, and provide very poor homes for their many occupants. They are a terrible eyesore, magnified by the complete lack of drainage. Pools of fetid water in many areas make walking between houses almost impossible. These puddles, with their smells, flies, mosqui-toes, etc. remain throughout the dry season. They provide the playground (and possible deathtrap from the diseases they foster) for the thousands of children in Ashiaman. When it rains, whole sections of the community turn to mud. Workers must take off their shoes and wade to their doors.

Ashiaman has been laid out carefully, with roads at regular interals, but little has been done to make the roads useable. Some earth has re-cently been dumped in the worst holes to make the entry roads passable, but many of the cross-roads fade into footpaths and are interrupted by ditches crossed only by board bridges. Culverts installed two years ago have silted up, or the earth has eroded around them.

The Tema City Council collects ground rents monthly on all the plots. The many kiosks are taxed monthly and all residents must pay their rates to the Council. It is difficult to see where this money is being spent to better the town. The main government services in evidence are the school and the police, and both of these appear to be inadequate.

No Places for Pupils

Ashiaman is the largest town in Ghana with-out a middle school. There was some talk of building one last year, but like so many other possible improvements, all the townspeople got were excuses. Although there are well over a thousand children of middle school age in Ashiaman, only 180 made the daily trip to Tema Community 8 (2-3 miles away) to attend middle school. The two primary schools in Ashiaman hold less than 100 pupils, a third of whom are on the shift system. Many prospective pupils cannot find places. There are three private primary schools where parents must pay up to NC1.20 per month to keep their wards from illiteracy. These children are growing up in town and will certainly seek urban jobs in a few years time. As things are now, many will lack even the basic requirement for work in Tema, a Middle School Leaving Certificate.

Ashiaman is noted for its thieves, and there have been some spectacular roundups in recent years. Residents have long complained that the police were inadequate to protect them from thieves, but the situation seems to be better, now that many of the less desireable aliens have left. However, there still seem to be quite a few Ghanaian thieves in residence.

It was announced recently that the Kotobaabi pig farmers are to move to Ashiaman. It is to be hoped that the residents of the town who allow their pigs to wander around defiling the paths can be persuaded or required to join the associa-tion and keep their pigs in proper pens. Sanita-

tion is a very sore point in Ashiaman. The houses in the small T.D.C.-built section are well provided for, but the rest of the town has only six public latrines, two of which are completely out of use (i.e., one latrine for 7,500 people). There is no public latrine at all for the 3,004 houses in E Section, east of the entry road. As a result, many people use the fields around the town, and vacant plots within the town are littered with refuse. The postmaster has threatened to leave because the fields near the Post Office smell so bad. The Town Development Committee is working with the T.D.C. and various ministries on plans for new latrines to be built with communal labour. It is hoped that these will soon be completed.

Besides roads and sanitation, the town's third main problem is water. More landlords have water taps than have latrines, but the majority have neither. The poor tenants must take their chances at one of the six standpipes or pay 2½np per a bucket of water for a nearer and more reliable supply.

Important Reasons

Since the lack of amenities makes life in Ashiaman difficult, why do people flock to the town? There are two important reasons. First, there is no room for them in Tema, since housing there is badly overcrowded. Second, rents in Ashiaman are much lower than in Tema, bringing them within reach of the ordinary working man with a family. People say, "The houses in Tema are very nice, but I cannot afford the rent." "If I should become unemployed, I would lose my Tema house, but here my friends will help me and the landlord will understand." "We are poor in Ashiaman, and we must be satisfied with simpler houses. If we could only have water and latrines, and roads that do not turn to mud every time it rains, this would be a good town."

In the past two years, a change has come over Ashiaman, and in this lies its opportunity. Like many new towns, it was a place where strangers lived, temporarily and without roots. By now, a considerable number of residents have been there for more than five years. They are beginning to know their neighbours from all over the country and to want to work together to improve what has become 'their' town at least for the foreseeable future. The churches, of which there are many, have been active in promoting self-help schemes. The new Town Development Committee, which was inaugurated in January, is actively seeking government and T.D.C. aid and permission to put their ideas into practice.

Both of these are imperative. The Ashiaman people are poor and will need financial help. But they also need encouragement. Many of their ideas are met with, "No, you can't do that, the government has plans for Ashiaman", or "No, we will do it in a better way, but unfortunately we haven't the money just now." The government constantly urges the people to undertake self-help schemes. Some of the bureaucrats need to understand that a small improvement now is better than a magnificent improvement in five or ten years time. It would not require very much to change Ashiaman from an eyesore, an 'ugly sister' of Tema where people feel oppressed by their conditions, into a community in which the residents experience peace and contentment.

International

THE SECOND WORLD FOOD CONGRESS: A REPORT

By
E. Ofori Akyea

To MARK the end of the First Development Decade, prepare for the Second Development Decade, and as the celebration of its own 25th anniversary the Food and Agricultural Organization organised the Second World Food Congress in The Hague, the Dutch capital in June this year.

This was a congress with significant differences from the normal run of congresses. Of the about 2,500 persons who gathered in The Hague, quite a proportion had participated in their National Freedom from Hunger Campaigns and so attended the meeting armed with a practical experience about the world food situation and what was to be done about it.

It was two weeks of intensive activity at many levels; one can only highlight some of these. It is, however, proposed to discuss in some detail the following issues: "people in rural development", the need to ensure basic food supplies, support for the programme of development, family planning as a factor in development, and the participation of the youth in the Congress and after.

Hunger, as U Thant pointed out in his opening speech, was no more a world problem. The fear of starvation any part of the world need not scare

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us anymore. What we need is the will to distribute and share what we have. For the first time man can feed himself on a global level. And as Dr. Sen, former F.A.O. Director-General said, "For the first time, plenty for all is within man's reach if only a concerted and sustained effort is made by all nations joined together as one world community".

Thus one can point to the evils in our midst as hunger, poverty, injustice and the denial of human rights and human dignity as things that plague us and keep us from achieving the goal of plenty we set ourselves. The elimination of these evils will put us all on the road to a better tomorrow.

What are the elements of development that will ensure basic food supplies all over the world? The answer is in seeing society as a whole and to be able to see the inter-relatedness of rural and urban situations and people; to see the kind of realistic programmes of action that can be brought about to eliminate want and suffering. But before considering this whole question of rural development it will be necessary to say exactly what kind of meaning is attached to development in the context of this article.

The Task of Development

Development is the process by which a reasonable chance of a tolerable level of living can be brought within the grasp of ordinary men and women everywhere. Development faces mankind with a task it would prefer to avoid—making new decisions; decisions which are forced upon it by a growing realization that better living is within reach provided that resources, skill and knowledge are used primarily for constructive purposes and for the benefit of the many rather than of only a selected few.

Development challenges many deep-rooted traditions and demands many significant changes in attitude. It calls for a willingness to examine existing beliefs and practices and for an ability to face difficult problems honestly. It is here that a key problem is reached, for man is not only the reason for development but also the means of development. However carefully prepared a development plan may be, its operation depends on people. Therefore, the creation of conditions in which people will be willing and able to act effectively is crucial to all development.

Thus one of the questions for which the Congress sought an answer was what could be done to give people in rural areas the means to build for themselves a society which not only supplies their minimum needs but offers the chance of a new and better life. The point here is that when most of a man's time and energy is spent in simply getting enough food to keep himself and his family alive, little is left for any other activity.

The above question was considered in one of the commissions to which each delegate was assigned. The background material was provided by the F.A.O.'s Indicative World Plan for Agricultural Development and its report on the Mobilization of Human Resources for Rural Development.

The problem was considered under the following headings (a) The concept of Rural Development (b) Rural Employment (c) The Role of Youth in Rural Development and (d) Institutional Strategy.

Some of the conclusions emerging from (a) were the facts of (i) production and economic growth not being ends in themselves but means to more important social goals, and were in many instances dependent on preceding or accompanying structural changes; (ii) the people themselves must want change and such a wish must be creatively channelled through co-ordinated and integrated programmes of action.

Population Movements

Consequently, it was stressed that whatever employment opportunities became available must be properly motivated so that they did not perpetuate the system whereby the rural areas became conduits for the welfare of the urban areas. The dimension of the problem could be seen in the population movement and its attendant evils.

Active involvement of the youth in planning, policy making and programme action at all levels was urged. The youth do not want to be used in programmes in whose planning they have had no say.

Governments and people in authority were urged to stop paying lip service to rural development, and think of substantial investments in that area. The youth were found to be vitally interested in social change, and unless they had a real opportunity to participate actively in rural development, they would look solely to the urban areas where some change was occurring. It was noted that the youth in the more developed countries would benefit from contact with youth in developing countries. However, the youth in the deve-

loped countries should be educated for this purpose so that they would be able not only to participate in the developing countries, but also change attitudes and policies in their own countries. The F.A.O. was strongly urged to be a partner in many of the new projects of rural education and development.

The institutional strategy necessary for a revolution in rural development has to do with the reform of agrarian structures; rural people's organizations; organization of government services for rural development; as well as linking government and people's efforts in rural development.

There is no question that the serious obstacle to development is social in nature. Our countries are plagued by social injustice. The problem is clouded by the treatment of development as if the achievement of technological and economic strength solves the problems which underdevelopment brings. We must see what it is that keeps us down and so prevents us from breaking out of the vicious circle within which we are bound.

Meaningful Rural Organisation

In this country for instance, what is needed is not essentially agrarian reform, but a well meaning rural people's organization helping the people to help themselves. The government must not see the provision of essential services like electricity, water and roads as waste or be made contingent upon political loyalty. It must be seen as a necessary investment. It is a waste to think of huge industrial complexes whilst we have not yet solved our food distribution and educational planning problems.

All the above is contingent upon and consequent to ensuring basic food supplies and to highlight the discussion I quote from an F.A.O. handbook:

> The first step toward agricultural and rural development is to secure increases in the production of staple foods sufficiently large to provide the basic calorie requirements of the population. To achieve this will call for improved productivity of both land and labour, which will involve the application of new agricultural technologies, including the use of high-yielding varieties. It will require also greatly increased imports, such as fertilizers and insecticides, improved water control, and training farmers in improved production methods. Government policies will need to be designed to meet these requirements, and adequate financial, institutional and administrative arrangements provided, including credit, marketing and storage.

One would have to place the above stipulation against what happens within our Ministry of Food and Agriculture and judge if the necessary things are being done in order to yield substantial results. It is regrettable that despite the policy laid down there are still no clear methods in implementation, so that results are poor. For instance, importation of rice can be reduced, indeed stopped, if only the land and techniques for rice production in the Northern and Upper Regions of Ghana could be meaningfully channelled to produce and market the produce effectively throughout the country. We could even export rice without having to go to Taiwan to learn how to grow it.

One subject that generated a lot of debate was the question of family planning. Dr. S. Chandrasekar, Minister of State for Health, Family Planning and Urban Development in the government of India, had the following to say, among other things:

> ". . . All the gains registered by planned economic development are being swallowed by sizable annual population additions".

In the face of this we have, of course, the Green Revolution—the new high yielding varieties, better irrigation systems and even signs of such rural infra-structure as farm-to-market roads and rural electrification systems.

The Green Revolution

I must emphasize here rural electrification, for its tremendous importance as a solution to both food and population problems has not been sufficiently realized. Rural electricity will not only pump well water for irrigation purposes, but will also encourage literacy and—as has been proved over and over again—reduce fertility.

The Green Revolution is wonderful. But in itself it will not solve the problem. The battle against hunger may be won but the war against poverty lost. Hence the need to wage war on two fronts: increasing the production of food and other commodities and services, and promoting family planning so that there would be fewer babies in every family. Therefore, F.A.O. and all those working on the food front must not feel that family planning is not their business. It must be very much their concern.

Better nutrition may be the best contraceptive. Nutritional inadequacy in quality and quantity

are related in infantile diseases. Less incidence of disease means less probability of mortality. Less infant mortality means greater chances of the survival of children. A healthy infant and child will live, live longer, and grow into a productive adult. Therefore, parents would like to have fewer children if there were an assurance that the children would survive infantile ailments, grow up, live to adulthood and possibly support the parents. Under such conditions the present situation where parents have many children so that some of them may survive, need not continue. Thus there is no question but that improved infant and child nutrition will provide one of the most effective means of lowering the birth rate in the developing countries.

There was considerable criticism of the choice of the members of the panel that dealt with the question of population growth in relation to economic development. All the members of the panel were sympathetic towards the idea of birth control, and so the presentations sounded repetitive although interesting.

Imposed From Outside

The contributions from the floor on the debate was most lively. It showed that most of the developing countries resented the idea of the plan being imposed from the developed countries. It was pointed out that: the economic difficulties of the developing countries were not a problem of numbers but essentially one of lack of proper planning and that the population today was born twenty years ago. A Latin American said that the imperialists instituted such programmes as family planning because they know that each child born is a potential revolutionary and so they were preventing the birth from taking place.

The attitude of some donor countries and agencies insisting on birth control as part of their terms for giving aid was deplored. And those governments that proclaimed that reduction in numbers would solve their problems were asked to think again about the consequences of such policies.

Perhaps the most exciting aspect of the World Food Congress was the participation of the youth in the whole proceedings. Three days before the Congress began there was a Youth Assembly which was held in an army camp. The entrance and walls had love symbols and such inscriptions as "we are the people our parents warned us against" and Eldrige Cleaver's "If you are not part of the solution you are part of the problem". The young people, numbering some three hundred were determined that their voices would be heard and that they would point out the essentials of each argument and not let niceties gloss over essential issues.

The tone was set at the opening of the Congress when Queen Juliana of the Netherlands, in her opening address, called upon the youth of the world to take their rightful place and help lead the world to a better future. The youth were happy that their voice was being listened to although they were sceptical about the reception. Their concern was with the **whole** world, not with the technicalities of food production and sociological surveys of the slums of Calcutta. They rejected the terms **developed** and **developing** countries, and instead substituted **exploiting** and **exploited** countries.

I am sure that the governments and agencies changed with the responsibilities of seeking development will not fail. The F.A.O. has shown the way. Who will follow?

Observer Notebook

How Cold is Budget Fever?

THE first budget of the Busia government had been eagerly awaited for several reasons. The reading of the budget had been postponed before, and one wondered about the final, prospective content of the mystery box. Also, although some of the present ministers had been associated with economic planning under the N.L.C., it appeared that a civilian government would wish to depart somewhat from the economic policies of the military men.

One wondered, then, as to what Mr. J. H. Mensah, the Minister of Finance and Economic Planning, had under his sleeves. The House was unusually packed, in tune with the usual concern of Honourable members and the ordinary folk about the ups and downs of prices and taxes.

An *Observer* correspondent saw grim faces as the Minister of Finance began to unravel the economie policies and the numerous remedies to the country's woes.

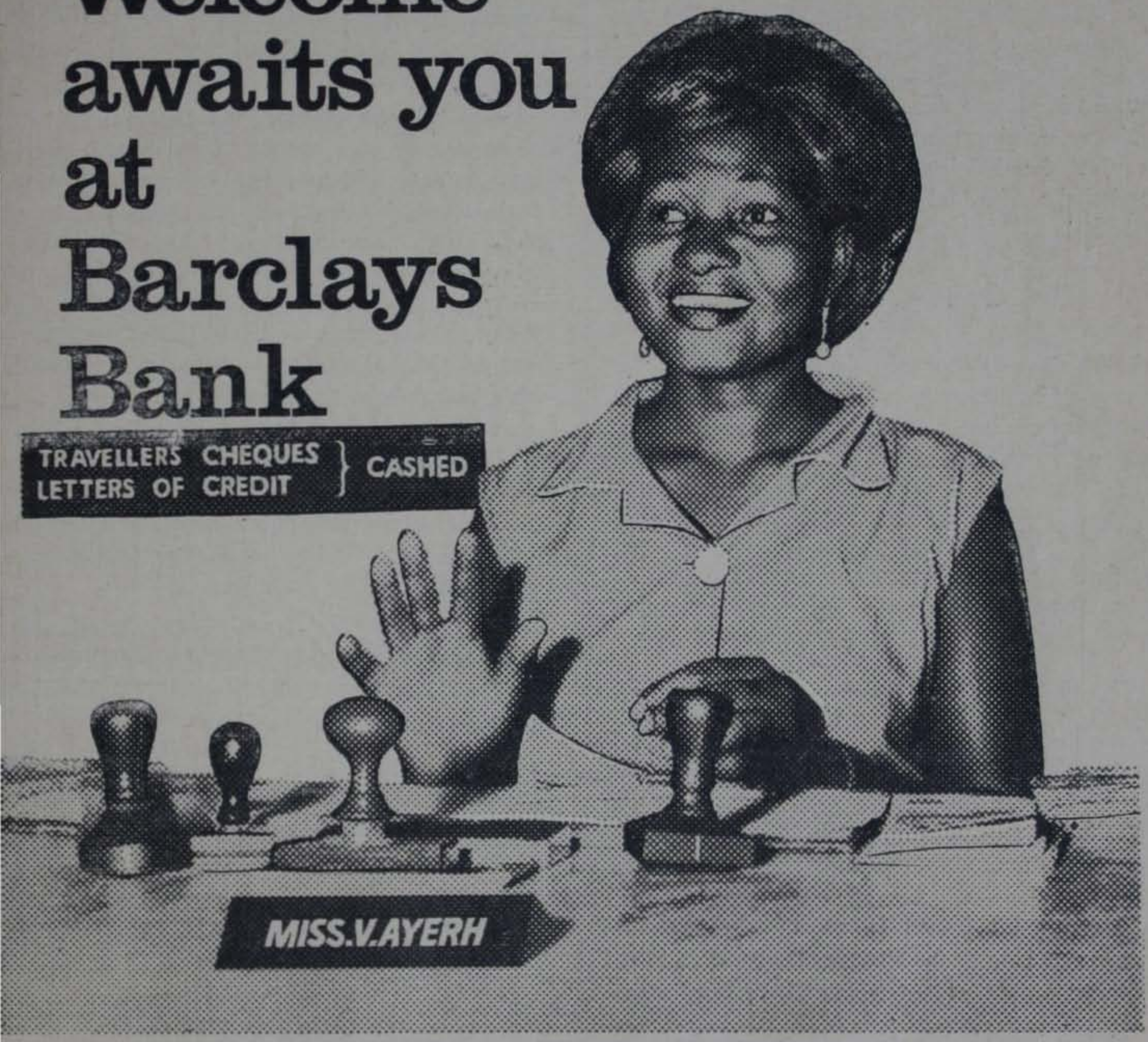
But the seriousness of the day did not prevent the usual parliamentary humours from having their fair place. Cat-calls, interruptions, laughter, jeers, and cheers—all these were there in abundant numbers. At one stage, Mr. Mensah, who gulped a large quantity of a deserved, cold water—he spoke from 10.30 a.m. to 1.55 p.m.—

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MISS VICTORIA AYERH Is a Foreign Exchange Cashier at Barclays Bank High Street branch, in Accra. She joined Barclays over eight years ago, starting as a clerk when she was nineteen, and now holds her present specialised job of dealing with exchange transactions. Victoria's favourite sport is netball, and she likes reading for relaxation.
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had to respond to an opposition jeer by announcing that he was talking about "village houses, not N.A.L. houses", which was apparently taken in a good spirit. The loudest cheer, according to our correspondent, was reserved for the announcement of a fifty percent reduction in the cost of obtaining licences for commercial vehicles. So loud was this cheer, in fact, that a majestically walking Oheneba Kow Richardson had to give the Minister a hearty congratulatory hand-shake. The budget fever is not all that cold, after all!

Presidential Election

AS the days of the Presidential Election draw nearer speculation about the candidates steadily dwindles and firm names appear on the list. The Deputy Speaker of the National Assembly has sent out summonses to members of the Presidential Electoral College to attend the meeting on August 31 where and when the first President of the 2nd Republic of Ghana will be elected. Consequently those who are aspiring or are being "pressed" to stand are emerging with increasing clarity.

The first person to announce his candidature was Dr. I. B. Asafu-Adjaye, a prominent 69-year-old Kumasi medical practitioner, and a man with a long record of public service. He resigned from the Council of State on August 15 in order to stand. He was not clear at his press conference about which quarter was sponsoring him. He believed, however, that he stood a very good chance of being elected. He has distributed sheets to the members of the Presidential Electoral College giving detailed account of his life and work.

Almost immediately afterwards his 65-year-old brother, Sir Edward Asafu-Adjaye, also announced his intention to run for President. His most crucial asset is the fact that he was Ghana's High Commissioner in London and has also been in in the public eye for a long time.

He sees in his bid for election the desire to fulfil a public duty although what that duty is, is not yet quite clear. Like his elder brother he did not indicate which group of the Electoral College would supoprt him. A few days later however, he rescinded his decision to contest the Presidency.

Later the Chief Justice confirmed the rumours that had been in circulation for a long while, and announced his intention of running for the Presidency. He had been approached, so he told correspondents, by a group of responsible citizens to seek the nomination and election.

Since 1966 Mr. Justice Akufo-Addo has been the Chief Justice of Ghana. He was chairman of the Commission that drew up the Constitutional Proposals that were considered by the Constituent Assembly, and has remained one of its staunch advocates ever since.

Perhaps his most important reputation became known in 1948 when together with Kwame Nkrumah, the late Obetsebi Lamptey, Mr. William Ofori-Atta and others, he was restricted to a remote area of the country for his part in leading the agitation for Independence. He is said to be the front runner and enjoys the support of the Progress Party group in the National Assembly. From all indications he is sure to be chosen with an overwhelming majority.

The other names which were talked about seem to disappear. The acting President Mr. Justice Nii Amaa Ollennu is reported to have declined to stand although a substantial section of the Electoral College seemed to favour him for President.

All indications are that Mr. William Ofori-Atta will remain in the Education, Culture and Sports Ministry, while the Tolon-Na, Alhaji Yakubu Tali, will still be in Belgrade on August 31.

At the eleventh hour, Mr. Justice J. R. S. Anterkyi, a High Court Judge travelled from his station in Sunyani to Accra to try to seek nomination and election as President. He is reported to have spoken of his bid thus: "when you are going into the water to swim, nobody dares ask you if you know how to swim until you have miraculously swam across before you are challenged about your ability and qualification to swim". We await for the miracle by which one swims to become President of the Second Republic of Ghana.

Hearts of Oak in Britain

WHEN the Asante Kotoko Football Club toured Britain they claimed that they had brought home new soccer experience, even if they encountered a defeat galore. Ghanaians at home who have seen Kotoko since their return are yet to think that this claim is justified. The consolation prize, which Kotoko fans still cherish, was the mere description, by the British, of their Osei Kofi as Ghana's George Best. Of course the level of British soccer is not the appropriate yardstick for measuring that of amateurish Ghanaians, but a little amount of realism would probably do us some good when planning any such tours in future

parently the experience of Accra Hearts of in their even more recent soccer trip, was lessly worse. Probably the desire to be in in to do some shopping, rather than to en- in serious competition, cannot be dismissed the motives of these tours, which, accord- o popular views, tend to be more prestigious productive.

ne current charges and counter-charges ast players, directors and executives of the are unfortunate, although these usually ge when scapegoats are sought to account collective disaster.

ne plain fact is that, the next time a Ghana- soccer team—whatever its supposed local mony—tours any part of Europe, the contin- should be exposed to some serious, pre-tour ires on such topics as comparative soccer dard, living conditions in foreign countries, onal climatic conditions, the geographical of those nations, the social relations of their s—and perhaps some aptitude test in those ign countries' languages.

nd, for goodness sake, there should be some of unanimity in the clubs' camps about the on d'etre of such tours!

letters

Cost of Living: Ghana and Sierra Leone

—Even if related to wage and salary structure erentials between the two countries, prices in Free- n would still be a dream of heaven to Ghanaians n these prices are compared with ours in Accra Kumasi. Admittedly wages and salaries are higher Ghana than in Sierra Leone, but the differences cer- ly do not run like 3:1 for ministers, teachers or ourers. Yet that is the range of differences in prices ween Accra and Freetown for many essential commo- es and vital items of use.

My first taxi-driver when I arrived in Freetown a weeks ago was my initial informant on some of se cost items. Take his very vehicle, a spanking new ugeot 404". (For some reason which must be quite ple but which I failed ignominiously to enquire , the vast majority of taxis in this city are brand- , or very nearly so, at the moment). His "404", the iman told me, cost him about Le 2,600 to put on the d. A Leone is 10/- sterling, or N¢1.22½, so that a 04" costs in Sierra Leone only about NC3,200 (making owance for errors). The Hillman de luxe and Japa- e Mazda types range between NC2,400 and NC2,650 take a little, give a little. How much do these cars st in Accra? You, Mr. Editor, would know better t I can remember.

And what about more basic things? Meat, for ins- nce. In the hands of our inexpert butchers (as to pro- sional cuts), ordinary meat is packaged out at between 30 and 50 pesewas a pound; the best fillets go for not much more than 55-60Np per pound. I found fruits and vegetables a mixed bag of high and low prices which either approximate the Accra quotations or else even out with them in the aggregate. But provisions and cooking oils are extremely cheaper in Freetown: what can you not do with red or white cooking oil at 15 to 20Np a beer bottle?

Imported men's clothing and brand-name articles in ladies' wear seem to offer little difference between Freetown and Accra, but for some reason beyond my economic grasp imported shoes are vastly cheaper in Freetown . . . All in all, Sierra Leone lives infinitely more cheaply than Ghana.

Mr. Editor, it needs no proclamation from me to inform the Ghanaian people that the Busia government is not responsible for the phantasmagoria of Ghana's cost of living statistics, nor, even more, for the cost of individual items of major importance like cars, in our country. And we are not naive enough to think that cost of living can ever be drastically reduced, perhaps anywhere. But I for one need (a) to be reminded how and why the previous regimes raised the prices of cars, fridges, etc., to the heights we now bitterly experience; (b) to be told whether the taxes by which this was done have really had and are still having a rehabilitative effect on the economy; and (c) to be also told whether our cost of living need rise at the stupefying rate it does.

London, N.W. 1 **K. A. B. Jones-Quartey**

Ghana's Tax Structure

SIR—Many Ghanaians have expressed serious reservations about the rising taxes. The nation's tax structure, they maintain, stunts any realistic economic growth.

The average salaried worker is saddled with so many taxes that he spends an inordinate number of man-hours figuring out opportunities to grow wealthy overnight. Thus, the smuggling, embezzlement, bribery and corruption.

For foreign and indigenous businessmen, an obtusely high taxation distorts decisions about how to invest, how to organise a company and how to reward employees. This is exactly why the Business Promotion Act affected many alien businessmen who, because of high taxation rates, declared their assets below their true value.

At the extreme, I think our taxation policies thwart important national goals, because, the impact of taxes helps to perpetuate social ills that the nation is struggling hard to erase. Our taxation system is widening the already deep gulf between rich and poor, landlord and tenant, worker and the bourgeois entrepreneur. Let us hope that this year's budget and subsequent ones will grudgingly but gradually arrest this disturbing anomaly.

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

Ghana's Privileged Few

SIR—That our dear but poor country is saddled with a huge debt is too well known a fact yet constant reference to it is made necessary by our behaviour. It is not surprising that the T.U.C. boss, Mr. B. A. Bentum, is worried over this because the situation is really dishear-

tening.

We are in a society in which the higher one moves in the social ladder, the cooler it becomes for him; the less you do the more you get. Those at the top therefore have very fat pay packets and since money must be found to finance this, the "flag of taxation" flies very high on top of the "Ebi Nnte Yie Castle".

When friends from other West African countries come to Ghana, they wonder how we make ends meet; this is because prices are very high (because of taxes on goods) and salaries are very low. This situation has been created because the bulk of the scarce resources at our disposal goes to a privileged few.

Members of that "society" can therefore bring down the Benz cars, put up wonderful houses—live in them and yet accept house allowances. They look down on our schools and send their lucky children away to be tutored in the whiteman's country. After all this some money is still left to be thrown into the bank. Besides, some of these well paid public servants ("public masters" in fact) WILL RETIRE on their FULL-SALARY.

The poor labourer who will grow old even before reaching the age of two score and ten because of the nature of his work, will have to retire and what will this unfortunate man get — a meagre amount. If it is considered that when in active service, two square meals a day were an exception then what would happen in retirement? And yet this is the man on whom our honourable public "masters" call to sacrifice. Sacrifice WHAT?

Those who cannot imagine the conditions under which the average Ghanaian lives, may please call at the Nima "City" and they will be shocked. Is it the fault of these HUMAN BEINGS to live under those horrible conditions? No! It just cannot be. And yet when these unfortunate people call for assistance they are told to help themselves because there is no money. But how can there be money for the ordinary man when all the money we have goes to the privileged few?

The gulf between the rich and the poor continues to grow in width and when I think of this I begin to fear where we are going to end.

I believe that something should be done to help the poor and the needy in our society.

Mensah Sarbah Hall **Ebenov Sibundvski**
Legon

These Military Promotions!

SIR—Military coups South of the Sahara have a curious feature. All or most of the "Soldier Liberators" have displayed unreserved readiness to reward themselves with military promotions and honours. It is a phenomenon which contradicts military ethics and orthodox soldiery practice.

These types of promotions do not only throw some doubt on the avowed professions of selfless interest and patriotism, as being the factors motivating these coups; they also make a farce of the principle that military promotions are based strictly on merit, experience or some spectacular military feat.

The recent promotion of the Ex-Brigadier A. A. Afrifa to the rank of a Lieutenant-General in appreciation of his services to Ghana is one of the latest attempts—probably unconsciously to lend some aura of prudence and propriety to an anomaly. This promotion has been conferred on the Ex-Brigadier "in recognition of his distinguished services to Ghana". But since February 1966, Lt.-General Afrifa's services to Ghana have been rendered more as a civilian than as a soldier.

There must surely be some more fitting way of honouring this hero? His close associate has the Kotoka International Airport in memory of him. Lt-General Afrifa could also have been honoured in a more worthy way than the rank of "Lt.-General" in sullen civilian retirement. "A Rural Development Trust" or some such thing may not be far from proper.

If Ghana should continue to wear the mantle of political leadership among African states, she needs to exhibit exemplary discreetness and singular aptitude in the conduct of her political life.

Legon Hall **M. Y. Agbosu**
University of Ghana

Gen. Afrifa and the Constitution

SIR—Mr. Kwame Afreh deserves every praise for his clear and informative article on Gen. Afrifa and the Constitution **(L.O., V/17)**. His article will do a lot to help the survival of democracy in Ghana if people in high places take note of the points he raises in the article.

It seems Ghanaians are too ready to forget how easily dictatorships can be built under the "right" conditions. Many people seem to think that only Nkrumah was capable of being a dictator, and that with his "departure" and the "arrival" of other people, the latter must be given free rein in a desire for "progress and quick development".

What must not be forgotten is that any person can become a dictator when given the "correct" treatment.

Kumasi **David Niikwao Akuetteh**

SIR—The recent statement of Lt.-General Afrifa was received in the country with mixed feelings. Some people welcomed it, but others expressed contrary opinion. I am of the latter group which, I believe, includes many others. It is sad for Lt-General Afrifa to call our Constitution "backward looking".

I write to congratulate Mr. Kwame Afreh for his article, which appeared in the **Legon Observer (V/17)**. It helped in explaining and amplifying the implications of the Lt-General's statement. I hope all those who read that article will understand the constitution better.

P.O. Box 917 **Titus Owens-Dey**
Accra.

This Dependence on Cocoa

SIR—Ghana's agricultural policy appears to be a queer animal without a head. For many years now we have put all our eggs into one basket to the disadvantage of our economy.

Cocoa has always been the principal foreign exchange earner for the country. There was a time when we could bask in the sunshine with the idea of this one main cash crop. But times have changed and we can no longer sleep with ease or be complacent about cocoa prosperity. The world price for the commodity has been running down fast and there is no hope that there is ever going to be a brake on the wheels of this trend towards decline.

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Well meaning economic experts have warned us to stop depending on cocoa alone as the main foreign exchange earner. But it seems to me that these warnings have fallen on deaf ears.

Recently, the government received a loan for the rehabilitation of cocoa in the Eastern region. This would have been all right if the amount involved had not been so huge. Now one wonders why part of this amount is not invested in other farm produce.

Can we continue to rely solely on cocoa whose world market continues to be so variable?

G.B.C. T.V. News **Francis Kojo Smith**
P.O. Box 1633
Accra

Ghana's Rural Roads

SIR—The public highly appreciates the effort being made by the Progress Party government to improve the conditions of Ghana's rural roads. However it is regrettable to note that the roads in many rural areas in the country have been neglected.

The 52-mile trunk road from Ahenkro via Boamang in Ashanti Region to Sekyedomase and Kintampo is in a deplorable state. There are many deep holes which make driving on it extremely dangerous. Attention to this road will spell out the fear in the users of the road and will help save life and property.

Another road worthy of mention, which has also been neglected, is the untarred 20-mile trunk road from Techiman to Wenchi in the Brong Ahafo Region. Having regard to the fact that this road leads to the home of our Prime Minister, where many foreign visitors would perhaps wish to visit as tourists, I appeal to the government to make the road safer and comfortable to use.

P.O. Box 9 **Joseph Gyinayeh**
Wenchi, B/A

The Quality of Teachers

SIR—The N.A.L. Member for West Dayi, introducing an amendment motion on the sessional address in the National Assembly on 30th July, 1970, was reported to have alleged that the present method of selecting students to enter our training colleges is ineffective because the best brains leave for the secondary schools, thus leaving only the poor brains to enter the training colleges. He even reportedly attributed the present falling standards of education (debatable though) to the fact that Ghanaian children are taught by these "left-over" brains. But for the fact that this was said by a Parliamentarian of no mean reputation as the N.A.L. Member for West Dayi in the National Assembly, I would have declined to comment.

It is sad to hear allegations of this nature coming from the highest law-making body of our dear nation. A little research by the M.P. concerned would have revealed that the teaching profession is not made up of only poor brains who fail to gain admission into the secondary schools; and that those who do not go to secondary schools are not necessarily inferior in intellect.

The teaching profession, like all other institutions, has its misfits; but to suggest that these misfits form the majority and are therefore responsible for the falling standards is most unfair. One important fact over-



ed by many responsible Ghanaians is that although ning effectiveness depends upon the level of intel- ce of the teacher, a very intelligent teacher would give of his best while working in poor conditions ervice, with the sort of indifference shown to his y problems by the government.

nally, I would like to bring to the notice of the ourable M.P. that Ghanaian teachers are doing best in spite of their long hours of work in tem- ry and dilapidated classrooms, and of making nselves familiar with a thousand and one text-books mmended today but changed tomorrow.

. Convent Mid. Girls' Sch. **J. H. Kodzo Fiafor**
Box 20

On Party Discipline

—Writing under the heading "MP's & Party Disci- e" in the **Star** (Accra) of 18th July, 1970 one Law- h Khan stated among other things that it amounts ebellious demeanour for a government party member ote against any motion introduced by the govern- t. Much as I agree with him that parliamentarians uld be schooled in certain aspects of parliamentary ness I disagree entirely with him on the view ex- sed concerning the right of government MPs to hold rary views on motions.

his, I am afraid, smacks of party dogmatism. It ally sounds too alarming to read such an article n a paper owned by a government party whose for observance of democratic principles has reached y nook and corner of the country.

is quite unnecessary to say that one's party slogan uld be "My party, right or wrong". I am sure the nor of the said article will agree with me that we in an era where one does things according to the ates of his conscience. To say that one should ays follow the party line is to deprive one of the ity to think for one's self.

is an undoubted fact that any man with the slightest m to commonsense lives by some principle and we know that principle cannot be sacrificed for expe- ncy.

se No. C.43/1 **S. K. Oduro Denkyi**
braka, Accra

Tampering with Parcels

—I posted a gift parcel, No. 3465, weighing just a e over two pounds at the Rotterdam Post Office, the Netherlands on 11th April, 1970 by ordinary il to a cousin, Mr. J. K. Owusu, a senior civil servant the Tamale Regional Office.

he total cost price of the article amounted to 71 tch Guilders, 90 cents (£8 4. 4d) postage 5 Dutch ilders, 30 cents (12s. 2d).

wrote a letter to my cousin a week later, in which isted all the items posted to him.

On Saturday, 11th July 1970, I received a letter from n informing me that he took delivery of the parcel 6th June, 1970, without two items; namely, a white glet and a pant which cost 4s. 7d., and two sets of ies' foundation which cost £1 0s. 3d. All were ught at reduction sales. This act is becoming rampant social evil, which could constitute a show- wn on the department concerned. The authorities should try to find a useful solution to this mess.

Westlandseweg 2 **Kofi Mprah**
Delft
Holland

Corruption Among the Clergy

SIR—I have a few observations to make on the scandal of those Presbyterian ministers of religion in the Ashanti Region, an issue on which an Accra daily gave a rather mild editorial.

A human being as I am, I will not pipe mad at the moral implications of the case but I will at least point out to these highly revered members of the society that by their action, they have lowered the morale of members of their church and have driven away would-be members; for, how can one lead another when the leader and the led are equally blind?

Dormaa Secondary School **Ernest Osei**
Dormaa-Ahenkro (B/A)

Film Shows must be Frequent

SIR—The activities of the Cinema Division of the Ministry of Information seem to be declining as far as film shows to the general public are concerned.

Cinema vans are often seen plying daily on the streets of the various regional headquarters but hardly does one see a public show.

Tours to certain towns and villages take place at two yearly intervals. As for Boamang, my own village, in Ashanti, the last time the Ministry of Information showed a film to the people was in 1965.

But why this state of affairs? Taking shortage of vans as an excuse, I think every region at the moment possesses at least four or six vans which can offer film shows at least thrice a year.

There are various activities which, when films are provided to the public, will be of educational interest viz, communal labour in progress, literacy work, family planning, Parliament in session, and a host of others.

The Director of the Cinema Division should find out the causes of this lapse in the operations, and take steps to improve the situation.

P.O. Box 9 **Joseph Gyinayeh**
Wenchi, B/A

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Miscellaneous

THE "KAKO" BUDGET

By Kwadwo Kontopiaat

I HAD no intention of appearing in print so soon after my return to Kontopiaatkrom. Unfortunately, the budget and the Presidential race have compelled me to speak out even before my brother Kwame had announced my return to you. I do hope you readers will excuse me. May I take this opportunity also to thank Kwame for holding the fort while I was away. And now to the budget and the Presidential race.

Before analysing the budget from the point of view of the poverty-stricken inhabitants of Kontopiaatkrom, may I first of all announce publicly the successful conclusion of my training as the first Kontopiaatkrom ambassador to Mars. I had to return to Kontopiaatkrom instead of continuing to Mars for the simple reason that the scientists of both the United States and the USSR have still not made much headway in their attempts to even circle that planet let alone land a man on it. And how fortunate, for I arrived in time not only to listen to the budget statement but also to take part in the Presidential race, that is, if the people of Kontopiaatkrom and the still active RENYP/RA coalition so decide. To end all anxieties, gossip and speculation, I have been authorised to announce that Ohenenana Kwadwo Kontopiaat will not stand for election as President. In spite of what my brother Kwame says, the reason is surely not one of age or of success or failure. After all, since birth certificates are totally unknown in Kontopiaatkrom, the Electoral Commissioner will be hard put to it to prove that I am not 40 if I and all the 77 fetish priests of Kontopiaatkrom say I am. The reason is simply that we of Kontopiaatkrom and the RENYP/RA think that considering the mood and anxieties of all the non-Akan groups in the country and in the interest of national unity and reconciliation, no Akan person should run for the Presidency. However, this article is concerned with the budget so we better turn to that now.

First in History

We of Kontopiaatkrom have decided to call this budget the "kako (dried fish) budget". The reasons for this are clear. At an emergency mass meeting of the inhabitants of Kontopiaatkrom, the President of the Historical Society of Kontopiaatkrom (H.S.K.) convinced us that this was the first time that the word "kako" has been mentioned in the Parliament not only of Ghana but even of the Gold Coast. The key sentence in the budget reads "Similar adjustments are proposed in the basic import duties on clothing and the rates of duty on different grades of imported meat and fish should also be aligned so that for instance pigs feet and dried fish (*Kako*) will now pay the same duty per pound".

Secondly, and what is certainly incontrovertible, there is no type of fish — fresh or dry, salted or unsalted, from the sea or river — which is as popular in Kontopiaatkrom and therefore in all the rural areas as *kako*. Its closest competitor is of course *momone* (i.e., stinking fish). And the term Kako in the title is therefore being used in a symbolic sense in a way since this budget is *par excellence* the budget for the rural areas. If all goes well — and there of course is the rub — by the end of the 1970/71 financial year, all rural areas will have good roads, electricity, clean water, health posts which in the words of the Minister will "cover all parts of the country from Yamfo to Half Assini and from Bawjiase to Chiana". (Don't ask me where the latter two are!), mammy trucks and buses, *oburoni i-die* (i.e. second-hand clothing), all kinds of meat, cow-meat, pig-meat, — goat-meat and presumably elephant meat, pig feet the key ingredient for the making of plain soup—and of course plenty of sugar and rice. It is rather significant that while the price of beer consumed mainly by the town-dwellers has been increased, that of palm-wine and V.C. 10 (or Apet or Kill-me-quick) consumed by the villagers remains unchanged!

We of the RENYP/RA coalition are happy about this budget for yet another reason. Those of you who studied our manifesto will recall the emphasis we placed on two items, namely, agriculture and mining of bauxite. We are therefore naturally happy that the "Pro-sure" government has come round to our way of thinking and has embodied our key items in its first budget proposals.

We are also really delighted that at long last the interest to be paid by the Post Office on deposits has been increased by a hundred per cent, from 2½ to 5%. Indeed, all day long yesterday, I heard a great deal of digging going on in Kontopiaatkrom — obviously to unearth the cedis that had hitherto been buried in pots in back-yards.

A Tough Line of Action

We were also particularly elated by the tough line that Mr. Mensah took on our debts. We would only like to ask him to remind our creditors that fortunately for us, the chap who borrowed all those sums is still alive and kicking and that they should go to him rather than to Busia and Co. if they are not prepared to accept our own terms for repayment.

Certain aspects of the kako budget have, however, given us considerable cause for concern. First, the English in which it was presented at times went completely beyond us. We did excuse such a phrase as "needed to prime the pump of agricultural activity". But when Mr. Mensah declared "With immediate effect the liquidity ratio for Commercial Banks will be reduced from 50 per cent to 45 per cent", we thought he was really going too far. What in Dickens's name name does 'liquidity ratio' mean?

Secondly, we could not reconcile some aspects of the import liberalisation "policy" enunciated in the budget speech with the "Pro-sure" government's much loudly trumpeted policy of encouraging indigenous Ghanaian businessmen. You see, the only business in Kontopiaatkrom I discovered on my first visit to Kontopiaatkrom after my return is a garment factory. During this visit — and more about this in a later article — I learned that the owner of this factory had just taken delivery of thousands and thousands of cedi worth of machinery and raw materials, and had just

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employed about 200 of the "unbizz" sons and daughters of Kontopiaatkrom to produce shirts, singlets, pants, dressing gowns, etc. The owner's plan was to supply these commodities to the Ghanaian as well as the expatriate retailing shops. Now, according to the budget proposals, these shops are to be free to import their own "made-in-there" shirts, pants, gowns, etc., and the owner maintains that given the Ghanaians' bias in favour of imported goods whatever the cost, his products do not have the ghost of a chance in competing with the imported ones. Indeed, from the reports just received, he has already laid off 100 of his employees and he is contemplating axing some more. We learn that the wig manufacturer of Dompokrom who got the green-light to go ahead only a few months ago has already declared a state of mourning, and that there is general pandemonium and wailing in Ghanaian manufacturers' circles. We consider this as rather unfortunate.

Furthermore, our great economist assures us that goods manufactured in Ghana cannot really compete abroad including "neighbouring African countries" with similar goods imported from France (in particular), Europe, America and Japan in general and therefore he thinks the emphasis on the export of manufactured goods is misplaced and unrealistic.

Again, for obvious reasons, we are rather worried that the position of our beloved import, the Donkey, was not clarified in the budget. Mr. Mensah, could you tell us whether the donkey is now on the open general licence or not?

Relics of Liberian Expatriates

We are also really worried about the great emphasis on the production of rice. This particular food item used to be the concern of the Liberian expatriates, especially the Kru people in this country. Now that the aliens have all been thrown out and we presume that the Krumen were included in this exercise, we really do not see why so much attention should have been devoted to the production of rice! Or are we to understand that Ghanaians have come under such strong influence of our brothers of Liberia as to have adopted their staple food?

Finally, and this really is our greatest headache, if everybody is going to import everything, where Messrs Busia and Mensah, are we going to get the foreign exchange to pay for all of them? And if we do, are we not also going to pile up yet another mountain of debts? Since we of the famous dynamic RENYP/RA coalition are sure to form the next government, we are naturally exercised about this.

However, all said and done, we think on the whole that with its emphasis on agriculture, bauxite mining and rural development, the merits of this budget far outweigh its demerits, and Mr. Mensah deserves our most hearty congratulations. We only hope — and indeed—that his gambles pay off!

THE RETURN OF KWADWO KONTOPIAAT

By

Kwame Kontopiaat

AS announced in our previous issues of the *Legon Observer*, Ohenenana Kontopiaat left for his ambassadorial assignment. He was accredited to Morningheightville, Greenwichdom and Harlem—all independent sovereign states in the Kingdom of Yankeetown.

Typical of Ghanaians, all sorts of rumours are circulating about the timing of the return of Ohenenana. The Camerons think that he had been recalled for consultations and would probably return after the seventy-seven gods had given him some orientation. As you know, a lot of things have happened since he left for his post. The "going to village" of Asantehene, Kwame Kyeretwie, the installation of Nana Opoku Ware II, the investiture of "Katakyie" after the voluntary exile of the TROIKA. Thus this school of thought thinks that Kontopiaat has returned to be briefed about developments in his kingdom or rather for him to be-de-briefed to use space-science terminology after his sojourn in unknown lands.

Carl Muttville's **Drum** insisted that Ohenenana has been dismissed from his post for improper behaviour. I swear by all the sheep in Alajo, goats in Wenchi and rats in Nima that Ohenenana did not do anything that brought disrepute to the Kontopiaatkrom kingdom.

The *Dompokrom Chronicle* announced that Ohenenana had arrived to contest the forthcoming Presidential elections. This sounds ridiculous. In the first place, we are not sure of the age of Ohenenana. Like Kwame Apalahala, who made a brief appearance in the *Observer* columns, we do not know his real age, and we cannot judge this by his height. Besides, he does not have a birth certificate nor does he even remember what the Great Depression was or when the late Asantehene was installed. All this quiz indicates that Kwadwo could not have been born before 1930 in which case he had been caught by that anti-youth clause in the Constitution which reserves the right to rule to retiring Chief Justices, judges and unknown citizens who have exhausted their retirement benefits under their pension schemes.

Ohenenana is Sure . . .

In the second place, Kontopiaat is SURE to lose since the electoral college is fixed in such a way that anybody who has formed a political party before cannot ascend unto the throne of the Presidency. We of the RENYP/RA coalition thought that this would be our chance to serve the nation by having our leader appointed to a position of high office of state. We could not contest the last elections because, as you all know, we could not even raise enough money for the registration of the party. Justice Anin and his anti-corruption commission have now made it impossible for us to import some wigs even if they are airfreighted in mattresses so as to sell and generate funds to cover our expenses.

The Centre for Civic Education had made it virtually impossible for people to receive donations. The Bible tells us that "it is blessed to give than to receive" but the new order states "Don't offer gifts, they corrupt". If this is true then we should decree that all Trust Fund donations and contributions to the myriad charities including *save us from Afro-wig women"* club — should be abolished.

We, like some Brigadiers and Generals, wish to see drastic changes in the Constitution. "See me . . . . I see you". If the N.L.C. had "seen us" we would also have "seen them" to fix the Constitution in such a way that we would have delayed the adoption of the cons-

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tution until some young boys reached age 40. Our reward would have been to insert a clause in the constitution which states that only members of a political party other than the ruling government party should become President. This would have made sense for real democracy. So next time, "See me . . . . I see you".

Again, we are not sure of the nationality of Kontopiaat. You see, he does not know his grand father's father's father. He did not go to school where he was born. His name even sounds alien. How do we know that he is a real Ghanaian citizen? Even though Kwaku Baah and Chief Dombo have been quiet of late, what would prevent the Solicitor-General from issuing a writ or caveat, or file a motion or any of those words he uses in court, to request us to prove our nationality?

All these prove that Ohenenana cannot have a chance at the Presidency so the best thing is for him to return to his base after consultations with the gods. We have arranged a state dinner at the "Don't mind your wife Chop Bar" for him. There, of course, we can have our Koliko, Green Green, and can use our hands or rather fingers at table.

Now our readers, supporters, enemies and potential assassins, know that Ohenenana is back home safely. He was not kidnapped. By talking to him about his assignment, we have gathered a few tips about ambassadorial assignments which we think could be of use to the Ghanaian envoys being sent abroad.

Our records show that envoys from rich western countries are the targets for kidnapping. Thus, to save our envoys from being kidnapped, we should go communist as well as remain poor. We advise our government and particularly J. H. Mensah — to keep on shouting about rescheduling or refinancing our foreign debts. You now know that it pays to be poor — first rule in "Ebi Nte Yie" Party.

Guerrilla Diplomacy

The Middle East is getting calm so Latin America still leads in this exercise of horse-trading envoys for chimpanzees, guerrillas, rebels and cash.

Strangely enough, I think Kofi Busia and his party should change their name because they don't seem *progressive*. They may not be inward-looking; but certainly their Minister of Finance is backward-looking. Why did he not include kidnapping in his budget statement? If we of the RENYP/RA do not want to reveal our modern methods of raising revenue, the electorate should wait till we publish our manifesto for the next general elections. The chapter entitled "How to raise state revenue without trying" will be a revealing sign of our ingenuity and originality.

In this age of guerrilla diplomacy, why do we go to the negotiation table about debts which we did not incur? Why do we send delegations to our debtors begging for relief when the relief can be obtained in a few hours of planned exercise? The Pro-Sure Boys and Girls (with due deference to Miss Catherine Tedam) are God-fearing so the diplomats in Ghana should feel safe. But, we should warn that no creditor country should call on us unnecessarily to collect her money. She may end up paying us more for writing off the debt.

Our archives have revealed that not only elderly gentlemen but also swingers are kidnap-prone. The old fellows, because they are often stubborn and cannot run fast enough to avoid their captors. We, therefore, suggest that strict criteria be used for selecting our envoys. I know of good swingers who have been sent abroad as ambassadors. They should be recalled for lessons at the Kontopiaatkrom gymnasium. Teetoo-tollers, boxers, wrestlers, generals (not Brigadiers), athletes—and by that I mean sprinters not field event specialists—dwarfts (not those from Cape Coast captained by Wilson) I rather refer to the Apalahalas who can slip through fingers—these categories of persons should be considered for appointment as ambassadors.

Kidnap allowance! The foreign ministry should zone the areas of attachment and specify which ones are kidnap-free zones. The others need kidnapping allowance in addition to cost of living allowance often paid by the ministry.

Duty-free facilities for obtaining local booze should be abolished. Instead all envoys should receive their alcohol ration from home. For this purpose, a special Air Force plane should be earmarked for distributing Bramsco Schnapps, Lawyer Gin, Kantamanto, Okukuseku and other "Kill-me-quick" drinks to our embassies. It saves foreign exchange, encourages domestic production of those made-in-here goods; besides, what better export promotion campaign can beat this one? To make the publicity complete, we suggest that drummers and dancers of Legon's Institute of African Studies should accompany the Air Force planes on their rounds.

Warding off Intruders

All ambassadors should rear rats, mice, ticks and lice in their backyards. These creatures have a unique way of warding off intruders. The front doors of all ambassies and chanceries should display a hanging bottle (gourd) of the special mosquitoes bred at Mamprobi and the Korle Lagoon. The retiring 24 engineering lecturers at the Kumasi University must be forced to devise a system whereby these friendly allies can be released by pushing a button from the kitchen, toilet, living room and bedrooms. They should be locked up in a laboratory to complete this assignment before their resignation letters are accepted. If they are able to come out with such a device, we will suggest that what has been reduced from the Ministerial pay for 1970-71 should be given to them. That should be enough to keep them in their classrooms and at their drawing boards.

The diplomatic wives should read my book entitled *How to nag your husband without letting him leave the home*.

All female employees at our embassies should carry special ground red pepper in their bags for blinding their attackers. I know of an alien company which specialised in the preparation of this kind of pepper. Unfortunately, no Ghanaian seems to have taken over this business from Mame Alata. Let Jones (Anti-Abbott) Ofori Atta act quickly.

Now that Ohenenana Kontopiaat has returned. I think I should go on my Sabbatical until his reposting is announced. Kontopiaatkrom is making feverish preparations to welcome its number one citizen and those V.I.P's who do not manage to get invitation cards to the Castle and the State House should get ready for Green-Green, Abun Abun cocktail. "Ebi Te Yie . . . . Ebi Nte Yie". Otwe Agyanka and Okwaduo will be there. "See me . . . I see you". Bye for now!

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BUSIA'S FIRST ANNIVERSARY

Commentaries on Busia's Administration by Kwame Afreh, Max Assimeng, Kwame Karikari, Kwame Sarpong, Fifi Hesse, Ofori Akyea, and KONTOPIAAT—as well as other features.

EDITORIALS

THE POLICE AND COURTESY

A COUPLE of weeks ago the Prime Minister had the occasion to address some senior officials of the Ministry of Interior over some of the images which they have consciously or unconsciously carved for themselves from the wider public. We are interested in the way the Premier's exhortation sank down to, particularly, those senior officers of our police service who attended this class.

For some time now, the police in our society have been looked upon as a bullying, ever threatening organisation. Visitors to other countries find the police as a pitied and helped organisation. In Ghana, on the other hand, the police are despised, and their efforts in the maintenance of peace are often thwarted by citizens. Why? This was the case when we were under colonial authority, and when every maltreatment by police was legitimized under the guise of "the white man says". Under Kwame Nkrumah and the C.P.P. regime, too, the work of a section of the police — tormenting innocent citizens in the name of state security — is well-known. People were hurled into detention cells, allegedly on the orders of the deposed dictator, when, in fact, some policemen merely wished to settle their own inter-personal scores. In fact, some of the cells became detention camps on the orders of policemen.

Unfortunately this attitude of the police has not changed, although one would have thought that the Busia dispensation would give rise to a new type of a policeman. We are aware of the honest and forthright X-ray of the police structure by the new Inspector General of Police. And we are also aware of the efforts of some policemen — nameless, anonymous, silent, but hard working — who want the police to forge ahead with a new sense of duty.

But Mr. Yakubu, trying as he is to infuse a healthy attitude into his organisational crucible, would perhaps be interested in some of the episodes which have been happening in the country recently.

The following incident is typical. On Saturday, August 29, 1970, the Progress Party, as part of its first delegates' conference deliberations, held a rally at the Liberation Circle in Accra. To all intents and purposes a political party rally is meant to be attended by citizens and interested parties, whether these are for, or against, the party in question. It is at a political rally that politicians, elected to carry the burdens of a nation, come face to face with the people. And the police — who should certainly be less conspicuous in numbers and in action than the political *dramatis personae*

attend these rallies only to ensure that untoward incidents are averted. They are not meant to take over the show, either for good or for evil.

But it seems that the house-top preaching of the Centre for Civic Education notwithstanding, there are some very senior police officers who think that the concept of security could be reified and, indeed, deified over and above the interests of men. Mr. J. H. Mensah, the Finance Minister, was speaking when the Prime Minister arrived at the rally. And, in one of those naive and hypocritical attempts to catch the eye of whoever is in power, a police officer insisted that the Prime Minister should be driven in his car *right onto the platform*. The confusion that occurred, as M.P.s, conference delegates, and spectators were literally and physically removed, body and chair, to make way for the Prime Minister, was simply stupefying. We would want to think that the Prime Minister and the organisers of the rally were equally shocked.

When a senior editor of a periodical and a parliamentarian, approached this bespectacled and nicely uniformed officer whether he could not use some more tact and courtesy in ordering the clearing of the way, this officer's response was: "Do you know that I can march you out of the rally? I do this in the interest of security".

No one quarrels with the need to ensure the safety of our political leaders. Indeed, as the recent case of Mr. Ben Kaba has shown, they deserve security in order to be able to operate even more fearlessly. But we seek the safety of men, not of gods. And the police officer concerned who was so busy that he had no time to engage in sober, intelligent altercation should now read in print what he did not want to — or could not — understand at that time; Ghanaians have been bullied for so long, all in the name of security, and are no more prepared to endure police brutality any longer. When we realise that in our society the public sympathises more with criminals than with the police, then we should pause and enquire into the reasons for such behaviour.

And perhaps a small piece of advice to our honourable men in uniform would do the nation some good; when they go abroad to study the way organisational structures are handled in advanced societies, they should do well to copy not only the batons and the insignia of office which some of our people indeed "overape", but also the appropriate attitude of mind that goes with the incumbency to specific status positions. And if Inspector General Bawa Yakubu finds that there are some men who merely want to bring dishonour to the Police and to the government at large, he should thank them for their past services and arrange to give them some pensions for them to experiment with their services elsewhere. For, especially in Ghana, the police are a significant first encounter with the mentality of society. Which is the more reason why they should cultivate a new attitude of courtesy in the discharge of their duties.

AGRICULTURAL MECHANIZATION IN GHANA?

On 24th August, 1970, the **Graphic,** in an editorial, drew attention to the sad situation of millions of the nation's cedis rotting away in the form of farm machinery in the bush of Amasaman and Pokoase. It was even sadder when two days later the Ministry of Agriculture surprisingly and incredibly issued a press release purporting to refute a fact too patent and too well-known to even the most unobservant. Pictures reproduced in the 28th August, 1970 issue of the **Graphic** proved that paper's contention beyond any reasonable doubt. The **Legon Observer** has had the occasion thereafter to check the fact for itself, and cannot but lend its weight to the allegations in the **Graphic.**

Our first observation is that the very attempt by the Ministry at denying the truth gives much cause for concern. It was an unmistakably futile effort, the spread of the like of which, in other sectors of the public service, is bound to do incalculable damage to the whole country. Such behaviour tends to cast doubt on the credibility of officially handed out trade figures, production targets, unemployment statistics, etc. Was the N.L.C., for instance, made aware of the existence of the machinery and what were the recommendations of those whose immediate responsibility it was to handle them?

Secondly, the figure, NC25,889,228, representing government investment in farm machinery in the period, 1961 to 1967, was an understatement. Between 1961 and 1963, from Russia alone, under agreement No. 57/320-001, the government imported machinery to the tune of about £10,000,000. (See Report by the **Symposium on Farm Mechanization,** January, 1969, p.17). The truth is that between 1960 and 1966, the government bought, in addition to several thousand pieces of other farm machinery, 3,171 tractors (wheel), 770 tractors (crawler) and 10 **complete mobile** workshops. most of which are still rotting in their crates in

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the bush. And yet the Ministry of Agriculture did not find anything odd in providing false figures about those operating, and serviceable to independent farm mechanization research officers. (See Report of the Second Meeting of the National Advisory Committee on Agricultural Mechanization in Ghana, January, 1970). According to the Ministry's press release, there are plans to establish workshops in the regions. The question is where are the 10 complete mobile workshops? Is the Ministry going to use part of the NC27 million voted to it to import new sets of workshops?

We recommend that the Ministry should not be tempted simply to recover the rusty machinery from public view and relax on its oars, gloating in some sense of false achievement. It must use every available means to retrieve all of them from the bush, get some Ghanaian mechanical engineers to bring them back to life, and then establish a proper institutional framework for their use. One official confessed that the Ministry has no clue to what to do with the machinery. If that is the case, please give them over as gifts to the Co-operatives, after the necessary repairs.

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The Economy

GHANA'S ECONOMIC PROSPECTS

By
Kodwo Ewusi

CONSIDERABLE pump-priming from the Unit States, United Kingdom and international sourc a more favourable investment climate for medi and large-scale foreign enterprises and improv business expectations at home will elevate wobbling economy of Ghana. This is in spite the fact that the economy is plagued by (1) onerous burden of external debt servicing; (2) concomitant balance of payments disequilibriu problem; (3) symptoms of galloping inflation; a (4) the gnawing problem of unemployment, whi will, however, be scaled down considerably.

For the short term, the economy is expect to take a turn for the better. Gross National Pr duct in real terms estimated to have increase by 3.0% in 1969, is projected to rise by a furth 3.5% in 1970 to N¢2,169 million ($2,127 millio at 1968 prices. The projected rise in real outp compares favourably with the 1.8% and 1.9 increases in 1967 and 1968 respectively a matches the 3.5% rise of 1963, when the econom started its precipitous plunge. With a populatio of 8.5 million (1970 Census), per capita incom at constant 1968 prices is projected to reach N¢2 in 1970.

A Long-term View

In 1971 brisk government spending is expecte (1) to sustain the 3.5% increase in income attaine in 1970 and (2) to help alleviate the unemployme problem. While the public sector, through th increased rural development projects, will abso part of the idle labour force, government spendi will have multiplier effects on the economy; an the private sector can (and should be encourage to) engage more hands. It is worthy of note i this respect, that the private sector's share i recorded employment dropped from 34.8% i 1964 to 26.9% in 1968.

In the long term, the outlook is decidedly fa vourable. A successful rescheduling of the extern debt by year-end 1971 will not only alleviate th stringent strains on the balance of payments bu will also make available much needed resource for financing the five-year development plan to b launched in 1971/72.

More significant, the successful exploitation o oil deposits, already proved to be in commercia

ntities at Saltpond and still being prospected ther coastal towns such as Apam, will usher in eriod of unprecedented industrial boom. Real ss National Product is therefore projected to to N¢772 million between 1970 and 1975, at annual rate of 5.0%. The projected growth of 5.0% for the 1970-75 period is definitely re than double the 2.4% real growth of the 0-68 period, but it is not beyond the potential the economy. Between 1957 and 1962, when economy was performing quite satisfactorily, l output increased at an average annual rate 4.9%.

The National Family Planning campaign will ve another soothing effect on the economy. cording to the 1970 Population Census the po- lation of Ghana actually rose from 6.7 million 1960 to 8.5 million in 1970, thus yielding a rate 2.4% per annum. Should the government's mpaign for planned family prove successful, population increase can be expected to drop 2.2% per annum by 1975. With the projected % annual increase in real GNP, this will imply at real per capita income will increase by 2.8% r annum and will thus reach N¢293 (1968 prices) 1975.

Structural Changes

The increased economic activity will be accom- nied by structural changes. Industrial produc- n and Services will increase their share of ross Domestic Product. While the manufacturing ctor accounted for 2.3% in 1961, its share in DP rose to 7.6% in 1968. It is expected that by 75 its share will rise to 10.4%. The services ctor is similarly increasing its share in national tput, and it is expected that by 1975 it will count for 47.3% of GDP, compared to 45.7% 1968. Although the agricultural sector is losing prepcnderant share in GDP, it continues to be e main bulwark of the economy.

Total agricultural production, defined here to clude cocoa production, subsistence agricultural oduction, forestry and fishing, is estimated to ve risen from N¢434 million in 1960 to N¢785.5 illion in 1968, thus increasing at the rate of 7% per annum. Much of this increase was, owever, due to a rise in food prices. Between 63 and 1965 the retail price index of local food- uffs went up by 72.7 percentage points. Out of the .3 percentage points increase of the national tail price index of all items, 37.8% points (i.e. .7% of the total increase) was accounted for the rise of the local food price. Very little in- formation is available on the output per man engaged in agriculture. Rough estimates tend, however, to indicate that the level of productivity in agriculture in 1965 stagnated at its 1960 level.

We cannot therefore help but reiterate the hack- neyed call for measures to increase productivity in this important sector of the economy.

Cocoa remains the mainstay of the economy. It accounted for 22.0% of agricultural production and 8.5% of Gross Domestic Product in 1968. It is Ghana's main foreign-exchange earner, pro- viding 62.6% of total export-earnings in 1968. Fiscal and financial irresponsibility apart, the most potent factor that contributed to the eco- nomic malaise of the 1960's was the precipitous fall in the world price of cocoa. The country can therefore ill-afford to ignore this industry. There are some who argue strongly for the diversification of export commodities. It is, for instance, believed in certain circles that Ghana failed to reap the full benefits of the 1967 devaluation because in- sufficient attention was paid to the other small export crops. Be this as it may, unless a second cash crop or non-agricultural export has been successfully developed, the cocoa industry still deserves the pride of place in all our plans.

Unwarranted Pessimism

After reaching an all-time high of 557 thousand tons in 1964/65, the production of cocoa in the last four years (1965/66-1968/69) declined to 382 thousand tons, 10% down from the average of the first four years of the 1960's. This downturn in production was in contrast with upward shift in production in other African countries where there was 21% increase in output. The low price of cocoa during the early sixties, reaching a disas- trous low of N¢280 per ton in 1965, created an unwarranted pessimism for the industry. This led to public neglect of the industry, and, even worse, lack of inputs for the industry. The supply of spray material was sharply reduced to as little as 70 thousand gallons of gammalin in 1965, com- pared to an annual average of about 250 gallons for the 1959-64 period. The extension services were cut off and systematic measures for the con- trol of swollen shoot disease were stopped

During 1959-65, the producer price fell steadily to N¢4.00 per load. In terms of its purchasing power, the index of real producer price declined by 68% between 1958 and 1965. Due to this low price, the farmers could not afford the labour input to carry on the desired level of husbandry. It is worth noting that since 1968 some favourable

measures have been taken for the industry. In 1969 spray material amounting to 400,000 gallons was made available. This was double what was supplied in 1968. Moreover, the distribution channels have been enlarged so that buying agents of C.M.B. as well as the Cocoa Division of the Ministry of Agriculture are able to sell gammalin to farmers. From the low price of N¢4.00 per load, the producer price has been raised to N¢8.00 per load. But this price is not yet competitive enough with that of Nigeria where the producer price now stands at N¢11.15 per load, and of the neighbouring countries of Ivory Coast and Togo. To avoid smuggling, the producer price in Ghana should be set higher than the price in Togo or the Ivory Coast.

For the future of the industry, the present producer price should be allowed to vary upwards, if the world price changes favourably; and in addition the stabilization fund should be used to support the producer price if world price contracts.

Rehabilitating the Industry

Like all agricultural products, the future output of the industry depends largely on the vagaries of the weather. It is, however, generally accepted that potential cocoa production in Ghana exceeds 500,000 tons. In 1964/65 production reached 557,000 tons. Given the serious efforts to rehabilitate the industry, it is possible to expect such high output by 1975. It has therefore been assumed that while the share of the agricultural industry, as a whole, may decline, cocoa will continue to maintain its share in GDP.

In 1968 the manufacturing sector was estimated to have contributed 8% of Gross Domestic Product. The potential exhibited, and existing idle capacity suggests that the sector's share in national output might increase to about 9% by 1975. During 1965-68, there was rapid growth in manufacturing production. Total output of this sector rose from N¢120.1 million to N¢219.1 m., an increase of 82.4%. Much of this increase was due to rapid growth in the production of non-durable consumer goods, especially food, textiles and footwear. In the long run, growth of the manufacturing sector will be dictated by medium-scale and large-scale establishments (i.e. establishments employing 30 persons or more).

Unfortunately, the manufacturing sector is still beset by low level of capacity utilization of installed capital and employed labour. Another problem with the present manufacturing industries is that they make only a modest contribution to Gross National Product. Taking the textile industry as an instance, the contribution it makes to Gross Domestic Product should be considered as very modest indeed compared to the size of investment in that industry. Heavy payments must also go abroad for interest, depreciation and importation of raw materials. In its bid to attract large-scale enterprises, the government should therefore take into consideration all these factors.

While there are indications to suggest that the government will try to achieve full employment equilibrium in the Keynesian sense, a question remains as to whether both domestic and external equilibrium can be attained simultaneously. There has been a persistent deficit on the balance of payments for the most part of the 1960's. However, the deficit in 1968 was far less than the deficit of 1967. The overall basic balance for 1967 was a deficit of N¢57.2 million, compared to a deficit of N¢10.2 million in 1968. From a deficit of N¢41.2 million in 1966, the balance of trade turned to a surplus of N¢19.2 in 1967. For 1968 the surplus was as much as N¢59.3 million, on merchandise goods. It is expected that the favourable balance of trade will be maintained. The balance on goods and non-factor services is estimated at N¢25 million for 1969. It is expected that this will increase by about N¢5 million, in 1970. What this will mean for the overall balance of payments might be difficult to tell, for such imponderables as the inflow of foreign capital will have to be considered.

Balance on Tourism

For 1970, however, the repatriation of capital by aliens may adversely affect the balance. This should, however, be a short term phenomenon. On the whole, such items as tourism and transportation should engage the attention of the government. While considerable numbers of tourists have been visiting the country since 1966, the balance on tourism has been negative and has even increased from a deficit of N¢7.4 million to a deficit of N¢11.0 million between 1966 and 1968. This only indicates that Ghanaians are spending more on tourism. Perhaps, this is one area where we can rationalise the use of our scarce foreign exchange earnings.

In conclusion it should be noted that our optimistic projections have been predicated upon the assumption that sound fiscal and monetary policies will be pursued by the government. While brisk government spending might be needed to

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accelerate economic activity, its inflationary effect should be considered. An analysis of real earnings of various wage and salary groups indicates that real minimum wage decreased by 31.1%, between 1961 and 1968. At the same time it should be kept in mind that the government cannot engage more hands and grant significant pay increases. The government will definitely accentuate the inflationary pressures. A middle way should be sought between the Scylla of low wages and the Charybdis of inflation.

International

THE GREEN REVOLUTION IN INDIA

THE transformation of the Indian agricultural scene during the last few years has aptly been called the "Green Revolution". The despondence and gloom, born of the alarming shortfalls in food production and the consequent staggering amounts of food imports that marked the general thinking in the country and abroad in the sixties, have given way of late to a new feeling of confidence and hope.

The genesis and unfolding of the Green Revolution make an extremely interesting, indeed exciting, story. Since the story of the Green Revolution is intimately connected with that of the destruction of yield ceilings in wheat, it would be worthwhile to know it briefly. Till recently, wheat yields stagnated at about 800Kg/ha. though total wheat production rose steadily from some 7 million tonnes in 1951 to about 12 million tonnes in 1964-65, mainly due to an extension in the area under the crop. Nonetheless, the average wheat yield has been no more than 1.3 metric tonnes per hectare even in areas with assured irrigation facilities, and very much lower in the rain-fed ones, despite the fact that scientific wheat improvement research dates back in India to the early years of this century. The work done under the leadership of Sir Albert Howard at the then Imperial Agricultural Research Institute, led to the development of certain varieties which yielded about 3000 Kg. per hectare under propitious conditions of weather and good management. Greater attention was paid in later years to the development of varieties resistant to the rust diseases, which took a severe toll of wheat crop in many years; and varieties like NP 710, NP 718, NP 770, NP 798, and NP 809 became the mainstay of the farmer in years of severe rust epidemics. Work in the Punjab Department of Agriculture resulted in varieties like C 591, C 518, C 281 which shifted the consumer's preference from red-grained to amber-grained wheat varieties. However, all these notable researches did not result in any significant increase in the per hectare yields. Dr. Swaminathan, now Director, Indian Agricultural Research Institute (IARI), made a theoretical analysis of the factors responsible for the yield stagnation as well as instability in the production of the crop. His analysis convincingly showed that the very morphological and physiological architecture of the tall Indian wheats precluded any striking increase in yields, since such increases would occur only under good conditions of soil fertility under which these tall wheats lodged. Also, their long duration of growth and development (October—November to March—April) exposed them to high temperature, coupled with soil as well as atmospheric drought, during the critical stage of grain development. No wonder Sir Albert Howard remarked some 50 years ago that "wheat yield in India is a gamble in temperature". The analysis logically concluded that destruction of the stagnant yield ceilings could be brought about by introducing dwarf wheats capable of responding positively to good management and escaping the soil and atmosphere drought of the early summer months by virtue of being of short duration.

New Varieties Introduced

With a view to developing dwarf wheat varieties suitable for cultivation in India, the Indian Agricultural Research Institute introduced in 1963 a broad spectrum of dwarf wheat germplasm from Mexico, thanks to the generous help and cooperation of the Rockefeller Foundation and the Mexican Ministry of Agriculture. The exotic varieties were tested in all the wheat growing States of India during 1963-64 and 1964-65, and also subjected to exhaustive physiological, pathological, chemical and agronomic tests at the I.A.R.I. In addition to Lerma Rojo and Sonora 64, two purely Mexican varieties, four selections from among the introduced varieties found suitable for Indian conditions viz., Kalyan Sona, Sonalika, Safed Lerma and Chhoti Lerma, were approved by the Central Variety Release of the Government of India in 1965-66 for cultivation in irrigated areas. In the meantime, mutation breeders at the Indian Agricultural Research Institute succeeded in evolving the amber-grained variety Sharbati Sonora by irradiation of Sonora 64. By a lucky coincidence, Sharbati Sonora also possesses the highest content as well as the best quality of pro-

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tein of all the new wheat varieties.

The record bumper wheat crops to the tune of some 17,000,000 tonnes harvested in 1967-68 was in a very large measure due to these high yielding dwarf wheats. In parts of the Punjab, farmers harvested an average wheat yield of 47q/ha, a figure approaching the national average of the Netherlands which has the world record. The Government of India befittingly commemorated the phenomenal wheat crop of 1967-68 by releasing a special postage stamp on July 17, 1968 The catalytic role played by the Indian Agricultural Research Institute in this Wheat Revolution was acknowledged by portraying the prominent clock tower of the Institute in the background of the stamp. The wheat yields for 1968-69 were equally good, and the outlook for 1969-70 is also promising.

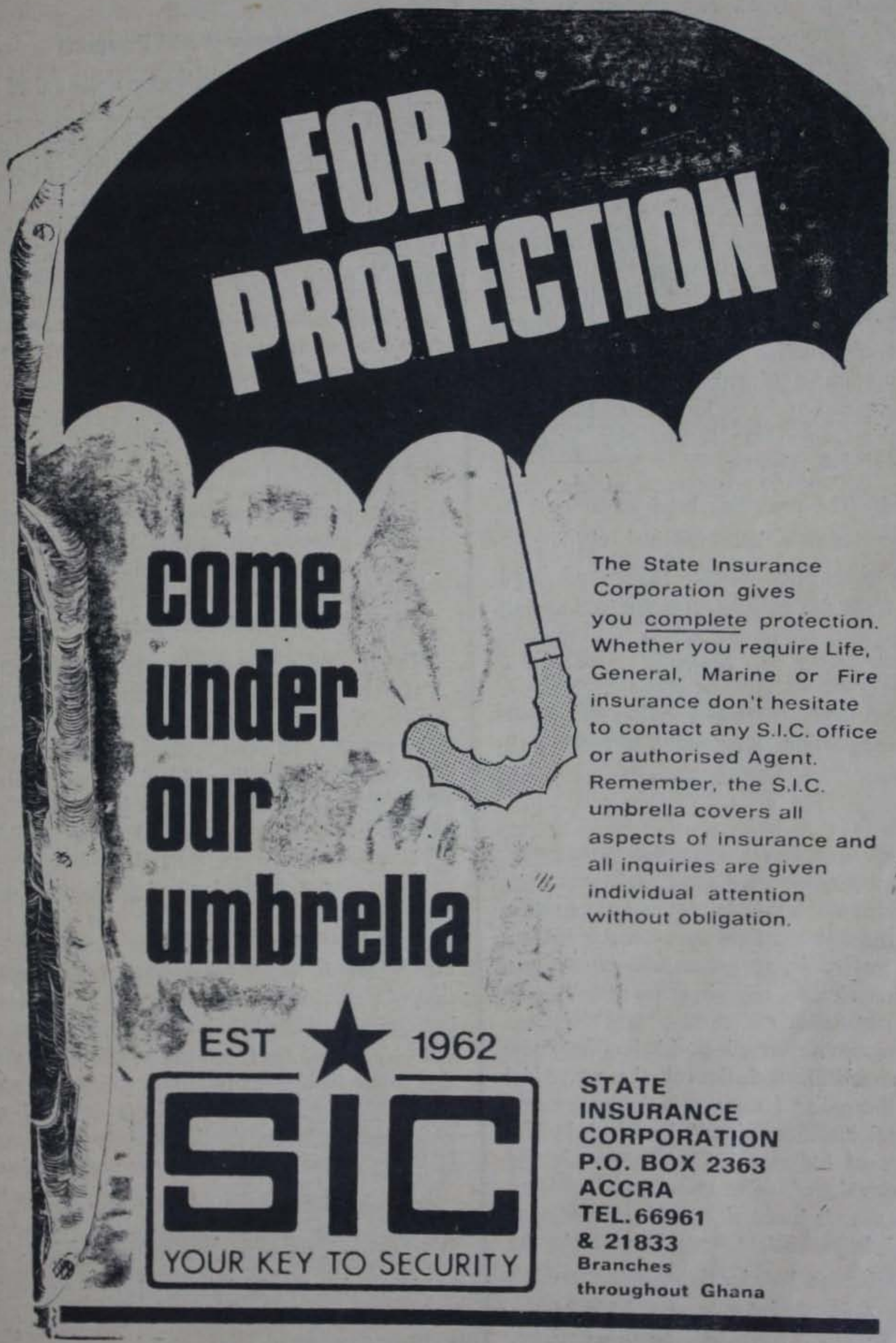
While the phenomenal increase in wheat yields may be regarded as the main component of the Indian Green Revolution, the role played therein by some other cereal crops also deserves mention:-

Maize: Four hybrids, Ganga 1, Ganga 101, Ranjit and Deccan, capable of yielding over 5 tonnes per hectare, developed under the All India Coordinated Maize Improvement Programme sponsored by the Indian Council of Agricultural Research in collaboration with the Rockefeller Foundation, were released for cultivation as far back as 1961. These were followed by some other hybrids e.g. Ganga 3, and Ganga 5. However, hybrids suffer from the fact that their seeds have to be made available for sowing season after season, and demand for quality hybrid seeds often lags behind supply. The difficulty was ingeniously overcome by the maize geneticists by evolving strains aptly called "composites" which combine the good traits of many races and varieties, sieved to a high level of performance after a long drawn process of selection, and capable of breeding true over the generations. Six such composites released during 1967-68 viz., Amber, Jawahar, Kisan, Vikram, Sona and Vijay yield 5000-7800 Kg/ha and possess a fair degree of resistance or tolerance to diseases.

Sorghum: Although sorghum has been widely cultivated in India and is an important part of the diet of large sections of its people, little effort was directed to its improvement till the early sixties, when the Indian Council of Agricultural Research (ICAR) launched an All India Coordinated Sorghum Improvement Programme. The sorghum hybrids CSH-1 and CSH-2 released for general cultivation during 1964 and 1965 respectively, the first fruits of these coordinated research efforts, were capable of yielding 6000-7000 Kg/ha under optimum conditions, and marked by earliness of maturity and wide adaptability. They, thus, had a distinct edge over the local varieties which are late maturing, poor yielding, unresponsive to increased soil fertility and often forming no grains at all in conditions of drought. The hybrids, on the other hand, yield 2000-2500 Kg/ha even under drought, thanks to their earliness. Thus, these hybrids have played a signicant role in stabilising yield levels of jowar, which is predominantly grown as rain-fed crop. Hybrid seed production on a large scale is, however, rather difficult, especially, in a crop like sorghum whose acreage in India is next only to that of rice. Attempts were, therefore, made to develop improved varieties, and a variety Swarna released in 1968 is capable of yielding as much as CSH-1.

Bajra: Bajra is another important millet consumed by a sizeable section of Indian populace, and whose average yield remained at very low level, until research efforts at the Punjab Agricultural University and those under the All India Coordinated Millets Improvement Project of the I.C.A.R. resulted in the hybrids H.B.-1 and H.B.-2 respectively, released in 1965. They were followed by two more hybrids H.B.-3 and H.B.-4, both developed under the Coordinated Project. These hybrids are marked by early maturity and are capable of stable average yields of 2500 Kg/ha.

Rice: Paddy is cultivated over some 35 million hectacres in India, but the average yield is only 1.1 tonnes per hectare in contrast to over 4 tonnes in Japan. Here again, the tall plant type of the Indian varieties belonging to the Indica group of rice is responsible for the low yields. The Government of India, therefore, introduced in the mid-sixties the dwarf indica variety Taichung Native-1, followed by the variety IR-8, popularly known as the "miracle rice" in many parts of South-East Asia. In fact, these high yielding dwarf exotic varieties formed the main basis of the crash "High Yielding Varieties Programme" launched by the Indian Government in the mid-sixties. These short duration, photo-insensitive dwarfs are capable of yielding 8-10 tonnes per hectare. However, they suffer from a marked susceptibility to diseases and their grains are rather coarse and turn sticky on cooking, thus affecting their consumer appeal


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drastically in a country like India where people have long been used to fine, non-sticky and often scented-grain rice-types. Nevertheless, the introduction of these exotic dwarf rice varieties, for all their inherent defects, opened up the possibilities of increasing our pitifully low rice yields. The research efforts directed at improving the quality of these varieties while retaining their high-yielding potential would be described later on in this Brochure.

A major advancement in any area of human endeavour is contingent upon certain underlying factors which perceptibly or imperceptibly contribute to its final shape and inexorably determine its course. The Indian Green Revolution cannot be an exception to this rule, and it would be instructive to examine the main factors which determined its course. These factors are: Research, Extension and the Farmer.

Research: The preceding brief account of the development of new, improved high yielding varieties of wheat, rice, maize, Jowar and bajra, serves to highlight the role of research in agricultural development. It can be claimed without any exaggeration that the significant breakthrough in yields of many important food crops would have been impossible, but for the efforts of dedicated teams of research workers at many centres in the country.

Extension: Agricultural extension programmes are intended for providing the right resources at the right time and place and the technical knowhow for using them in the right manner. An efficient extension service is of paramount importance. since modern farming requires not only investment but knowledge and skill. If any single extension programme served to kindle the badly needed enthusiasm, and destroy the proverbial apathy of the Indian farmer, it is the programme of "National Demonstrations" launched by the Government of India in 1965. The genesis and growth of the National Demonstrations is a fascinating story, and, hence, it would be useful to narrate it briefly. Their genesis was not in the fields of a farmer but in those of a research institute. A 5-hectare plot in the fields of the Botany Division (now Genetics Division) of the Indian Agricultural Research Institute yielded over 10 tonnes of grain during 1964, by growing the dwarf wheats Lerma Rojo or Sonora-64 during rabi (winter cropping season) and Ganga-101 maize or CSH-1 jowar during kharif (summer cropping season).

Retrospect and Prospects

Until recently the production potential of Indian soils was considered to be low. The impact of the High Yielding Varieties Programme intiated in 1966 has helped to destroy this concept and it is now clear that the tropical and sub-tropical climate, far from being a handicap, is full of immense potentialities for crop growth. The High Yielding Varieties Programme was conceived for

* Capitalising on the advantageous features of our agricultural situation and achieving food self-sufficiency by 1970-71;
* For showing that even a farm holding of one hectare in size has the potential for giving a good income; and
* For leading to alternative land use and crop use patterns which could help in making agriculture a potent instrument of agrarian prosperity, in addition to making India self-sufficient in its food needs.

The success of the programme has generated a climate of self-confidence in our agricultural capabilities. However, it is already obvious that if the programme is to achieve the aims stated earlier, it is essential that the difficulties and problems of farmers with small holdings in irrigated areas should be studied and solved. Also, problems relating to post-harvest technology such as processing, storage, marketing and pricing need more concerted and co-ordinated attention. The changing ecology of rural areas, as a result of the exploitation of water resources and the introduction of new practices, need also both understanding and scientific control. Stability in production can be achieved only through an integrated attention to all problems concerning soil, plant, water and economic relationship. It is essential that India uses the latest scientific tools in studying the major problems dealing with crop production.

Analysis of the economic benefits accruing to farmers in the different districts covered by the High Yielding Varieties Programme has shown that in districts like Ludhiana, where the adoption of the new technology has been most widespread, large farmers, small farmers and landless labour have all benefited from the increased income. Also, a wide range of agri-industries has sprung up leading to the absorption of labour from agriculture. This in turn has led to the necessity of introducing more efficient implements and agricultural ma-

nery. In contrast to this situation, mono-culture e areas such as Kuttanad in Kerala, Thanjavur Tamil Nadu, and Burdwan in Bengal, have been regions with considerable degree of agra- n unrest. Although there has been a slight in- ease in the income from agriculture in these eas, the landless labour and many tenant farmers ve really lost ground in real income. This is irony, because these districts are well-endowed th culture and have a high yield and income tential. The new technology in the case of rice unfortunately not as advanced as in the case wheat, and it is necessary to step up our efforts evolving an improved technology for rice culti- tion. Also, in mono-culture areas there is need r evolving plant for the development of agro- sed industries, so that some of the surplus farm bour can find alternative gainful employment. iversification of cropping patterns in addition to tionalization of land tenure and ownership stems are urgently needed. There is no scientific cuse for breeding poverty in agricultural popu- tions in areas endowed with good water supply.

The Dry Areas

Although only about 20% of the total cultivated rea has assured irrigation facilities, another 40% f the area has a fairly reasonable rainfall. It is n the remaining areas which are largely away rom the coast, and are hence outside the good nonsoon belts, that concentrated attention on mproving the yield and income of farm holdings s urgently called for. The problems of these areas re complex and varied, and hence the precise ction that has to be taken for improving the economy of farmers in such areas would also vary with the regions under consideration. For example, if an area has undulating terrain, such as in Mysore State, consolidation of farm holdings would have to precede the other practices which would help in conserving moisture and introducing a new technology. In contrast, in regions like Rajasthan consolidation of holdings, though desirable, will not be a pre-requisite for bringing about a major advance in productivity. The new technology which is emerging for dry areas comprising better methods of water conservation, improved methods of land preparation, use of drought-avoiding varieties, sowing of seeds with a high protein content, replacement of single long duration crops, foliar feeding and deep placement of nutrients, would all need a considerable amount of assistance from the State both with reference to the supply of inputs as well as knowledge. Programmes like the aerial application of fertilizers, either free or at subsidised rates depending on the economic condition of the area, could be initiated by the Board. Experiments have shown that in unirrigated Wheat, 2 to 3 quintas of additional yield per acre can be obtained if some nitrogen is applied through leaves at an appropriate time. A programme of genetic upgrading of the milk-yield potential of nondescript cows should be initiated by resorting to widespread artificial insemination.

While cheap and timely credit facilities may be adequate for helping small farmers in irrigated areas, some amount of subsidy would be necessary in the earlier stages to introduce a new technology in the dry areas. Once the income potential of the farms in such areas has been raised, it might be possible to initiate a process of self-generating investment in agriculture and animal husbandry. What therefore is essentially needed at present is an action programme for achieving a technological change in the farming of dry areas.

Opening New Vistas

Mahatma Gandhi pointed out many years ago that the divorce between intellect and labour has been the bane of our agriculture. Fortunately, the opening up of altogether new vistas in crop yields has acted as a catalyst in getting the educated classes interested in agriculture in the irrigated areas. Only the introduction of a package of a new technology, which can help to improve yield and income by over 100% in the dry areas, can have a similar catalytic role in transforming the outlook and economic position of the farming community in such areas. There is no use initiating the outlook and economic position of the farming degrees leading to small rises in yield and income. This is the reason why a major forward thrust is needed in the technological transformation of unirrigated farming. Such a programme would provide challenging opportunities to the large number of unemployed and under-employed engineering graduates in our country, because engineering skills would be greatly needed in helping the dry areas to march forward in production. The initiation of a new deal for farmers in dry areas would hence not only help to erase a major source of poverty and economic instability in the country, but also will open the door to gainful and satisfying employment to a very large number of our young and technically qualified persons.

Editor's Note: This extract, from a publication by The Indian Investment Centre in New Delhi has been made possible by courtesy of the Information Officer of the Indian High Commission in Ghana.

Politics

IS THE TOP INCAPACITATED?

By A. Trebla

THE opinion outsiders form of any nation is to a large extent the result of judgment passed on its leaders or on those who are constantly in the eye of the public. If the leaders or the top people are respected, the nation is held in high esteem; if they are regarded as of integrity, the state is placed on a pedestal; but if they command no respect the nation is looked upon with scorn, especially by foreigners.

Nothing breeds more contempt for the citizens of a nation in the eyes of foreigners than the situation in which any foreigner who enters the country is able to see the leading men of the country "just like that". Not that once at the top people should refrain from being friendly and sociable; rather they should be more choosy than before when it comes to whom to rub shoulders with. It is not expected of a minister of state, for example, to go marble-playing under the mango tree and start arguing for "ketedze" simply because the marble-players are white. In Ghana the word "white" is not used. They are referred to as "expatriates" so as to give the impression that they are privileged ones who should not be counted as aliens even though in truth they too are foreigners.

Limits of Familiarity

Just as you would not even dare to dream of a minister of state in Europe or America receiving a Ghanaian who is on his own private business tour there, you would not approve of, for example, a Ministerial Secretary in Ghana or even a Principal Secretary seeing off at the airport a secretary to a private firm operating in Ghana (who happened to call at the ministry in connection with the day to day operations of the firm) simply because he or she is white, alien or non-Ghanaian. Normally, in Ghana for example, one would expect that a minister of state would treat his counterpart (another minister) from another country with all the hospitality and respect as he would do to his own fellow Ghanaian minister. The lower limit of familiarity with foreigners that breeds no contempt is that which exists between people of the same status: normally, head of state with another head of state, Ministerial Secretary with his counterpart, the M.P.



h another Member of Parliament and so on to the 'people' like us with our fellow com- ner from other parts of the world.

Where this sort of situation does not exist in country, the "people" are looked down upon any foreigner who steps in. The reasoning is imple one: "Why do I have to bother about u, an ordinary clerk in the ministry, when an get what I want when I go to the minister's use this evening"? Accordingly, he by-passes clerk in charge of the section and obtains erything he wants. The next time he arrives, poor clerk does not dare even to ask him he could be of any help to him. He only has direct him straight away, this time to the incipal Secretary, and the stranger bluffs the incipal Secretary too. This continues until the nister himself gets his share of the scorn. At s juncture, the foreigner is able to speak of e country to his other "expatriate" friends one where the whiteman is feared even by e ministers. This time an "s" has been added the word "minister" to make it plural.

"Civil Engineers" and "Architects"

When this sort of attitude continues for long, e ordinary man in the street or the average rson, for fear of losing his job, attends first the whites or aliens at public places even ough it may not be their turn to be served, preference to any of his fellow citizens. This neither kindness nor hospitality.

What happens then if a citizen of the country ants to be treated as he ought to be? A foolish ne tends to associate himself with those on hom are being heaped privileges that are not eir due. He shuns the company of his fellow itizens in public to make up for his short- omings. He thinks that the way most foreigners ehave here is their mode of life in their respec- ive countries. For example, blocklayers arrive n Ghana and they are "civil engineers"; draughts- nen enter the country and they are paid as 'architects" to supervise qualified architects; ight-club girls come in to perform their tasks fter which some decide to stay and are often mployed as "secretaries" or "air-hostesses". These are just but a few of things which are act- ually happening in the country. All these are possible because when it comes to dealing with he whites, the average Ghanaian forgets his sense of values.

There are those who intentionally lose their sense of values because they feel more "secure" in the company of the foreigner (by which I mean the non-citizen, by whatever means). When a case of bribery goes to court, the foreigner may not be here to appear as a witness against the citizen. This probably is the main field in which most Ghanaians, up to now, have tried to operate by preferring foreigners to countrymen. Very, very responsible posts are given to foreigners under the pretext that the fellow countryman cannot be "responsible". To keep the foreigner so treated mute, he is "removed" from the category of alien to "expatriate", and given what is termed in Ghana as "expatriate allowance". No one now knows for sure the reason why these allowances are given. However, some of their own accord, at times, enlarge the domain of the "expatriate allowances" to include smuggling diamonds and gold as well as disobeying the laws of the country, that is, giving them protection and hospitality, perhaps, with the "approval" of many a "patriotic" citizen.

Frustration of the youth is the outcome of all this, and a section of the young ones who still have their character in the formative stages, yet to be solidly welded to moral values, tend to go in for money at whatever cost. They see in their elders the abominable ways to which money acquired, through various "associations" with other people, is put. Various types of anti-social hobbies are thereby developed. They want to be like their elder brothers too!

With this combination of hobbies it is not surprising that progress in the country has been slow. The men at the top should therefore take all steps to arrest this situation by setting examples that will enable the young ones to court useful and responsible hobbies. This could be best done if our top men would maintain their dignity and integrity that earn them respect from all — both young and old, foreigner and countryman.

Rural Problems

PROBLEMS OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT

By

E. Ofori Akyea

ONE of the loudly proclaimed plans of the Busia government is rural development. The government's seriousness with this issue is underlined by the appointment of a Minister of State for Rural Development, significantly the ministry also includes the portfolio of Youth development. This means that the two tie in somewhere. But that is not our concern here. The purpose of this

essay is to examine in some detail some of the more glaring problems that go with rural development.

It will be necessary to pin-point, however, what the rural situation is and why a change for the better is necessary. In spite of the constant movement from villages to towns and cities, the total number of people living in rural areas will continue to increase because of high birth rates. Consequently, the provision of increased employment opportunities and better living conditions in rural areas, especially for young people, becomes a major problem for developing countries like ours, and the problem is further complicated by the lack of infrastructure in rural society.

When those living in towns read about the rural areas they tend to think they are reading about outer space. This attitude is wrong. For the rural population forms the bulwark of the nation. And as John Donne said, when you hear the bells tolling do not think you are safe; "it tolls for thee".

As a practical example, one wonders what the situation would have been in Ghana had the cholera scare been true; we would have died like flies because, living in our urban pockets we would have been open to any kind of attack upon our rural population.

Lack of Infrastructure

It is a shame that Accra, for example, which contains less than five per cent of the total population of Ghana enjoys some fifty per cent in terms of amenities. It is shocking that Madina for example is described as a rural area whereas water pipes go past their front doors and electricity pylons go over their head to supply a villa. Thus when we talk of rural development we mean people.

The first identifiable problem is the absence of any infrastructure that generates any visible progress. It is a well known fact that there are many villages in Ghana where plantain rots whilst it sells at Makola market for six new pesewas a finger. The roads that open up the country are not there. There are no efficient marketing organizations that make it possible for the best quality foodstuffs to get to the needed places on time. The result is that a few middlemen (and women) are left to milk the country dry of whatever there is.

Related to the above problem is that lack of any amenities to make life tolerable. The inhabitants have to live on the barest minimum of whatever there is; they have to walk long distances to get a letter posted and this takes time; they drink most unhealthy water, and health services are non-existent.

If a country develops the most sophisticated diplomatic channels and its backdoor is dirty it is not counted as important. Besides, Accra or Kumasi or Takoradi or Tamale is not what makes Ghana. It is the whole of the land surface area. The progress we look for will elude us if we continue to develop the way we are doing.

But economic and production growth are not ends in themselves but a means to move important social goals and in many instances this is dependent on, or accompanied by, structural changes. And this is a real problem. For example, the railways of Ghana were laid by the colonialists to tap cocoa, timber and minerals without any regard to the integrative transportation needs of the country. Thus one finds the railways moving out of the harbour in Takoradi to the mines in Tarkwa and on to get the timber and cocoa from Awaso and Kumasi respectively; the rail roads branch off to reach Accra—a much later development when the capital was moved from Cape Coast to Accra.

Economic Straight-Jacket

This has resulted in our producing cocoa, minerals and timber to the world market and one only continuing a structure that serves to lay the country bare of its riches instead of creating a better meaningful life for the people. Thus our pre-occupation with re-scheduling of debts and barren constitutional arguments, instead of soberly considering the poor person who lives off the land by struggling for his daily meal.

The above situation has led to an economic straight-jacket which is becoming an unbearable burden. It has created other more serious problems. Instead of the economy being stimulated it is stagnating. People thrown out of jobs cannot go back to their villages—there is nothing to go back to. They have to hang around the cities, hoping for a better tomorrow which never comes. Consequently, social problems are created which become more serious to solve than the beginning of the situation.

Another problem with rural development is that too much emphasis has been given to improved technology without due consideration of the need to solve the attendant social problems. This has happened again and again and the exact situation will be illustrated by a case history.

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young people left school they did not have any jobs to go to. Thus he spoke to his local organisation back home and raised enough money to build a vocational training centre for handicrafts for the boys and girls. He was so much taken up with the religious zeal of his good work that he did not consider the whole lot of things that go into the building of a centre. Questions such as how accessible the centre was to others, who would employ those who left the centre, where the structure to support the constant work of the centre was; what the attitudes of the people to his project were, sources of local support, future support, what kind of effects the centre was going to have on the lives of the people and so on were perfunctorily dismissed or not considered at all.

The result was that farming declined, for, with their added education the young people became a problem; they would not farm, they left for Accra to "look for" jobs and the whole project collapsed. Maybe another project might be of better use.

The Will of the People

Rural development, then, depends on people. It is with people that we must deal with. Central to the success of rural development is the will of the people to improve their lot and confidence in their own abilities to do so, backed by a political will, technical and financial support of their government. Thus if a community facility is to be built and the people to be able to influence government policy and participate in the running of the country, group action which stems from a community spirit and concern for the welfare of others is to be stimulated. And this is perhaps the most difficult problem.

It means that the programmes should be presented to the people with honesty. Corrupt officers do more harm than good in getting anything started. They alienate the local population who then develop cynical attitudes.

There is a Chinese proverb which says:

Who has not self respect invites disgrace.
Who is not on the lookout against himself counts disaster
Who is not satisfied with himself will grow
Who is not sure of his own correctness will learn many things.

This is the kind of situation that happens in most rural areas in the first two lines. The last two lines are the qualities needed in overcoming the problem.

Another problem is the tendency of seeing rural development in isolation rather than as part of the whole problem that a nation has to face. Will the provision of roads, for instance, make for better rural areas or will they only make it easier for the urban areas to exploit the rural areas better? It is true that good water and electricity are signs of progress. But for what? Is it being done because we pity them? It will be a most revealing exercise indeed, if rural development is planned by the people themselves based on their own analysis of their problems and on their desire for change, given, of course, all the other factors available.

There is no proper motivation for employment at this time in the rural areas. What security of employment does the farmer have? Is his tenure secure? Are they being adequately compensated for their labour and getting reasonable prices for their produce? The farmers are not being fairly treated. Huge profits are being made by food contractors who buy from the farmers and sell at exhorbitant prices to institutions including the Army. What stops schools from setting up their own farms to cut down the huge outlays on foodstuffs? Maybe, a meaningful co-operative system is the answer.

Mechanisation of Agriculture

A problem related to the above is the whole question of mechanization of agriculture. It is beyond the means of the average farmer to own a full complement of farm appliances. Good incentives to the cocoa farmer are enough to make him wield the cutlass to riches. Why should it be so difficult for the other farmer? Mechanization reduces labour unduly without a corresponding increase in production. My experience in the Northern and Upper Regions of Ghana with the rice farmers is that, given the right incentives Ghana would be a major rice producing country in two years.

The problem of developing labour intensive small industries should be part of the overall rural development plan and related to agriculture too. There is, for example, the utilization of rice straw in the production of dried mushrooms and canning plants for the preservation of vegetables.

The youth, given the opportunity, could play a vital role in rural development. But there are many barriers. It is necessary to maximise educational opportunities for all, and this education must be relevant to the needs of rural areas. At this time our educational system is essentially urban and is derived from a different culture.

The Ghanaian system of education is not practically oriented, and there is, very little or no

lerstanding of the "change process" or the amics of economic and social change and of itical action.

There is a need for government, in consultation h the youth, to draw up national youth policies, ing special emphasis to the need for the youths' olvement in development planning and action. this connection the 25 village schemes by the ana National Youth Council commends itself scrutiny and attention.

The youth are to be encouraged to organize mselves. The problem of identifying their need even great, but this needs to be done. It is to noted that the Youth are vitally interested in ange. If they have no real opportunity to parti- ate actively in rural development, they could k solely to the urban areas where some change, sitive and negative, was occurring.

The problem of leadership is so great that only passing reference can be made to it. What roles e local authority chiefs and other civic leaders e to play calls for extensive analysis. But it will enough to say that they have to be sufficiently with it" to see to the development of the whole.

Active Involvement

In the final analysis, rural development rests on he will of groups of people to work together for nutual advantage. Organizational structures are, herefore, required which ensure the active involve- nent and participation of people in their own levelopment. Local organisations, such as village levelopment committees, co-operative societies nd others which involve primary producers, wo- men and the youth promote this involvement. The strategy of institution building also calls for continuing adaptation to changing requirements; this can only be assured by the total involvement of the people at all stages of the development of their society.

No discussion of rural institutional strategy would be complete without some consideration of the need to improve rural amenities and the general quality of rural life. The government is to consider programmes that make the rural areas attractive—there should be recreational and medical facilities, housing, schools, transportation and so on if there is to be any slackening in the prevalent drift of people to the towns.

Observer Notebook

The Plight of Importers

WE FEEL bound to draw attention to the state of alarm and despondency existing at the moment among the ranks of the importers of goods as a result of the way in which some of the budget proposals are being implemented.

From the information available to us, it seems that the Customs officers have been applying the taxes announced in the budget to all goods irrespective of whether they were landed at the ports before the budget or not. Those people whose second-hand cars landed at the harbours before the budget are also being made to pay the new duties. This may make sense as far as the coffers of the government are concerned. But is this fair to the importers? Why should a manufacturer whose raw materials he ordered months before the budget, and which arrived in this country say a week or so before the budget, be asked to pay the new duties now ranging from 15% to 200%? Do the Minister of Finance and his Customs officials want to cripple or encourage local Ghanaian business enterprise and manufacturers?

Particularly pathetic in this case is the plight of second-hand car owners. In his budget statement, the Minister of Finance made it absolutely clear that the assessment of the value of an imported car for tax purposes should be based on the factory price of the car at the time of original purchase. These are his words: "Henceforth second-hand vehicles will be taxed in accordance with their age as from their first registration and based on a series of percentage rebates from fixed initial prices. A car that was bought four years ago will now pay duty on a value which will be assumed to be equal to 50 percent of the purchase price of a new car of that description in the country of origin as at the first of July, 1966. Similarly adjustments will be made in order to arrive at the dutiable values of all vehicles between 6 months old and 5 years old".

Yet in spite of the clarity of this statement, the Customs officers are now applying the factory price of the latest or 1970 model of the same car as the basis for assessment of the value of an imported second-hand vehicle. The cost of say a second-hand 220 Mercedes Benz car made in 1966 is being reckoned now on the basis of the cost of the new type of 220 Mercedes Benz.

Is this fair?

We call on the Minister of Finance and his civil servants to review as a matter of urgency the situation as outlined here. In fairness to importers, we urge that all goods that were in transit or had been landed in the harbours before the budget statement should be taxed in accordance with the pre-budget laws. Secondly, we call on them to reassess the value of all second-hand vehicles that had been released since the budget, and the extra taxes that had been rammed down the throats of the poor importers returned to them. We consider this as a matter of extreme urgency since as is obvious from the ports of Takoradi and Tema, importers are finding it very difficult to clear their goods, and there is therefore bound to be extreme congestion at these ports very soon. Mr. J. H. Mensah should act immediately.

These Prime Minister's Motorcades

ALARMING reports have been reaching us of the safety of motorists — not to mention their dignity — as a result of the motorcade of the Prime Minister. Many motorists have complained of how they are literally swept off the roads or pushed into gutters by these over-enthusiastic outriders. Some members of the editorial board had their cars waved off the road to the accompaniment of abuses and frantic hand gesticulations.

Are these motorcades really necessary? Are they meant to ensure the security of the Premier, or to demonstrate his presence or power, or to save his time? If it is the first, would the motorcade and all the noise that goes with it not rather expose the Premier? If it is the second, does the power or presence of the Prime Minister need any such demonstration or display? If it is a question of time, cannot the system used by fire and hospital ambulances achieve the same end?

Whatever the case may be, as operated now, these motorcades do constitute a real danger to motorists, and they should be stopped, or their incidence minimised; or the number of outriders should be drastically reduced.

Legon's Own Priorities

RECENT visitors to Legon have probably realized that the road from the main gate to the bend of the University road, is being renovated. We are not interested in the traffic diversions which road users are presently enduring; nor are we saying that good roads — and the electric lights which are to luminate the roads — are bad. Roads must, as much as possible, be good. And pedestrians must be protected from snakes. But we want to raise more fundamental questions.

Even men who know very little about University administration know — or have been made to take it — that Legon is in the financial red. And this has been more evident, especially in the sight of many University buses which have been lying down idle — not because spare parts are not available, but because, so it is claimed, the University has no adequate funds to order these parts.

And so, what happens? The arrangement for transporting junior staff is so horrible that some workers may be about two hours late to work —and cannot be queried for the lateness! Takes, for instance, the Achimota-Legon traffic. There was a time when the University used to run an hourly normal service in the day — this is scrapped! There are apparently some people who want to run a "tro-tro" service to alleviate the plight of the workers between Legon and Achimota — this is disallowed in the name of "private property"!!

Thus, here we are with workers not coming to work on time; with lecturers still occupying dilapidated bungalows; with a University buttery which is almost always empty with respect to essential commodities. One would want to be lectured on Legon's conception of priorities!

What is Left of Non-Alignment?

NON-ALIGNMENT became a catch-word in the early 1960s. The first non-aligned summit took place at Belgrade in 1961, under the auspices of the Yugoslavia government. At Belgrade in 1961, the principle of non-alignment was defined and enunciated; and since then it has become a creed for most of the new countries, who are caught up in the posture of the cold war. Indeed at at the time of the first conference in Belgrade the cold war was at its apogee; and the idea of a third bloc of non-committed nations tipping the scales was meaningful in the international arena.

But today non-alignment has lost most of its excitement and idealism in the realities of the international political system, particularly with

the new diplomatic initiatives now taking place between the two political super powers — America and Russia.

What is therefore left of non-alignment? Can the non-aligned nations now represented at Lusaka in Zambia claim that they are non-aligned in the true sense of 'non-alignment?'

Perhaps it will be necessary to put the question: What is a non-aligned nation? Two main definitions have been given: The first was by President Sekou Toure of Guinea, who has always referred to the concept of "militant diplomacy" — meaning that no non-aligned country must maintain military bases on its territory; and that the countries that profess non-alignment must view all international issues on their own merits.

The other view of non-alignment is always given by the so-called moderate states, who argue that non-alignment is not incompatible with even having military bases on one's territory. These countries do belong to such regional groupings as South East Asia Treaty Organisation (SEATO) or one of the military blocs; whether the Western bloc or the Eastern bloc, and in fact some so allow military bases on their territories.

Now with the painful historical posture of the non-aligned nations, can we meaningfully talk of non-alignment?

Indeed, some of the new nations profess non-alignment for various divergent reasons: First, some do point to their present military weaknesses, and take consolation in non-alignment, because they are not safe to be aligned in the present balance of terror — particularly with the common fear of thermo-nuclear weapons. Second, some point to their economic under-development and take to non-alignment, because they want to concentrate on home problems, and bolster their economies — with their little financial resources. Finally others profess non-alignment, because of emotional satisfaction. The idea that they have now become members of the international political systems, and that they must make their voices felt at international summits and conferences.

However, in spite of the different interpretations which the non-alignment countries do put on the concept of non-alignment, they are almost invariably agreed on some essentials. For example, they want to judge all international issues on their merits. They also want to be left in peace to develop their economies and their social and political systems. Above all, they want to keep out of the present military stalemate between the West and the East, which they believe is uncalled for in the present political realities of the world.

Yet, non-alignment is not easily viewed favourably by the advanced countries of the world. They argue that the very concept of non-alignment is immoral. They ask: How non-aligned are the so-called non-aligned nations? Don't they vote at the United Nations and at other international conferences?

Nevertheless, non-alignment as a political concept has come to stay. But the relevant question is — what is left of non-alignment, with the disappearance of men like Nehru, Sukarno and Nkrumah? Although one still has some of the old guards like Nasser and Sekou Toure — these militant leaders are far too busy at home to carry further the banner of non-alignment.

Letters

The Plight of Poverty

SIR — Your editorial on "The Plight of Poverty" — (*L.O.* V/18) was very welcome, especially the portions on wage disparities and the Prime Minister's decision to effect a cut in pay. In fact, the question "If, at the expense of the state, some individuals are paid NC14,000 per annum, should we continue to tolerate a situation where others are earning NC270 per annum?" must be on behalf of millions of Ghanaians. But I fear it has been asked rather late.

As an Accra bi-weekly pointed out recently, the NC14,000 for the Chief Justice and the salaries for the other Justices jumped up in proportion to those of the ministers of the present government, and not vice versa. In any case the Minister of Information would have done his usual duty (denying it) if the paper was wrong. Even now, assuming the total emoluments of the P.M. given at NC30,600, before the recent cut, were correct, he must then be collecting over hundred percent of his salary in allowances, since total emoluments now stand at NC24,600 (salary NC12,000).

I am not being unduly unappreciative of the laudable gesture of the P.M. and his other Ministers. But I think the former salaries were far too much to start with, when we consider the fact that Commissioners under the N.L.C. took NC6,000, and that the view was widely held that politics in the second republic should be an avenue for the service to one's country, and not a business enterprise, with a profit motive!

Unfortunately you could not point this out the way you now suggest the cut in salaries of the rich few — "W.... suggest that it should be imperative for the salaries of the top men to be SLASHED EVEN MORE DRASTICALLY (my emphasis). How many Ghanaians has Dr. Busia ever encountered sacrificing their portions of salary, ...in response to mere exhortation?"

Certainly the salary gap must be bridged, maybe

by way of higher direct taxes for the rich few. But your previous acquiescence over the cause of it all tends to suggest that it is only the non-politicians we can peck at. Or is it?

c/o P. O. Box 137 **Cobla Ahiabor**
Accra

Ghana's Art Treasures

SIR — Although I very much agree with the sentiments expressed in the **Daily Graphic,** (Accra) of 24th August, 1970. ("Retrieve Our [Art] Treasures"), it seems to oversimplify in such a gross way that it cannot be left unchallenged. "How did these art treasures get to Europe? The answer is simple. They were stolen by early white missionaries, slave traders and imperialist men-at-arms".

Such arguments simply perpetuate certain myths inherited from certain ideological camps. While soldiers and invading armies have indeed been stealing and looting treasures since time immemorial, we can be reasonably sure that missionaries and traders would not have gone about acting like common thieves. They would by this have destroyed the very image they were interested in building up: as people to be trusted. The conclusion is that they might have bartered, and paid for, anything they get and sent to their countries' museums and art collections.

Probably, if these treasures had remained here, the termites and other "ravages of time" would long have destroyed them. We can still see such lack of awareness of the need for preservation of cultural goods at work even in our enlightened days: books are left as food for bookworms every day in private homes. Even in the Balme Library of the University of Ghana, Legon, where they know the right chemicals to kill the worms, one only hears that the chemicals are not available at present.

Unless we create proper condtitions for, and proper attitudes towards, the preservation of culture-goods, we should not bring them. Photographs, films, and facsimile copies can be brought in the meantime, but not the precious originals.

Dept. of Linguistics **H. Trutenau**
Legon

Miscellaneous

KONTOPIAATKROM REVISITED

By

Kwadwo Kontopiaat

I SHALL forever feel indebted to my dear brother Kwame Kontopiaat, and for two very good reasons. The first is that he dutifully carried on the Kontopiaatic column while I was away. The second and the more important reason is the absolutely splendid reception which he arranged for me on my first visit to Kontopiaatkrom after my return from Yankeedom. No detail was left out. All the palm tree and raffia carpets were unrolled; the famous "See — There ...." brassband from Dompokrom was in attendance; the "Don't-mind-your-wife chop-bar" was decorated with the flags of all the parties and the shells of the snails used in preparing our party dish "Green-Green". Of course, Kofi Dompo and his dynamic followers were there, and so also was the M.P. for the area. Since the latter was not made a Minister or Ministerial Secretary, he did not arrive in one of the new-type Mercedes Benz cars whose population has increased, since my departure, in direct ratio to the number of Ministers and Ministerial Secretaries. However, in conformity with the practice of the Prime Minister, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and most of the members of the Cabinet, the M.P. wore a pair of dark-coloured glasses, and of course a smartly cut suit, possibly from Savoy Row.

The shouts of "Ebi Te Yie . . .Ebi Nte Yie", "Otwe Agyanka" and above all of "Green-Green" greeted my entry to this great village of Kontopiaakrom. This was followed by the inspection of a guard of honour formed by the members of the unemployed union of Kontopiaatkrom. The pouring of libation by the Chief Fetish priest came next, and after that the reading of the address of welcome by our Odikro (Chief). The procession through the principal streets — pardon me, through the only street of the village — can be more readily and vividly imagined than described.

After the conclusion of the business at the palm wine bar and the "Don't-mind-your-wife chop-bar", I decided to see what changes, if any, had taken place in our dear village since my departure. The first thing that attracted my attention was, as mentioned in the last issue, the brand new garment factory. There was a demonstration by the laid-off workers of the factory. Most of them carried placards. One of these placards read "Mr. Mensah, did we go or did we come"? Another read "Pro-Hunger", and the third read "The same thing different". The second thing I noticed was the virtual empty state of the formerly over-stocked store of Kofi and Yaa Alata. Apparently, the Ghanaian who had taken over from these hard-working Nigerians thought that the goods including the crocodile bile and dawadawa just entered the shop themselves. The third conspicuous thing was the incredibly large number of really well-dressed and very attractive young women and girls (please don't jump to any conclusions!). Some of them wore even mini and maxi skirts, not to mention their Afro wigs! They were that up-to-date.

The final thing I noticed was the brand new water-tap situated right in the middle of the village square. I will never forget the feeling of pride and relief with which the young boys and girls were rushing to and from the tap with earthen-ware pots delicately balanced on their heads. The foundations of what I was told was to be the new health centre were also being laid.

Many things were, of course, the same. Like most villages in Ghana Kontopiaatkrom had shrunk in area from what I remember of it from the date that I started to remember things. The single main *street* still wore its tortuous, bumpy and untarred look; there is still not a single two-storey building in the village; the goats, the sheep, the hen, the tsetse flies and, now, one single donkey do still parade the street with every gusto; there is still only *a* single lavatory and it is still of the old pit type. In spite of all this — and this was what struck me most of all — the whole atmosphere was pervaded by a feeling of hope and optimism emanating obviously from the budget speech and the high expectation of cheap kako, electricity, full employment and plentiful palm wine and "V.C. 10". The greatest hero in Kontopiaatkrom is, I regret to say, not Kwadwo Kontopiaat, but rather Mr. Kako Budget J. H. Mensah.



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EDITORIAL

HOPES OF A NATION

NEXT week is the first anniversary of the return to civilian rule in Ghana. And this issue of the **Observer** has been devoted exclusively to a critical appreciation of the first year of the administration of Busia's Progress Party government. What emerges in the assessment is that very little could have been concretely accomplished in this short period, in view of the weight and complexity of the problems facing the nation.

On the political front, Ghanaians can now pride themselves in having enjoyed a year of political bliss and stability so essential in social and economic development. A continued reign of this stability will no doubt assure our prospective investors, and those of them who are already in our midst, about the fertile and safe nature of this country as a field for investment. But will this peace last?

It is in this respect that the economic position continues to be the most important factor in the long term endurance of Ghana as a nation. We inherited a huge international indebtedness which has been the principal constraint on our national efforts at development. Immediately after the return to civilian rule, we heard statements from the government to the effect that "no debt is sacrosanct", which we interpreted to mean the imminence of a searching scrutiny of the nature of some of the debts. Ghanaians are still waiting to see something of this promise, although one is not convinced that those statements have any meaning to the Busia government any longer. Hence our constant plea for the rescheduling of our debts, which presupposes that they are all valid.

We stress this aspect of our economy because the very viability of this country depends upon this. The inability to create job openings, owing to the constraint on our economic growth, has become very evident, and the consequence is that the rate of unemployment in the nation is rapidly increasing. The attendant social problems are immense. The drift of Ghanaians from the rural centres to the urban areas is, for instance, not likely to be stemmed for some time to come, although the laudable priority which the government has given to rural development evinces hopes in the right direction.

Some of the measures of the government, such as the aliens' compliance order and the indigenization of Ghanaian business, will yield results in the long run, and can only be speculated upon; and as for the Task Force which is said to mediate between sources of production and of consumption of essential foodstuffs, one is yet to see just what has emerged out of this so far.

This is essentially a domestic affairs government, and it is not surprising that no serious foreign affairs declaration has been made. The only time Busia ventured on the road of African continental politics, his statement became disastrous. Yet, although we are saddled with huge domestic problems this should not in any way preclude our effective participation in world politics with the feeling that we are at least politically independent.

A government is judged by what it promises to do; and the main theme on which Busia and his men sought political power was that they would give the nation a new, efficient style of government, probity in national life, and honesty and selflessness. Although the intentions which motivated issues such as the Executive-Judiciary confrontation, the aliens' order, or the purge of the civil service may have been good, the manner in which these were handled does not give immediate evidence that the style of government is unimpeachably convincing. Probity in public life? This is again a difficult area to tread, beyond asking Ghanaians to stop the rumour mongering about public officers, and instead be objective and bold to point out defects when these are found to be supportable by actual evidence.

. Honesty and selflessness are more easily preached than practised, but one cannot help granting that Busia and his administration—certainly some members of it—have the best of intentions for the nation. In fact, in many respects, it is the members of the wider public who have not been helping the government in this respect.

Historians may come to judge that the first year of civilian rule has revealed the Busia government to be bolder than the military government during their four and a half years of existence. Of course the reasons are not far to seek, since the Army men came to power by force of arms rather than through popular elections. The huge majority which Busia gained during last year's General Election has actually strengthened his hands, although the initial goodwill, born mainly out of anti-Nkrumah sympathy, is not likely to remain for long. All this will depend upon what the government does towards the melioration of the economic hardships of the nation.

Ghana really needs more dynamism, fearlessness, and imagination in the handling of her affairs. But here and there one thinks there are numerous

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square pegs in round holes. It is doubtful if a politics of appeasement and consensus is the best approach in the handling of the complex pressing problems such as ours. This is why, as Busia embarks upon the second year of his government, we urge him to be bolder still in his decision taking and implementation. For, as he himself said on Ethiopian television, Ghana now has all the seeds of a potential social insurrection. The visible signs of poverty and squalor which he sees daily as he drives from Odorkor to the Castle must convince him that Ghana cannot wait.

Politics

BUSIA AND THE YOUTH

by

E. Ofori Akyea.

When the Minister of Youth and Rural Development, Mr. A. A. Munufie, was presenting the estimates of his Ministry in the National Assembly on September 10, 1970, he said, inter alia, that among the priorities of his Ministry was to

> "assist and guide our youth to play their proper roles in our changing society and in the event prepare them for a successful and more effective adult citizenship."

This is a tall order indeed for any one to give himself and we shall examine what kinds of measures have been adopted during the year and see how successful or otherwise they have been to 'assist and guide our youth' to be better citizens.

There is a Chinese proverb which says 'give a man a fish and he eats for a day. Teach a man to fish and he eats for life.' This is the kind of precept that should guide the formulation of any policy for young people.

The major flaw of this government is its inability to come out with a clearly stated policy on youth. True, a lot has been said by officials at functions but there is yet to appear any distinctive statement that is to be taken as *the* government's policy on youth.

The writer remembers the opening of a youth leaders training seminar at the State House in November last year when the Minister promised that a policy on youth would be enunciated soon. We are still waiting.

Instead the Prime Minister announced the formation of the National Service Corps. He has been at pains to say that it is not a Young Pioneer Movement in disguise, yet one still fails to perceive what exactly this organization is. The ostensible purpose of the National Service Corps (NS.C.) is to help reduce the high incidence of unemployment that plagues this country. They are to engage in voluntary services of development. But the conception itself is defective in that it ignores or refuses to acknowledge what can be done by existing organs of government. For example, instead of strengthening the Department of Social Welfare and increasing its abilities to liaise effectively with other ministries especially those of Agriculture and works, a new structure has been added to solve the same problem that those two Ministries have been trying to face up to for a long time.

Besides, the role of voluntary organizations in really getting meaningful programmes going has been totally ignored, and another organization—more prestigious because it has government backing—has been added to the list of organizations trying to 'develop' Ghana.

The Role of the N.S.C.

What is needed at this point is more than the narration of the outlines of a vision. We require a thorough analysis of the unemployment situation, and what distinctive role the N.S.C. is going to play in eliminating it that some other bodies are not at present capable of playing.

We in the developing countries must take our time and develop properly. If a health clinic is built in a village, or if good water provided, it will not solve the problem of disease if the supporting hygienic habits do not go with it. And this comes out through education.

This means that the whole educational policy needs a critical reappraisal. We must find out if we still want to continue the hot race of the kind of education that we get since it creates so much social problems for us. Anyway, this digression is necessary to understand the extent to which the creation of an organization solves a problem or not.

The government is to be commended for setting up a Ministry for Youth and Rural Development. Busia and his men have responded in a forward looking manner to modern thinking about the Youth. There is no point belabouring the point here about their importance and potential. The thing is to have ready programmes to channel whatever potential there is into creative energy. Therefore, when the Minister of Youth and Rural Development says:

'The new Department of Youth Services...

will assume responsibility for all youth work, providing organization and machinery not only for co-ordinating but also for giving administrative and technical support necessary to ensure the successful promotion, running and supervision of the youth programme' (*Hansard*, Sept. 10, 1970, col. 1257).

One begins to heave a sigh of relief. But the rogrammes have to be initiated and executd. Certain subjects have been pinpointed as maerial for the programme. Their feasibility needs o be investigated. Secondly, if the execution of he programmes will not be bogged down by adninistrative incompetence, red tapeism, they have good chance of success.

Hopes of Success

The reservation one has about the new Departnent of Youth Services is that it is going to opeate as part of the Civil Service where procedures re set and slow for youth workers. Youth workrs constantly improvise and have to work with peed; but where they have to be controlled and irm, how different will the new office be from he hosts of government offices already in exisence?

It is gratifying to note the excellent relations hat exist between the Youth Ministry and the Ghana National Youth Council. But one would have wished that the Council and its constituent bodies would be strengthened by greater help in order to increase its work and the spirit of voluntarism and selfless service so lacking in our midst.

It is not quite clear how many countries in the on Youth should be flung wider afield so that many sides of the issue get known for a better mean to be struck.

IS BUSIA A POLITICIAN?

by Max Assimeng

It is not quite clear how many countries in the world are governed or led by sociologists. But Ghana certainly has a unique opportunity to experiment with how well able sociologists are in grappling with problems of the solution of a society's ills. We know that sociologists do a lot of talking and writing about society; but when it comes to correcting those ills then they recoil, in a maze of incomprehensible verbiage, under the pretext that they are **not** decision makers. And when they are asked further, as Robert S. Lynd has asked his colleagues, as to what their knowledge is meant for, most of them evasively say that they expect **others** to correctly make use of their sociological knowledge for the betterment of mankind.

Dr. Kofi Abrefa Busia began researching into the structure and dynamics of the Ghanaian society as far back as the middle of the 1940's. He has since extensively studied the tensions and strains involved in the transition from traditionalism to modernity. He is himself a man of village origins, and from a home where tradition is very strong; he cannot, therefore, possibly be unaware of the social structure of our rural areas. He also chose Sekondi-Takoradi for detailed study of the problems and conflicts involved in rapid urbanization. Busia is obviously too humble to claim that he understands the society more than anyone else in this country. But there is no doubt that few understand the social problems of the society more than he does.

Control of Effective Power

The passion to gain political power, which Busia has shown for the past two decades, was probably motivated by his conviction that one can do something concrete about the needs and aspirations of a society only when one is in control of effective power. Although Busia is yet to come out with any concrete ideological position, one discerns some kind of 19th century Christian socialism in him.

After almost twenty years of varying degrees of political wilderness and palpable ineffectuality, Busia is now **the** Prime Minister of Ghana, and, for that matter constitutionally the most powerful political figure in the nation. Perhaps one year of office may not be enough to assess the performance of a political leader; and obviously the enormity of the social and economic problems which he inherited was such that clearly very little could be accomplished in this first year of administration. Also it is contended that Busia is yet to find his feet because it is the first time he has been at the helm of governmental authority. But these are no excuses for exempting Busia—and the men around him—from the strictest scrutiny possible. Even a single day's performance can be subjected to analysis, even if the analyis is of a declaration of intent only.

The reasons for this searching exercise are many. Ghanaians had for long been indoctrinated into the belief that intellectuals are more used to discussions and bickerings on words and theories, and that when it comes to practical politics and the taking of decisions they behave like children.

Indeed, we were told that "practical commonsense" could be divorced entirely from intellectualism. "Bourgeois ivory-towerism" was the way Busia and his band of intellectuals were jocularly and spitefully described. During the early stages of the 1969 election campaign, Busia himself appeared quite worried about this intellectual tag, and he went to considerable lengths to give a liberal definition of an intellectual which included farmers and fishermen.

Thus the victory of the Progress Party in the elections was regarded as, among other things, a rehabilitation of the values which Ghanaians once had for brains, while the anti-intellectual 'veranda boy' ideology was said to have been nipped in the bud. If Busia fails, so say the seceptics, then it will be the end of the rule of intellectuals in Ghana. For, already it is said that intellectuals argue more but act less, and that basically Busia is **not** a politician. One recalls with amusement one of the political leaders of the Nkrumah regime saying with seriousness: "We have much respect for Busia's learning, but as far as practical commonsense is concerned I am ten times better than he".

Tough-skinned Politics

Where do the erstwhile university professor and his men stand on the scale of political judgment after one year in office? It is now quite incontrovertible that a few decisions that have been taken by Busia since becoming the Prime Minister indicate that, contrary to earlier speculations, Busia **is** a politician. Take, for instance, the almost callous and painful, but clearly politically point yielding, decision on the aliens' quit order. Take also the "I am ready to take them on" taunt of the Bench. And take, too, the virtually blanket umbrella under which reasons the civil service was purged. One cannot say for certain what amount of hair splitting goes on at the cabinet chambers in the Castle; and no one knows either, what types of competing and (often) conflicting theories are being presented there.

Perhaps Ghanaians are now becoming aware that weekly lay-preaching in the pulpit is not in any way incompatible with tough-skinned practical politics. In his first few days of office Ghanaians were openly advocating that Busia should do less sermonising, and concentrate more on the job. He probably still reads his sermons in the church, except that the press in the country has perhaps now come to learn that Busia is not the only world leader who combines political office with deep religiosity, and that the news value of such church attendance is very minor to the nation Some Ghanaians had been of the opinion that Busia was a sickman who could not afford the strains of the office of Premiership. Here too, sickly or not sickly, his health has apparently withstood the mental agonies that have attended some of his decisions.

Busia is, in a way, comparatively luckier because he is governing people who are now less interested in credulous secular millenarianism. Nobody expects Busia, as was expected of Nkrumah for instance, that he has a magical answer to the numerous problems of the nation. Political speeches about "visions" are not taken seriously these days, and therefore do not elicit exaggerated expectations of immediate political pay-off. Thus whether Busia is aware or not — and he should be aware — the expectations which Ghanaians have of him are not very high. This is to Busia's advantage, in the sense that he, not being a politician of the colourful type, is not obliged to indulge in political stage acrobatics. Actually one's impression is that he would have been less successful if he were to indulge in constant open-stage showmanship.

Shy of the Crowd

On the few occasions when he has been on the platform, it has appeared that his speeches have been couched essentially in the tradition of the academic persuader, involving the provision of minutely accurate facts and figures. When he has tried to appear angry, his audience has found him rather unnatural. And the other occasion when he tried to be politically emotional in his famous "flush water" speech, he evidently came off a bit too badly. All of which goes to indicate that Busia is better at the desk of decision making in which his intellectual resources are immense, than at open-air political drama, shy of the crowd and so respectful of human beings as he is.

In the game of practical politics one is principally interested in the acquisition of power, and in **how not to lose it.** That the power could be used for good or for evil is quite another matter, and Busia's repeated assertion that he is interested only in "the power to serve" does not in any way contradict my contention. If one wants power in order to serve, then — barring the inevitability of mortality — one would want to remain for long in the position where one could effectively be lastingly useful. In this respect Busia has done his home work very well by the type of need priorities he has conceived for the nation. The needs of the average rural dweller are few, modest, but extremely pressing. Busia's fortune is that he

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appreciates this. And those who accuse Busia of 'defects' such as muddling foreign affairs issues, criticizing judges, or disrespecting the Parliament, should do well to read again where the strength of his election victory came from, and is likely to come from during the next elections ahead.

If the present government is able to improve the lot of the rural areas, on the kind of development programme it has at the moment, and which development is already yielding visible results, one can predict that Busia has many years still ahead of him.

Even before the first year of Busia, and before the political worth of his government could be seriously evaluated, the whole congeries of the opposition parties had begun to crumble. If this is a blow to our conception of multi-party democracy, then it is just too bad.

Is Busia a politician? The answer must be a massive yes! His first year of office has revealed him as a shrewd and calculating politician, although not (as yet) the colourful and crude type. Remaining in office for long may not necessarily be an accurate index of the success of a politician. But in a democracy where people hold power by consent, this aspect of political leadership cannot be easily discounted in the assessment of the long term political stature of Busia.

CRITERIA AND TESTS FOR MEASURING CABINET PRODUCTIVITY

By
G. Adali-Mortty

BUSINESSMEN and academics in the science of management alike view government as business, and the governing of people as management.

Techniques have been developed in business for both qualitative and quantitative analyses of the company's management principles and operational processes. Using these techniques, it is possible to measure management effectiveness. The managment accomplishments are measured by objective, numerical factors, and results are expressed mathematically.

Contrary to popular opinion, the tests and criteria applicable to the measuring of company performance and management results do apply equally to the measurement of government performance and governing results.

In the same way that the management input can be singled out from among other inputs such as stockholders' cedi equity, and plant and equipment cedi value, so, too, the legislative, the regulatory and policy inputs can be quantified for purposes of management audit.

With a little bit of sophistication, through recourse to electronic computation, perhaps, it is not impossible to measure and rank Cabinet performance as to its ability to excel other national Cabinet competitors, and as to its ability to maximize governmental performance with minimum resources!

Alternatively, with the aid of a hypothesis, which is the research name for a national situation upon the basis of which, and in terms of which, to bounce off experimental situations, government performance as by such and such a date can be measured and ranked against a hypothetical past or future government, with resources held even and constant. In business, the specific performance factors utilizable in the measurement of performance are revenues, operating income, net earnings, given a certain level of resources as the input.

Resources vs Results

Of course, a management may decide to use maximum resources to obtain minimum returns. This is perfectly admissible. But, it is assumed that the government and the business we are concerned with here are those which wish to maximize returns with a minimum of resources, the Ghana Government's Cabinet, included.

Substituting "Cabinet" for management in the formulation of a ratio of performance, the relationships between resource factors and performance factors may be expressed as follows:

$$\text{Cabinet productivity} = \frac{\text{Performance}}{\text{Resources}}$$

where performance is the result of various governmental politicking, Cabinet decisions and policies, legislative and regulatory initiatives, and the climate of confidence engendered or dried up in consequence of these Cabinet actions.

Any government can exercise power as arbitrarily as it likes, and it may be as prodigal in the dissipation of its own and the Nation's goodwill here and abroad; but, it must reckon with both the intended effect and the dysfunctional consequences of its actions.

Following this argument, one may be interested in measuring the political goodwill within and outside Ghana which the aggregate Cabinet initiatives and government decisions and actions have yielded. This can be done in terms of numerical

ues using monetary yield factors; for, governnt behaviour does stimulate economic fertility, causes it to shrivel up.

Government behaviour influences social stabi- or sows the seed for social upheaval; it estashes an atmosphere whereby investors here abroad determine for themselves whether or they are welcome, and whether their capital be invested will be safe and productive. Any vernment which does not review its record in ms of some such criteria is digging its own rly grave.

What about Resources in the equation above? business, resources, as used for purposes of easurement of performance, are the total int, the outcome of which is being evaluated. government's resources are the derived resours of the country's total productive agencies, puic and private, such as invested capital, produce manpower, geographical factors, etc. The arly appropriations included. Given the lands, e rivers, the manpower, the organization, the ltural outlook of the citizens, etc., how produce has been the stimulation provided by governent measures?

Effects of Government Controls

In developing countries of the size of Ghana, overnmental impact is direct and close, whatever he area of production may be. In countries like apan, the United States of America, Germany r Great Britain, private enterprise is not as exosed to the constraints arising from government ptions, directions, bureaucratic interferences and ontrols as are private enterprises in small, deveoping countries.

In our type of developing countries, capital productivity, facilities productivity and personnel roductivity are as much the functions of governent regulations and controls as the achievement r failure of the managements. This being the ase, the prosperity of the country, expressed n terms of value-added or Net National Prouct, is a mix between public restraints or perissiveness on the one hand, and management erformance on the other.

With the above for working background, the ollowing tests and criteria for measuring Cabinet erformance may be formulated:

1. Given the resources of the country, less the financial constraints, what gains may be chalked up in numerical terms as the performance of the Ghana Cabinet, after a year of operation?
2. How does this performance measure or rank with the performance of a hypothetical past or future Cabinet, after interpolating the necessary constraints and conditions?
3. What is the Ghanaian investment climate like, today, in comparison with the investment climate in neighbouring countries, again after allowing for the differences in the starting resources?
4. What gains or losses in goodwill for Nation and for itself has the Cabinet produced among Ghanaians and in African and overseas countries?
   (Goodwill is used in this context as an economic asset.)

Intentions and Avowals

Mathematical processes are available for working out above problems. While the figures represented by the factors in the questions posed above are being determined for eventual feeding into computers, certain hypotheses spring to mind reflecting the one-year performance of the Cabinet in question. In the event that the ruling elite is sufficiently interested in the question of objective productivity measurement. I shall provide my own hypotheses, and shall subject them to the test of the computerized findings!

Other battery of tests can be devised specially for measuring the results of election-time intentions and avowals; e.g. effects of the God-fearing syndrome can be subjected to mathematical analysis and measurement. So, also, even if a government were word-centred. Words are more easily mocked and deceived, of course; figures can, too, but less easily.

Not every politician likes harsh figures. Many do not relish stark economic realism, either. Never mind. Others, including people's stomachs and the ancestral genii of our society, can and are doing the reckoning for the politicians. If politicians care to send in their own battery of problems and questions based on ascertainable and quantitative facts, there are many to work out the figures.

BUSIA AND THE NEW POLITICS

By

K. A. Sarpong

IT IS often said that periods and events produce their own leaders. The last decade produced charismatic leaders such as Kennedy, De Gaulle, Nehru, Tito, Ben Bella, Nkrumah, Keita, Castro, Nasser, and Lumumba. And those were the crisis periods—the Congo, Algeria, the Southern African betrayal, Berlin, Middle East, etc.

Between 1957 and 1966, Ghana was in the thick

of international diplomacy—Accra hummed with hectic diplomatic activities. Ghana was the pace-setter for Africa and "any figure who appeared on the Ghana stage was magnified and distorted almost beyond recognition". Then came the coup d'etat of February, 1966, and this little country was, or so it seemed, cut down to size. "Overnight it was converted into what in fact it had always been, a small state on the West Coast of Africa in no way historically, strategically, economically (and one may be tempted to add politically) important to the world". Ghana had lost a rare opportunity to lead by its example as a model colony. Nkrumah was a product of his time.

The fall of the decade has also seen the rise to power of personalities of less charisma but perhaps more astute at the power game; of these Nixon, Pompidou, Kosygin, Suharto, Boumedienne, Busia etc., can easily be mentioned. The people who lack colour are shaping the destinies of mankind. It is their turn to shape events or create them. They were produced to thaw crisis; or it may be that the "thaw" produced them. Busia is a product of his time. The exceptions that fall out of this general pattern are of course many.

Low-Profile Politics

With the coup, came the politics of low profile —a posture fully adopted by the new administration and extended into the policy of low keyed diplomacy! It was a period for assessing and searching for a proper role for Ghana. On the whole, the Nkrumah period as well as the National Libeartion Council period produced problems of great magnitude and these are the problems inherited by the Busia administration. And any Ghanaian who has the experience of inheritance would tell you that it is nothing to be envied but once you proclaim your intention to assume power then you are judged according to what you professed to do (at the time of election) and your actual performance. It is against this background that an attempt is being made to assess the strengths and weaknesses of one year of the Progress Party government — perhaps an unfair period within which to assess a government majority of whom were in opposition for over 15 years and who were forced either into exile or were detained.

The new government had the goodwill of several Ghanaians, and the elections produced a majority so huge as to become an embarrassment even to its leader. The expectations were all time high; what else could they be after, after the election euphoria with the promises which were probably never meant to be taken seriously and never of course to be fulfilled?

The period of initiation of the new administration into the charmed circles of government took too long. The Army had to display their strength that even though the new government were the elected representatives of the people it was in their baggage train that they had returned to power. So the shows went on and the period of waiting dimmed the enthusiasm of the electors. An opportunity for machine-gunning drama onto the Ghana political scene had been lost by the new government!

And when the new Progress Party Government appeared to do something that had the air of drama it was a very clumsy way of handling events brought about by its own acts — against aliens — an act which was hurried through regardless of the hardship it inflicted, regardless too of some of the niceties of the law, against the Civil Service and of course against the Judiciary. As was pointed out elsewhere the kindest explanation is that the government was still learning how to govern. Learning to govern, Yes! But is it not a little odd that a government so strongly representative of the legal profession and so publicly committed to upholding freedom and justice should be seen to be curtailing one of these twin virtues and quarrelling with the other? Perhaps that can be said to be part of learning the art of politics.

The 568 Dismissals

The dismissal of 568 Civil Servants brought the government into direct conflict with the civil service, and alienated responsible opinion in the country. Unfortunately the dismissals did not go far enough. It was hoped that the Busia dispensation would go a long way to shaping that institution as an effective and responsive machinery for achieving the sweeping needs of the country. But this was hardly the case. The exercise merely scratched the surface. The top-heavy structure of the Civil Service as an institution is still with us and the exercise also did very little to change its colonial form. It can be argued that what the exercise should have done was to have deployed the Civil Service personnel into the more productive sectors of the economy. This it did not do and the exercise only succeeded in alienating opinion without achieving the objectives set before it.

The other effect of the dismissals was that it

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brought the government into direct conflict with the judiciary, first, because the Attorney-General tried and failed to object to two of the judges who sat to hear the plea by Mr. E. K. Sallah that he had been wrongfully dismissed by the government under Section 9(1) of the transitional provisions of the Constitution. Secondly, because the judges found that Mr. Sallah had indeed been wrongfully dismissed.

But why there should be this muddled, angry conflict between the party and the state cannot be explained easily. Part of the answers may be suggested.

First, it may be argued that the Constitution of the Second Republic became almost outmoded on the assumption of power by the new administration. The 'troika' was of no relevance and later became an embarrassment to the government. The simplest that can be said of this Constitution is that it was drafted with almost indecent haste to make it almost impossible to create another dictator, and to ensure the exercise of genuine political power. The Constitution is almost literally grinding the whole machinery of state to a halt. Was it a Constitution, as someone pointed out, of lawyers, by the lawyers and for the judges?

Applying the Law

When the judges started to exercise their power it was then that realization dawned that the courts were being used "politically to change the people's choice so clearly and so massively made in fair and free election last August". And as if the opposite was what was actually meant. "I respect the principle that the executive should not interfere with the judiciary in the proper exercise of its functions . . . I shall do my best . . . to uphold the highest standards of democracy. Whether in the legislature or the executive or the judiciary . . . the judiciary is not going to hold or exercise any supervisory powers not given to it by the Constitution". The truth of the matter is that the judges did no more than apply the law as they saw it.

There is every reason to suppose that Dr. Busia means what he says when he talks of upholding the rule of law and defending civil liberties. But he is a politician first and foremost. The people are knocking impatiently at the gates calling for far reaching improvement in their lives and this is the responsibility of the politician. If we should have a Constitution at this stage that will sap our energies on matters that little affect the man at **Nima,** then the politician's ability will have to be called into question and he will have to act. The confrontation between the party and the judiciary finds its roots in this realisation which came too early, and the basic factor is that the Constitution is attempting to state the minute detail of every conceivable social action, and attempting to offer every answer.

It is the view of the author that the government should have the courage to state its intentions clearly that the Constitution cannot remain in its present form and hope to fulfil its promises to the electorate. The Constitution wrongly has served to expose the world of difference between **profession** and actual performance. What may weaken the hands of the Prime Minister is his previous membership of the Constituent Assembly which saddles him with responsibility for drafting a Constitution that did not last one year in its operation. It weakens his hands.

Search for Improvement

Was it that our domestic commitments would not allow the new government to pursue any grand policies? And what of the question of the mounting external debts which apart from creating balance of payment problems are also holding in check our productive and creative eneregies? Was it that the external restraints of an economy imprisoned still in a basically neo-colonialist dilemma prevent any substantial policy of improvement?

The first few months of the government seemed to have over-emphasized our incapacity to do much to improve the ordinary lot of the great majority of those who voted so overwhelmingly for the Progress Party. And the movement from corridor to corridor in Western capitals seemed to have stirred very little or no sympathy. It is now clear that the Western Powers are not prepared to share with others the economic and political strength they had acquired so much at the expense of the developing world through slavery, exploitation, etc. On the whole the Busia administration started with a typically pro-Western posture but the experience must be disappointing to him now.

The pursuit of the policy of "Dialogue with South Africa", that is "working from within" and seeking to alleviate the worst excesses of 'apartheid' by luring into conference chamber that inhuman government by quiet persuasion, is a fair enough argument, but for a number of reasons it no longer holds good. I leave this as an area for a more competent hand.

And politics seems to be following the old

ttern: personal intrigues, lacking the autonomy anonymous authority whether of the party or the state!! The rumour-mongering, the allega-ns of bribery and corruption of this or that inister etc., of this or that vying with this or at for this or that appointment. Of this or that ing the confidant of the Prime Minister; that is or that Minister will be removed at the im-nding Cabinet reshuffle etc..

And if there is a distinct flavour to the new overnment (one is not very sure of this) it may e that it lies in the emphasis it would like to lace on private Ghanaian enterprise! It is the ne area where the one year of the Busia govern-ient has shown its toughest stance and has the nore so shown its faith in the Ghanaian. The ebanese have always shown themselves as the nost influential pressure group in the community nd this by what they are capable of doing—the palm greasing, etc.; to have threatened their **astion** is no mean achievement.

Those Agreements Too!

And what of Drevici? He was isolated by the actics of the new government. One only hopes that this exercise would surgically operate those agreements entered into by the National Libera-tion Council government in circumstances that appeared suspicious! But this exercise should also attempt to examine the Ghanaian businessman before transferring to him the injustices of the Lebanese operators. The Ghanaian businessman is more consumptive than productive. He is only interested in going to the areas where the use of the brain is nil; import and use the quick profits on displays of ostentatious cars and houses. He fattens on the yield of this society but never bestirs himself to solve its problems. He "enters soul in peace" on the terrible anti-national path of living in elegance at the expense of the impoverished masses. The danger is that of a widening gulf between the commercial oligarchy who live in dis-proportionate luxury and the abject poverty of the rural millions. Having succeeded in removing the Lebanese parasites, we must prevent a situa-tion where Ghanaians can turn into commercial sharks.

The new politics of Ghana has served to show certain dullness and has also shown to be lacking in popular participation. There has been an appal-ling lack of institutional framework both within the Party and the Government for reaching out for ideas, despite the promise to exploit the best talents in the country. And the parliamentary de-bates have not been particularly inspiring in spite of the fact that our assemby has some of the best brains. The government has been re-acting with panic and loss of nerves, while the opposition seemed to be taking the initiative in limited areas, although the Opposition itself has not been able to rally any serious counter-programme as alter-native to that of the government Party.

We have heard pronouncements by Ministers and Junior Ministers that seemed to lack co-ordi-nation; and there is the re-appearance of posh cars as symbol of the politician's power reminis-cent of the old politics!

Challenges of the Society

And is it to be assumed that the creative urge of the youth is to be ignored, that our Prime Minister, himself a pillar of moral rectitude, is "no beginning, but an end, a grandiose final chord —a fulfiller, not a prophet?" The new adminis-tration must undertake to capture the imagination of the youth. Such a posture demands new atti-tudes because up till now the traditional approaches have failed us. Indeed we need a fresh start with fresh ideas. The old faces with the old ideas and the old cliches are not the answers to the problems of today. And this is because what-ever the problems, our new leaders cannot be absolved from the responsibility of meeting the challenges posed by the society they have under-taken to govern.

So far there has been evidence of some stagna-tion and lack of imagination on the part of some of our Ministers, and it does not appear that the machinery of state is working in a fashion that will permit us to solve any of the problems facing this country effectively. The one happy thing is that Busia and his men have the best of intentions and they mean only well for this coun-try; thus any mistakes they have made so far are genuine ones. Let us hope that the one year of Progress Party administration was only the start-ing point of the hope that their election promised for all Ghanaians.

GHANA'S FOREIGN POLICY UNDER BUSIA

By

K. A. Karikari

THE TONE of foreign policy pronouncements since the advent of the Busia government brings into focus a reappraisal of Ghana's foreign relations with Africa and the outside world. Perhaps it is more appropriate, after one year of Busia's government, to trace the course of Ghana's for-

eign policy since independence. Indeed, it is over 13 years since Ghana was admitted into the international comity of nations.

Ghana boldly took up the challenge as the first black African country to gain independence from colonial rule. Thus the posture of the young country in 1957 obviously dictated a militant foreign policy based on a rationalisation of both the needs of Ghana and a twin aim of helping to liberate the colonial peoples of Africa and to provide leadership in Africa for the realisation of African Unity.

However, since the demise of the Nkrumah government in 1966 there has been a redefinition and a re-direction of Ghana's foreign policy by both the National Liberation Council (N.L.C.) and the Busia administration. What follows, therefore, is not an attempt to draw up the balance sheet of Ghana's foreign relations since 1957, but to highlight some of the major foreign policy decisions under our three successive governments: Nkrumah, N.L.C., and Busia respectively.

Nkrumah's Ambitious Policy

Kwame Nkrumah, on the eve of Ghana's independence said "Our independence is meaningless unless it is linked up with the total liberation of the continent of Africa". This was a pertinent statement from Nkrumah which was to affect the course of our foreign policy. Nkrumah and Ghana had to defend and implement such an ambitious policy with our resources; financial, personnel, military and diplomatic. And to-day, it is questioned seriously whether our foreign policy investment in Africa has brought with it adequate returns in terms of prestige and influence?

However, there is almost a unanimous agreement by publicists and foreign policy analysts that the substance of our foreign relations has always remained. Ghana has always professed non-alignment and balanced neutrality in international affairs. Ghana has continued to support the aims of the United Nations Organization. We have defended the principles of the U.N. Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and a host of recommendations by the United Nations General Assembly. We have also participated effectively in the membership of other international institutions such as the Organisation of African Unity and the British Commonwealth of Nations.

What differentiates Nkrumah from the N.L.C. or Busia is the style of policy: that is, the very conduct of our diplomacy under the three different governments since 1957. Kwame Nkrumah believed in militant and active diplomacy. He was always interested in getting heads of states and governments to meet at international conferences to deliberate and pass resolutions. Whether such international forums were effective or not, the important thing to Nkrumah was that there was international contact and talking. It was, thus, through conference diplomacy that Nkrumah exerted influence on the international front.

It was during these conferences that Nkrumah defined clearly the basic tenets of Ghana's foreign policy. A policy based on non-alignment which did not imply aloofness from international affairs; but a policy essentially designed to view all international issues on their merits. Nkrumah's understanding of the policy of non-alignment no doubt affected his dealings with both the East and the West; though in some cases Nkrumah had leaned more on the East, particularly on matters of decolonisation and economic aid.

Quiet Diplomacy

On the African front, Nkrumah no doubt exaggerated his role. He considered himself a leader to liberate and unite the peoples of Africa. Perhaps, it may be such a conceited idea of Nkrumah which made him become a victim of his own creation. He would not come to terms with any African government that did not believe in a union government. Nkrumah, therefore, fought desperately for a continental government which was not practicable in the realities of the African situation. The means he employed were the conference diplomacy, issuing of communiques, and in desperate moments, subversion. On the whole, apart from his policy of subverting other governments in Africa, Nkrumah made a significant impact on the international front. The voice of Ghana was constantly heard in the world, whether for diplomatic manoeuvres or for diplomatic gains.

Unlike Nkrumah, the N.L.C. government believed in quiet diplomacy. When the N.L.C. took over the reins of government it redefined Ghana's foreign policy of non-alignment. The N.L.C. continued to uphold our traditional policy of non- alignment, but with a slight twist of balanced neutrality — which really did not depart from the cornerstone of our foreign policy — that of non-alignment. The N.L.C. was also

etrieve our diplomatic set-back on the ront. It adopted a policy of co-opera- non-involvement in Africa which mplete reversal of Nkrumah's tactics. N.L.C. administration set the pace for derstanding on the African situation. Unity was given a new interpretation. s to be achieved through economic co- and political understanding of all in Africa. With regard to our relations outside world, though Ghana professed d neutrality", we preferred the West to We had closed many of our missions in ern world, and the N.L.C. received more c aid from the West than from the East. , on the whole the N.L.C. did not change tance of our foreign policy. The N.L.C. ration only took to quiet but effective cy.

Busia administration during one year of ence is still in search of a foreign policy n the needs of Ghana and the govern- understanding of the international poli- stem. Although Mr. Victor Owusu, the Minister, has said openly that "we did pose Nkrumah's foreign policy but his c policy", yet most of the policy pro- ments of the present government point fferent style of foreign policy. The signifi- oint to note about these pronouncements the outward appearance of our diplomacy lually changing.

Our Traditional Policy

ly, Busia's administration has restated our onal policy of non-alignment. This policy early stated by Busia when he passionately sed the 24th Session of the United Nations al Assembly. The Prime Minister reiterated he aim of our foreign policy would be to e its proper balance, and that our policy n-alignment was based on the current post- of developing countries caught up in the ce of terror because of the bi-polarization world. Dr. Busia also pledged our support he United Nations and our belief in the iples of the United Nations Charter.

rica continues to be the cornerstone of a's foreign policy. Busia's government has doubt under-written the N.L.C. African y. The Prime Minister has reaffirmed his rnment's belief in African Unity and its inued co-operation with all members of the nisation of African Unity. However, Busia's can policy does not appear too impressive ome of our neighbours and friends abroad.

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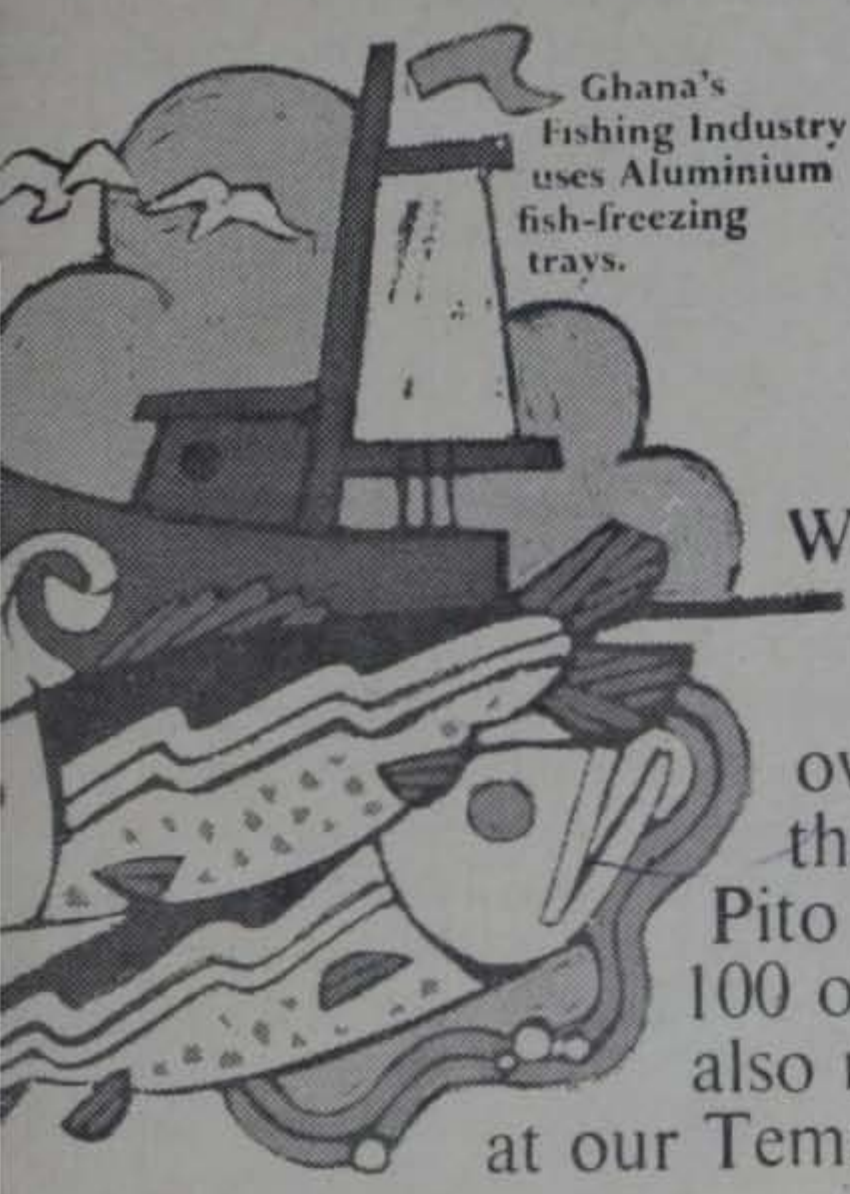


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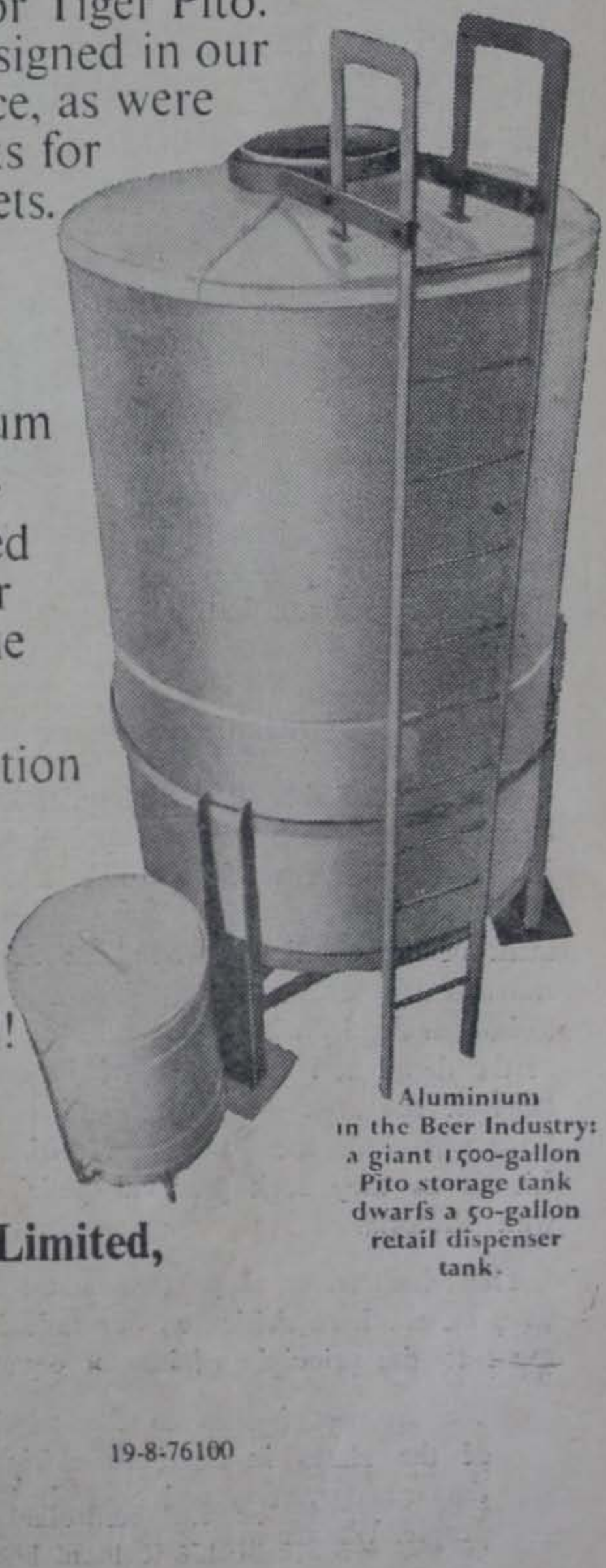
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The rigid enforcement of the Aliens' Act has, no doubt, brought about strained relations with our immediate neighbours. Although the Prime Minister had the opportunity quite recently to explain our stand on the Aliens' Compliance Order to people such as General Gowon, it will take a long time to retrieve such a diplomatic set-back.

The Prime Minister's recent address to the O.A.U. Summit was less impressive. In fact most of our admirers were very disappointed with the substance of Dr. Busia's speech. The Prime Minister's address meant more to the realities of Ghana's problems of social and economic development than to the realities of African Unity. Indeed, this is not the kind of speech which militant Africanists want to listen to.

On southern Africa, the Prime Minister is still defending his stand. But it appears that the government's major blunder in the conduct of Ghana's foreign relations, is Dr. Busia's recent pronouncements on South Africa. It is, indeed, difficult for any black African government to defend any soft policy on South Africa. Southern Africa has become a highly sensitive spot in inter-state relations. Political solutions through the United Nations, or other international agencies, have proved ineffective. Nor have bilaterial or unilaterial solutions succeeded in influencing the policies of apartheid South Africa. Yet Dr. Busia still believes that we can talk to South Africa.

Rejection of Racialism

I wonder whether the full implications of the Lusaka Manifesto have been appreciated by Dr. Busia. The Lusaka Manifesto is a declaration by African leaders calling for a peaceful settlement of the conflicts in Southern Africa. That statesmanlike document combines a commitment to human dignity with a perceptive understanding of the depth and complexity of the racial problems in the area — a combination which we hope will guide the policies of Africa and her friends as they seek practical policies to deal with Pretoria.

The Manifesto in clear terms states the objectives on southern Africa as our united commitment to the principle of human equality.

> We are not hostile to the administration of the states in Southern Africa because they are governed and controlled by white people. We are hostile to them because they are systems of minority control which exist as a result of, and in pursuance of doctrines of human inequality. What we are working for is the right of self-determination for the people of those territories. We are working for a rule in those countries which is based on the will of all the people, and an acceptance of the equality of every citizen. Our stand towards Southern Africa involves, thus, a rejection of racialism, not a reversal of the existing racial domination.

Dealing specifically with the Republic of South Africa, the Lusaka Manifesto said:

> The Republic is itself an independent sovereign state and a member of the U.N. It is more highly developed and richer than any other nation in Africa. On every legal basis its internal affairs are a matter exclusively for the people of South Africa. Yet the purpose of law is a people, and we assert that the actions of the South African government are such that the rest of the world has a responsibility to take some action in defence of humanity.

Upholding the Lusaka Manifesto

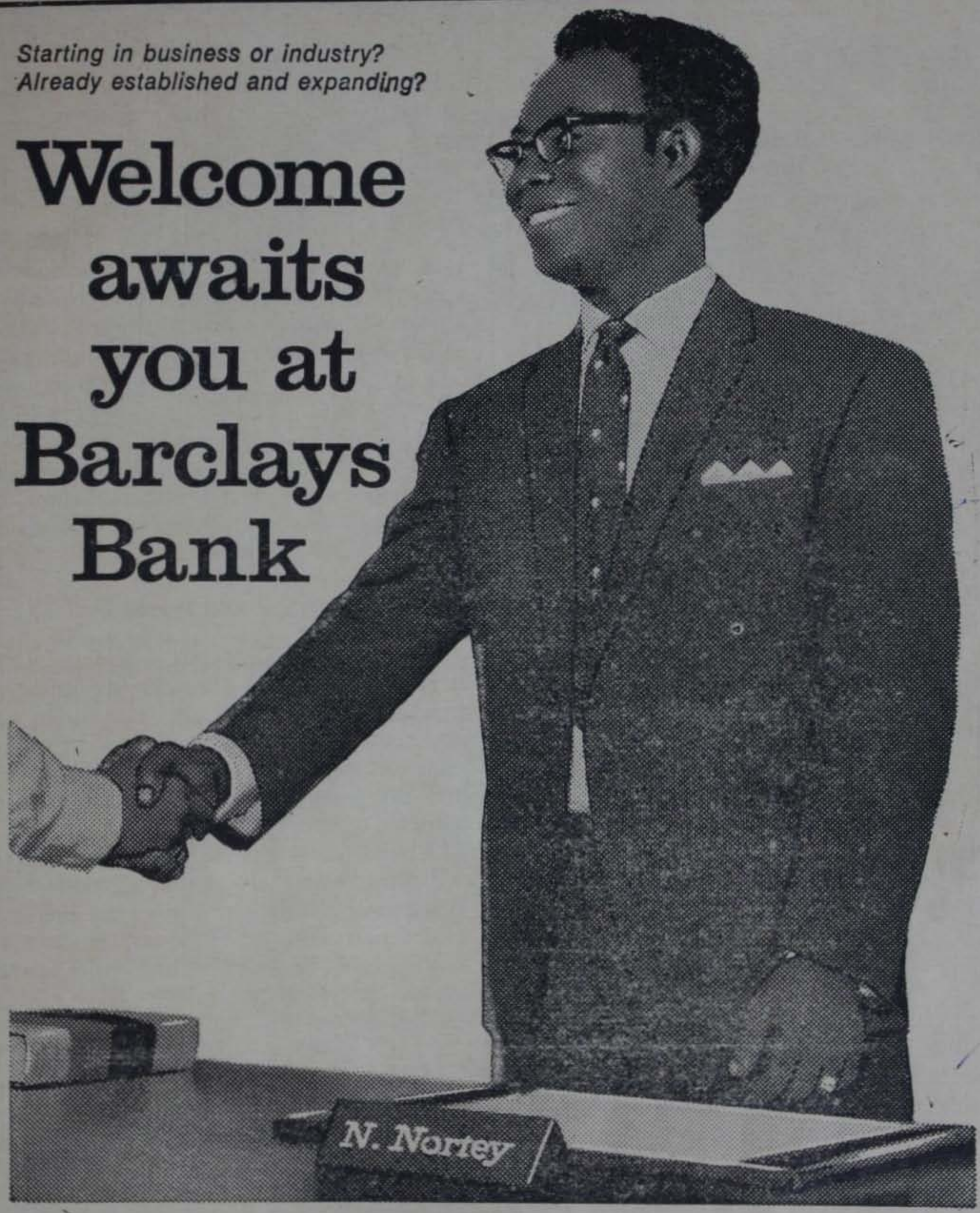
Indeed there is one thing about South Africa's oppression which distinguishes it from other repressive regimes. The apartheid policy adopted by that government and supported to a greater or lesser extent by almost all its white citizens is based on a rejection of man's humanity.

South Africa should be excluded from the U.N's agencies and even from the U.N. itself. It should be isolated from world trade patterns and left to be self-sufficient, if it can. The South African government cannot be allowed both to reject the very concept of mankind's unity and to benefit by the strength given through friendly international relations. It appears that we should uphold the Lusaka Manifesto and consider our policy on South Africa since October 1969 as a mistake.

We were unable to negotiate for the further rescheduling of our external debts. External financial and economic assistance to Ghana has not been encouraging, though our development diplomats are still working on the right direction to obtain assistance from friendly countries and international institutions. The next trade fair may help boost up our economic and financial potential for development. However, the pattern of our foreign economic relations is still a limitation to effective diplomacy.

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The Law

THE BUSIA ADMINISTRATION AND THE LAW

by

Kwame Afreh

WHEN THE Progress Party came into power no one expected that relations between the executive and the judiciary would be difficult and unhappy. Dr. Busia throughout his academic and political careers had fought for the establishment of a "true, free, independent and respectable judiciary", as he puts it in his "*Message to the People of Ghana*" on 21st December, 1964. (See The Courage and Foresight of Busia p.59.) In place of a monolithic one-party state ruled by the whims and caprices of a dictator he had fought for the establishment of a society ruled by law.

Many people therefore believed that nothing would be done by him or members of his government, which would have the effect of destroying or damaging the freedom, independence and respectability of the judiciary. Yet, in the first year of the government headed by Dr. Busia much damage was done to the prestige and respectability of the judiciary. It may take several years to repair this damage.

Pressures on the Judiciary

One cause of the friction between the judiciary and the executive is the Constitution itself. Designed to prevent the abuses which were possible under the Nkrumah regime it placed several limitations on the powers of the executive and the legislature, and conferred extensive powers of judicial review on the judiciary.

The basic conception of the Constitution is the Rule of Law. The law is supreme. Ghanaians should be ruled by law, and law only! And the mouthpiece of the Constitution and the law should be an independent judiciary. The Law Courts of Ghana, it was conceived, "shall be the custodian and bastion of the liberty and dignity of Ghanaians, the guardian of the Constitution, in short, the citadel of justice". (Constitutional Proposals para. 502, p.138.) The judiciary should be independent, and "The Executive shall not be placed in a position *vis-a-vis* the judiciary such as would enable it, or at least would offer it the temptation, to exert any pressures, however subtly, on the judiciary".

In accordance with these basic concepts the judicial power of the state was vested in the judiciary. The Supreme Courts would have power to pronounce on the legality and constitutionality of any law passed by the legislature or subsidiary legislation made under such law.

It was inevitable that the Supreme Court would be asked from time to time to deal with cases of a political nature. Such cases place the courts in a difficult position. It is not their function to pronounce upon the wisdom or otherwise of the policies of the law whose legality or constitutionality is called in question. Theirs is only to say whether it is legal or constitutional. Yet however correct in law their decision may be in such cases many people are likely to read some political bias into it.

Judges And Decisions

In all countries judges are sometimes accused of such bias. It is now generally recognised that decisions of judges, who are human beings and not robots or computers, may be coloured, at least subconsciously, by such factors as their class backgrounds and general attitudes and views on morality, economics or politics. Thus many trade unionists believe the courts tend to favour employers because judges and employers belong to the same class, move in the same circles and have similar attitudes. Even some judges accept that this could be the case. Lord Justice Scrutton, a great English judge, wrote in 1920:

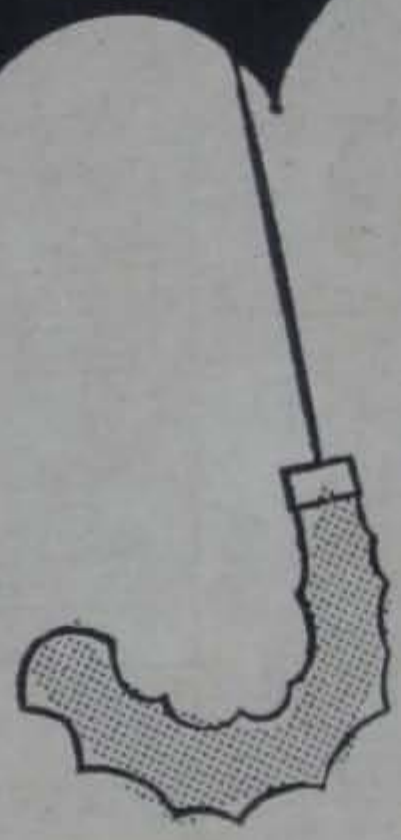
> The habits you are trained in, the people with whom you mix, lead to your having a certain class of ideas of such a nature that, when you have to deal with other ideas, you do not give as sound and accurate judgments as you would wish.

No one should be unduly shocked if decisions of judges are sometimes attacked on the ground that they show a certain political, social or moral bias.

What should shock, and what should not be acceptable without cogent evidence to support them, are statements or allegations to the effect that a particular judge or a panel of judges has deliberately twisted the law in order to favour a friend, a political crony, or to injure the reputation of, or to curry favour with, the government. This is an accusation of judicial fraud. It is different from saying that a judicial error was caused by a judge's inability to understand certain factors and problems due to his back-

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ground or ignorance of the economic or social or political factors involved. Judicial fraud is a judicial misconduct for which a judge can be removed. Judicial error is common, but there is no misconduct involved; provided a judge is honest, he is not removable or guilty of misconduct, however serious his error may be.

If the decision of the Supreme Court in the Sallah Case had been criticised on the ground that it was wrong in law or that the judges did not understand or fully consider the political implications involved, no one would have been unduly dismayed. Or if the Prime Minister in his broadcast had confined himself to dealing with the impression judges created if they sat on cases involving their friends there would have been little cause for alarm.

Unfortunately the Prime Minister went further and more or less accused some judges of playing politics on the Bench — that is, using the judicial Bench as a platform to oppose the government politically. The clear implication was that the decisions of those judges in certain cases involving the government were not honest, but were deliberately made to humiliate the government or ministers.

Repudiating Courts Decisions

Equally serious was the impression the government created that it would not carry out or accept decisions of the courts if in the opinion of the government they were tainted with immorality or bias. Some people may say this is right. But such an attitude is subversive of the proper administration of justice. The government may be wrong in believing that the judgment was tainted with immorality or bias. If this sort of situation is allowed to continue it will not be too long before some unscrupulous politician in power would use it to ignore a perfectly correct, honest judgment which he finds embarrassing or inconvenient.

In my opinion no one, whatever his position, is entitled to repudiate the decisions or orders of a court which he thinks are adverse to him. If he has evidence that the judge was biased or otherwise guilty of immorality he can move to have the judgment set aside; where appropriate he can appeal, and he can even petition to have the particular judge removed. In society where it is accepted that disputes must be settled in a forensic, rather than in a military, manner no one should be allowed to substitute in legal matters his subjective judgment in place of the decision of a competent court; whether or not a judge was biased or was guilty of immorality should be determined by the courts and not in the dark corridors of the Castle or the ministries.

In the Sallah case an allegation of bias against two judges was tried by a panel of judges which did not include the judges involved. No bias or real likelihood of bias was found. But from his broadcast it appears the Prime Minister did not accept the finding. The Court had ordered the arrest of two persons whom the court considered were guilty of perjury. After their arrest and detention they were released on the orders of the I.G.P. Up to now no good reason has been given for the release, and no further action has been taken. Is it because the A.-G. refuses to prosecute?

A similar situation occurred in the Lynes' case. There Mr. Justice Coussey ordered the release of Mr. Lynes, who was being detained pending his deportation, on the ground that in the case before the court, the cause of justice would be better served by Mr. Lynes being released. There were many people who thought the decision was wrong since Mr. Lynes was being held under the Alien's Act and such a detention under that statute cannot be unlawful. The government thought so, too, and decided to appeal. They also took action in another court to secure his detention. These were legitimate courses of action to take.

"Null and Void"

But then a statement was issued by the government declaring that the order of the judge was null and void. Mr. Lynes would be kept on detention until his case was heard. This created the impression that the government would defy the order of the Court perhaps even if it had been affirmed by a higher court.

These disputes and incidents left many people confused. They undermined the confidence people had in the impartiality and independence of the judiciary and in the government's professed aim to establish a democratic society. Many people asked whether they would be justified in having their cases tried by judges whose decisions had been condemned by the government.

In the end nobody gained much. Perhaps judges and lawyers discovered that many people do not like how some things are done in the courts. But this was not surprising to lawyers. As a group they have always been looked upon with suspicion; they have often been condemned as Devil's Advocates; they have always been accused of mendacity and insincerety. Those outside the profession have never fully under-

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stood what lawyers are about, their language and strange procedures, and how they argue and reason.

Perhaps the politicians succeeded in proving to the judges and the lawyers that they have power; that they can turn loose in the streets howling mobs and attract thousands of people at rallies to condemn the judges and lawyers; that they can in Parliament get away with statement which are seditious and contemptuous of the courts (e.g. "the judgment was tainted with judicial immorality and impropriety of the worst dye").

Conflicts between the Executive and the Judiciary have occurred in all democratic countries. There may be more such conflicts in the future. But let us hope that all of us have learnt one lesson from the conflicts of the last twelve months that in matters of such delicacy, intemperate language and hysteria, and lack of objectivity, especially when they come from those who should know better, do not serve the cause of democracy. Let us hope that the judges have learnt that the highest standards of honesty, integrity, circumspection and efficiency are expected from them, and that the politicians have learnt that less emotional, less propagandistic approach in such matters are expected of them.

Supreme Court Appointments

Towards the period under review the first judges of the Supreme Court were appointed. These appointments provoked another controversy. Many people protested that government had packed the bench with political cronies of dubious qualifications. I, personally, do not see how the government can, under the constitution, pack the judiciary if the Judicial Council does its work well and is determined to maintain its independence.

I think it will be better to hope that the Supreme Court will not be as bad as some people expect. There are several instances in legal history of people turning out to be better judges than people thought they would be when they were first appointed. Many judges grow in the job. When Lord Blackburn was appointed judge many people condemned the appointment on the ground that he was inexperienced and in any case unsuccessful as a practitioner. He turned out to be one of the greatest judges in English history. In our own country when Mr. Justice Archer was first appointed judge in 1964 several knowledgeable people shook their heads in dismay. "He was a good, efficient judicial secretary, but what experience did he have for his new job?" they asked. But he has turned out to be one of the best, most respected, and most brilliant judges in Ghana.

Those who might have supported the appointments in the belief that the new judges would be more amenable to government pressure may be disappointed. They may turn out to be more independent than they expect.

Apart from the great confrontation between the judiciary and the executive nothing much happened during the first year of Busia's Administration as far the law is concerned. Though several important laws were passed none had any direct impact on the administration of justice. No action was taken on the reports and recommendations of the Law Reform Committee on such matters as matrimonial causes and wills. We are yet to hear from the government their plans for law reform. The police service have improved in efficiency and effectiveness, but the prisons are in the same old state—overcrowded, sweating punishing centres and no more.

Repairing the Damage

During much of the clime the conflict between the judiciary and the executive was raging, the Chief Justice was in Britain for medical treatment. He has now been elected first President of the 2nd Republic. He is in a unique position to repair the damage that has been done. He must use his influence towards that end.

The first year of the Constitution with all its conflicts has shown that some people are prepared to exercise the constitutional right of unimpeded access to the Courts of law. That is one good sign in an otherwise unhappy period. It shows that some people are prepared to challenge the actions of politicians in the law courts. If the judges can maintain their independence and integrity, if politicians can come to accept they cannot expect to win all their cases in court, and if genuine misgivings about the decisions of the courts will be expressed in less partisan and emotional passion, if the government co-operates on the execution of Court orders in all cases, democracy, the Rule of Law, Freedom and Justice will become more firmly entrenched than hitherto. We should strive to fulfil the laudable aims of the Constitution.

The Courts decide cases and make orders. The Executive executes the orders. For the proper functioning of the legal machinery the two must work together. Neither shall intrude into the others preserves. It is only in that way democracy such as we conceive it and want it to be, can work.

bserver Notebook

From Ghostland—With a Cross

sign of the cross has always been viewed by ious men with considerable amount of awe mysticism. And, like the origin of the Jewish over, any symbol that purports to exempt ple from an impending catastrophe gains more average significance. It is interesting that ughout history periods of national distress e produced the greatest amount of credulity borders on superstition and irrationality.

n **Observer** correspondent has travelled fairly ely throughout the country recently, and re- ds that doors and windows have been dubbed h the sign of the cross. In some cases electrical telephone posts have not been spared.

The origin of this new phenomenon is appa- tly obscure, and those who have "crossed" ir doors are themselves not quite sure of their tives. But from various, often incoherent, rces of information, it has become established t a strange personage is said to be going around ocking at peoples' doors and asking if a certain t treasure (Sasabonsam's son?) is hiding in their uses.

A white chalk sign of the cross is said to exempt house from this 'divine' visitation. Hence the ss galore.

The **Will To Believe,** as Marcus Bach calls it, s always enabled men in unhappy moments to k explanations to the inexplicable, and to just themselves to such exigencies in a manner t draws on the primordial irrational energies t are stored up in the subconscious layers of human psyche.

What the student of the society is interested in not the truth or falsity of the ghost claim. All rts of claims have been encountered before— ring the 1918 influenza, for instance, when it s believed that the influenza disease was a **rson** that wandered around, scourging its vic- ns who had the misfortune to meet **him.** Now, course, it is cholera which is said to be a oving, haunting, human being. As in the hey- ys of the Tigare cult, we know that the more scure the source of a magical feature, the better d more potent it is said to be.

The secular implications of these primitive de- sions must be laid bare, of course. In this age the trickster, could it be that some chalk manu- cturing firms might be indulging in high pressure lesmanship, at a time when the value of chalks s probably reached a low ebb? Is it possible that a stealing racket is behind (or exploiting) this cross mania as a pretext to gain access to the homes of the unwary?

We know that this piece of travelling visitor is only a transient phenomenon. But those who have time—and the necessary resources—should continue the search for the reasons why at a certain stage in a nation's history some people come to believe, even when they are told ficticiously, that their nation is being invaded from the mars.

Flare-up in the Arab World

Soviet Premier Alexei Kosygin once advised Arab leaders that there should be some unanimity of purpose among them, and that Arab friends wanted to know just what the Arabs wanted. This call is even more urgent now. For, recent news from the Middle East do not give assurance of the prospect of peace which we envisaged as a result of the Jarring mission.

Following the mass hi-jacking of various airliners by the Palestinian Commandos two weeks ago, and the as yet undecided fate of some of the passengers, the confusion in the Arab world has become more confounded.

The latest story is the internal struggle for power now raging between Palestinian guerrillas and the Jordanian government troops. Casualties are said to be running into thousands. Jordan and Syria are now at loggerheads, although these two countries are also supposedly fighting in unison against their common enemy—Israel.

The latest confusion, coming in the wake of the world-wide condemnation of the recent hi-jackings, must be terribly embarrassing to President Nasser, the communist friends, and the world at large who, though sympathetic to the Palestinian plight, wonder just what the Arabs are after.

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Book Review

EDUCATION IN THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES OF THE COMMONWEALTH — ABSTRACTS OF CURRENT RESEARCH 1969, Published by the Commonwealth Secretariat (LONDON)

Reviewed by E. A. Haizel

THIS book, just released by the Commonwealth Secretariat, is a follow-up of a more limited project, carried out in 1968. It is a compilation of information on current research in education for the year 1969. The information contained in the book is the response to a request made to departments, bodies and senior research personnel and faculty members interested in education.

Contributions have come from twenty countries: New Zealand, Australia, Hong Kong, Fiji, New Papua, New Guinea and India in the East, Kenya, Uganda, Zambia and Losotho in East and Central Africa, Nigeria, Ghana and Sierra Leone in West Africa, United Kingdom, and from the West Indies and the United States in the New World. All studies reported relate to education in the developing Commonwealth.

The coverage of research activity is very wide and is divided into eighteen broad subject areas: Educational Planning, Theories and History, Methods of Enquiry, Students' Background and Statistics, Teaching and Learning Situations, Teacher Training, Curriculum, Textbooks, and other Books, Selection and Performance of Students, Careers, The Teaching Profession, Out of School Education—Youth Activities and Adult Education, Special Education, Agricultural Education, Technical Education, Higher Education, and Educational Psychology, most of the work here having appeared under previous headings.

Meaningful Contacts

Each project listed has a brief description of what it is about, and cross references are made for topics which span more than one of the categories used.

The introduction says "Countries have been listed from East to West in the hope that this will help identification of areas of research activities on a regional basis, thus promoting meaningful contacts between persons working on similar or complementary subjects". The format of the book provides for more than this. The index of Institutions and of Authors makes it possible for any interested person to get in touch with people and institutions engaged in educational research in the developing Commonwealth.

Some of the projects have been published, others are yet to be published, and still others have no indication of publication dates. This is why this book is very useful to any person who is interested in educational research on a comparative basis. It opens the way for greater contact between those interested in educational research.



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Letters

Exploitation of the Youth?

SIR—Youth, we are told, is full of idealism. It is therefore very wrong to exploit this idealism by telling young people that they ought to do something that they do not want to in order to use them as cheap labour. In the long vacation, keen students want to do their vacation reading, so as to inform themselves, and prepare themselves to help others. If they have to earn money instead, this is either a bad necessity or just bad.

But it is worse if somebody tells them that it is their duty to spend that time doing unacademic drudgery to serve the country, because they might really believe it, or half believe it, and worry, and feel guilty when they are doing their duty and getting on with their vacation reading. If we must exploit students, at least let us not be hypocrites.

7, South Legon **Daphne Hereward**

EDITOR'S NOTE: The logic of Miss Hereward's argument is not clear. Perhaps she would like to elaborate on the substance of her case, especially the concluding sentence of the letter.

Ghanaians and Family Planning

SIR—The activities of the P.P. government are very good for the nation particularly their efforts to feed every mouth.

The Prime Minister, Dr. K. A. Busia and his Ministers cutting down their salaries to meet problems of the rural areas is a step to fulfil their promises during their political campaigns. Secondly, it is an indication of their love for the nation which is a credit to us.

All good citizens who can subtract bad from good and have a high sense of appreciation cannot fail to say this. However, there are certain things, which, if not reasonably done, sometimes contradict nature. I personally feel that, at this stage when Ghana has a population of only 8 million, it is premature to think of family planning. There are thousands of Ghanaians, both men and women, who are seriously clamouring for children.

If statistical records are accurately and properly kept, one would be able to prove that the yearly number of deaths is greater than births in the North. At this stage, if we resort to family planning, it means we are trying to apply economics to human reproduction.

In actual fact, for Ghanaians to respond to the call of family planning now would mean that we are at the moment holding the tail of civilisation.

District Post Office **B. S. Atedechiru**
Wenchi

How Democratic is G.N.A.T.?

SIR — Recent arbitrary decisions by the Executive of the Ghana National Association of Teachers leave one wondering whether the birth of the Second Republic actually marks the return of democracy in Ghana or not.

One wonders also whether these actions are just some of the actions aimed at thwarting the government's efforts to attract more Ghanaians to like teaching as a profession. As would be realised from the annual statistical figures concerning the number of teachers who leave the teaching field at the end of each year for more lucrative jobs, it is not sufficient to conclude that the main aim of quitting is to work elsewhere for more pay. The work simply lacks comfort.

Just think of a teacher having his salary slashed by four new cedis without any previous knowledge. This was at the end of August and the explanation was that the deductions were made towards the building of a Teachers' hostel. I do not have any quarrel with anybody about the building. The hostel is for teachers and they must contribute towards it. But what is nauseating about the whole issue is that no notice was served prior to the deductions, and above all, no receipt either official or temporary was issued to the contributors.

I call on those concerned to render immediate apologies and give the undertaking that they would issue individual receipts to cover the amounts deducted.

E.P. Middle School **G. H. K. Amehia-Adugu**
Anlo-Afiadenyigba

Miscellaneous

BUSIALOGY

By Kwadwo Kontopiaat

THE Historical Society and the Gossip and Rumour-mongering Committee, or, as some people would like to call it, the Philosophical Committee of Kontopiaatkrom, held a very important joint-meeting at the Don't-mind-your-wife chop bar to assess Busia's first year of government. This article is culled from the minutes of this meeting.

The first unanimous conclusion was that Busia's government had confirmed beyond all doubts the common axiom that history repeats itself. This conclusion is of real great significance because until that meeting there had been a very heated debate between the Historical Society of Kontopiaatkrom (H.S.K.) and the Historical Society of Dompokrom (H.S.D.) as to whether history does repeat itself or whether it is historians who do repeat themselves. Of course H.S.K. advocated the former, and we shall be extremely grateful to Dr. Busia and his Pro-Sure people for resolving this protracted debate in our favour. How then did we arrive at this important conclusion?

Those of our readers who are just more than twenty-three years old will recall that only a few months after the attainment of independence in March 1957, both

Commissioner of Police (now called, for no apparent on, Inspector General of Police) and the Minis- of the Interior were sent to court on a charge of empt of court and found guilty. In precisely the e way, only a few months after the installation of Pro-Sure government, the Inspector-General of ce and the Minister of the Interior were also taken ourt on that same charge and also found guilty. In cases too, neither of them did go to prison as one ld have expected. In the Nkrumah case, both were mnified by an Act which was rushed through Parlia- t on a certificate of urgency. In the Busia case, no Act was rushed through Parliament; the judge cerned did not impose a prison term on them. The ty offenders were merely bound over to be of good aviour. How the good behaviour of the Inspector neral of Police can be called in question can only be erstood in the light of yet another maxim very popu- in Kontopiaatkrom, namely, 'the law is an ass'.

Victims of Deportation

Again readers of twenty-three plus should this time all that the first six months of independence saw the portation of many people — Syrians, Lebanese, In- ns, Nigerians, Goans, etc. etc. The most famous of se cases was the Amadu Baba case, and deportation been one of the principal activities, if not in fact only activity so far, of Busia's Minister of the erior. The victims have also included Lebanese, Syri- , Nigerians, Indians, and as if to prove the neutrality the P.P. government, at least one Russian woman! e most memorable of these deportations, in the inion of the President of H.S.K., is that of the Indian o was quarrelling with another Indian not even over Ghanaian woman but another Indian woman. hat, in the name of the 77 gods of Kontopiaatkrom, Minister of Interior had to do with two Indians arrelling over an Indian woman, we still have not en able to find out. It may be recalled that Mr. mon D. was admitted at the Military Hospital few weeks after his appointment to the Ministry the Interior. The President of the Gossip Committee sisted that Mr. Simon D's complaint was a disloca- n of the right shoulder following the signature of merous deportation orders. Of course, nobody esent believed a word of this.

The third common denominator so far has been the nfrontation between the Bench and the Executive. the case of the C.P.P. government, the climax was e Antor and Ayeke case while that of the P.P. overnment so far has been the Sallah case. It should pointed out that in both cases, the court's ruling ent against the government and both Premiers react- very sharply. Nkrumah assumed extra judicial owers and therefore ignored the courts, while Busia reatened the Bench in a radio and television broad- st.

A fourth common element has been the use of notorcades, sirens, police guards etc. etc. The Presi- ent of H.S.K. was really worried when during the rst three months or so of the P.P. government, these notorcades disappeared. It seemed then that History id not repeat itself after all. But just when he was

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about to accept defeat, the motorcades suddenly reappeared. This was of course celebrated in grand style at the Palm Wine Bar in Kontopiaatkrom. Obviously the Police were dying for the resurrection of the motorcades, as is evident from the rudeness and the pleasure with which they literally push motorists off the road.

We must at this juncture point out one significant difference in the two situations. In the Nkrumah era, there was only one motorcade; now there are two. And what we in Kontopiaatkrom are worried about is this: supposing the Presidential motorcade is coming from the other end, (1) which motorcade will give way to the other? (2) How will this be done? and (3) What will happen to the ordinary motorists and their cars? Our road engineer has fortunately already come out with a solution. He has suggested that all streets in Accra should be widened to take at least three streams of cars, one of motorists, the other of the President's motorcade which should be in the middle, and the third the Premier's.

Precious Foreign Exchange

There is yet another strong piece of evidence for our conclusion, and this is the popularity of international conferences and shows among members of both governments. Here, our economist is certain that the amount of money — and precious foreign exchange, too — that has been spent on international conferences and shows by the Busia government in their first year of office is the same as the amount spent by the Nkrumah government during the same period. But he is quick to add that whereas there was every justification in the case of the Nkrumah government he hardly sees any in the case of Busia's government. He argues that in the former case, foreign exchange was not so precious and secondly, since Ghana was not known anywhere outside the Guinea Coast the attendance of such conferences was necessary. He contends that even if the leader of the delegation got up at the conference and merely said "We come from Ghana, the newly Independent state of Africa; this is our flag; this is our passport; this is our national anthem and this is our motto", and then sat down, he would have justified the foreign exchange spent on the delegation. But now, he contends, Ghana does not need that advertisement. Moreover, those days Ghana had to buy aeroplanes and ships for her Airways, Air Force, Navy and the Black Star Line, and therefore the attendance of shows did make sense then. The only conferences and meetings that our economist approves of now are those to reschedule or as he would like to see to cancel our debts. He condemns all the others and especially the now fashionable 60-day U.S. trips by Ministerial Secretaries. He, for instance, wonders about what the reaction of the Americans would be if the Ministerial Secretary to the Interior Ministry were to go on a sixty-day tour of the U.S.S.R.!

We are, of course, prepared to admit that there have been many differences between the P.P. government and the C.P.P. government. For instance, unlike the C.P.P. government or even the N.L.C. government, the P.P. government has not renamed the streets of Accra and Kumasi! (For our selfish ends, we think this should be done and we will suggest some names later). Secondly, there is now freedom of the Press. At least the *Kontopiaatkrom Gossiper* and Kwadwo Kontopiaat are still in business; sugar, milk, sardines and corned beef are now plentiful; and very soon kako will join this list of vital items. We villagers are now drinking good water and we have also been promised electricity, feeder roads and health centres. All this is new. But we think we have said enough above to show that there are strong similarities between Busiology and Nkrumalogy and that these are of such a fundamental nature as to justify our conclusion that History does repeat itself.

One final point, and we must make it before it is too late. We did prophecy some months back that given the nature of the Constitution of Ghana, there were bound to be conflicts among the President, the Prime Minister and the Chief Justice, and therefore that in selecting the incumbents of these offices their physical appearances should be taken into consideration. Since the President has only just been elected, no conflict has developed yet, at least between the male occupants of those offices. But judging from their relative sizes and above all the fact that both the President and the P.M. are products of the same University, not only will the fights be fair, but they will at least be in strict conformity with the rules We do hope the third of the trio will be of the same physical appearance as the others, and will come, if not from Oxford, at least from Cambridge or even Harvard or Yale or Princeton. Ghana Universities are out!

Honours For the Ladies

However, if no conflict has so far emerged between Mr. President and Mr. Prime Minister, there has been one already between Mrs. Premier and Mrs. President over the simple issue as to who the First Lady is. Fortunately, and this is not surprising, the actual confrontation did not occur, for Mrs. Premier readily conceded the title to Mrs. President. Although she did not say so, Mrs. Premier is now the Second Lady. So far so brilliant. But who is going to be the Third Lady? Will it be Mrs. Chief Justice or Mrs. Speaker? And who is going to be the Fifth Lady? Please vote for Mrs. Kontopiaat for this last title!! But we are of the opinion that these great ladies should be given even greater honours than this.

We have already pointed out that Busia and his Ministers have not so far renamed the streets of Accra. Now, to strengthen our conclusion above even further, we of the H.S.K. do urge them to do so. We also would suggest that the streets should be renamed after our Ladies. For instance, the Independence Avenue should now be called the First Lady Road, the Castle Road should be called the Second Lady Road, the 28th February Road should become the Third Lady Road, etc. etc. After all, we already have First Circular Road, Second Circular Road, etc. Why can we not have First Lady Road, Second Lady Road, etc.? LONG LIVE BUSIALOGY!

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EDITORIAL

NASSER'S MIDDLE EAST LEGACY

THE sudden, tragic death of Gamel Abdel Nasser early last week has robbed the world of one of the main pillars on which the prospects of world peace fragilely hang. Although he was not one of the best admired friends of the western world, and although not all the Communist leaders who adored him had a clear idea of what he precisely stood for, it became increasingly accepted that he, more than any other Arab leader, had the requisite stature that could weld the often disparate Arab groupings together.

President Nasser's rise to world fame began in 1952 when, with some other young army officers, he overthrew and exiled Egyptian King Farouk. Since then he has done his best to work unceasingly towards the emergence of Egypt as a strong military and industrial force on the world map.

As he lay dying, Colonel Nasser must have seriously pondered within himself over the numerous unsolved problems that he was bequeathing to his people and the world at large. The ravages of the 1967 June war have been scarcely repaired, despite Russia's ever-willing, prompt aid in the reinforcement of the Egyptian military equipment; the Palestinian refugee problem, the solution of which must have terribly weighed on his unstable health, remains as insoluble as ever; the peace mission of U.N. envoy Gunnar Jarring had scarcely begun before the 90-day ceasefire was broken; Israel apparently has no immediate intention to withdraw from those Arab territories she occupied in 1967, and the cause of Arab unity, which suffered initial setback when Syria pulled out of the United Arab Republic, saw the most classic example of difficulty during the latest Heads of State meeting in Cairo just before his death.

It is a pity that, owing to constant warfare and the preparations for such, the goal of social transformation and economic advancement which he promised the people of Egypt after the coup of 1952 has not been very quick in achievement. Even then, there is no doubt that the lot — and pride — of many Egyptian peasants became far better under Nasser who, although a great lover of power, could not be regarded as a brutal dictator in any sense.

But we should also remember that, although first and foremost an Arab, the late President was as well a great African, and was seriously involved in the determination of the destiny of the black race, and of all oppressed peoples in the world. His selfless and untiring role in the Organization of African Unity, and in the cause of non-alignment, is well known. If he seemed to have less time for the continen-

tal politics of Africa South of the Sahara, this was certainly because of the complexities of the immediate problems that he had to face in and around his own Egyptian kingdom.

While the ideological tenor of his successors is keenly awaited, it is doubtful if any Arab leader of Nasser's fame and authority can be expected to emerge in the near future. He alone had the status in the Arab community of being able to say "yes" or "no", and to get the backing of a majority of his compatriots for his commitments. However much President-designate Sadat does in following the footsteps and ideals of Nasser, it is inconceivable that he can leave the type of indelible stamp which his predecessor left on the Middle East scene. It certainly needed a Nasser to be able to bring conservatives and radicals, such as King Hussein of Jordan and Houri Boumedienne of Algeria, into a single pan-Arab communion. It is ironical, but understandable, that the Arabs were sharply divided in their estimation of the degree of moderation or of radicalism of the Egyptian President. Increasingly, as the recent case of the intra-Arab fratricide in Jordan revealed, Nasser had become a considerable moderating influence on the extremists in the Arab world.

That he did not live to see a lasting peace between the Israelis and the Arabs is unfortunate; but this only goes to confirm how complex the Middle East conflict is. This is why his death gives no comfortable cause for rejoicing, even among his most bitter enemies.

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Development

NATIONAL SERVICE AND THE YOUTH

By

Afum Karikari

IN MANY countries there are various forms of national and international youth organisations and youth corps. In the United States, for instance, there is compulsory military service for the youth — to defend their motherland whenever the need arises. In Germany and Japan after the second World War, and in Israel (after its 'creation' in 1948), reconstruction and rehabilitation were, to a great extent, done through various forms of voluntary national service.

In Europe (including the U.K.) there are various voluntary youth organisations whose areas of operation, in unpaid service to mankind, encompass certain parts of our continent. The Civil Service International, with bases in Paris and Zurich, has been in existence and helping in relief work, and on other development projects, since after the first World War during the 1937/39 Spanish civil war, from which General Franco's regime emerged, the organisation's relief activities were commendable. In the turbulent days of the Algerian people's struggle, S.C.I. (for short) helped to rehabilitate Algerian refugees in Morocco and Tunisia, in 1959-62. Besides, it runs short term camps (one to fifteen weeks), with emphasis on useful work for a needy community and international understanding. For instance, activities may include the construction of roads, milk-pipelines, school buildings, small bridges, community centres, irrigation systems, drainage and many other projects.

Service to Mankind

Operation Crossroads Africa, the American Friends Service Committee (both in the U.S.), the International Voluntary Service of Britain (a branch of S.C.I.) and the Arbeitskrecs Internationaler Germeischaftsdienste (A.I.G.) of West Germany, are other foreign voluntary youth organisations who send, annually, volunteers to work in Ghana. Most of these join the local Voluntary Workcamps Association (which has done remarkable service in rural development since 1956) to work in various parts of the country on various projects — all without pecuniary remuneration, just for the joy of giving



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In Kenya there is a (recently established) National Youth Service Corps to help in national reconstruction and to minimise the country's unemployment problem.

Tanzania's present development plan, based on the "Arusha Declaration", lays much emphasis on self-sacrifice and self-reliance; and the youth, under the banner of the Green Guards (from whatever angle we look at their activities), are showing that the youth of Africa must be concerned with Africa's problems.

There is not much space, neither is it even now necessary, to restate here some of the uncountable problems Ghana, like most developing countries, faces. The problems are so many that the pessimist would readily lose hope in any attempt at their solution. We need more money than we can now afford, to be able to tackle many of our problems and embark on various development projects. But our economy, as we are always being reminded, is crippled by huge debts whose repayment can cover the life of a whole generation — provided that we are going to work harder and make more sacrifices than we have hitherto been making.

Emphasis on 'People'

Whatever the terms of the loans we obtain may be, we must never rely on loans alone for our welfare. Neither can we rely on foreign aid, however genuine the intentions of the donors, all the time for our prosperity, even if the richer countries would forever dole them out; we cannot and must not always be receivers; let us try to get more of our own so that we, too, can give away some part some day to some needy fellow.

As a people who cherish national sovereignty there must always exist in our hearts a strong feeling of pride in trying to do some beneficial voluntary service to our nation. The National Service Corps, when it was established, must have been good news to all those who care about the welfare of Ghana.

We know that we do not have the money needed to solve most of our problems in the immediate future. "Let us therefore", as President Nyerere told his people recently, "remember the following. We have made a mistake to choose money, something we do not have, to be our major instrument of development .... the development of a country is brought about by people, not by money alone".

Although I would not want to see the N.S.C. muddled with politics, I strongly urge the government to recruit ALL STUDENTS into the service so that during the long vacations, for instance, they could sacrifice, say, three weeks each for the state and spend the rest with their parents and relatives. Take a walk through the streets of our cities, towns and villages during the vacations: you will meet hundreds of students who are idle (not indolent) and whose major business is to dress up "gorgeously", stroll and roam about while under their noses a lot of projects call for their concern.

Apart from the fact that students are citizens and must therefore help in national development, I think it is a duty incumbent on them to involve themselves in constructive national service since, here in Ghana, the state bears the greater proportion of the cost of the education of the youth. In his article — "Education Expenditure in Ghana" (*Daily Graphic* 13 August, 1970)—Mr. Frimpong Ansah, Governor of the Bank of Ghana, indicated among many things, that "... over 20% of current government revenues are spent on education, which took a full one quarter of the government's recurrent expenditure between the calendar years 1964 and 1968". He goes on, elsewhere, to say that expenditure on education averaged NC68 million in 1966-67 and 1968-69 fiscal years, having risen by 21%.

Dividends from the Investment

Education being a long term investment we cannot expect dividends to emerge immediately from our institutions. This means that whilst at school/college our state-sponsored youths do not immediately yield the state any economic profit, they rather drain its coffers. But if it must be accepted that the state must be responsible for the education of the youth, I think it must also be accepted that the state must benefit from its responsibilities at all times. And this benefit must be in the form of national service — without emoluments, of course. After all, many of them choose to work for private people after school.

It cannot be said that the students have nothing to offer in national service. Some people are doing it elsewhere; some of our students do it here in Ghana. What these virile youths need is the motivation and stimulant from the state, and they are certainly prepared to follow sen-

guidance.

he time has come for the parents to let their dren know that they (the children) owe their lties also to the state to which we all belong. y must now let their sons and daughters ise that, in a developing society, being a lent is not merely being foppish, but also g a volunteer for the state's progress. When have sacrificed their children for the nation-good, then they can shout for more state efits for their sons and daughters. And the mple of Lt.-Gen. Afrifa — to help in rural elopment in his retirement — must serve as orch for them too.

Doing things for Ourselves

This is also the time for the students to know t the more they expect from the state the re they must help the state to produce more by volunteering for the state. If they want ana to be as happy a place as they would nt it to be; if they want the standard of ing in Ghana to be comparable to those of e countries they "revere" so much, then they ust help themselves by helping Ghana. Pleasure, ey must know, like happiness, comes after hard ork and sacrifice. It is only when we work rd that we can realise the reality of our vereignty as a people. By travelling and volun-ering to work among people outside our profes-on and tribe we can gradually break down all lass" pride and the evils of tribalism without uch effort. And we will then know more of ch other's problems.

If we expect respect from others we must first arn to do things for ourselves. It is only when e have taken on some unrequited service for e state, when we have "wasted" some of our ree" time for the benefit of some needy people part of us) without craving for rewards — t even thanksgiving — that we can say we are ll citizens of our motherland, and that we are oud of her.

Political parties may come and go; hardwork-g, as well as lazy, regimes may come and go; mpetent and incompetent leaders may come nd go; so long as Ghana lives her development nd survival will always remain the responsibility all Ghanaians. Not politicians alone, no, not e aged alone, develop a nation. The progress every nation lies on the virile shoulders of er youth and on the sensible guidance of her ged.

Tradition

BEHIND THE ASANTEHENE'S MAJESTY

By

Kwame Arhin

ON 27th July, 1970, Barima Opoku was enstooied as Nana Opoku Ware II, Asantehene. The regalia exhibited on his person and around him must have dazzled the crowds in Kumasi. The glitter of his kingly paraphernalia testified to the immaculate workmanship of the Ashanti craftsman. But what impressed me most was the ordered precision with which the state functionaries managed the regal progress to the place of the great durbar. The arrangements by which this was done deserve some comment.

People usually associate bureaucratic or rational administrations with literate societies; most people in Ghana would say that it began in this country with colonial rule. Yet some elements of bureaucratic administration, for example a hierarchical arrangement of persons in authority, with specific assignments of jobs, are present in Ashanti, or for that matter Akan, traditional administration. It was this that was brought into play when the Asantehene went on his state journey from Manhyia to the stadium. I, a minor functionary of the **Nsumankwa** (medicine men,) group noticed that in a space within about six feet radius of the King, every spot was assigned to a particular functionary, with a specific job to do which he would not exchange with another person not belonging to his own group of functionaries. However tired a man was, he held to his post until he was relieved by a member of his own group. There was also a sort of factotum who was responsible for ensuring that people moved at such a pace that at every moment they occupied the appropriate spatial position.

This was not just being fussy. Places around the king were allocated with an eye on his requirements as the procession moved along. Sword bearers had to keep close to the palanquin, because the king usually held and frequently changed the swords with which he danced. Gun-carriers were next to the sword bearers because the king performed dances in the palanquin with the sword and with a small gun. Two representatives of the **Nsumankwa** group stood close to the sword bearers because one must hand a **bodua** (a horse's tail) to the king as he danced, and another was expected to pick up anything that fell off his **batakari** dress. The holder of a fan had naturally to keep close to the Asantehene. The **kyinitufo (umbrella** holder

ders) were a pace behind the holder of the **bodua,** since the umbrella had to cover the king and the regalia. Guns were passed over to the king through the gun carriers walking on the edge of the king's immediate entourage. Only one official was permitted to wipe the king's face and to speak to him. This was the **asuamfohene,** the head of the hammock-carriers. There were sandal carriers who kept close to the hammock but who are of greater importance on those occasions when the king walks.

These minor functionaries form the immediate entourage of the king. Immediately behind them are the horn-blowers, the **ntahera** group, and the **kwadwomfo,** the reciters of poems composed in honour of the king and his ancestors. Beyond this group, and in front of the king, were a large number of attendants whose job was periodically to turn to the king and raise up their voices in acclamation of him and in defiance of the king's open as well as hidden enemies.

Succession to Royal Stools

The assignment of these roles starts at the palace, which is designed to accommodate representatives of the various functionaries: the **Abenasefo,** the **nkonuasoafo,** the **asoamfo,** the **kyinitufo,** the **afonasofo,** the **nsumankwafo,** the **soodofo,** the **ntaherafo,** the cooks, the hornblowers — all these have their appointed representatives alloted rooms in the palace. The head of them all is the **Gyasehene,** who, according to my information, works under the Samanhene, a member of the royal Oyoko clan, who serves as a check on the powerful **Gyase,** the collective name for all the functionaries. The Gyasehene may be called the Comptroller of the Royal household, and the Samanhene the head of the Exchequer. Each morning the Samanhene gives the necessary order pertaining to activities to the Gyasehene, who calls the heads of the various groups and briefs them. The heads of the groups then assign tasks to their men according to the nature of the king's engagements.

Recruitment into the group is through the father; that is to say, unlike succession to royal stools, the obligation to service of the sort mentioned is inherited from fathers. Accordingly, the headships of the groups called **asom ngua,** in contradistinction to **adehye ngua,** headship of villages, divisions and the nation, are occupied by sons. This is probably because the performance of these duties requires special skills which are best learnt from the father.

What struck me during the procession was the



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cheerfulness with which the functionaries, literate and illiterate, wealthy and poor men, performed their duties. I was struck by their efficiency and alertness, which I kept contrasting with the sloppy and casual attitude of the average Ghanaian public servant. I have asked myself the question why people are prepared to give their best when they perform these traditional duties, but not when they operate within the modern state situation. I have reached the tentative conclusion that, whereas most Ashantis identify themselves fully with the kingdom and take pride in the glorification of the king, the same cannot be said of **Ghanaians and Ghana.** It would appear that neither the material nor the moral advantages of Ghanaian nationhood are appreciated. This seems to me to indicate a task for the Centre for Civic Education.

Administration

REGIONAL PLANNING PRACTICE IN GHANA

By

Evans S. Atsu

WITH the creation of the new Division of Regional Resource Planning to perform the regional resource planning function of the Economic Planning Disivion of the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, and the establishment of Regional Resource Planning Units in the nine regions of the country, it is important to examine regional planning practice in Ghana.

Planning in Ghana has recently been focussed at two levels—the national and the regional. The Ghana governments' "Decentralisation Policy" is a major landmark in the country's general belief in regional development, and this, supplemented by later policy statements on rural development, has resulted in the formulation of a well defined national ethic and general approach to development in Ghana. Prime Minister Busia's major policy statement on "Rural Development" is built on this general framework, and is essentially concerned with the mobilisation of development activities at the local level through the establishment of Regional Planning Committees. There is an obvious need to link these two scales of planning, and to design an operational mechanism for plan identification and implementation.

The acceptance of the region as an administrative planning unit would seem to be a step in the direction of providing such a linking mechanism, and it would seem that any discussion of the practice for regional Resource Planning in Ghana should bear in mind this vital practical role.

It would be possible to define a variety of sophisticated theoretical models of regional planning structures, but this article seeks to identify what is possible within the reality of Ghana today, and particularly bearing in mind the severe manpower and financial constraints that exist.

An important first step in regional resource planning is to identify the area "regional" units that can be used in any workable system. It would be argued that the basic planning unit should be an "economic zone", which would tend to cut across the existing administrative divisions. For example, there would be a good case for the amalgamation of parts of the Volta Region and the Brong-Ahafo Region into a single planning unit. The two centres of north-western Volta Region, i.e. Buem-Krachi District and Atebubu District in Brong-Ahafo Region, are separated by only ten to twelve miles of the Volta Lake and the two areas have strong economic linkages. In the same way parts of the Upper Region are extensions of the Northern Region.

A Major Problem

However, there is a major problem in the use of such units in Ghana. The effectiveness of both planning and implementation necessitates that all the personnel involved should have a clear concept of the functions and delineation of the planning unit. This is difficult to achieve when the units used are not those of the normal administrative structure. The practical solution is to use, wherever possible, the administrative unit.

The major administrative units of Ghana are the regions and the districts. It might be argued that since greater emphasis is being laid on rural development the District has a strong historical and ethnic basis. These smaller units would be more manageable administratively, and even the Districts often cover large areas and contain large populations. However, the existing infrastructure of the government is not insufficient manpower for the effective planning of some thirty or more Districts, and there are not enough technical personnel for each District to have its own project appraisal and implementation team.

Thus the Region, although an area without an ethnic, historical or cultural unity, remains the only workable planning and implementation unit since it has the essential tools of technical ca-

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pacity. However, in particular cases — for example, that of the Volta Basin — a strong case can be made for intra-regional co-ordinating machinery.

It is important at this stage to recognize the aims of regional resource planning within these units. These are threefold — co-ordination, regional goal identification, and regional differentiation. Practical considerations dictate that these functions be carried out in the order given.

Co-ordination must be carried out in both horizontal and vertical terms. National policies and goals must be translated into a form meaningful for each region, presenting each region with the spatial implications of the national programme and assessing the contribution that each can make, given its resource potential and the scarcity of manpower and financial resources.

There should also be an efficient flow of information from the village and district levels up to the region, and from the region to the central government. Within the region the maximum development effort can only be obtained by co-ordinating the various technical, administrative and financial resources, both within and outside the government.

Long Term Strategies

Regional goal identification involves the formulation of a long term development strategy for each region which must be in line with national priorities and the potential of the region's resource base. This is only possible when the co-ordination outlined above has been achieved. The aim in Ghana is to develop to the full the potential of the region's resource base. This is only possible when the co-ordination outlined above has been achieved. The aim in Ghana is to develop to the full the potential of each region and to minimize inequalities in development between regions.

Regional differentiation is the assignment of a specific role to each region on the basis of these individual regional strategies, leading to a regional division of labour. This role should be based on the co-ordination of regional strategies in view of each region's resources, and bearing in mind national needs and internal and international market conditions.

These then are some of the aims of regional resource planning that are feasible in the Ghanaian context. Probably more attention has been given to regional planning in Ghana, but a brief review of the practice of regional planning in recent years will show that the aims given above have not yet been attained. The stages in the preparation of a development plan in Ghana will illustrate this point.

Each Ministry requests its regional officers to identify the possible areas of investment in its particular sector for each region. These projects are then passed on to Accra for consideration at ministerial level, and for compilation into a sectoral programme. At the same time District Development Committees are asked to present possible projects for consideration by the Regional Planning Committees. There is some co-ordination of all projects including those proposed by the Regional Planning Committees but there are great variations in the effectiveness of this. In some Regions virtually no co-ordination is carried out. In fact, under the existing system there is no absolute necessity for co-ordination since there was no real financial compulsion for such an effort. The only officers in a position to oversee the co-ordination are the Regional Chief Executive and the Regional Administrative Officer, who have a multitude of other calls on their time.

Regional Co-ordination

The Regional Planning Officers, who are professional planners, would be technically able to assist in this, but unfortunately not all Regional Administrative Officers seem to use these officers in their work. Even if projects are considered as a whole and some regional co-ordination is achieved, the individual projects are then passed on to the sectoral ministries and considered in isolation. One project may have been approved for financing by one Ministry while another, which may have been closely related in terms of regional considerations, was rejected by another Ministry.

Similar problems are now being faced in the early stages of the implementation of the plan. Money will be channelled down to the sectoral officers in the Regions, where the problems of co-ordination must be faced again. Such problems may be minimal in simple projects involving only one Ministry, but in projects involving Ministries or sectors, real problems may be experienced. The rural areas need water supplies, roads, fertilizers, agricultural advice and a variety of other services, and the need for co-ordination in this field has been recognized by the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning by establishing Regional Re-

source Planning units in the regions.

It will however, take time for the Regional Planning Officers to fit into the Regional Administrative hierarchy. It will require considerable co-ordination to provide the funds needed from a variety of ministries and ensure that these investments are all available in the same place and at the same time. To some extent these problems have been solved for small projects by the establishment of the Regional Development Fund, which gives funds for each Region to implement its own projects. However, in many regions these funds have not been used for integrated projects, and the total sums involved for each region are only a small percentage of total investment.

An attempt is being made to co-ordinate regional development programmes at the central government level through the setting up of a Regional Planning Team in the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning. This team in fact achieved little, largely because almost all its members are expatriates on very short contracts, who have little time to familiarise themselves with conditions in the regions. However, an impressive amount of data is being gathered on a number of Regions. It is unfortunate that the planning at regional level has so far gone little further than this preliminary data gathering phase.

Africa

SIERRA LEONE: RETURN TO TURMOIL

By

K. A. B. Jones-Quartey

WHEN Siaka Probyn Stevens was restored in April 1968 to a Premiership he had fairly won but which had then been snatched and kept away from him until 13 months later, we all breathed a deep, satisfied sigh of relief and said: "Thank goodness, *that* is over and done with. Sierra Leone has even beaten Ghana" — rather unexpectedly — "in the race to the goal of a civilian restoration. Now", we added, "under a strong-minded, vigorous political hero of established principles, the country can move forward, away from the appalling rottenness of the Albert Margai regime and the bizarre megalomania of Juxon-Smith". Alas, politically speaking the hopes of almost three years ago have not been realised; indeed, politically speaking it can be considered with regret that the country has even lost ground.

Since 14th September this year Sierra Leone has been under a declared state of emergency, and the condition is replete with all the elements: arrests and detentions, armed disturbances, reported seizure of passports, ban on meetings — or reminders about *the* ban — challenges hurled at the government, government threats of tougher and tougher reprisals, . . . all the unholy crowd of symptoms proclaiming a political break-down. At the time of our going to press the airwaves and wires were humming with the reports of attacks by the new on the old party, of the Prime Minister threatening to take drastic action, of complete police take-over moves, and so on. It would not even be surprising if by publication day of this issue of the *Observer* the state of emergency has progressed into one of martial law. . . . How and why has all this happened?

Craze For Power?

There can be no simple minded, monolineal explanation of political phenomena anywhere, and the political phenomena of modernising countries are even more complex than those of older states, "bad" enough as these certainly are. Thus if anyone should say of the new Freetown situation that it is "purely" because Siaka Stevens too, "like all of them", has quickly developed the now established craze for power, and is brooking no opposition or rivalry; or that the current return to turmoil is due to individual, inter- or intra-party rivalry; or that it is the result of tribal tensions, or of the Protectorate peoples' unrelenting drive for political ascendancy, or of Kriolean frustration over their own political submergence while at the same time they remain socially dominant, or that it is the fault of bribery and corruption, or of poverty and unemployment resulting in much robbery and violence — to any such claim for "the cause" of the new situation in Sierra Leone the answer should be: "Yes, some of that too; but obviously there are other causes".

My own priority list of causes for this latest breakdown in political organisation at the Freetown centre of power in Sierra Leone would begin with the lack of social cohesion. This, in my own interpretation, goes much beyond the ever-present "tribal thing", the widespread political incoherence and naivete, the economic and social inequalities . . . . These factors exist elsewhere too among all the struggling little develop-

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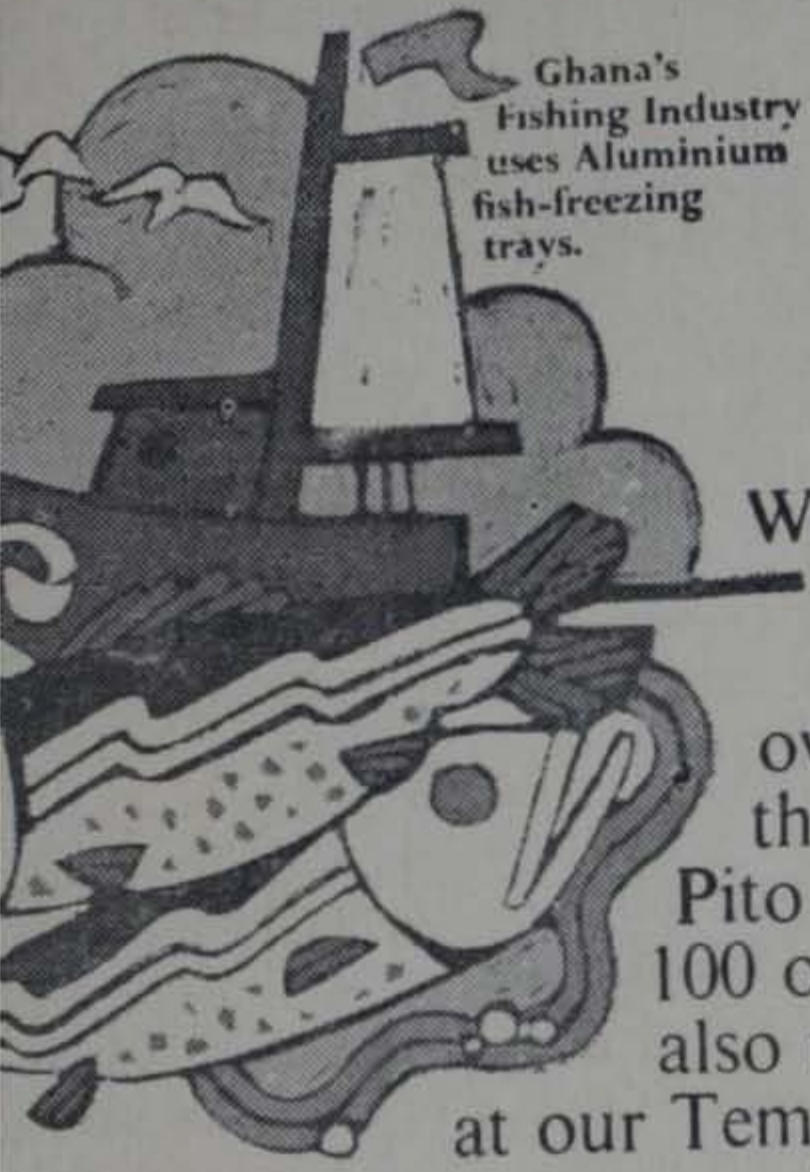


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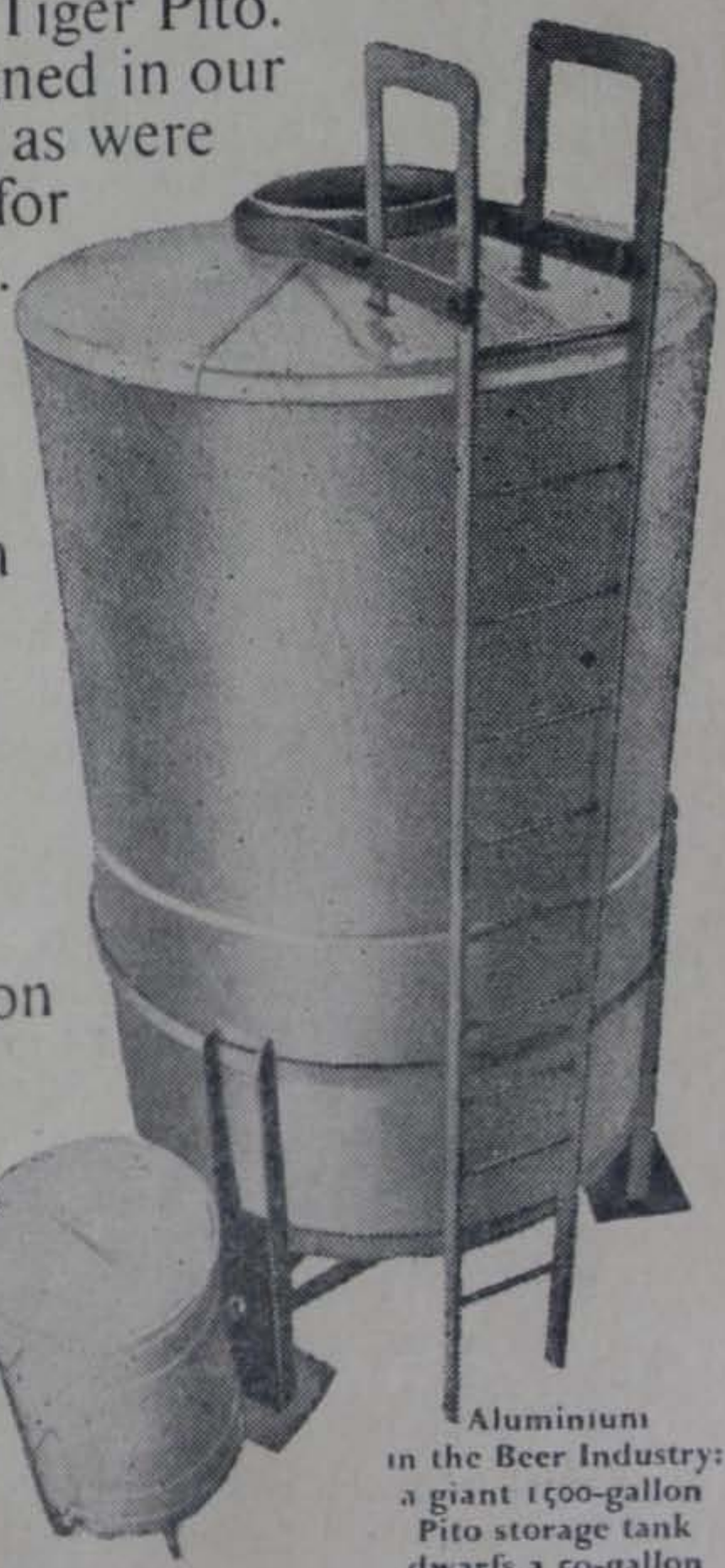
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ing countries, including Ghana. Here I am speaking of social cohesion in terms of *emotion* and *sentiment*. For these feelings, whether we believe it or not, are the only simple minded, near-monolineal explanation of much more complex socio-political phenomena in human society.

If one may be allowed to be blatantly personal and unapologetic in this facing of great, fundamental human problems, I would say: Take me, for instance. My attachment to Sierra Leone is mainly emotional and sentimental. Therefore it is of small consequence to me that I personally consider the political atmosphere in that country to be basically pre-modern, and certain socio-political trends and attitudes to be suggestive of Noah's Ark. It does not matter what I believe about politics in Freetown, or how angry or sad I get about corruption or anything else there: my emotional and sentimental attachment to the country and its people, going back to my childhood, has kept and will continue to keep me unbreakably attached to them for the rest of my natural life.

"Sociological" Relations

Contrast this with the earnest, sincere words of one of my life-long friends in Sierra Leone, the wife of a leading Krio personality and herself a gentle, normally warm-hearted woman. She was speaking to me only a few weeks ago in Freetown, and said, in her quiet way: "....Don't you see we've stopped wearing their clothes? At Independence, just to show that we wanted to be one, belonging to the same country, and so on, we started wearing these Temne and Mende gowns, headwraps and country-cloths, although we never 'one-day' did so before. Now, without a word of agreement or decision among us, we've all just simply stopped wearing those clothes and are back again to our own, our old way of dressing...Apart from that, the fact is they find it impossible to mix with us; we can't come together in a [social] party and talk about the same things in the same language [that is, in the same terms]. If you make a personal joke with one of them, the way we do with ourselves all the time, he will be quick to take offence, believing that you are belittling him, laughing at him...." Or words to exactly the same meaning.

The sad significance of this voluntary, almost natural, dichotomisation of "We" from "They", within the specific Sierra Leone situation we are discussing, cannot be lost even on a newcomer to "sociological" relations in the third world. At the base of political instability in Sierra Leone lies, that is to say, ethno-social incoherence between the Krios and the Rest, on the emotional plane, before, secondly, comes ethno-political rivalry between the Mendes of the Margais and the Temnes of John Karefa-Smart; between the Temnes and the Limbas of Siaka Stevens, and so on down a line of diminishing importance. (Many of my Krio friends would like me to say "ethno-*cultural* differences, but for strong ideological reasons of my own I refuse to make that small but meaningful difference.)

The Major Forces

The macrocosmic study of the contemporary Sierra Leonean phenomenon gains immensely from the pictures drawn in whole in their books, by the historians Christopher Fyfe and John Peterson, the one an Englishman, the other a white American; the one a former Archivist of Sierra Leone, the other the present Professor of History at Fourah Bay. They both portray on large canvas the origins of the major groups of people in the country and the major forces that have influenced their socio-political development. *A History of Sierra Leone* by Fyfe and *The Province of Freedom* by Peterson tell in their different ways and styles how these different peoples and forces came to be what they are. (There is other basic work, of course, like Peter Kup's *Sierra Leone* 1400-1787.) But for the study of "why they tick the way they do", in other words for the microcosmic look, we have to turn to the work of two other authors, both black and both well established among scholars and general readers in African affairs: Professor Arthur Porter (a Krio of Freetown) and Professor Martin Kilson of Harvard University, who has worked at both Fourah Bay and Legon.

Arthur Porter limns the personality, the achievements, the historical-social role of his ancestry and their descendants, in the book *Creoledom*, published in 1963. Martin Kilson, a black American political sociologist (where Porter is a sociological historian, at any rate in *Creoledom*), analyses the interplay of forces among, between, and within the microcosm of Sierra Leone society, historical and contemporaneous. Kilson's work is called *Political Change in an African State*. All these books add up to a sound theoretical grasp of the forces at work in the

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country, but as in the case of analyses on other parts of fragmented Africa, the amalgamated story here shows nowhere a building and a moulding towards a nationhood based upon shared experience and common sentiment. The Creole ("Krio") elite are no longer politically decisive: "One man one vote" democracy keeps them out of the party-power structure. But educationally and socially they remain quietly but effectively dominant, and this influence-without-power set-up is one of the corrosive elements at work on the contemporary scene. For, in addition, almost the reverse of this picture of the Krio group is true of the non-Krio community as a whole, that is, of the Rest. With devastating consequences!

What then? Where there is no corporate, creative sentiment for a commonly based nationhood; and where social-status inequalities mix up with tribal tensions to complicate further the already complex problems of political power, we are left in Sierra Leone with the situation in which everything really and truly turns on the personality of significant individuals alone. And here we can do no less than to turn our attention now to the key individuals of Sierra Leone politics today: Mr. Siaka Stevens himself, Dr. Forna, the Bash-Taqis, Dr. Sarif Easmon, and. "above" all, Dr. John Karefa-Smart, about whom the Ghanaian public knows little or nothing, but who in fact has for years been a political enigma in modern Sierra Leone.

(To Be Continued)

Observer Notebook

President Akufo-Addo, the Police and the Citizen

IT IS in the nature of human life and human affairs that mishaps and disappointments should occur, often without warning and always without respect for persons. Were that not so, an attack of ill health would not have forced newly elected President Akufo-Addo to miss his own inaugural, nor caused thousands of people to be thrown into shock and disappointment. Some of these had travelled thousands of miles to come and felicitate with the President and with the Ghanaian people as a whole; one could imagine the mortification of many of them, not just at the unexpected cancellation of the ceremony for that occasion but even worse at the realization that for them there would be no ceremony at all, ever.

We hope that the President has now recovered and will become able to begin his official life among us very soon. It is going to be a very strenuous life indeed, that of the Head of State of Ghana; it has always been and will continue to be so. Everywhere. President Akufo-Addo *will* in fact need his usually good health and jaunty spirits to cope with his new life, and we wish him well for it.

But one aspect of the preparations for and preliminaries of the occasion of the President's now postponed inauguration puts us in bad temper — not for the first time either. And this time we must really give the police and the protocol authorities of this country a solemn warning.

We have often complained about the traffic arrangements for state occasions: about the massive road blockage for too long hours, the detours, the halts, the hold-ups, the lengths of the motorcades, the sirens — the over-elaboration of the whole business. But, as the Bible would say: "Be not deceived!" We are not morons. We know whereof we speak. We know, for instance, that much of this inconvenience has to be endured, for security reasons, for the quick despatch of business, and so on. But we also think that a lot of it is sheer ceremonial and diplomatic humbug. Some of these foreign VIP visitors, for instance, are not worth all the fuss and bother of outriders and howling sirens, are they? Some of them are not even VIPs at all but OAIPs — "Only Adequately Important People".

However, none of the above is the immediate cause of our discontent or the reason for our warning to the police and the protocol authorities today. The matter concerns a more serious aspect of inconvenience; it concerns our dignity as persons, our self-respect, our rights as citizens of a country. *For the police outriders accompanying VIPs on our roads treat other motorists, citizens of the state — sometimes visitors as well who happen to be driving by — like absolute dirt.* They waive us off the road and almost into the gutters with exaggerated command gestures which seem to proclaim that we are committing the high crime of treason just by

being on the road at the same time as a President, the Prime Minister, or the visiting Head of Almost Anything. We have seen some male citizens of this country almost choking with anger and shame, and some women on the verge of tears, after one of this kind of experience. Because in addition they are sometimes even shouted at by the outriders, even called "FOOL!" when they have not vanished quickly enough out of the sight of the riding VIPs. Of course, most of the time these outriders look terribly ridiculous themselves in their flamboyant cloak of fleeting authority, but one cannot laugh at them all the time; one is more often outraged than amused.

The head of the police services of Ghana, Mr. B. A. Yakubu, himself the most genial and most polite of men; and the honourable the Minister in charge of protocol, Mr. Osei Bonsu, should look into and take this matter seriously in hand. *Otherwise some respectable, self-respecting citizens may one day consider that they have had all they could take, and openly challenge the police for the reinstatement of their human dignity.* Perhaps our President and our Prime Minister have not observed this thing we are talking about; nor the Inspector-General of Police, nor the Chief of Protocol. It would reward us all if they did, and used their power to correct it, for it is very real. They have our esteem; we surely merit theirs.

Non-Aggression Jokes!

IT is difficult to decide which is funnier: the ostensible seriousness with which Mister Vorster issued his recent invitation to the independent African States to come and sign non-aggression pacts with South Africa, or the fact that we know he had his tongue in his cheek when making this stupendous Christian gesture. A great pillar of the Church and a scion of Calvin's race of religious determinists — not to mention bigots — Mister Vorster also apparently fancies himself a great humorist. As such, he must be asked kindly to tell us, soon, when and how to laugh at his non-aggression joke.

Of course there's always Friend Kamuzu Banda, Principal Cheer-Leader and make-up man to this noted performer in the entertaining arts; perhaps we can take our cues from him instead. The Star



would thus be freed to devote maximum concentration on the invention of jokes for us, and Kamuzu can always come up with his "One, Two, Three — LAUGH!" If both of them run out of material or ideas, they can readily turn to that No. 3 Churchman, Ian Smith, for new tricks. He will show them, for instance, how to flirt openly with black cricketers while keeping black political leaders permanently locked up.

But serious people like those among the African leaders who have already rejected the non-aggression joke, and doubly independent leaders like Seretse Kama, are not going to let Vorster and his little steward-boy get away with it. Anyone who indeed heard Seretse Kama last week in his statesmanlike, even noble, speech on oppressor-and-oppressed relations in southern Africa can now feel nothing left but revulsion at Vorster's self-conscious power politics, and, for Banda's toadyism, nothing but pity. As between Kama and Banda the difference is that of one man facing dangers and anxieties with realism and courage, and the other blustering away all the time just to keep from showing that he is trembling half to death.

Of Mister Vorster, finally, it is pertinent to ask why he should want to waste any of his precious time talking to African leaders in this way, when he should be using every moment of it steadily building up his magnificent, impregnable fortress of evil. After all, isn't he backed by Western-power arms and hypocrisy, and by such as Zambian terror and Ghanaian split-personality policies? Foolish African leaders, such as there are, may believe themselves permanently at the mercy of the Vorsters, Smiths and Caetanos of African domination politics; patriot African leaders cannot accept this nonsense as destiny, and will not give up the vision of an eventual settlement with our torturers, by force of arms if necessary.

Zambia Delegation and that Flag

THE Zambian delegation to the Commonwealth Parliamentary meeting in Canberra in Australia flew out of the country and back home because of what the leader of the delegation said was an insult. When they arrived in the Conference building they had discovered that their flag was not on its pole. This was after the Zambians had made a speech attacking Australia for sending troops to Vietnam. The police did not help matters much when they said that they believed the flag had been deliberately removed. Later they said high winds had blown it off.

That only Zambia's flag could have so suffered from high winds raises much cause for doubt. In any case the Conference Chairman could not persuade them and they left. The oppressed of the world are slowly but surely gaining the use of all their faculties and reacting to stimuli of all kinds. Perhaps next time the flags will be properly hung where high winds of the Canberra kind exist!

Letters

Ghana's Privileged Few

SIR — The **Legon Observer** has been one of my most respected publications for several months. I would like first of all to congratulate you because of your "call the spade a spade" attitude, and especially because of Mr. Sibundvski's letter in **L.O.** V/18.

The situation is rather "disheartening", as he puts it. It has brought some people to a standstill, watching the ugly line-streched between the poor and rich. I was once forced to learn Shakespeares' **Twelth Night** by heart, only to forget later; but I still remember his saying that "some are born great, some achieve greatness, and some have greatness thrust upon them". Judging by his complicated wisdom, Shakespeare forgot to add that some are born poor, some achieve poverty, and some have poverty thrust upon them.

It is a fact that money has gone into the hands of the privileged few. Most generally unrecognized is the poor majority's counter influence upon the life of the dominant, well-fed minority. People are poor not because they are lazy, and others are rich not because they are more intelligent or industrious.

I believe that it is possible to do something about this ever-widening gap.

Stuttgart
West Germany

K. Osafo-Atta

Family Rearing at Public Expense?

SIR — In recent months we have seen and heard a great deal about the campaign to limit the size of the family for economic reasons; no doubt large sums of the Ghanaian taxpayers' money are involved in the exercise.

Already there are many people in our society who have passed the stage of family planning, and who, therefore, have nothing to gain from it, although they too contribute financially towards it.

In the interest of social justice, I feel the time has come for the authorities to spend some of our money on family rearing too.

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The Churches And Society

SIR — Please allow me to put on record that the accusation that two Accra dailies recently levelled against the Churches in Ghana is false. In substance the charge is that the Churches advocate hoarding treasures in heaven through prayer, when they should be thinking of man in his concrete situation in this world and doing something about it.

But the most cursory research shows that the Churches have established schools, all over the country at all levels, University level excepted. The Churches run hospitals, leprosaria, clinics, orphanages, technical schools, and vocational schools (the Catholic Church alone manning more than 24 hospitals, and Agogo Hospital, belonging to the Presbyterians, being one of the best in the country) mostly located among rural people. Agricultural projects are no novelty to the Churches, nor are credit schemes to help peasants unknown to them. Ghanaians from the northern section of Ghana will attest to this.

The Presbyterian Church looks after a Blind School and a Deaf and Dumb School. The worldwide Society of St. Vincent de Paul which looks for and after the destitute, hitherto run on the regional or diocesan level, has recently taken on national dimensions. What the Churches need is co-operation from fortunate Ghanaians to help the less privileged ones.

Priests and ministers are constantly on the move trekking from one remote village to another, consoling people, rushing the sick to the hospital, acting as peace-makers, in short, loving everybody. It does no good, out of ignorance or prejudice, to indict the Churches for crimes they have not committed.

P.O. Box 99 **P. K. Kumankama**
Kumasi

Kontopiaat and Oguaa Gods

SIR — I must take issue with Kontopiaat on a rather vital subject. Oguaakrom has been losing its vitality, its able-bodied lads, its beautiful lasses, and its glory. But little did we realise that the 77 gods of Oguaakrom had also left and are now aliens in Kontopiaatkrom! (**L.O.** V/20 p. 29).

I should like Kwadwo Kontopiaat to reassure us that his gods are not alien but indigenous. For if he and his fellow citizens have mistakenly taken over our gods, I must warn them of the dire peril in which they stand.

When the City State of Oguaakrom comes to be rebuilt, now with oil around the place, it is intended that the city wall should have 77 turrets, each with its god **in situ.**

Korle Bu Hospital **Joe Pobee**
Accra

Religious Discrimination in Ulster

SIR — Once again, violence between discriminating Anglicans and Roman Catholics in Ulster has been reported. To "Ecumenists", and the civilized world at

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large, the frequent harping of the negative aspects of Henry VIII's Reformation in this corner of the United Kingdom, especially in recent times, must be deplored.

Discrimination on religious grounds is a social evil which could disturb a nation's progress. It is strongly felt that the perpetration of this evil against Roman Catholics in that part of the United Kingdom is a factor contributing to that country's slow pace of progress. It is believed in certain quarters that Western investors, many of them Catholics, do bring their money to Ulster, whose Anglican majority are not prepared to accord their Catholics brothers equal social status. In the eyes of investors in general, the investment climate there is not good as a result of the instability posed by the frequent unrest. Consequently, jobs are scarce and unemployment widespread, with the natural result of mass migration to England and the Western countries.

Why Ulster does not want to show realism and rid herself of Henry VIII's 16th century prejudices is hard to understand. Looking across the borders at Britain and the Irish Republic, she can see what cost to her economic and social well-being she has to face in playing the role of "custodian of the Reformation". In these places, where freedom of religion prevails, and where Catholics and Anglicans do not have to live in separate quarters, there is economic and social advancement synonymous with national integration and harmony.

Surely, there is a great need for a change in favour of religious harmony in this Irish country, not only in the interest of world peace but in that of her own people's social and economic progress.

Ebo Christian

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Did Batsa Belong To The United Party?

SIR — Dr. T. Peter Omari says in his book *Kwame Nkrumah: The Anatomy of an African Dictatorship*, which was reviewed in the *Observer*, that I was a United Party politician "....and as a C.P.P. activist, Batsa found recognition which he never obtained in the United Party. With men of the calibre of Akufo-Addo in the United Party, he could only play second fiddle...."

It is not true. I never had any connection with the United Party. If anything I was on the left of the C.P.P. when I had to be out of its ranks for four years. I wrote a lot to attack the Party but I did that from the left.

Dr. Omari is free to say that I would have played second fiddle in the United Party. But I doubt whether he thinks I could not measure up to the modest glow of the academic glory of some of the then leading personalities of the United Party.

Kofi Batsa

Likpa Farms
P.O. Box 52
Odumase Krobo

Pepper Bandits Again

SIR — An adjunct to the new crime wave sweep across Ghana is the pepper bandits' activities. Of l we have had two instances of pepper being thro into the eyes of people carrying large sums of mon

In the first case the cashier of a U.T.C. store in K masi claims to have been attacked, although the poli have arraigned him before the Magistrate's Court f complicity. The outcome of the case is not my co cern here. In the second instance also, someone carryi some salaries in cash was attacked and the money tak away.

The most appalling case reported, however, wa what happened on the Suhum road, where employe of Stirling-Astaldi are said to have been robbed NC10,000 which was going to be paid to them wages. The carriers are reported to have been shot b some bandits.

What I cannot understand is why large sums of mo ney move as they do. Banks are daily telling of the extended services to all the nooks and crooks of th country, yet one cannot understand their backward looking habits in the handling of cash. I urge anyon interested to go to the High Street branches of th three banks at the end of each month and see how cashiers carry money to and fro.

Could not a system be devised where employee of all grades get paid by cheque? It would boost th banks' business, and this is a call to them to be mor adventurous in devising new banking methods for ou rural populaton.

Mamprobi **L. A. Tette**

On Students

SIR — Was my last letter so obscure? It was writte because of a suggestion in a paper that moral pressur would be put on students to work for the Nationa Service Corps during long vacations. No doubt the wor would be good and useful — but **not** for keen student who want to get on with their vacation reading. Tha is their own special way of making themselves useful If anybody tells them they "ought" to be doing un academic drudgery instead, that would be moral pres sure, exploitation, and hypocrisy.

And about students: why has the **Legon Observer** no got a long denunciation of these clauses about student grants in the Budget? There was not even a tiny littl march of parents of teen-age children to sing "Hand off their scholarship"!

7, South Legon **Daphne Herewar**

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THE OPPOSITION

Several commentators examine the structure and future of minority political groupings in Ghana and Africa.

EDITORIAL

THE FUTURE OF THE U.N.

AN English commentator broadcasting to the world the other day said of the United Nations that it had perhaps reached the end of its road in its present form at the centre; it would most likely, he opined, quietly phase itself out and be survived by, as well as survive in, its far-flung agencies: W.H.O., F.A.O., U.N.I.C.E.F., U.N.E.S.C.O., and the rest. He considered that the U.N. had done all it could ever do, and now just had to wither away, leaving the smaller, more practical, less unwieldy sub-organisations to get on with it—like the League of Nations dying a natural death and being survived by the Word Court and the I.L.O. This prophet of doom was not only predicting the gradual withering away of the state of the United Nations, but was also suggesting that by constitution, by the very nature of its development, and by the enormity of its problems, our second world organisation for peace has no greater survival potential or ability than had the first. However, he did sound as if all this would be a pity, and that we would most of us somehow be sorry and sad to see the U.N. die. At least that we should be.

We have called this commentator a prophet of doom, and rightly so, on any grounds positive or negative. But the fact is, even its greatest well-wishers must find it difficult at times to believe in the survivability of the U.N.; on the other hand, even its most shallow critics must find it extremely easy to dismiss the organisation as moribund at birth and doomed from the beginning: the critics, plus that noble army of cynics and sceptics who are always out to reduce anything human to scorn and ridicule. "Look", they would say, "at the veto power. Look at the spectacle of the big fish and the little fish pretending to be living peacefully together in the one pond . . . . Remember Korea, Algeria, the Belgian Congo, Nigeria. And what about Vietnam? . . . . Also how long do you consider this sick body can survive the charity of the United States alone; or the contempt of France; or the uncheckable defiance of South Africa, backed by the overt and covert support of the big western powers; or the writhings of the Africans and the Asians and the South Americans?. . . .

Now all this may be so, and there is no use in optimists deceiving themselves about the security of this 25-year-old testimony to human weakness, confusion, blundering and culpability. This condition will continue; nor can we ourselves visualise a complete conquest, soon, of the negative human traits which militate against a condition of peace. Robert Ardrey, re-echoing and rephrasing both predecessors and con-

temporaries, has only recently been re-emphasising the seeming inescapability, nay even the seeming essentiality, of aggressiveness, struggle and war in animal life. Right or wrong, this theory, as well as the situations it at least partly describes, simply indicates that there is a balancing of forces and conditions which must go on among men, and without which survival itself would be impossible. If there is no resistance to brute force, or room or will to manoeuvre out of its way, the strong would simply gobble up the weak, then destroy themselves from surfeit and decadence; if no attempt is made to curb evil, it would run rampant and make the human condition even more monstrous than it is under the checking and the balancing. This is what the United Nations is all about: trying, as long and as much possible, to contain a reasonable balance within the human situation.

To us in Africa and the Third World, though, it means more. In the war which necessitated the creation of the United Nations we played a part out of all proportion to the smallness of the advance we had been given a chance to make previously. We supplied men, material, military bases; we saved precious dollars for the western allies, especially the British. We saw service in East Africa, India, Burma. Then, after the war, we qualified for membership in the resulting organisation for peace, which is the U.N., by pressing for and gaining our freedom from a nonsensical and impertinent colonial status. It is in the U.N., which **we** did not organise but to whose membership we were thus entitled both by our material contributions and by moral considerations, that we first had the opportunity to present ourselves to the rest of the world, or at least to speak in our own behalf.

It is therefore eminently in our own interest that we, at least, should be anxious about the future of the United Nations and its survival as long as humanly possible. It is abundantly clear that throwing up our hands now, in despair at the activities of the critics, the cynics and the enemies of justice, would make matters infinitely worse for us and others. The inadequacies and failures at the U.N. which we see and feel all the time may distress but should not daunt us into moral capitulation. The Afro-Asians should neither be among the undertakers bidding for the burial of this organisation, nor slacken for one moment their pressure on its Big-Power membership for international and racial justice, regardless of the taunts of cynics, the pessimism of sceptics, or the rage of rapacious master-race theorists motivated more by fear and greed than by a willingness to understand and to be rational.

But if the Afro-Asian cause, like the United Nations, is to survive and triumph, its handling must be based on even greater unanimity of policy and co-ordination of plans than we have had so far. It is reassuring to see President Kaunda leading a united delegation seeking to persuade the western powers to cease their iniquitous material and moral supporting of the Pretoria regime; but it is daunting to hear Ghana, for instance, declaring its determination never to sever certain connection regardless of future circumstances, the while Nyerere and Kaunda himself are taking positive, courageous steps to show their adherence to the moral truth that man cannot depend on bread alone for life. Those African states that cannot follow certain lines of action in concert with their fellows should not commit themselves by declaring stands and policies opposite to the others and devisive in their tendencies.

The United Nations deserves to survive, for the sake of the whole world. In spite of its shortcomings and dilemmas—on which we wrote before (**L.O.** V/14)—it **will** survive indefinitely, if those to whom this is vital would keep up that struggle for justice which alone can sustain life in the organisation.

The Economy

IMPLICATIONS OF THE 1970 SURCHARGE

By

Kwame Adjei

FOLLOWING the Budget Statement for 1970-71, the Temporary Surcharge on Imported Goods Act, 1970, was passed by Parliament as Act 343. A lot of controversy has surrounded the imposition of this tax, and it is worth the effort to single out and examine this surcharge alone without full treatment of the entire 1970-71 Budget.

It is meaningless to discuss the Temporary Import Surcharge without reference to the liberalisation of the import trade which was contained in the Budget statement.

What the government has done are:

i. With few exceptions, manufacturers' imports of raw materials will now attract the ordinary rate of duty, thus eliminating the concessionary rates of 10% formerly given to importers;
ii. the import duty rate on finished goods has also been adjusted upwards;
iii. an imposition of temporary surcharge on raw materials ranging from 0-15%;
iv. abolition of the import licensing system and

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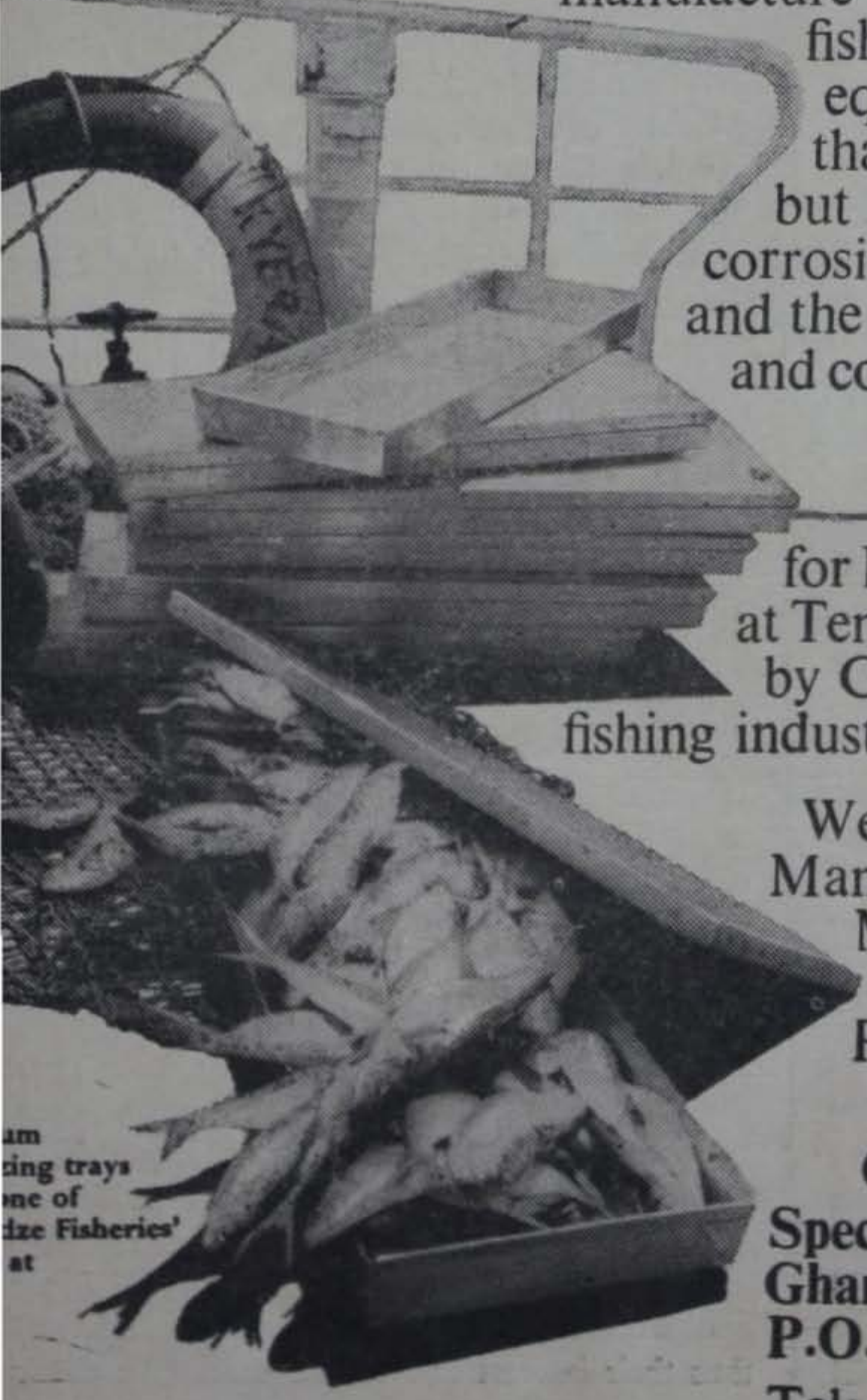
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the introduction of Open General Licence. The reasons are explained in the Minister of Finance's Budget statement: His reasons could be summed up as follows:

i. The Surcharge will yield revenue to the government to enable it finance expenditures contained in the Budget statement;
ii. the administration and control of import licence had given special privileges to importers, thus making them enjoy a "monopolistic or at least oligopolistic situation especially in the market for imported consumer goods";
iii. the profit margin for this privileged class is too much, and the government and/or the consumer should share in this privilege;
iv. the abolition of the import licensing system will also stop the corruption and malpractices associated with its administration.
Not only was the administration cumbersome and open to abuse but also there developed brokers, contractors and agents for obtaining import licence with the result that not only did the actual importers have to make provision in their price calculations for the fees of these import licence agents but it happened that some people who never dreamt, nor had the means, to import, obtained licences. The result was that they could not import, and this caused a shortage in the supply of those imported items concerned;
v. higher surcharges may increase prices and reduce the level of goods imported. This will discourage demand for certain imported goods and thus save some foreign exchange.

The basic reasoning behind the imposition of the temporary surcharge and the liberalisation of the import (or abolition of the import licence) system is that **with an increase in the surcharge and therefore the cost of imported raw materials, it might be better to import the finished product at a lower price than to import the raw materials and manufacture it here at a higher price. This measure not only reduces the cost of living for the consumer but also it makes sure that inefficient manufacturers are not protected at the expense of the tax-payer.**

The expected result of the liberalisation policy is that if anybody can import without obtaining licence, then there will be a glut of goods on the market. This, according to economic laws, will force prices down. Thus the cost of living will go down at the calculated risk to the balance of payments; if this happens then competition will be intensified—a healthy condition for economic activity. Smuggling into the country will be checked since goods obtained in Ghana will be cheaper than the same goods obtained from our neighbouring countries.

After the 1966 Revolution, the N.L.C. government tried to find an equilibrium level for our economic activity. This has not yet been achieved. The N.L.C. could not do it because, even though they were men in uniform, their sensitivity to Nkrumah's possible return did not embolden them to take such drastic action as was required. The policy of protecting infant industry as well as the import licensing system, gave special privileges which created disequilibrium in our economic activities. Certain companies and industries were created which should not have seen the light of day. Inefficient corporations were able to survive because of the privileged facilities given them. Price levels were out of all proportion, since pure and perfect competition never existed in Ghana.

Risk-Taking Moves

This is a very bold move by the government which probably reflects the temperament of the Minister of Finance and Economic Planning more so than the apparent general impression of the Progress Party as a "God-fearing" government. It is a risk-taking move, and the Minister appropriately accepted this by saying:

> If we do not get enough foreign exchange, if the cocoa market starts playing tricks with us again, if those countries which have been aiding Ghana suddenly decided that we are no longer their friends and they are no longer going to aid us, then we will be in trouble.

Risk indeed is imputed in this Budget proposal and we may now look at the various possible implications.

The Surcharge is supposed to force manufacturers to seek cheaper sources of raw material, to utilise more fully their plant and equipment capacity, to increase the productivity of their workers, and, where possible, to substitute local raw material for imported ones.

We know that concessionary privileges given to certain importers of raw materials were abused. Finished and semi-finished goods were brought in under the guise or pretext that they were raw materials. Thus the government has to do something about the disequilibrium in the economy.

The personnel running the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning seem like academics; thus their interest in research cannot be elimina-

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ted. A practical politician would not probably have adopted this part of the Budget. There are "ifs" and "buts". It is experimental, but the results may yield useful facts for more realistic and meaningful policies in the future. Let us examine some of them.

Some Ghanaian manufacturers are just assembling imported semi-finished goods. Their added value to imported goods does not warrant their considerations normally given to manufacturers being designated "manufacturers". The major considerations normally given to manufacturers who import raw materials are:

1. number of persons employed;
2. teaching of technical and business techniques;
3. essentiality of manufacture—for security reasons or otherwise.

If a local manufacturer's price is higher than that of an imported commodity but gives a lot of employment to Ghanaians, or his techniques and technical know-how are essential for industrial development, or if he produces such items as are required for national security or important research, the society can be justified in supporting him.

The Tax Burden

It is unfortunate that these criteria do not apply to most of our manufacturers. Textile manufacturers, automobile assembly plants, shirt-makers and others employ only a handful of workers and their prices in some cases represent 100-400% of the cost of the raw material. The government's argument is that if these manufacturers are reaping this amount of profit then either the government shares it with them in the form of the imposition of a surcharge on the imported raw materials or forces them to lower their prices.

Another consideration by the government is that if imported goods can flow into the country freely, then if these manufacturers are efficient they should be able to absorb the additional tax burden and still obtain a fair profit margin. If after the tax some manufacturers can barely survive, it would give them greater incentive to improve on their efficiency and operations. This is very healthy. Those who cannot survive will only prove that they do not deserve to be in the field and, according to the government, it is better to get them out of business than to subsidize such inefficient manufacturers.

The manufacturers' argument indicate that their profit margins are not as high as the government indicates. Some indicate that they have borrowed heavy sums of money to install machinery and equipment and an increase in their cost may not only threaten their survival but may also leave them in debt—particularly to the banks and suppliers.

Both parties should stand by their arguments. The only solution is for the manufacturers to submit proof of genuine hardship, as indicated by the government, in order to obtain relief. In going through this exercise, I would like to recommend to the government to use persons experienced in business operations to scrutinise the cost figures of firms making appeals. An example may arise where a local manufacturer buys from an agent or the subsidiary of the manufacturer of the raw material. The invoices supporting the importer's claim may be genuine but a careful scrutiny may indicate that the importer could have obtained the commodity cheaper by ordering directly from the original source of the raw material. Over-invoicing can also be detected. An importer who wants to obtain foreign exchange overseas may request the supplier to increase the value of the imported articles. After 180 days when the cedis have been paid to the Bank of Ghana, the amount is transferred in foreign exchange to the supplier. The importer, therefore, builds up to his credit with the supplier some foreign exchange reserves. Thus, for the government to control this very effectively, they should seek the advice, if not set up an independent committee of experts, including economists, accountants, bankers, lawyers and businessmen to analyse the cost figures and operations of manufacturers and importers.

Price Increases

Manufacturers indicate, and it seems the consumer has accepted it, that with the imposition of the surcharge, prices will necessarily have to go up, since the cost of production has gone up. The government on the other hand considers that there may be slight price increases in selected cases but on the whole they expect decreases in prices. The argument runs as follows: . . . With the Open General Licence, people who cannot manufacture may now import the finished product. There will be such a rush for importation that there will be a glut of imported goods on the market. If supply exceeds demand, of course, the result will be price reduction.

It seems the government can win in this argument, because if local manufacturers cannot produce goods at the same price and quality as imported finished goods, then they will definitely be replaced. We all know that products like shirts,


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underwear and blouses which one can get from Marks and Spencer or Selfridges in London sells for about three to four times the price when it is manufactured locally.

If manufacturers cannot absorb the additional increases in cost then some of them will be thrown out of business. Some may reduce level of operation, while others will move into trading (export/import) which requires less hands than manufacturing; these approaches may have deflationary effects on the economy and throw people out of employment.

This can best be explained by using the working capital argument. If a company has N¢100.00 to spend on raw material costing N¢1.00 per item he can buy 100 units. If one person uses 10 units for production he can employ 10 workers. If the surcharge is raised by 50% it means the manufacturer has to obtain N¢150.00 in order to acquire the 100 units of raw material. If he cannot raise the extra N¢50.00 then he will be forced to buy less. His N¢100.00 can only buy 67 units. If employees continue at the same rate of operation he will need only 6.7 persons and 3.3 will be unemployed. The government's argument is that if prices fall as a result of a glut of goods on the market, more disposable income will be available to the consumer and he will buy other things which will create employment in other sections. If a woman buys a blouse per month at N¢15.00 from a local manufacturer and the same blouse is ordered and costs N¢10.00, the lady has an extra N¢5.00 to spend and may decide to buy shoes. Shoe manufacturing therefore gets a boost and more people will be employed. The government's provision on the Budget for a 50% increase in Development Expenditure is probably aimed at absorbing some of the unemployed who will be affected. This is a risky decision. As the Minister of Finance himself indicated the government is taking chances with cocoa prices, generosity of donor countries, and availability of foreign exchange. We hope the government wins in this argument.

Manufacturers are complaining that the government had fooled them with the Ghanaian Business Promotion Act: that the Ghanaian bought a foreigner's firm only to realize that the Budget which came only a few month later was aimed at driving him out of business. As one manufacturer indicated: "They drive the aliens out and kill the Ghanaian businessman, do they want to take over our business themselves?" As things go now, some marginal manufacturers will fall by the wayside. It is unfortunate that the timing of the Budget and the imposition of the surcharge are so close to the implementation of the Ghanaian Business Promotion Act that eyebrows are being raised about the government's genuine intention of helping Ghanaian business.

If hardship cases are not given special consideration, the beneficiaries of this surcharge will be the big expatriate firms who have vertical integrated operations and who can get direct access to the sources of raw material. It is they who have adequate cash reserves to order in bulk, and who thus get the maximum discounts possible. Next to these will be the medium-sized Ghanaian businessmen who may survive the crisis. A new business elite will be created along with the large expatriate firms and the social as well as political consequences must be obvious to the government.

Intricacies of Industrialism

The possible outcome of this policy is to shift the economy from manufacturing to trading. This will be unfortunate. Not only do export/import businesses employ less hands but also manufacturing has a greater potential for aiding economic growth. The techniques of manufacturing require more astute and sophisticated business acumen than simply buying and selling. If manufacturing is eliminated for any length of time Ghanaians will have themselves to blame in the future. People will not be schooled in the intricacies of industrialism and will be equipped with only the rudiments of elementary commercial knowledge. Our road to future economic development will be slow indeed. We have been complaining of lack of managerial skill if one only buys and sells. Production of goods and services need more involved techniques than mere distribution. We should not make the mistake by eliminating manufacturing enterprise altogether. A reasonable number, if even they operate at a loss, may be necessary at this stage of our economic development.

Some manufacturers are suggesting that the government should exempt those who already had goods to clear in the sheds at the harbours and airports at the time of the Budget (i.e. before August 25, 1970) from paying the surcharge at the new rates. This may sound reasonable if one considers that if the manufacturer knew he was going to pay the new rates he would not have ordered either the entire commodity or part of it. But then it is always difficult for a government to announce a Budget and make some

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and

(b) Candidates without University Degree NC3,600.00 x NC100.00 — NC4,000.00 x NC200.00 — NC5,000.00.

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provisions with retroactive effect. If prices will go up, then they go up for all, and if rates of surcharges had been abolished or reduced, I am sure these importers would not want to pay more to the government and would have pocketed the benefits that would have accrued. This is *business*! As the government has indicated, if any importer has a genuine case of hardship he should be treated on his own merit.

Financial aid may be given to such people as can show genuine cases of hardship. The government can earmark a special loan for this. The Banks can always help; but since the government has no control over the administration of loans by the Commercial Banks, the new manufacturer without much credit-worthiness but with great potential may lose in the process.

One solution is for the government to allow such importers to collect their raw materials from the harbour and store them in a customs bonded warehouse. The Customs Office will keep a key along with the one kept by the manufacturer. Duty will be paid on only the portion required by the manufacturer at any particular time. This will relieve him from paying duty on his entire consignment which may be needed for an entire year or more. He will then be able to spread his payments over the entire period; most businessmen can afford these small periodic payments than one lump sum to be paid at once

Genuine Petitions

The surcharge and the liberalisation of imports is a bold move by the government. The outcome is fraught with uncertainties. If the government reviews the budget immediately or drastically it will give the impression that it did not think of the whole exercise carefully. If it becomes stubborn and impervious to genuine petitions it may be disastrous politically. We know the surcharge to be temporary, but nothing becomes more permanent than temporary items in Budgets. Very few rates of taxes are reviewed downwards. We hope that a meeting between the Minister of Finance and the manufacturers will iron out the differences.

Christmas is around the corner, and speculative business can be expected by businessmen. The responsibility rests with the government and the businessmen. The voter will be the loser if there should be an impasse between the government and the businessmen over the issue.

BOUNCING CHEQUES AND THE ECONOMY

By

I. Ackom Mensah

IT IS self-evident that most right thinking and patriotic Ghanaians are eager to do everything possible to help improve the country's economy. The identification of any bottleneck hampering our economic progerss should be of interest to the country in general, and to the authorities in particular.

Often in our diagnosis of our economic ills, poor management or inefficient labour is put forward as the perfect alibi for the low productivity characteristic of business enterprises in Ghana. There is a feeling that this stock excuse may have been a bit overstretched. There are a number of other qualitative factors which make for productivity; factors like money-sense, time-sense and integrity (particularly the last) are important variables spelling success in the business game. Indeed it may be hypothesised that in the final analysis, given a reasonable supply of human material facilities, business success depends upon the self-discipine and the integrity of buinessmen, matched by honesty on the part of the general public. Dishonesty in either camp is a potent factor which acts as a brake on the economy.

Dishonoured Cheques

One way in which people manifest their dishonest tendencies is their readiness to issue without compunction cheques which they know will "bounce". The burden of this article is to explore the ill-effects on our economy of the dishonest habit of issuing "bouncing cheques".

There are various means of assessing the attributes of a people or a nation. The honesty and credit-worthiness of a people or a country may be measured in a number of ways scientific or otherwise. It is suggested that the frequency, the number and amount of dishonoured cheques may provide a crude index of the level of integrity and the trust-worthiness of a people. In the absence of any known reliable statistics on dishonoured cheques, one is forced to fall on a very rough gauge, namely, the readiness or the reluctance with which business houses and/or individuals accept settlement of bills or accounts by cheque. This, as stated before, is admittedly a crude (but hopefully reasonable) pointer.

It is common in Ghana to see notices displayed by business houses and governmental revenue-collecting agencies proclaiming that "cheques are unacceptable"; except for the privileged few, most business transactions must be settled in cash. The

ceptive observer is led to conclude that there something fundamentally wrong somewhere. e people's integrity is called into question, un-ttingly or maybe blatantly, by these notices.

"Please be advised that the Cashier is not owed to accept cheques, unless same are dorsed by the Credit Controller", runs one such tice at a popular motor workshop in Accra. another establishment (state-owned) one reads bold letters at a conspicuous place:

"All repair accounts must be settled **IN CASH** fore vehicles are taken from the workshop . . ." nd as if for the avoidance of doubt the notice gnificantly concludes: "Cheques can no longer accepted". On display in a Legon Senior ommon Room bar is the very latest of these gns: "IN GOD WE TRUST. All Others Pay ash"!

Notices like these are a familiar sight in most usiness places, public and private. Where no ch signs are displayed (as at the Customs and xcise Department) one can be sure of being luntly told in words to that effect, if an attempt e made to settle an account by cheque. How xasperating and inconvenient the insistence on ayment by cash can be is perhaps epitomised by he experience of a Ghanaian traveller at a local ort of disembarkation, when he has some duty r tax to pay and his cheque is unacceptable!

Issuing Bogus Cheques

The main inference from the "No-Cheque-cceptable" notices is that the business houses ave learnt from bitter experience that it is ighly risky, if not altogether imprudent, to rely n cheques, which are after all only promises to ay. And since in our Ghanaian environment it the educated (or sophisticated) section of the ommunity which invariably enjoys the privilege f owning and issuing cheques, the refusal of usiness houses to accept cheques in settlement f accounts is, to say the least, a sad commen-ary on the cream of our society. Something is efinitely wrong somewhere! It calls for a protest, r better still an investigation. It is of course onceivable that the majority of decent people re having to bear the brunt of the misdeeds of n influential minority. Whether or not this is so, he situation should arouse righteous anger cry-talizing in a popular demand for corrective ction.

It is wrong to assume that only individuals re guilty of issuing bogus cheques. We under-tand that a number of firms and companies — particularly small and newly-established business nits — contribute a lot to the spate of bouncing cheques. It is common to hear Ghanaian busi-nessmen complaining of their being denied credit or loan facilities, and there is no doubt some substance in this complaint. But the fault, dear countrymen, may not lie in the oft-assumed wickedness or discriminatory attitude of the banks, but rather in our businessmen's inability to make their word their bond.

In an unpublished study undertaken by the writer at the Harvard Business School in the academic year 1965/66, for the purpose of iden-tifying the factors leading to investment by inter-national firms in Ghana, Nigeria and Sierra Leone, business houses abroad with interests in the three countries were polled on a number of points. To the question: "What record have the country in general and its business-men in parti-cular in honouring investment or business com-mitments?", the respondents were asked to rate each country's record as being "Very Good", "Good", "Fair", or "Poor". **Ghana regretfully received a low rating. Whereas Nigeria received a rating of 71.1% favourable and Sierra Leone 56%, Ghana could boast of only 20% at the time.** This is a crude index of how some business-men in the United Kingdom, Europe and America placed our country in general and our business-men in particular, in the scale of honesty and reliability.

Effects of Exchange Control

The analysis is, of course, subject to a big qualification. The study was undertaken at a time when Ghana's political and economic repu-tation was at its lowest ebb. The isolation of the direct effects of exchange control would have somewhat improved Ghana's score considerably. Be that as it may, the message is unmistakably clear: the sooner the average Ghanaian business-man appreciates the importance of honesty, in-tegrity and rational behaviour in business, the better it will be for the health of Ghana's eco-nomy. Unless this is realised and positive steps taken to improve the situation, credit-giving will understandably continue to be withheld or grud-gingly exercised by the commercial banks and other institutions.

Cheques are negotiable instruments, and not-withstanding their universal acceptance as near-money, they are still not legal tender. A cheque is a bill of exchange drawn on a banker and payable on demand or to the order of; the drawee or creditor is not bound, except by his own agree-ment or consent, to accept it in settlement of an account. Our business houses are therefore within their rights in refusing to accept cheques.

particularly where they have reason to suspect that they may not be honoured on presentation. But such refusal makes business transactions more expensive, and results in an awful waste of man-hours costing probably thousands if not margin millions of cedis a year to the country.

There are other economic and financial implications inherent in bouncing cheques worth looking into. Generally cheques are dishonoured (i.e. not paid by the bank) for the following reasons:

(a) Some defect or irregularity in the cheque, e.g. disagreement between the amount as given in figures and as given in words; staleness of the cheque resulting from non-presentment for six months or over;

(b) lack of effects, i.e. the drawer having no account or having insufficient credit balance in his account, and enjoying no approved credit facilities in the form of overdraft or line of credit;

(c) the drawer nullifying the effect of a cheque he has issued to somebody, by subsequently issuing oral or written countermanding instructions to stop payment. (Acting under the fiduciary obligation imposed on banks, a bank will simply mark a countermanded cheque ("R/D" — Refer to Drawer — without indicating why payment has been refused);

(d) a change in the legal status of the drawer, e.g. notice of the drawer's death, bankruptcy or certified insanity, or as a result of a court order (Garnishee Order);

(e) where the bank has reason to believe that the money is being drawn for an unlawful purpose, or where it suspects forgery.

It would appear that reasons (b) and (c) above have been prominent in Ghana, hence the general aversion towards settlement of accounts by cheque.

Empirical evidence in advanced countries like the U.S.A. and Britain tends to confirm the view that the judicious application of cheques and other negotiable instruments in the credit system tends to accelerate the tempo of economic activity, while the extensive use of cheques in the business life of a nation cuts down the ultimate cost of business, reduces the time taken to complete the cycle of a business transaction and provides an indirect impetus to the savings habits of the community. Since growth in the national product, by and large, depends on total investment, which in turn hinges on total savings (barring foreign aid and foreign investment), anything that discourages reasonable savings does harm ultimately to the national economy.

Undue insistence on payment of bills by cash naturally leads to a high liquidity preference and a corresponding reduction in the banking system's ability or desire to make loans or create additional credit or purchasing power, via the excess reserves mechanism. A bank's ability or willingness to accommodate its customers through overdrafts etc. may be said to be a function of how far other customers are prepared to leave a substantial proportion of their deposits undrawn. Undue insistence on payment by cash induces people to refrain from banking their money or to draw a high percentage of cash from the bank, thereby making it impossible for the banks to give out loans via the excess reserve mechanism and the multiplier effect.

And there is the cost aspect to consider. The time taken by customers

— to draw cash from the bank to settle their accounts;

— to count and check the amount drawn from the bank;

— to count and pay the cash to the business house;

and the time taken by the business house to count and check document and pay in their daily takings to the bank, not to mention the time taken by the teller to check cash paid in must be enormous if it were to be costed or "monetized".

A friend has cynically suggested that perhaps it was the insistence on payment by cash which partly made it necessary for a number of C.P.P. big guns (with an ever-mounting scale of wants) to keep huge sums of loose cash in their wardrobes, mattresses, pillow cases and house safes!

It is suggested that a lot of inactive cash balances which people are forced by prevailing circumstances to carry about is eventually used, wittingly or unwittingly, in purchasing less-desired goods, thus causing a spiral in prices and a reduction in the standard of living. In other words, given excess liquid resources in the hands of the public and barring effective price and other controls, private spending will tend to expand rapidly — more rapidly than output could be increased, thus spelling inflation, characterised by the excess demand.

Among other benefits or advantages lost to the country by the payment-by-cash system may be mentioned:

(a) The salutary built-in checks imposed by

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the cheque payment system. (One generally thinks twice before issuing a cheque. Furthermore the cheque book may not always be present, thus making it possible for an intended purchase to be postponed or cancelled.);

(b) the fact that a cheque serves as documentary evidence of payment, even in the absence of a receipt from the creditor or payee. (One can sue on a dishonoured cheque.);

(c) the security which cheques afford to holders in due course;

(d) the advantages of negotiability characteristic of cheques and other similar instruments;

(e) the record of personal expenditures which cheque stubs provide and the indirect check this places on our propensity to spend.

From the discussion so far we may perhaps agree that the refusal of governmental agencies and business houses to accept cheques in settlement of accounts, though defensible, does some harm to the economic progress of the country, not to mention the annoyance it causes to honest citizens.

A Tough Legislation

Equity demands that we should not condemn out of hand the attitude of the business houses without some reservations, for the available evidence tends to support the view that it is the dishonesty of customers — private and corporate — which has dictated this wasteful line of action. If insistence on cash payments is considered wasteful, the processing of a barage of bouncing cheques is equally wasteful and annoying. One cannot help sympathising with the practical position taken by the businessmen to protect their interests. However, since it is shown that the country as a whole may be losing considerably by the practice, it is suggested that the answer does not lie in the perpetuation of the practice but rather in the introduction of well-conceived, well-framed and tough legislation aimed at specifically dealing with those responsible for plaguing our society with dishonoured cheques.

It is understood that the drawer of a cheque which subsequently bounces may be caught in the criminal liability net, under Section 131 of the Criminal Code (Act 29). The said section broadly covers cases of fraud by false pretences or fraudulent misrepresentation. According to this section:

> whoever defrauds any person by any false pretence shall be guilty of a second degree felony.

Section 132 states that

> a person is guilty of defrauding by false pretences if, by means of any false pretence or by personation he obtains the consent of another person to part with or transfer the ownership of anything.

Section 133 defines "false pretence" as being

> a representation of the existence of a state of facts made by a person, either with the knowledge that such representation is false or without the relief that it is true, and made with an intent to defraud.

I understand that proving **intent** is not an easy exercise.

Under the existing law, if one issues a cheque well knowing one has no current account with the bank, or when one's account has insufficient credit balance and no assured overdraft facility, one commits an offence. Similarly, countermanding the payment of a cheque without proper justification constitutes an offence if intent to defraud is proved to be present. Even though one may not have sufficient funds in the banks, if at the time of issuing the cheque one believes that one's account would be replenished by expected funds—what the lawyers call "spes in futuro"—then no criminal offence would have been committed if the cheque bounces because of a delay in the arrival of the expected credit.

Applying Criminal Codes

Section 295 of the Criminal Procedures Code provides that conviction under Section 131 of the Criminal Codes carries liability to imprisonment for a term not exceeding twenty-five years. This penalty is sufficiently heavy to act as a deterrent, were it not for the requirement which the law places on the prosecution to prove *indent to defraud*, which requirement invariably provides an outlet to a number of defaulters.

In order to make it highly unprofitable and therefore inadvisable for dishonest individuals to continue stultifying the country's efforts towards economic progress, it is strongly suggested that separate legislation should be enacted to deal with the question of dishonoured cheques and to provide heavy penalties for culprits. The law should place the onus on the drawer of a bounced cheque to prove or show cause why he should not be deemed to have committed a second-degree felony. Secondly, the suggested legislation may usefully provide that a bounced cheque of a certain amount shall constitute an act of bankruptcy by the dra-

Thirdly, some liquidated damages may be ulated as automatic compensation to a creditor payee in possession of a dishonoured cheque, over his incidental expenses.

By way of safeguarding drawers of cheques erally, the suggested new legislation must pro- that for the criminal provisions to apply the ee or holder of a cheque must present or ne- ate it within a reasonable period not exceed- a month from the date of receiving the cheque. twithstanding the right to negotiate a cheque, cheque must be presented within a month m the date of its issue or with a reasonable iod.

Another worthwhile provision would be a re- irement that all bank cheques should have the me of the customer legibly printed before they issued by the bank to the customers. This ctice, which prevails in most countries, would vent or rather minimise the practice of certain ple getting hold of other people's cheque oks and issuing cheques therefrom with impu- y.

Establishing Credit Bureau

The Ghana Chamber of Commerce may use- lly consider establishing a Credit Rating Bureau an adjunct to its other activities. Such a Bureau ould provide credit interchange service. With the -operation of participating member firms, banks d other suppliers, the Bureau would compile velant data on the relevant paying habits of stomers particularly firms and companies, and ake the information available, in confidence, to members. In time it is hoped that specialised encies would spring up in the country to provide edit-rating services to our business community. the meantime, it may be useful for, say, the hool of Administration to undertake an on- ing research into the debt-paying habits of our siness community. This is a piece of research hich may be sponsored by the ministry responsi- e for the promotion of Ghanaian business.

The Income Tax Decree has made it obligatory r accountants, lawyers and other professional en to obtain Tax Clearance Certificates before ey can have their Practising Certificates renewed their professional bodies.

It is suggested that the principle be extended to e business houses by requiring that the applica- n for an annual import or foreign exchange location should be accompanied by an authen- cated statement from the applicant's bank(s), the Bank Clearing House, showing the number dishonoured cheques and amount(s) involved, any, issued by the applicants in the immediately preceding years. This statement should be taken into account along with other factors in deciding on the import and/or foreign exchange allocation to be granted. This may sound punitive but it is felt it would help curb the tendency to issue useless cheques with impunity.

We appreciate that whilst legislation would undoubtedly help improve the situation, the answer to the problem ultimately lies in proper and effective civic education of the citizenry—particularly the young—on the urgent need for honesty and dependability in our person-to-person relationships. Honesty is a vital key to economic progress and a necessary ingredient in national development.

One looks forward to the day in Ghana when a wallet containing money lost on say a public transport system vehicle will not be pocketed by the finder, with special thanks to Almighty God or Allah, but will rather find its way back to its true owner through the Police Service. This should not be an Utopian dream or forlorn hope. It should not sound far-fetched, because we know it to be happening everyday in other countries. It is already happening on a modest scale in this country.

Honesty is certainly a good policy, particularly in business. And it is our national responsibility to ensure its presence and protection in all business dealings. Let us act now to promote honesty in business by safeguarding, through legislative and other means, the universal practice of settling accounts by cheque.

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International

RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN AMERICA

By
Jawa Apronti

THE Black American revolutionary, Eldrige Cleaver, represents in many ways the new forces that are seeking to transform society in the bastion of world capitalism, the United States, now dubbed "Babylon". And the new forces, unlike the old alignments, cut across the colour line. It is therefore, no longer, a matter of a black-white confrontation: that is now too simplistic.

The fact of the matter is that in one of the wealthiest countries of the modern world, if not the wealthiest — there is dire poverty and gross social injustice. Who would believe that there are parts of New York City where household rats are big enough to eat—yes, eat—the babies of unwary mothers? Or who would believe that there is no Secondary School in Harlem, or that what is now called simply "the system" has turned out to be an instrument of oppression?

And the brunt of the oppression is borne by the classes of people who happen to be disadvantaged and poor: Blacks, Puerto Ricans, the poor white and various other minorities. There are the people for whom the new revolutionary forces speak and whom they seek to organise so as to substitute for the present system a new social order which would respect the humanity of all men and make sense of their right to enjoy liberty, property and the good things of life.

Those Curious Things Too!

"Babylon" is a truly wonderful place. A vast land mass stretching as far in one direction as Accra lies from London and in the other direction almost equally vast. With a population as big as that of the whole of Africa. And with a military might that can make even Martians shiver. And with Police facilities which can take a sample of the urine of any Head of State or of government they choose to, any day. But the curious things are that dope-peddles in Harlem, the predominatly Black quarter of New York City, are able to outwit this very Police agencies.

Since "Babylon" is an out-and-out capitalist set-up, the main political parties which have vied for power have found themeslves agreeing on the perpetuation of the capitalist system. The tensions which have come to the fore on the social plane have therefore tended to be racial in flavour. As late as 1966 when I paid my first visit to "Babylon", racial tension appeared to be main social issue. People's responses to the phenomenon varied: there were those who, in the luxury of their easily-earned dollars and dividends, were entirely oblivious of it; there were those, both black and white, who were prepared to work genuinely for meaningful integration; and there were those, both black and white, who despaired of the capacity of "Babylon" to evolve a non-racial society.

The ranks of the last mentioned group have swollen in four years to an extent which shattered me completely. And they have been swollen with good cause. This is because the contradictions of the capitalist system—which indeed will inevitably lead to its collapse—are at their most glaring in Babylon. Whole segments of society find themselves condemned to a life of poverty, degradation and oppression. Whole communists are compelled, in that land of plenty, to live in utter squalor. And hordes of young men are sent out to fight America's wars, especially the Vietnam war, when the principles on which that military adventure is being pursued are yet to be established at home.

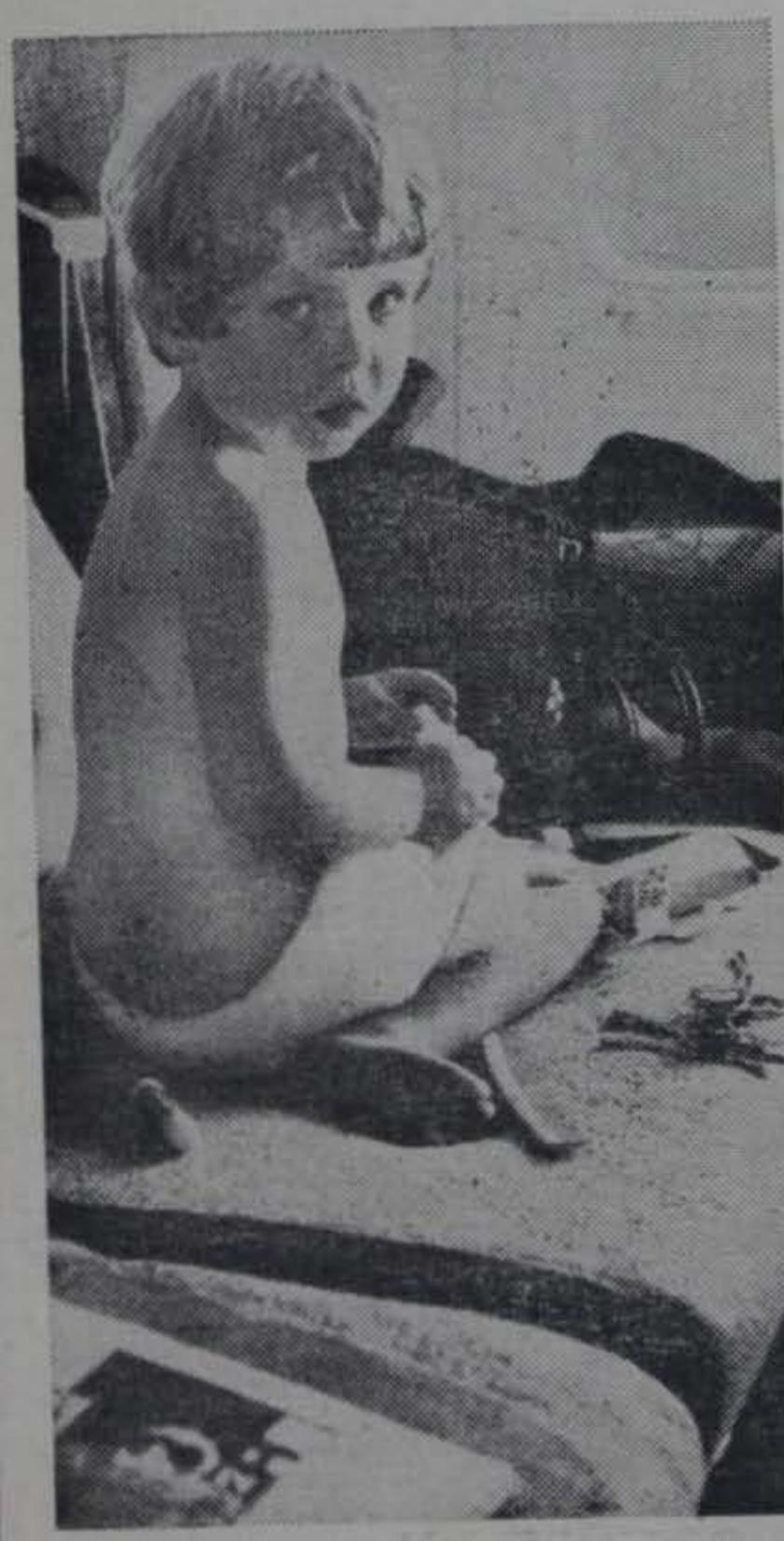
Fighting for 'Democracy'

Take the case of the young, beautiful black brother, a talented sportsman, who fell in the Vietnam War and whose remains were brought home in August of this year. It took a court decision over the corpse to get the military to agree that his body could be buried in a military cemetery. So, in fact, while alive he was a part of the army fighting for "democracy" in Vietnam, but once dead in that cause, he was not fit to lie by the bodies of whites who had died in that same war.

Thus a vast credibility gap yawns between the protestations of the beneficiaries of the present system, and the stark facts of life as they control the lives of millions. And these millions, of whatever shade of pigmentation, are the new forces of revolution who have appeared on the scene. The present system is girded by armed force. The language of the gun is now being spoken by the revolutionary forces too. And they speak it loud and clear, albeit against formidable adds.

Take the Black Panther Party, for instance. The membership embraces revolutionary Blacks, Whites, Puerto Ricans and other oppressed peoples. Their slogan is "All Power to the People". And there is a state of undeclared war between them and the police. The latter had formerly brutalized disgruntled elements with impunity. But the

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brothers of the B.P.P. are now permanently armed. And they answer a taunt with a taunt, a shot with a shot. The result is that there is a hot war—the result of the evils of the present system—in many parts of "Babylon". Even more interesting, there is a news black-out on some of these, for instance the war going on in Cairo, in the State of Illinois.

Meantime, Babylonians in the guise of do-gooders and preachers of democracy are all over the world fooling innocent people with notions they do not believe in the first place. Readers need to be informed about the glaring contradictions in the capitalist system as they exist in the model capitalist state of the western—often misnamed "free"—world, for "Babylon" is approaching a state of holocaust which, though capable of being averted, is unlikely to be.

It is to be noted that the champions of the new social, political and economic order are drawn from many racial groups. Note also that neither in "Babylon", Ghana nor anywhere else can you create a sense of nationhood and community when some people have to be kept poor so that others may be rich, when the masses have to go without educational facilities and economic opportunities so that the few may enjoy a superfluity of these, when millions are condemned to a life of slow attrition, so that a lucky few may lead a life of affluence.

Rejection of Bad Notions

The late twentieth century is witnessing the rejection of these wicked notions in all countries where they have been falsely established and disguised as a benevolent—sometimes even elevated to the status of "democratic"—form of government. The masses expect their welfare to be demonstrably established as the cornerstone of the countries that have enslaved them within their borders. They know they do not **now** have the power with which they can set things right, but they also know—or must know—that it is possible to give all power to the people.

Eldridge Cleaver and other revolutionaries—called "militants" by the capitalist press — now look beyond "Babylon's" racial tensions and at the root causes of oppression in their homeland. In this they have joined forces with people of a variety of ethnic backgrounds who seek to establish a world order which does not only pay lip-service to "equality", "democracy" and other fashionable slogans, but really gets to establish these in the economic, social and political fabric of their countries.



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Demography

MISCONCEPTIONS ABOUT FAMILY PLANNING

By G. M. K. Kpedekpo

I SHOULD like to make some comments on the issues raised by Dr. J. Abbey in the T.V. discussion on Sunday, 11th October, 1970, in the programme "Talking Point". If viewers were left with the impression that the "high priests" of family planning did not know what they were talking about as he (Dr. Abbey) himself even suggested, it is because the other panelists on that programme did not show the same emotions for the cause they advocated as Dr. Abbey did. In fact, Dr. Abbey seems to have generated more heat than light in this discussion.

I am not one of the "high priests" of family planning but I believe that some of the points Dr. Abbey raised must not be left unanswered. Specifically, he raised four issues to which he claimed he had no answers.

(1) Why, he asked, is it that U.S. with a growth rate of 1.8% is worrying about population. Ghana with a growth rate of 2.7% is also worrying, and the Phillipines with a growth rate of 3.4% is also worrying, and wants to know when to stop worrying. In other words, he is asking for an optimum growth rate for any country.

(2) He wants to know whether the Planned Parenthood Association and the Government are both interested in the same thing — family limitation.

(3) He accused the upper middle classes of forcing foreign ideas upon illiterate rural people of Ghana.

(4) He maintained that certain industries could not be sited in Ghana because the size of the population is not large enough to provide markets — the usual classical argument for economists who would want no family planning but would suggest economic growth as a solution without telling us why up till now we have not got it.

Firstly, it is difficult to define an optimum population growth rate satisfactorily. In fact, the question is largely meaningless unless one begins to relate it to something else. The criteria used in different countries vary and this, of course, must be related to the social, economic as well as the demographic situation and the resources of the country. But in asking the first question Dr. Abbey assumes that somewhere along the line there is a point in time when men ought to stop worrying about human problems. It will be a dream world indeed! The Germans, in spite of their present economic boom, are still worried about their economy; Ghana, a country largely in debt, is also worried; why? I am afraid I do not share Dr. Abbey's view.

It is possible that given a certain growth rate one may work out, through cost-benefit analysis, what sort of population structure this country or, for that matter, any country can comfortably sustain. The nature and the degree of worry in the U.S. about their population is, perhaps, different from that of a country with a population growth of 2.7% or 3.4%. The U.S.A. has long enjoyed a high standard of living, and successive U.S.A. governments have been committed to increasing living standards. This has been achieved as a result of a combination (or manipulation) of factors of which population is one. If they realise, which I am sure they do, that an increase in the present growth rate of even one per cent would have adverse effects on city planning, traffic, housing and recreation, why should they not do something about it, why should they not worry about it?

Emphasising Spacing of Births

In Ghana, we are worried because the present population growth rate poses problems which are too numerous to enumerate here: the erosion of our modest economic gains, the provision of schools and medical facilities, further deterioration of the unemployment problem, etc. Ghana is seriously attempting to control migration, a component of population growth, why should the third variable which can also be controlled to bring it into line with the others be left to run wild?

In connection with his second issue, I would like to state that I am not holding a brief for the Planned Parenthood Association but I must say this: One of the reasons given for high fertility in developing countries is that this is a built-in insurance against high mortality. The Planned Parenthood Association, which is a voluntary organisation, approaches family planning by emphasising spacing of births. Why? Because an important method by which fertility is controlled among most rural populations is by prohibitions on intercourse when a baby is being nursed. Since nursing periods are often long, this widens the spacing between births. In the severe conditions of life in such groups, the mortality of chil-

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dren who are closely spaced is very much higher than that of births at longer intervals. The differential is so great that longer spacing may give a **high reproduction,** i.e. a larger number of child survivors although fertility may be reduced.

These relationships are influenced by a multiplicity of biological, social and environmental factors, and the determination of fertility levels and patterns which would give a maximum reproduction is not a simple matter. What the Planned Parenthood Association is doing is to introduce **modern** contraceptive methods to all, so that they can achieve the same objectives efficiently. If members of the association are cautious in approaching their objectives, this is because they are aware that it takes time for people to change their habits. As far as I can see, there is no difference between what the government's population policy sets out to achieve and what a voluntary organisation such as the Planned Parenthood Association also sets out to achieve.

Long Term Solution

Dr. Abbey also accuses urban elites of interfering with the lives of illiterate rural populations by literally forcing family planning on them. Dr. Abbey is a trained economist: may I ask what right economists have to tell workers to increase productivity by working hard, or even to advise them not to spend their salaries on luxury goods but to save it so that it can be used for development projects? Is it not because they feel, like others, that our salvation lies this way? Surely, those who advocate family planning are convinced that it is in the national interest that people should change some of the habits which militate against our national interest. They are also aware that this is a long term solution to some of our problems. I am personally convinced that the time has come to classify children as luxury items in this country, and, like all luxuries, those who own them must pay highly for them. The government should slap taxes on persons with four or more children instead of giving them tax concessions and I am seriously recommending this to Dr. Abbey as a member of the Tax Review Committee. I am sure Dr. Abbey understands the concept of luxury items better than I do, but I am prepared to leave our rural folks alone to produce ten or more children provided they pay for them.

This, of course, brings me to the fourth and the last point where Dr. Abbey again posed the question "Why is it that certain industries could not be sited in Ghana"? He suggested that this is so because the population is not large enough to provide the market. This is a valid point and may be true for certain types of goods for which there exists a large Ghanaian market; but the extent to which this factor upsets disadvantages inherent to growth is all too easy to over-estimate. One would like to think of a market as a multi-dimensional concept of which density and the number of people constitute part. The importance of income per head is also a factor, since modern industries cannot depend on large numbers of poor people with unlimited prospect of natural increase alone.

Observer Notebook

Opposition Merger

AT a Press Conference held at the Ambassador Hotel, Accra, on the 20th of October, Mr. Joe Appiah announced a merger of three opposition parties. Mr. Ibrahim Mahama then read a statement on the merger which said that after a series of meetings, representatives of the National Alliance of Liberals, the United Nationalist Party and the All People's Republican Party had agreed to merge their parties into a single one under the name of JUSTICE PARTY. The symbol of the new party 'shall be two hands in unity clasped against the background of the scales of justice'. A provisional constitution had been agreed and an interim National Executive chosen to handle the affairs of the party pending the holding of a national congress.

Leaders of the new party include Mr. Joe Appiah, Chairman, Mr. E. R. T. Madjitey, Leader, Mr. Ibrahim Mahama, General Secretary and Dr. Obed Asamoah, National Organiser.

Mr. E. R. T. Madjitey read a statement explaining that the merger was a result of a discovery by the Opposition leaders of a unity of purpose in ideas; the aim of the new party was to offer 'a strong and effective alternative to the policies of the Progress Party'. The government of this party had proved incompetent in both domestic and foreign affairs: It had aggravated the problems of the country by an 'endless chain of mistakes and arrogance' and forfeited the confidence of the international community. The aim of the Justice Party was to ensure justice and equal opportunity to all sections of the community. I

d established study committees whose recom-endations would form the basis of its future olicies. With these policies, it would go to all rners of the country and 'awaken the people om the shock of the disappointment which the rty they are supposed to have so massively ected last year, has brought upon them'.

Mr. Joe Appiah recounted the difficulties that he new party would meet: he said these were onsiderable but the leaders were determined to ucceed.

The Constitution of Ghana, the sum of our ast experience and vision of the future, envisages Opposition as part of our fundamental law: we believe that it is a requisite of good government as we see it, and one of the guarantees of liberty — in all its dimensions — which has become an article of faith for all Ghanaians.

The news of the merger, then, must be welcome to both those who are sceptical about the professions of good intentions by politicians and also to those who, though prepared to believe in the sincerity of these professions, are all too aware that to err is human, and also aware of the tendency of power to corrupt even the most amiable of men.

There is no doubt that the opposition has tremendous odds to face: they apparently had no end of trouble agreeing on the merger. There is nothing particularly strange about this. Politicians are nothing if not ambitious, and Ghanaians tend to think of parties as investment ventures which must sooner or later yield dividends. Leadership in that eventuality wins the biggest dividend of all. And if the different parties had been well and truly founded, there should have been difficulties over the compromise involved in the merger. One can only hope that, having accepted the principle of unity, the leaders of the new party will work it out.

The difficulties that they will face will not all be of their own making. Mr. Joe Appiah mentioned one such difficulty at the conference: this is the well-known tendency of Ghanaians to flock to the side of the big battalions, to turn politics into a bread-and-butter affair, and to abandon the unsuccessful for the successful party in order 'both to chop kenkey' and also to share in the 'premiums of vanity'.

But if, in spite of desertions in the rank and file either for the sake of sheer survival or to seek luxury and prestige, the Opposition leaders manage to carry on — though the prospects of gaining power turn out to be bleak — they will deserve the well-earned respect of their country and the salute of posterity.

The Sierra Leone Situation

ON Monday of this week our commentator on Sierra Leone affairs was present in the house when the legislature of that once more disturbed country debated and passed the Prime Minister's motion that the house should agree "that a state of emergency exists in Sierra Leone". Our reporter-commentator could not stay for the passage, next day, of a follow-up act indemnifying the government of Siaka Stevens and his ministers for anything they had done in the performance of their duties under a state of emergency which had in fact been declared as long ago previously as 14th September. In spite, however, of the early return to Ghana of our observer, it was yet too late for him to have prepared his material for this issue of our paper, in continuation of the series he started in our last number. His full report will therefore appear in Vol. V/23.

Meanwhile, a summary of the present situation in Freetown would not be out of place. The parliament's confirmation of the state of emergency means that the leaders of the oppositional forces arrested and detained about two weeks ago will remain in prison indefinitely; secondly, that the habias corpus writs previously filed for hearing by the courts could hardly now proceed; and thirdly that other action against the suppression, for instance, of a section of the press and of the new United Democratic Party formed by Karefa-Smart, Forna and others, would be difficult to mount. The government, that is to say, is now assured of a period of "tranquility" maintained by the use of the armed forces and the police. Furthermore, the indemnity just won by the ruling party, in addition to the confirmation of the emergency, means that the government for the time being has little to fear looking either backwards or forwards.

The opponents of the Prime Minister naturally consider that this is a further demonstration of the correctness of their conviction that Mr. Siaka Stevens is more than already on the high road to the establishment of yet another African dictatorship. His partisans, on the other hand, assert with vehemence that the Prime Minister would not have been worth his title, or been able to retain his position or protect the country, if he had not acted the way he did to control and contain a situation rapidly building up to explosion proportions. Readers of the **Observer** will be

afforded the opportunity of deciding on the merits and demerits of these two opposing positions themselves, when they read our commentator's report in our next issue.

Those Jaunts in the United States

WHEN the Prime Minister appoitned 25 ministerial secretaries for 15 ministries, the Ghanaian public was not querulous about it. It was believed that the Augean stables within the nation were such that not a single Hercules but many teams of Hercules were required for their clearance. The public expense entailed in the extraordinary number of junior ministers, even in our very lean years, would be justified by the detailed attention that would be given to public matters. There was a lot of internal travel to be done, a vast amount of data to be gathered, a lot of thinking to be digested—all this was beyond many a minister and a single junior. If there were other reasons for the extraordinary appointments, the public preferred to forget them.

But since they assumed office, some of the ministerial secretaries have given cause for latent public doubts to be revived: should we or should we not continue to bear the expense of this large number of junior ministers since apparently there is nothing much for them to do? When a ministerial secretary leaves his desk for a foreign tour for forty days or sixty days, one is entitled to ask wherein his service to the nation lies.

Statements about the tours in the United States usually say that the visiting ministerial secretaries would be studying this or that aspect of the American legal, economic or political system, according to the visitor's portfolio. It is a reasonable inference from this that the public should expect some national benefit from the visit. This, probably, is that the ministerial secretary would take note of the admirable aspects of the American "folkways" with a view to their incorporation into our system if and where they fit into it.

If these statements are meant to justify what are no more than glorified editions of World Forum visits by secondary school lads, they should be dropped. More than a year would be needed for a man to acquire a working knowledge of the American way of life. More than that, the statements are made on the by no means self-evident proposition that we wish to, and can, transplant elements of the American "folkways" into Gha-



n life. There is much to admire about America. t there is much that is ugly. The two go toge-r. Americans are efficient, yes, but at what hu-n cost? There is much in that vast cornucopia dazzle the African. But it is only a very naive rican who cannot shake off the fascination and the other side of that glittering world.

Other considerations should induce the govern-ent to re-think the visits. Do we not compromise r dignity or freedom of action by this gleeful ceptance of hospitality? Will the obligations due om receivers to donors not have any repercus-ons on our relations with the benefactor? Do we ally wish to compromise the whole country just r the felicitation of a few individuals who are lso selected because of their public positions? hese, admittedly, are speculative points but they erit attention.

Besides, there does seem to be reasonable rounds for supposing that ministerial secretaries would be better employed at home. How does it happen that employees of some local councils have allegedly been left unpaid for as long as six months without the minister knowing? Is this an indication that ministerial secretaries, generally, do not do enough travel, at any rate in those areas of public service which required first-hand know-ledge for the formation and execution of policy? We would suggest to the government that the sure path to political peril lies in utter reliance upon civil servants, particularly in matters that have to do with places in the back of beyond.

Letters

China and the United Nations

SIR — On the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the United Nations, the most conspicuous paradox of its very existence is not its acknowledged failure to achieve world peace, but its continued denial of admission to the People's Republic of China (Communist China). Why did the United Nations reject China's application for membership in 1949, and has done so every year since?

One of the principal arguments against China's admission into the United Nations is her role in the Korean War which was fought under the auspices of the United Nations. What the Chinese did in 1952, the Americans did in 1962 in the Cuban blockade and are still doing in Vietnam; the Russians also invaded Hungary in 1956 and again in Czechoslovakia. China entered the war only when the UN troops, most of which were Americans, attempted to occupy North Korea. The Chinese were merely fighting a defensive war since they were scared of the likely intrusion of foreign troops into their territory under the banner of UN Forces.

But China, for all her war-like declarations, has not a single soldier outside her boundaries. Yet the Americans, British, French, Russians, Portuguese etc., all have troops occupying other countries. The World has been watching China for a long time through a distorted ideological perspective. We consider China as bellicose not because of what she does but on the basis of what their leaders say; not because of the revolution which she has in effect carried out but on the rampages which accompany her own cultural revolution.

The future of the world is definitely bound up with China too, and the United Nations cannot continue to exist and perform fruitfully without embracing China in its fold. China is fast becoming a super-power and the earlier her importance were recognised in the comity of nations, the better it would be in the interest of world peace.

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

Non-Aggression Jokes?

SIR — Did you not deviate from the truth in your article "Non-Aggression Jokes", because Mister Vorster did in fact get his non-aggression pact idea from politicians in Ghana, that is, the propounders of the "dialogue concept". This assertion is evidenced by the movement in and out of our Castle by Mister Vorster's messengers and their earnest desire to always pose with our politicians at international gatherings, to show their master at home that they are at the job to convert men to the Vorster idea.

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Miscellaneous

GHANA: INDEPENDENT OR "COLO"?

By
Kwadwo Kontopiaat

WE OF Kontopiaatkrom cannot really determine what Karl Mutt is up to these days. Not only did he recently appoint one of the citizens of Kontopiaatkrom as a member of the Shadow Cabinet of his Party, the Aspro Party, (incidentally since the Party is not even in Parliament, we think the Cabinet should be more appropriately called the Ghost cabinet) but he also extended an invitation to the chief of Kontopiaatkrom to send a delegation of two to the Second Republic's first anniversary celebrations at his own expense. This invitation was of course readily accepted, and at a meeting of the noble citizens of the village at the Palm Wine bar, Kwadwo and Kwame Kontopiaat, as one would expect were selected to represent Kontopiaatkrom at the celebrations. We were thrilled to find on our arrival in Accra that Karl Mutt had got invitations for us to attend the Football match at the Accra Stadium, the Military Parade at a place called the Black Star Square, and finally the Cocktail Party at the State House. Apparently there was a fourth function, the State Banquet, to which we were not invited. Karl Mutt apologetically explained that he was sure that our rich kente cloths would pass as far as the dress requirement went, but he was worried about how we could cope with the food since we would not be allowed to tackle it with our fingers as is the normal practice in Kontopiaatkrom. Anyway,

we did not grumble because we met many a son of Kontopiaatkrom in Accra who had not been invited even to a single one of those four functions!

We had a foretaste of what was to come at the first of these functions, namely, the football match. The stadium was packed to its maximum capacity and most of the spectators were wearing red caps and/or red shirts. Red of course is the colour symbolising danger in our village and we wondered what danger we should expect. It was when one of the teams turned up in red jerseys and red shorts that our fears were allayed.

Kwame Kontopiaat nearly dashed for the gate when we suddenly heard a burst of noise but he returned to his seat when we saw that it was from a number of motor-cycles followed by a stream of cars. The whole scene, as both of us readily agreed, reminded us of the good old "Colo" days when the Governor or the Chief Commissioner (C.C.) for Asante, arrived to take the salute at the Empire day celebrations held on the great day of 24th May to commemorate the birth of the Sweet and kindly Queen Victoria, the Empress of India. The main difference is that only Ghanaians got out of the cars and we were thrilled to learn that one of them was in fact our Prime Minister.

The match between the Ghana team called Kotoko and the team from Tanzania called Young Africans began soon after the arrival of that motorcade. Though the match lasted well over 90 minutes, both Kwame and I found it incredibly boring. You see, we do have football matches in Kontopiaatkrom but there we play to score goals, which both teams obviously never meant to do; and the match ended in a goalless draw. Moreover, in Kontopiaatkrom, we believe that the higher one can kick the ball into the sky, the better a player one is. But throughout the match, nobody kicked the ball more than five feet, or let us say six feet, from the ground and what was worse, not farther than three feet on the ground. We really missed the star-player of Kontopiaatkrom, Yaw Blue-Blue, who can kick the ball from one end of the park to the other.

It was only during the first half time that we found something to be enthusiastic about. Almost from out of the blue, a band of uniformed musicians led by another uniformed person filed up and began marching. This was really exciting since we were once again reminded very vividly of our own beloved Empire Day celebrations! Indeed, the tunes that the band — which we learnt from Karl Mutt was the Police Band — played, were precisely those that the self-same Police Band, dressed in exactly the same way, used to play during the Empire Day march past of schools. They played four different marching tunes, and, rather like the old old "Colo" days, not even one of them was Ghanaian!

I think a day or two after the football match, we were driven by our host to the Black Star Square to attend the Parade. To put it briefly and precisely, the Parade was most impressive but, like the stadium affair, incredibly and lamentably colo. Indeed as we listened to the incomprehensible commands of the Parade Commander, watched the uniforms of the various groups, and watched the march-past, we could simply not believe that we were in Ghana! The only occasion when we were reminded that we were in fact in Ghana but not in Paris or London — if one could forget the colour of the men in the uniform — was when two people, dressed like the members of the good old Axim trio, appeared. As in Kontopiaatkrom, we had expected to see the Asafo companies of all the main Fante towns at least present, and instead of all those slow and quick matches, we were expecting to see a display by Asafo drummers, flag bearers and fishermen. But we were grossly disappointed. The parade was by Ghanaian soldiers, Ghanaian policemen and Ghanaian sailors but apart from that there was absolutely nothing Ghanaian about it, neither the marching songs, nor the marching, nor the salutes, nor the orders, nor the dressing.

But our greatest shock was at the cocktail party on the forecourt of the former State House. The scene on our arrival filled us with great hopes. There were many of our traditional rulers in, wearing their head-gears and rich kente and velvet cloths; most of the men and women were also in Ghanaian attire — kente and smocks and at least one of the women was dressed in the way that the elderly women of Kontopiaatkrom dress. Above all, there was an orchestra there which was playing high-life music. Kwame and I were simply elated by the atmosphere which was unmistakably Ghanaian. Karl Mutt, who had all along sensed our shock and profound disappointment, heaved a sigh of relief too!

It was thus in very high spirits that Kwame and I addressed the first steward who approached us with a tray of drinks. As, of course, one would expect, my first request was "Can I have a calabash full of palm-wine please?" The steward nearly dropped his tray of drinks. "What did you say?" he asked. "I want palm-wine, good fresh palm-wine", I repeated. "We don't serve palm-wine on such occasions, Sir", replied the steward!

"Why not", I demanded. "I don't know, Sir", he replied. At this point, Kwame moved in and said, "Well, can I have V.C.10 please?" This time, the steward literally jumped up: "If you want V.C.10, Sir, I think you better go to the airport!" Kwame, of course, realized that he was using a Kontopiaatkrom term which obviously was unknown in Accra and so he used the proper gazetted name, that is "Akpet". "Oh, this is what you mean by V.C.10", the steward boy replied, "Sorry we don't serve that either".

By that time, we were getting really worried. "What about Lawyer, Sir, or Kaiser Gin, or Kantamanto or Paramount Gin or Tiger Pito". The steward finally confessed: "Sirs, the only local drink we serve here is beer! Even whisky we have here is White Horse Whisky".

At that juncture, Kwame and I could not do anything but walk out in protest. We surely would not have anything to do with a party at which neither palm-wine nor V.C.10 is served. And from these experiences we were really grateful that we were not invited to the Banquet. Nor were we surprised that the Tiger Pito factory has been closed down!

We left Accra for Kontopiaatkrom with one firm conviction that though Ghana is independent politic-al'y, she is still to become independent not only economically but above all culturally and ceremonially too!



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SPECIAL EDITION:

OPPOSITION SO FAR— IN GHANA AND AFRICA

EDITORIAL

WHAT SORT OF OPPOSITION?

SINCE the majority of African states attained independence, there have been three sorts of objection to institutionalized parliamentary opposition. One is personal: some leaders insist on being 'canonized' in their life-time and cannot bear that discordant voices should detract from the general acclamation of their Pharaoh-like establishments. Another is genuinely ideological: it is argued that the problems of a newly-independent African state are such that one cannot afford to waste time, energy and resources on such a fancy-dress affair, so to speak, as a western style opposition. The leaders of the triumphant party, believing that they have discovered the straight and narrow path to quick economic development, insist that everybody should join the majority in the pursuit of that aim. Yet another objection is a genuine fear of subversion by those removed from the purview of the leader.

For Ghana the argument over whether or not we should have parliamentary and extra-parliamentary opposition is over. The leaders of the 1966 coup d'etat declared, as one of their major aims, the establishment of a government based on consent and therefore subject to periodic assessment through the ballot box. This, from experience, argued the presence of legalized opposition as a source of alternative government. The National Liberation Council, the formalized governmental instrument of the army-police revolt, reaffirmed, and worked for, the practical realization of this aim. Accordingly the 1969 Ghana Constitution institutionalized opposition as one of the fundamental principles of our government. It went so far as to stipulate that the Leader of the Opposition in Parliament should be paid two-thirds of the official salary of the Prime Minister. The present government was elected partly because the people believe that the personnel are of the sort who would not sabotage opposition parties. Where the law and popular sentiment are in such agreement, one expects that its rigorous enforcement would be beyond question. The courts and the police, the custodians of our rights, can be expected to enforce impartially those rights essential for the survival of legal opposition.

The point at issue, then, is not whether or not there should be an opposition. It is what sort of opposition we should like to have. The constitution, the law and popular sentiment preclude opposition by subversion. Indeed, it has often been urged against those who would proscribe the opposition on the ground of its potential for subversion that to institutionalize the opposition is to provide a guarantee against subversion. Ghana's own experience shows that resort to violence comes if and when the avenues to legitimate opposition are closed.

But this situation may change if an over-zealous Security Branch, mistaking sychophancy for efficiency, pursues and hounds members of the opposition on some flimsy pretexts and treats them as potential insurgents. And it may also change if the courts and the police allow themselves to be bullied into favouring the government in the adjudication of matters relating to the rights of the opposition. It is not being unduly optimistic to hope that the members of the present government are not likely to encourage a servile Security Branch or to seek to intimidate the courts and the police: their own experience of yesterday should impel caution.

Nor does the country want an opposition built on the pursuit of personal vendettas and of overweening, and often unjustified, ambition: the country does not owe anyone the right to power. Debates and statements should be concerned with the ends, ways and means of public welfare and not over who is entitled to this or that position by virtue of the alleged possession of some mythical virtues.

Any opposition party in Africa has a tremendous task proving to an electorate that it is based on more than trivial personal grounds. Our objectives are not in question and are shared by all sections of the community. The socio-economic conditions are only now emerging which may sharpen class and ideological cleavages. But even these a wise and compassionate government may forestall.

Yet a serious opposition, which is willing to work for the public good and is not merely interested in making dramatic gestures in pursuit of some delusions of grandeur, could offer a clear-cut and coherent opposition to the government. There may be questions of emphasis: rural vrs. urban development; priority decisions concerning agricultural and industrial development; the rich vrs. the poor; visionary as opposed to down-to-earth foreign policies; massive state intervention in economic development as against private enterprise which relies on foreign capital and may result in what has been called 'peripheral capitalism' There may also be differences in style of administration: briefly instant as against deliberative formulation of policies following a careful collection of data in which both the politically-co-

nitted and uncommitted local experts would rticipate.

In all these matters what is required is careful d patient thought and sober policy statements. he opposition will make no impact on the coun- y if they issue fanciful statements of policy othed in flamboyant and incomprehensible rbiage.

Politics

MINORITY PARTIES IN AFRICA

By

Max Assimeng

ALTHOUGH the legitimate expression of dissent found considerable room in traditional African social structures, the modern institutionalization of opposition on lines of conflicting ideological positions is largely a new, evolved phenomenon; this new approach draws inspiration more from western democratic politics than from traditional African culture. Until fairly recently, what obtained in the conduct of African political arrangements was an atmosphere of consensocracy, as Malcolm Muggeridge would call it. So much was this attitude ingrained in the spirit of traditional African politics that, even up to the present, many Africans still look suspiciously on the intentions of any individual who, of his own free will, chooses to be permanently aligned with an enduring, but more or less fixed, minority grouping.

By and large, the human tendency to move in the circles of power is quite strong; especially in modern-day Africa, the tendency is even stronger because the reasons for which people align themselves in politics are more materialistic than idealistic. Self interest, rather than community welfare, is usually the supreme determining factor, in spite of various rationalizations to the contrary. And when we realise that many people hesitate before they make last minute decisions on party commitments, then we see how all sorts of fleeting egoistic factors enter into one's calculations. Indeed there are some politicians who can be branded as 'shrewd calculators' in this respect, because of their ability to correctly read the political barometer in order to be always with the victorious side. And if, as is often the case, ideological positions are only marginally different, then it is remarkable to see the extent to which "minority men" are regarded as odd.

The reasons for this distaste at being in the minority are many. In Africa, politics has brought considerable rapid transformation in the life styles and economic situations of several people. And it is recognized that the African governments have, literally, the power to affect the economic fortunes of men. Very few Africans, in this transitional period of social change and shifting values, are apparently able to stand on their own without the shelter of mighty trees. Consequently in no area is the manipulation and operation of political patronage as effective as in developing countries where the governments' involvement in economic activities are ubiquitous and wide ranging The lobbying for positions is said often to take very mean forms, and often to give rise to near-slavish master-servant relations which turn some beneficiaries into something of a leader's personal property.

Opposition Groupings

Modern African nations may be classified according to the extent to which institutionalized opposition is acknowledged. In places where one-party systems have legal sanction, such as Tanzania, Uganda, Algeria, U.A.R., Guinea, and latter-day Ghana under Nkrumah, opposition is officially treason. Then we have those areas where opposition can exist, but where the very ineffectiveness of its operation makes the countries virtual, but involuntary, one party states. A powerful government, however much it may favour the existence of opposition, can hardly be so kind as to be expected to do the opposition's organizational homework for it. Zambia, and the regional governments of pre-coup Nigeria, fall into this category. When we consider the present political scene in Ghana, the situation is, again different. In Ghana opposition groupings of sorts exist, some of them led by apparently honest and eminent men, but each of these groups on its own has very little chance—yet—for gaining power. Hence the long, protracted, and as yet inconclusive attempt to come together. As usual, of course, certain individuals, with what might be regarded as 'minority personality syndrome', would want to keep their parties separate from any such amalgamations.

For the moment the interest of this essay is in those parties—such as what is now left of Ghana's All People's Republican Party—for which the prospect of power, through constitutional means, is far fetched by rational culculation.

We find that there are many difficulities which

people face when they decide to continue to be in the opposition. A prospective candidate in an opposition is obliged to do a searching calculation of the costs—in terms of his prestige, his pay packet, and his bread and butter—before plunging into his decision. He is confronted with such questions as "Do you know what you would get if you went with the government party?" The scramble for positions and portfolios is actually what motivates several people in Africa to mount political platforms. At times it is imagined that those who choose to be in the opposition are 'fools'. Such men are ridiculed, and, although some of these persons may often have more brilliant and more sensible ideas to offer, their ideas are readily—at least in the public — dismissed as 'minority ideas'. An example of this is the case in Ghana where people often hear statements such as "Joe Appiah would have been an automatic cabinet minister if . . ." This is the same with those situations in which, on a matter of principle (which may or may not be spurious) some individuals have chosen to remain outside the fold of the power-wielding majority.

Making Democracy Workable

There is another reason why membership in an opposition party in Africa requires more than usual courage. Even when governments specifically claim that they require a strong opposition in order to make democracy workable, one cannot help at times doubting the genuineness of these claims. For, even in those countries—Ghana included—where professions of multi-party systems are occasionally made, one gets the impression that there is a feeling of 'what I have I hold' attitude in the behaviour of those who already have power. Power, in this respect, becomes an extension of one's personality, by some type of an incomprehensible metaphysical fusion between self and office, so that an attack on the office and its usage is regarded as a threat to the incumbent's very existence as a person. Hence the monarchical tendency in African political culture, as Ali Mazrui has described this phenomenon, whereby political association continues to hover around kingly pegs of a Mwalimu, Ngwazi, Mzee, Osagyefo, and so on. And how dare some people oppose such men of wisdom!

Here and there, and from time to time, the opposition parties are told that they are 'tolerated' because of a belief in democracy. Actually the right to express dissent, whether in traditional African societies or in modern politics, should

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not be deemed to exist on sufferance. And any theory which purports to sanction this sufferance notion must locate its conceptual pedigree completely **outside** modern philosophy of democracy.

The point is that many African governments do not want to be dislodged from power; this should be the first lesson in the political textbooks of opposition parties in Africa. It is true that the government have more access to intelligence reports about their countries' security position, and are enabled thereby to easily locate areas of sabotage and treason and unconstitutional behaviour in their countries. But it is also true that some of the accusations about who is planning to sabotage whom are baseless, and often blatantly stupid. To give a dog a name in order to be able to hang it, is a typical dictatorial technique which merely confuses the citizenry, gives false alarms of emergency, and takes the intelligence of society for a ride. It is when dissent is not allowed free operation, before the tribunal of public opinion, that this dissent finds new outlets for expression. The memory of Ghanaians is surely not too short?

Group of 'Nation Wreckers'

The surest and easiest way to make a minority political grouping unpopular is to claim that the group is made up of "nation wreckers". And in Africa apparently one does not have to say in what particular way the nation is being wrecked. Among the Akans of Ghana, for instance, *oman boe* (literally 'nation breaking') was an accusation which at once evinced banishment and perpetual disqualification from taking part in the deliberations of the affairs of society. This was the case when Kwame Nkrumah used the then press of Ghana to make Busia an *unperson*.

Indications are that this Akan conception used to have widespread application in other traditional African communities, and has been found to be of lasting utility in contemporary political battles. In Africa political conflict is literally a battleground because gains and losses are immense! This is why some leaders in Africa appear to have reasons to wish the perpetual exclusion of their opponents from serious and meaningful participation in the day-to-day political administration of their societies.

Curiously enough, although this is again African, we find that the minority groupings know the seriousness of such sabotage accusations. This is why they, too, engage in rituals of occasional confessions, before the sacred altars of power, as to how clean and constitutional they are. But do they really have to dissipate so much energy on their political platforms saying how constitutional they are, or intend to be? Such constant disclaimers give rise to one or several of the following assertions. (a) The opposition parties may indeed be unconstitutional in their secret dealings; (b) They may be unsure of the reasons for their own existence; and (c) They may probably have nothing serious to say — or to offer — as an alternative to what the ruling governments do.

Thus, considering all these difficulties and agonies that accompany the membership in minority parties, including often being ostracised by one's former friends, one is often tempted to ask about the viability of opposition movements in Africa. The claim that the African is essentially of a one-party temperament may be senseless. But if this claim is indeed senseless, then political leaders in Africa must show, in words and deeds, how serious they are in their search for a sensible alternative.

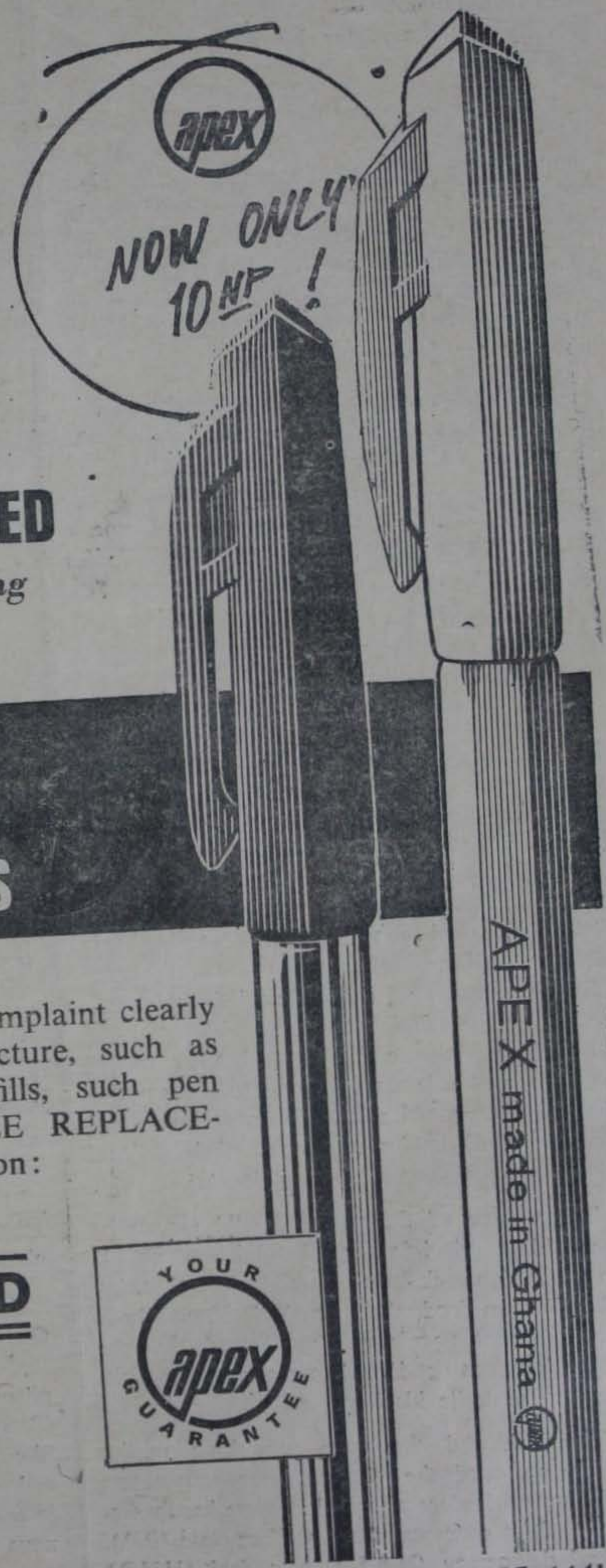
POLICY DIFFERENCES BETWEEN GOVERNMENT AND OPPOSITION

By Obed Y. Asamoah

SINCE the ban on party political activity was lifted I have often been asked to state the ideological differences between my party and the Progress Party. I presume that a similar question has been asked the members of the Progress Party. If they have not faced this question, then it is a measure of the Progress Party success that it has sold the idea that it has a coherent set of ideas when in truth it has none. In any event the success of the Progress Party at the polls has shifted on to the opposition the onus of showing that **it** has an alternative set of ideas to replace those that the Progress Party is putting forward, however incoherent Progress Party ideas may be. If the opposition had won the elections the situation would have been reversed.

I have a suspicion that those who make the inquiry about ideological differences expect to see reflected in Ghana the confrontation between capitalism and socialism. With the exception of the insignificant parties theoretically committed to a policy of socialism, the manifestoes issued by the parties that contested the elections are quite similar. This was not an accident, nor is

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it unique with Ghana. It is because for a number of reasons there is a large measure of agreement about the ends of contemporary Ghanaian society and the means by which they can be achieved.

Contemporary social developments have blunted the edges of the conflict between socialism and capitalism. The conflict is less and less about ideas now, and more and more about practice. Contemporary developments in socialist and capitalist countries bear this out. Thus contemporary Africa has the advantage of being in a position to borrow from all systems ideas suitable for her development.

It is also relevant to point out that the traumatic experiences of the Nkrumah era, coupled with the distortions of that era by the N..L.C. regime, have been such that only the foolhardy can afford the luxury of explaining to the electorate that socialism is not to blame for the miseries of the past.

Lessons of Nkrumah's Era

Indigenous exploitation has not yet taken the form that lends itself to Marxist analysis. The main cause of exploitation in the developing world, including Ghana, is international capitalism. One of the lessons of the Nkrumah era was the inadvisability of an ill-conceived confrontation with international capitalism. Guinea and Cuba have had similar experiences, but only Castro has been bold enough to acknowledge this. The pattern of economic relationship built up during the colonial era cannot be easily dismantled by quixotic challenges but by careful planning; and it is sheer idleness to suppose that the socialist countries have the capacity to bail one out of difficulties, even when their national interests make them willing to do so.

The welfare of the people should always be the guiding principle for all politicians. People do not live on socialist or other ideological purity. They live on food, shelter and clothing. I hope therefore that people will understand that the opposition does not intend to make any commitment to a sterile ideology.

The P.P. and the main opposition parties which contested the election were movements built around leaders whose ideas were hardly dissimilar. The concepts of the welfare state (P.P.), liberal democracy (N.A.L.), new deal (U.N.P.) and fair deal (A.P.R.P.) were variations on the same theme. However, as between the P.P. and the N.A.L. there were some important differences. The N.A.L. manifesto acknowledged the failure of foreign assistance as an instrument of development, and came out boldly in favour of *self-reliance* as the basis for economic development. This concession has one important consequence. In the absence of adequate indigenous private capital the concept of self-reliance implies a major role for the state in economic development. The P.P. manifesto on the other hand emphasizes private enterprise, and promises to maintain conditions which will provide a safe environment for foreign capital. Self-reliance is the logical path to economic development in Ghana, and the new Justice Party will pursue it vigorously.

The Surcharge And Taxes

All parties appear committed to combating exploitation and ameliorating the conditions of the underprivileged. All of them have therefore declared their stand for the promotion of social justice. The concept of social justice is now central to Justice Party thinking, and did in fact inspire the choice of the name. The record of the P.P. government shows that it merely pays lip service to the idea; the budget shows that it does not believe in it. The argument that the surcharge and other taxes are intended for the rich, so as to make it unnecessary to tax the poor in order to pay for development, overlooks the fact that ultimately the poor consumer will bear the burden meant for the rich businessman. The budget shows that the P.P. government is insensitive to the growing gap between the high-income group and the low-income group in the country. The ostentation and other acts reminiscent of the C.P.P. era have reappeared in a more grotesque form. The policy of rural development is no substitute for a conscious effort to bridge the gap between the social classes.

All parties are committed to a policy of Ghanaian control of the economy and the promotion of indigenous enterprise. The Aliens Compliance Order and the Ghanaian Business (Promotion) Act, 1970, are measures which were ill-conceived and poorly executed towards that end, although the budget neutralises their effect in certain respects. The problem of the indigenous control of the economy is part of the process of decolonisation, which cannot be further delayed. But there is a limit to what can

achieved. The Justice Party will strive to ure the immediate control of those sectors the economy that do not involve high investnt of foreign capital or require managerial or hnogical skill beyond the resources of the te. Where the P.P. stands on this matter is t known.

Ultimate victory in the control of economic stiny is impossible without a fundamental ange in the system of international trade, upled with increasing inter-African trade and ultilateral development planning. Working wards the realisation of these objectives will the cornerstone of Justice Party foreign policy. Many important consequences will flow from is. One is hard put to discover a system in .P. foreign policy, to the extent that there is ne.

The foreign policy of the Justice Party, unlike hat of the Progress Party, will not tolerate any decent compromises with racism and colonialsm. The idea of inter-change with a regime like he South Africa one, whose moral isolation the Jnited Nations has been working for all these ears, would be anathema to a Justice Party overnment; and the doors of Ghana will not e open to Vorster's agents. The O.A.U. and ther international institutions whose capacity to meet the challenge is questionable shall not be he sole avenues for the fight against coloniaism and racism.

Deportations And Dismissals

In relation to internal political institutions, it is perhaps true to say that there are no great theoretical differences between the P.P. and the Justice Party. They both accept democracy as opposed to communism or fascism. It is fair to say, however, that arbitrary deportations and the dismissal of public servants, the appaling disregard for the independence of the judiciary, and the undemocratic appointment of local management committees have raised serious doubts as to the P.P. commitment to democracy.

Social justice, self-reliance, parliamentary democracy, anti-imperialism and anti-racism sum up the outline of Justice Party thinking. In terms of the major ideologies of our time the Justice Party stands midway between capitalism and socialism — a little left of the centre. It is reformative and not revolutionary, and it rejects the implication of the Marxist interpretation of history. It is however firmly committed to the eradication of exploitation, and it accepts as inevitable such conscious state planning compatible with political freedom, as would meet the needs of the people for houses, employment, food and clothing, and the welfare of the sick, the young and the old.

It must be emphasised that, like the P.P., the Justice Party contains within it a wide spectrum of ideas. It is therefore fair to expect its philosophy to develop and not to remain static.

THE OPPOSITION IN PARLIAMENT

By

Publius Gamesu

ALMOST every Ghanaian of note has emphasized the need for a vigorous and effective but constitutional opposition, if our second experiment in multi-party democracy is to succeed. It is generally agreed that it is the purpose of the opposition, whether in a mature or nascent democracy, to demonstrate that it can manage the affairs of state much more competently and efficiently than the governing party. Therefore, the parliamentary opposition must so behave that it can convince the electorate that it is, indeed, the alternative government.

First, the opposition can and must have a clear-cut, alternative set of policies on major issues, both domestic and foreign. Secondly, it must serve as an outlet for voicing political minority opinions. Finally, it must not attempt merely to discredit the government in the eyes of the public (though that is a very important function); particularly must it try, as long as it is not itself in power, to induce the government to modify or change its policies in the interest of all. In what follows, an attempt is made to review how and with what effect the Ghana opposition in parliament has so far approached these tasks.

It must be admitted straightaway that the opposition started with the odds heavily stacked against it. Its greatest handicap has been its numerical weakness (35—including, for all practical purposes, the only independent MP—against the PP's massive). This has meant that for effective participation in the work of the National Assembly the opposition's meagre resources would be fully stretched. Besides, the exclusion, very early on in the first session of Parliament, of Mr. K. A. Gbedemah must be considered a severe loss to the

parliamentary opposition. For, before his departure, the opposition could boast of only two people, Mr. Gbedemah himself and Mr. Quaidoo—as against the sizeable minority in the governing party—who had had considerable parliamentary experience. The mantle of leadership eventually fell on the youthful and untried shoulders of Dr. G. K. Agama, who, despite his undoubted academic brilliance, was a stranger to the parliamentary game and therefore needed some time to find his feet in his new role. Nor must one gloss over the fact of the disproportionately large number of Ewe M.Ps. in the pariamentary opposition, a fact which has not unnaturally left it wide open to the charge of narrow sectionalism.

In spite, or rather because, of these handicaps —coupled with the weak state of the organisation of their parties immediately after the general elections—the opposition leadership shrewdly calculated that parliament was the best forum where they could effectively keep the P.P. Government on its toes. Small wonder that they made persistent (though somewhat shrill) demands on the government to waste no time in recalling parliament which had adjourned **sine die** soon after the Sessional Address.

Constitutional Functions

Among the various avenues open to the opposition for performing its constitutional functions in parliament may be mentioned the following: question time, government and private motions, standing and specialized parliamentary committees, the motion on the adjournment, debates on the Sessional Address as well as on government and private bills.

It goes without saying that the opposition has made ample use of some of these opportunities, particularly the tabling of substantive motions on government policies and measures. Obviously the opposition has so far encountered no insuperable barriers in moving such motions. Some of the well-known ones it has tabled are those on the dismissal of the 568 public servants, the government's approach to the National Service Corps, and the government's policy on Southern Africa and the payment of personal assistants to ministers. One or two of these motions merit some discussion in order to spell out some of the tactics employed by the opposition.

With its motion on the dismissals, it was fervently hoped that the opposition would bring into the open certain considerations which the government might have ignored. But the opposition handled the motion with such withering venom that what originally promised to be a most interesting and enlightened debate on the fate of other fellow-citizens rapidly degenerated into an acrimonious one on the haunting spectre of "tribalism". By all accounts, the motion apparently served to compound the discomfiture of the parliamentary opposition itself. For some among the P.P. members became convinced (rightly or wrongly) that the opposition was nothing if not sectional and tribalistic. Hence Mr. Victor Owusu's unexpected outburst, as heroic as it was brutally sarcastic.

There are various possible explanations of the opposition's behaviour. Two may be mentioned here. On the one hand, they may early on have felt a sense of futility and frustration about the near-impossibility of inducing the government to disavow a major action, especially after the Prime Minister's impassioned radio and television broadcast, in which he virtually questioned the soundness of the Supreme Court's decision in the Sallah case. Hence, perhaps, the irresistible temptation on the opposition's part to have recourse to one of the support-gathering tactics well known in Ghanaian politics, namely, the "tribal tactic".

The 'Tribal Tactic'

Alternatively, on the evidence of the tenor and nuances of the opposition leader's opening speech on the motion, it is arguable that the opposition deliberately set a trap for the governing party. By this is meant that the opposition sought to draw out the P.P. government to say openly what were its real feelings towards some sections of the community. Mr. Victor Owusu may be said to have fallen into that trap. However, in view of the imperative need for national unity in freedom, the "tribal tactic" (whether it is used by the opposion or by the governing party) is hardly a useful one. It is a dangerous, indeed a doubled-edged, weapon.

Another weapon—which may be regarded as a weapon of last resort—which the opposition may use against the government is the "walk-out". No new-fangled weapon in Ghanaian politics, the walk-out was not seldom resorted to by the U.P. parliamentary opposition in the immediate post-independence period. The present parliamentary opposition staged its first walk-out during the Second Reading of the Restriction on Transfer of Assets Bill. The bill was introduced by the Minister of Finance and Economic Planning on 24th March this year, under a certificate of urgency.

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It sought to empower the minister temporarily to freeze the assets of anyone thought to have improperly acquired public money.

The opposition case against the bill is best summed up in the words of Dr. O. Y. Asamoah: "The Opposition sympathises with the motive behind the Bill . . . Our quarrel with this Bill, and it is a very big quarrel, is [with] the methods . . . There are specific provisions in the Constitution which allow the taking away of property in certain circumstances [which], if one looks at Article 18 (2) (e), are clearly stated to cover cases of enquiry or examination or investigation or trial . . . If all that this Bill is seeking to achieve was to lay the groundwork or to provide the procedure whereby the spirit of Article 18 (2) (e) could be implemented, I think the Opposition would wholeheartedly support it".

The Assets Bill Vs. P.D.A.

On the contrary, so the opposition argued, some powers of the courts etc. were being transferred to the minister under the bill. The opposition felt that it was "dangerous to give the minister the power to freeze assets", since there was "the possibility of his using it against his political opponents", as "the P.D.A. was used . . .", as Mr. S. A. Okudzeto put it. That the opposition could draw a parrallel between the bill and the P.D.A. was evidence of the degree of its uncompromising stand and its distrust of the government's intentions towards political opponents. The episode of the walk-out may be regarded as another manifestation of the excessively cantankerous and intransigent oppositionism characteristic of opposition parties (old and new) in this country. It must be added, though, that the fault has not always been with the opposition parties only.

There is no constitutional provision against temporary walk-outs. But one wonders whether its frequent use will not prove highly disruptive of the evolving delicate framework of parliamentary and constitutional government; a framework which, above all, requires for its continued nurture the spirit of tolerance and give-and-take on the part of both opposition and government.

The opposition has also once attempted, with a measure of success (shortlived though, it was), to make an inroad into the government's parliamentary block of support. This was on the occasion of Harry Sawyer's half-hour motion deploring the payment out of public funds of personal assistants to ministers to aid in constituency work. The majority of Progress Party members felt constrained to support the motion, to the consternation of the government front bench. The P.P. backbenchers behaved in the way they did precisely because of their dissatisfaction with the level of ministerial salaries compared with their own. But the indications now are that such a gesture by the P.P. backbenchers towards the opposition is very unlikely to be repeated in the future. So that the opposition cannot expect to "turn out" the government during the present parliament as a result of a massive revolt within the ranks of the P.P. backbenchers.

Not every move or suggestion made by the opposition has been regarded in an unfavourable light by the government, though. Even at the consideration stage of the Restriction on Transfer of Assets Bill (the cause of the opposition's walk-out) the government deftly deferred to some of the opposition's fears by itself making some major amendments to the bill. Thus, for example, the whole cabinet, and not one minister, was granted the power to freeze assets. Again, in the sphere of foreign policy, the opposition has succeeded in inducing the government to clarify and to modify its approach to the issue of apartheid. A more strongly worded opposition motion on the issue was eventually transmuted into a compromise motion by both government and opposition. The motion considerably changed the government's "soft" approach into a tougher one. As many opposition amendments to government bills as possible at the consideration stage have also been accepted by ministers.

Unfavourable Image

Impressive as these successes appear, they have not, however, been sufficient to redeem the rather unfavourable image the parliamentary opposition has so far cut with many people. This is particularly so when one considers one of its conspicuous failures. It is the lack of any coherent and clear-cut set of alternative policies. One cannot but endorse the statement by Mr. J. H. Mensah, the Minister of Finance and Economic Planning, during his winding up of the Budget debate: ". . . I should like . . . to say that we have not succeeded in this debate in always fulfilling the purpose of a general debate on the budget. We were given an opportunity—for about three days—to hear what alternative policies the opposition would have to the proposals that the government has made. It is only if there is an alternative policy that there can be prospects of an alternative government . . ."

It is true that the opposition offered some su-

stions here and there during the debate on budget. Even so, the over-all impression one s from reading the contributions made by its mbers is that the opposition was much more ncerned with "anatomising" the budget than h spelling out their alternative proposals. This ust be regarded as a serious act of omission on part of an opposition which has incessantly arged that the P.P.'s is a model of "instant" vernment. It may be interpolated that the fact at the parliamentary opposition comprised as any as four parties has had much to do with e opposition's failure to hammer out a set of ternative policies to the government's own.

One can only hope, then, that the merger re-ntly announced between three of the four parties ill go a long way towards rectifying this un-lifying situation—assuming, of course, that the erger does get off the ground at all. After all, ith regard to this burning issue of policies, the arliamentary opposition knows where it stands recisely with the government. The latter, and the lectorate, also deserve the right to know where hey stand with the opposition. It is certainly arrying too far the notion of politics as a mere natter of techniques and tactics, when a "lack f a coherent set of policies" is itself considered necessary part of the opposition's armoury of harges against the government of the day.

ORGANISATIONAL PROBLEMS FACING THE OPPOSITION

By

Kwame Afreh

THAT there is a need for a strong and virile pposition in Ghana is now generally accepted. Without it there is every danger that our new de-nocracy will not survive and thrive.

The problem is how to organise it effectively. There are many people who are prepared to sacri-ice a great deal of their energy, time and money o bring this about. The election results showed hat the support for the opposition parties is not nsubstantial. A large section of the population s uncommitted to any political party; a well-rgainsed opposition party with the right policies an win over this floating vote. There is a lot of goodwill and sympathy for the opposition.

This goodwill and support and sympathy can e converted into a winning force only through good organisation. It will not be easy getting such n organisation. The odds against the opposition re very high. In Africa, those who set themselves

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up in opposition to a ruling party live in constant peril. They usually end up in jail and not in the seat of government. With the dubious exception of Sierra Leone, no opposition party in Africa has come to power through the ballot box. They have never been given the opportunity.

African governments tend to view the activities of the opposition as subversion. As soon as the opposition begins to look strong enough as to be able to defeat the ruling party at elections the government finds one pretext or another for either banning the party or jailing its leaders. One isolated demonstration against government or its leaders is interpreted as insurrection. In the name of preserving the independence of their country, in the name of peace, stability and good government, of freedom and democracy, perfectly constitutional, law-abiding opposition groups in Africa have been ruthlessly crushed, with arbitrary detentions and declarations of hardly perceptible emergencies. Election results which favour the opposition are sometimes nullified by a defeated government, as happened in Lesotho; or by soldiers sympathetic to the defeated government, as happened in Sierra Leone.

The Revealed Truth

African leaders often believe that they are ordained by God to redeem their people. In their view, therefore, only trouble-makers, enemies of the people, and unpatriotic persons who cannot understand the revealed truth and the good work of the Redeemers dare oppose them. It was more or less in this spirit that Nkrumah, Kenyatta, Banda, Jonathan, and many others systematically, often callously, set about destroying parties opposed to them.

Maybe this cannot and will not happen in post-N.L.C. Ghana. But can one really be sure that the attitudes that led Nkrumah to set up his one-party dictatorship have disappeared? Can one really be sure that no members of the government think of the opposition as subversive? Already two ministers have warned the opposition to operate within the constitution, and that the government is prepared to face the Justice Party if it incite people to overthrow the government by unconstitutional means. These warnings are ominous. There is no evidence that any opposition party plans to operate outside the constitution, or to indulge in unlawful activities. Why then should two ministers go out of their way to give such warnings?

One may be justified in saying that these warnings are manifestations of the intolerant attitude of some African politicians towards any opposition that I have already referred to. This intolerant attitude, always just below the surface in many African countries, is potentially the greatest problem facing the opposition. They may never be left in peace to organise. They should be prepared to endure a lot of harrassment and provocation.

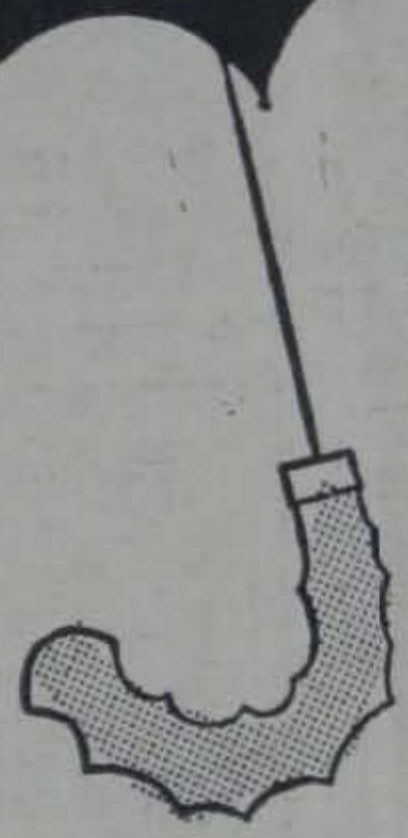
But quite apart from intolerance — and it is hoped that what happened under Nkrumah's regime will not happen again—there are several problems facing the opposition, some of them apparently daunting. The biggest of these is money. Organising a party is an expensive business. To maintain a fleet of propaganda vans, offices, full-time agents, etc., a party in Ghana has to spend thousands of cedis a year, perhaps anything between N¢150,000 and N¢200,000. At the same time it must build up a substantial election fund. At the best of times an opposition in Africa would find it difficult to get that amount of money. Most of its supporters are likely to be persons who would not find it easy to pay even 20np in monthly dues. And these days people assume or think that supporters should not pay dues. This is due to (1) the prevailing belief in Ghana today that those who get into power will feed fat on the people. So why pay anything towards their election; and (2), the large sums of money which some of the parties wantonly threw about in 1969 created the impression that leaders can provide for everything affecting the party.

Businessmen And Farmers

Moreover, it is very difficulty to persuade, say, a businessman or farmer to donate money to an opposition party. What can it give in return? It is not in a position to dispense patronage; it cannot vote money for development; it is not in a position to put its policies into practice. And, if the history of politics in the 1950's and early 60's is any guide, there is some danger in giving open financial or other material support to an opposition party: the government may refuse to give work to the business man who does so, or threaten to deny him certain business benefits. How many people are courageous and committed enough to assume such risks?

Another problem is the apathy of the ordinary Ghanaian. Indeed he is more than apathetic; he is fatalistic. Who is he to oppose the government? Government in Ghana has always been remote and rather intimidating. The colonial government

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was paternalistic. And so was Nkrumah. He also terrorised the whole nation; he arrested or at least harassed those who opposed him, he denied vital development to those areas and constituencies which were opposed to him. All these have made the ordinary citizen feel helpless in the face of the government. He feels Big Brother is always watching him; and Big Brother deals harshly with those who do not do his wishes. An opposition party therefore has a formidable task in persuading the ordinary man to believe that he has a right to oppose the government; that if the opposition is strong the government cannot easily terrorise people or deny them their just demands; that without a strong opposition we may sooner or later lose our freedoms; that a government can be changed through the ballot box.

This fatalism tends to work against an opposition in several ways. Since in the mind of an ordinary Ghanaian any project is evidence of government generosity, a few miles of feeder roads, one street lamp, one standing water-tap, a small clinic, any little new thing earns the government the gratitude and loyalty of the people living where the thing has been done. In their minds therefore it would be wrong to oppose their benefactor; moreover, if they did they may not get any new thing in the future. Why should they bite the hand that feeds them? . . . Against such an attitude all the arguments about the cost of living, the abject poverty in the country and social injustices may be unavailing.

Poverty And Ignorance

Then there is the deep-seated belief that all governments are the same. If you talk about the **la dolce vita** of those in power, you are met with the retort that you will live in the same way if you were in power. If you talk about poverty and ignorance and disease, which afflict the ordinary Ghanaian, the reply is likely to be: "we have heard such talk before, and those who promised us heaven on earth before they got into power, ignored us as soon as they did". Whatever you may say against the government, the answer is likely to be: "You will not behave differently if you got into power. Why should we change the devil we know for the devil we do not know?"

All these and other psychological factors tend to work in favour of the government party. And not a day passes without some announcement that this or that project is planned, is under construction, or has been completed and opened by a minister. These routine announcements have their effect, quite apart from the propaganda the government party carries out on its own.

An opposition party in Africa, especially, can hope to change these attitudes only through intensive campaign—particularly in the rural areas where people are more fatalistic and apathetic and less demanding than their brothers in the urban areas. Such a campaign will fail, though, unless the agents of the opposition parties are prepared to work harder than the agents of the government party; and unless they are thoroughly acquainted with the peculiar problems of every region, every constituency, indeed every town and village. Such knowledge can only be acquired through accurate information and research. The opposition must have a hard core of supporters in every ward to supply such information and to organise the people to do something about them.

General policy statements issued in Accra may impress the urban intellectuals and workers. But they hardly reach the villages, unless there is a chain of agents who can transmit them to the villages and can persuade the people there to accept them or at least to listen to them. It is not easy to get such agents.

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n and women who operated during the 1950's. e majority of those who worked for the United rty in the 1950's are now with the Progress rty. Some of the C.P.P. agents are also now rking for the P.P. The bulk of former C.P.P. ents not with the P.P. are now out of politics or credited, even in their own towns. They may a liability. In any case some of them worked the National Alliance of Liberals and other position parties during the last elections, but d not seem to have done well. It would be best r the opposition parties to find and train new ents.

Even with the merger between the N.A.L., the nited Nationalist Party, and the All Peoples epublican Party to form the Justice Party, the pposition is still too fragmented. Apart from the ustice Party ,there are the People's Action Party, ne People's Popular Party, and the Labour Party. all these parties oppose each other at election, ne P.P. is likely to repeat its big victory. Would ne other parties, then, join with the Justice Party? What are the prospects of opposition unity? On ne face of it, they are bright. So far as I can see, here are no major differences between the Justice Party and the others, though the P.P.P. tends to ake a more leftist line and, unlike the other parties, is associated in the minds of people with he C.P.P. and Nkrumah. But there should be no difficulty in all the opposition parties coming toge-her.

Difficulties In Merging

There are two reasons why parties find it diffi-cult to merge: (1) the name. It is surprising how people can become attached to such things as the name of a party. To many, a party's name sums up its basic aims, and this is largely true. But the reason why some people do not want their party's name changed is often not so rational. It is often rather due to the belief, sometimes without any foundation, that a change of name would cause supporters to refuse to adhere to the new party. Anoter reason often heard is that the old name sounds better than the new one, and can be more easily pronounced by the illiterate folk. When the argument reaches such a level you may as well pack up. Then there is the difficulty of persuading parties to sink their identities in a new body; everyone may want to retain a bit of its former identity, for the sake of its pride. Thus in a merger negotiation between X party and Y party, a likely suggestion for a name would be X.Y. Party.

That is what happened when the Republican Party merged with the All People's Party. After several hours of discussion it was agreed to adopt the name **All Peoples Republican Party** (A.P.R.P.), which was quite a mouthful. There is secondly, the question of leadership. There are some people who believe that they should lead any party they join. Unless they are given the post of Leader they will not agree to a merger. It does not matter how weak and small their party is in comparison with the others. It does not matter that together with other parties their chances of political success will be improved. Conceited, vain and utterly unrealistic, they would rather remain leaders of a small party without any hope of success standing alone, than accept a lower status in a bigger, more viable party with every hope of success at future elections. They would rather be kings in hell than servants in heaven. They often appear quixotic and pathetic in their unreasonable determination to remain leaders.

Those Formidable Odds

Such were some of the leaders who led their parties to utter defeat last year. In the end they gained nothing. Men who at the beginning of May, 1969, entertained hopes of becoming Prime Minister lost the election and even lost their deposits. It now appears some of them have learnt their lesson. This is what in the end made it possible for the N.A.L., U.N.P. and A.P.R.P. to merge. But it appears others have yet to **learn** their lesson. Somehow or other, every effort should be made to persuade them to change their hearts. Otherwise there is every little hope that all the opposition parties will merge.

From what I have written so far it may appear the opposition has very little chance of defeating the Progress Party in the foreseeable future. The odds against them are, indeed, formidable. But these can be overcome.

The opposition should make every effort to break through in the Akan areas, especially the rural districts. About 50% of Ghanaians are Akans—and at present they solidly support the P.P.; 75% of Ghanaians are in the rural areas, and the majority of them voted P.P. If the opposition is to win elections in the foreseeable future they must make considerable inroads into these two areas. Indeed in the next two or three years the opposition must concentrate its efforts in these two areas. (They of course overlap in the Akan areas).

The opposition must also win the support of businessmen. They have the means to give the party financial support, and they may have influence in their hometowns. The opposition must get its intellectual supporters to supply them with ideas. But even more important, the opposition

must win the minds of the youth. Ghana is a country of young men and women; the party which wins their support will control the future. And they should not forget the urban workers. Properly organised and led, these will become the vanguard in the opposition's advance to power.

Success will not come easily to the opposition. They should not wait and hope that somehow, someday, things will turn their way; such dramatic turns in politics do not usually come about without organisation. The leaders of the opposition are aware of the odds against them. They cannot afford to be complacent. They cannot allow themselves to be deceived into a false sense of security. They will not find the battle short or easy. They may sometimes be harassed, even man-handled. They will often be villified and denounced as traitors and saboteurs. Several obstacles will be put in their way. Their supporters may be victimised, deprived of their livelihood, ostracised by friends, rendered destitute.

In the face of such difficulties they should nevertheless stand firm and fight on. They should be united and work hard as a team. In the end victory will be theirs.

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Observer Notebook

The P.M. In London And New York

IN common with several other heads of government, the Prime Minister, Dr. K. A. Busia, attended the U.N.O. 25th anniversary celebrations in New York. But his official duties abroad started in London where he added his own to the many powerful voices urging Britain to desist from arming South Africa, that symbol of the African's helplessness and degradation.

In New York, Dr. Busia got together with other world leaders, made a speech to the U.N.O. General Assembly and got 15 million dollars worth of aid for Ghana. On his return, he repeated his suggestion that, if Britain does sell arms to South Africa, the other members of the Commonwealth should expel her from that multi-racial body for, as President Nyerere would put it, lending a cloak of respectability to South Africa and thus indirectly supporting apartheid.

Dr. Busia prefers the expulsion of Britain to a break-away from the Commonwealth by the African member-states because he believes that that body—particularly because of ist multi-racial character—is such a force for good in a world threatened increasingly by racial cleavage that it should not be allowed to disappear; that it would be possible to have the Commonwealth without Britain, a sort of HAMLET without the Prince.

There are two points in this connection that could be argued at great length. Firstly, how really useful is the commonwealth? Is it not, as Mr. Heath, the British Premier, is reported to have said, a matter of mere sentiment? Besides a few crumbs from the diminishing British national cake, what is there in it for us? In view of the ever-changing British immigration laws, the real aim of which is to exclude as many Blacks as possible from Britain, what is the substance in that connection? It looks very much as if we can only be friends apart.

Secondly, it is very doubtful that there could be a Commonwealth without Britain. How about the white dominions who, with the highly probable exception of Canada, share Britain's disgust with the 'emotional'—as Mr. Heath would have it—Africans and sympathize with the South Africans? Would they agree to the expulsion of Britain and not leave with their 'mother' country? And if they did, would the rump of the Commonwealth not be back to some sort of

Afro-Asian Commonwealth, only a large of the Afro-Asian block at the U.N.O.?
ıe fact of the matter is that it is true that of the world statesmen would share the ments and ideals in some of Dr. Busia's ments at U.N.O. For example:

> Instead of learning to live in friendly relations, the peace of the world is constantly being disturbed by violent activities which are being used as instruments to achieve sectional rights or to correct what are deemed to be oppression or injustice.

Also:

> We must not only seek to use education as a means of breaking down barriers and prejudices, we also face the question of developing through this organization institutions to maintain the rule of law as an instrument of international order.

But they know that for a long time to come ile world statesmen will continue to ease their rves with fine rhetoric about the brotherhood of ınkind what will continue to make the world k is calculated self-interest, (bread and national estige), and that those who will continue to rule e world are the large nation-states. Britain joins the European Economic ommunity. And what does the Commonwealth atter any more? If anybody talks about the ulti-racial character of the Commonwealth, e U.N.O. is, *par excellence*, the multi-racial ternational organization.

The South Africa Arms Affair

T is no wonder that the Archbishop of Canterury himself, the World Christian Council of Churches, as well as separate national branches f the Council, have all taken the extraordinary teps they have recently been taking to intervene n the case of the South Africa-British arms hreat. For the basic facts behind the whole usiness are absolutely appalling. They make lead meat out of the constantly repeated claim of the Conservatives in Britain that Mr. Heath has not yet committed his government irrevocably to the policy of resumed sales. They do the same to the loudly proclaimed announcement that the French have decided to cancel orders on certain selected weapons previously intended to be sold by them and shipped to the Union.

The facts are grim. Among French arms already supplied to Pretoria, or under contract, are reported the following:

50 Allouette II and 50 Allouette III helicopters
16 Super Frelom helicopters
9 Transall Transport aircraft
3 Daphne class submarines
About 200 AML armoured vehicles
Various air to surface missiles, and
Approximately 45 Mirage III fighter/bombers.

More revealing still for the long run was the announcement of Mr. P. W. Botha, the South African Minister of Defence, made on 2nd May this year, that a mobile ground-to-air guided weapon system for defence against low level attacks was nearing the production stage in South Africa itself. The significance here is that Mr. Botha said this had been achieved with French technical assistance; moreover, the project had been "approved and partly financed" by the French government.

The case of the British, as revealed recently in the *Daily Telegraph* of London, is even more ominous. Before the Labour government imposed a ban, South Africa had bought 12 or more Buccaneer airplanes from Britain; these aircraft are naval but not restricted to naval service alone. South Africa is reported to want over £50,000,000 worth more of these machines, plus the necessary huge quantities of spare parts. But that is not all. Pretoria requests, we are told, that British arms manufacturers set up plants in South Africa, whose potential in trade benefits to the home country and offensive facilities to Vorster are of course incalculable.

Conversations about these items of business with the Conservative government of Mr. Heath are reported to have lasted every moment of two months. Sir Alec Douglas-Home, the Foreign Secretary, is said to have briefed the British High Commissioner at Pretoria, Sir Arthur Snelling, himself. The "Shopping list" discussed is said to have included million pound sterling Corvette ships, Wasp helicopters, Nimrod reconnaisance flares and Buccaneer Strike aircraft.

Can anyone still wonder why Mr. Heath and his Conservatives are so tempted to put money before anything else, even the life and death of millions of Africans? Is it now still surprising that the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Christian Council of Churches around the world have adopted unprecedented methods to condemn evil and sue for justice?

The Prime Minister's Visit To Legon

THOSE of us who are aware of the sort of treatment heads of government and prime ministers receive on their visits to university campuses abroad received the news of the proposed visit of our Prime Minister to the three universities of the country with some trepidation.

The need for the visit was never in question. If for no other reason, as the cabinet minister responsible for higher education the Prime Minister should have first-hand knowledge of what goes on in these sacred but expensive institutions. What worried us was how the students would receive him and how he would take it. On both scores, in spite of what some sections of the press have written, we were very pleasantly surprised. Instead of being pelted with tomatoes or eggs or bread, as they do regularly elsewhere, the Prime Minister was very well received by the students. As far as we are concerned, the interruption by Hutchful and the comment — or call it protest if you like — which he made was nothing extraordinary or unusual, and the Prime Minister took it in the right and expected spirit. Indeed, had he seen the student being arrested, we are sure he would have stopped it there and then. What surprised us was all the fuss that some of the press, and even one junior minister who should know better, made about the incident. We can attribute this reaction either to sheer sycophancy, or to ignorance of what obtains on university campuses all over the world!

In his address to the students, the Prime Minister made one or two remarks which we think should have received the attention that the Hutchful episode did receive. He first of all explained in a very authoritative and convincing manner the reasons for the rather painful decision to abolish the system of automatic scholarship awards to all students who gained admission to the university. These were simply that the country could no longer afford the system, and secondly that scholarships should be geared to academic merit and the manpower needs of the country. Even the students themselves found these reasons convincing.

Secondly, he told the students, much to their shock we believe, that if he were asked what the real and urgent problems facing the country were, his answer would not be the huge debts with which we are saddled, nor economic development, but rather the absence of men with a social conscience and a feeling of responsibility towards the community. We cannot agree more with the Prime Minister. We only hope that the students did not merely nod their heads in approval but that all of them, as well as all Ghanaians, will develop this social conscience and dedicate or rededicate themselves to the service of the country.

One regret about the visit remains. Neither at the "confrontation" with Hutchful nor later in the evening in assembly did the P.M. have an opportunity to answer the question why so many "posh cars" — so many Mercedes Benzes — among our politicians and high civil servants. Dr. Jones Ofori-Atta, in a letter to the press later which was otherwise neither here nor there, supplied a missing link by asking why Mr. Hutchful had not started by attacking his own Vice-Chancellor for what *we* have to help all the contestants to describe as the continuing wave of "Benzimania".... It would have been interesting to have had Dr. Busia's views on this subject, and he certainly should have been given a chance—by the evening's chairman, the Vice-Chancellor—to answer the question.

The fact that the question about "posh cars" was raised by more students after the Hutchful "arrest" showed a certain amount of moral and physical courage; it also underscored a situation over which Ghanaians, and many ordinary West Africans, have been in genuine grief for years now. It is, **the insistent, the obsessive waste of precious foreign exchange on super-scale cars for government and public service use.** If there is good reason somewhere for this obsession, the whole country ought to be told, so we can take some consolation from it. Dr. Jones Ofori-Atta did not give it to us in his letter.

Examination Leakages

THE benefits of efficient operation of a public examination system with a multi-national frame of reference are self-evident. In English-speaking West Africa, the main cut-off point in the educational system is tending to be the "O" Level General Certificate of Education examination, which is taken by young boys and girls in their late teens.

Governments, employers and the general public have so keen an expectation of the integrity and fairness with which this public Examination and all others, for that matter, should be conducted, that a public body like the West African Examinations Council should be expected to take a very, very serious view of any attempt by anybody of whatever rank or standing to undermine their established system.

The recent case in which the results of 3,293

idates were cancelled caused a stir for good ons. There were bound, of course, to have candidates who were not privy to the cri- al cheating unearthed by the Council. It is difficult to see how public sysmpathy should stirred for them, especially when the news- er reports on the affair were so confusing one had difficulty in distinguishing who had results of four papers CANCELLED and se who had been SUSPENDED from re- ng the Examination for three years.

The facts, as explained by a high official of Council, are that there are 3,293 candidates the first category; they are being permitted re-sit the papers concerned before the end of s year. Those who fall into category two are y a mere handful. They are those alleged to ve been directly involved in the cheating.

Measuring the unfortunate lot of those candi- les who know in their hearts that they did not eat, against the obligations under which the uncil operates, it is difficult to see how these cisions can be said to have been too severe. or the point at issue is a moral one and it is gh time the morality of this country was scru- nized. The things Ghanaians are prepared to for money are simply fantastic. It is therefore ecessary for the axe to come down once in a hile to arouse the conscience of this nation.

The *Observer* would like to remind readers at this is not even a domestic matter; it is an ternational affair. Those parents who are con- mplating suing the Examinations Council ould think twice.

Letters

The Effects of the Surcharge

R — Do the manufacturers in this country have a nuine case against the new import surcharge or do ey not? If they do, is it asking too much to expect em to act as responsible businessmen and come ght out and say so? It is very disheartening to ad in the local dailies statements made by repre- ntatives of the various business communities criticis- g the new surcharges only to have them refuted the xt day by the same individuals. A recent case in oint was that in which a representative of the Manu- cturers' Association began a complaint by saying ....his association was neither agitating for the ncellation of the Open General License or the new rcharge" (quote from one of the dailies). Then he es on to list the difficulties facing manufacturers. ....NC10,000 worth of goods awaiting clearance ould now need NC17,500 instead of NC1,000 as fore the budget".

If they do not want the government to cancel the surcharge then what exactly do they want? Obviously, if the latter part of their statement is true, then the cost of goods would increase alarmingly. In that case they owe it to the consumer public to speak out boldly and not make half-hearted criticisms couched in praises. The aim of the Budget was to improve living standards for all Ghanaians. If some aspects of it are not going to fulfil this aim then it is the duty of all citizens to speak out now.

P.O. Box 1934 **Marilynne Charles**
Kumasi

On Family Planning

SIR — I would like to reply to Mr. Atedechira's letter (L.O. V/20) of 25th September, 1970. Family planning does not aim at discouraging people from having children, but at affording them the possibility to limit the size of their family to their economic capability, and to choose when to have these children. This way the children stand a better chance of being properly cared for and educated.

Mr. Atedechira claims that Ghana has a population of 8 million and therefore it is premature to practise family planning. May I remind or rather inform Mr. Atedechira that a good proportion of the only 8 million Ghanaians are still illiterate, are inadequately housed, do not have proper medical care or are unemployed. The effort to improve these conditions is certainly being deployed, but the necessary funds are not unlimited. It is of the utmost importance, therefore, that we limit the population explosion to the size of our wealth.

Mr. Atedechira further says that the yearly number of deaths in the North exceeds that of births. Does he know why? It will be wise for him to find the causes of this excess of annual death rate over birth rate. To have a family and care for them is an economic reality. You cannot feed, clothe, and educate your children if you lack the funds. What is true on the family scale is equally so on the national scale.

Mr. Atedechira concludes by saying, "...for Ghanaians to respond to the call of family planning now would mean that we are at the moment holding the tail of civilisation". Again this is wrong. We cannot be holding the tail of any civilisation when the aim of family planning is to prevent the self-destruction of mankind by having a world population that we cannot feed. It took the world a million years to achieve the present world population of 3,600 million, if the present trend of growth continues, it will take only thirty years to double it. Prospects of increasing food production so far remain illusory because of the rate of population growth.

I think it is in the interest of both parents and children to practise family planning.

Chemin de Devin 74 **Victor N. Blankson**
1012 Lausanne, Switzerland

SIR — I wish to comment on the letter "Ghanaians and Family Planning" by Mr. B. S. Atedechira of Wenchi in Legon Observer (V/20).

Mr. Atedechira advocates tha stoppage of the

Family Planning Programme because he feels "it is premature to think about Family Planning at this stage". I disagree because I think that prevention is better than cure.

Family Planning does not seek to prevent people from reproducing. It simply advises couples to limit the number of their children so that they can care properly for them. It advises couples to prolong the intervals between births for the better care of children. Nobody will dispute that it is better to have, say, three children and give them better education than to produce eight and be unable to care properly for them.

If through the adoption of Family Planning we produce fewer but better cared for children who grow up to be responsible citizens then it would not be at all bad to "apply economics" to human reproduction" as Mr. Atedechira puts it.

Wenchi Methodist Hospital **C. Owusu**
Wenchi, B/A.

Split in the Volta Region

SIR — Mr. J. H. Kodzo Fiafor's article "Split in the Volta Region" in Legon Observer (V/17) was exteremely provocative and cannot be left without comments.

Mr. Fiafor's apparent lack of knowledge about general political trends in the Volta Region is conspiciously reflected in his comments on the allegedly threatened secession of Krachi District from the Volta Region. He argues illogically that since other areas in the Volta Region are as, or even more, neglected than Krachi, the grievances made known by the Nana Krachiwura are therefore groundless. One might as well maintain that since the people of Keta have lived in their present place for several centuries now they should no longer talk about the threat of the sea.

It is indeed presumptuous to call upon the Honourable M.Ps for Krachi and their people to be "bold to call a spade a spade and tell all Ghanaians and the world" why we want to secede. In Ghana today, it does not take much courage to comment on even the President's utterances. Anyway, the Krachiwura was not being cowardly.

I appeal to Mr. Fiafor to ponder the results of the 1969 General Elections in the Volta Region or better still that of 1956 Togoland plebiscite before attempting any political analysis of the situation in Krachi.

P.O. Box 7 **Cosmas Yaw Khra**
Kete-Krachi
Volta Region

Kontopiaat and Oguaa Gods

SIR—Though the "Pro-Sure" government have done a lot to improve the roads and the water supply of Kontopiaatkrom, nothing has been done so far about its postal service. The result of this is that a copy of your issue, Vol. V/21 of 22nd October, 1970, did not reach Kontopiaatkrom until only last week.

In the issue in question, one Mr. Joe Pobee, obviously a citizen of Cape Coast but now an alien in — Korle Bu Hospital, Accra, has posed the question whether the 77 gods of Kontopiaatkrom are "not alien but indigenous", and, if they are alien, whether they are not then the 77 gods of Oguaa who, like its able-bodied lads and lasses, have all disappeared.

The question — or was it an accusation? — was of course referred to the chief Fetish Priest and the President of H.S.K. (which means the Historical Society of Kontopiaatkrom), and I am happy to convey the answers of these great authorities to the question or accusation of Mr. Pobee.

Both the President and the chief Fetish Priest would like first and foremost to express their condolence as well as those of all the citizens of Kontomigration of their 77 gods. Secondly they would migration of their 77 gods. Secondly, they would like me to let Mr. Pobee and the citizens of Oguaa know that Kontopiaatkrom is not the only village or state with 77 gods. The villages of Dompokrom, Carl Muttville, Sisirimakokrom, the famous Etsi town of Bosomadwe, and indeed many other towns and villages and states in Ghana have 77 gods! If therefore, Mr. Pobee directed the question to us on the assumption that we are the only people with 77 gods, then he is wrong.

Thirdly, the President of the H.S.K. would like me to assure Mr. Pobee that in fact the 77 gods of Oguaa did not originally belong to the state of Oguaa at all but rather to the state of Fetu. Until the second half of the eighteenth century, the state and town of Fetu controlled the whole of Oguaa and the entire area between Moree and Elmina. Indeed, the very dynasty of the Oguaa state was in fact founded by somebody referred to in the European records as Cudjo Caboceer, and in Oguaa oral traditions, as Egyir (later corrupted into Aggrey, who died as recently May 1776!!). It was only in the nineteenth century or so that Oguaa really seceded from Fetu and unilaterally declared itself independent. Has Mr. Pobee ever paused to wonder why the Cape Coast festival is called the Fetu Festival?

If it is true, then, that the Oguaa gods have disappeared, Mr. Pobee is well advised to go and look for them in Fetu, which is only about three miles from the Wesley Girls' High School, Cape Coast.

In any case, I would like to assure Mr. Pobee categorically that the migrant 77 gods of Cape Coast have not reached Kontopiaatkrom yet — if they are on their way there at all — and that the 77 gods of Kontopiaatkrom are very, very indigenous and have been with the citizens of Kontopiaatkrom ever since Odomakoma created the world.

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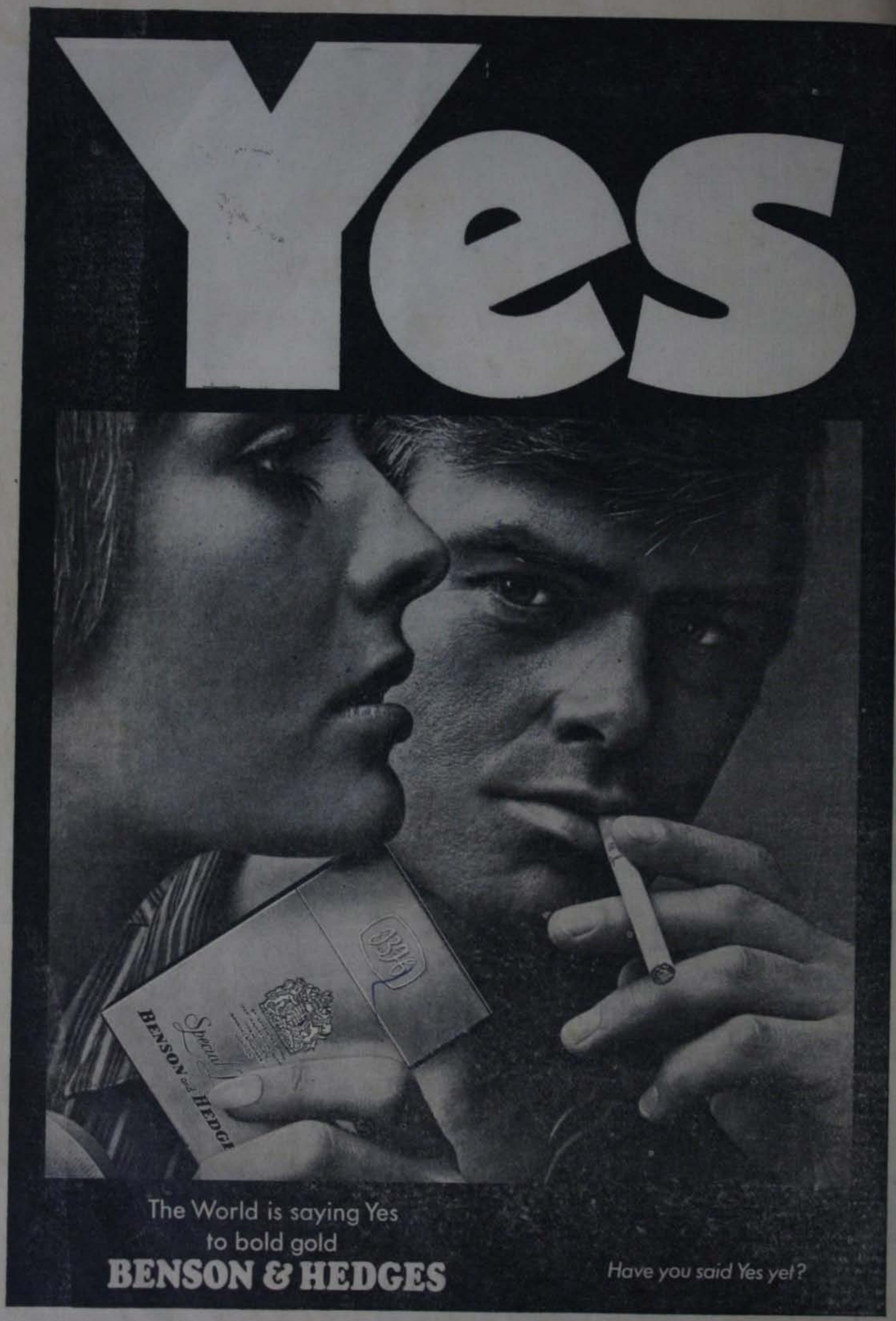
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EDITORIAL

A SOCIAL REVOLUTION IN OUR COUNTRYSIDE?

HE PROGRESS PARTY government does not claim have discovered rural development. Rural de-lopment in the sense of attempts to modernize e conditions of life in the countryside has been th us for a long time. There was the colonial ministration with its concept of the district adquarters as a centre from which modern no-ons of life and economic techniques could be ffused into the surrounding country. Rural velopment based on self-help gathered momen-m in the period 1949-60, as part of the process self-emancipation and as the manifest expres-on of the expanding cultural horizons of the eople. It came to an end in the twilight of krumah's rule with its economic difficulties hen, also, the impulse to self-help was emascu-ted under the onslaught of incipient totalitaria-sm.

But the present government emphasizes rural velopment, making it one of its major planks r the socio economic regeneration of the coun-y. A few people will quarrel with the govern-ent's reasons for this decision. Of course, a ccessful rural development programme would ove a formidable political weapon. Grateful ral folks will form solid electoral bases from hich it would be difficult, if not impossible, to dislodge the bearers of economic well-being, health and light to the country-side.

Apparently, one of the reasons for the government's emphasis on rural development is that the two proverbial words it sees in this country do not consist of the rich and the poor—owners of the means of production and the sellers of their labour—as they are seen to exist elsewhere, but of town and country-dwellers. It is on this basis that the government plans to re-distribute the wealth of this country, and, since it believes with a great many people that the town-dweller, collectively, has hitherto had more than his fair share of the national wealth, it considers it right and just that it should divert a large proportion of it to the village-dweller. Those who see the socio-economic divide differently would naturally object to this basis for the redistribution of our wealth.

Besides the question of social justice, the emphasis on rural development is a piece of anticipatory social engineering. The government is attempting to anticipate the probable results of the march of our socio-economic history. They believe that by creating, in the countryside, centres of what are now regarded as means to the good life, (pipe-borne water, electricity and clinics), it will reverse the trend of rural-urban migration and so curtail the development of what may prove to be rather grim effects of unplanned and unmanageable urbanization.

There are unmistakable signs that the government is very serious about this. Lamp-posts, water-taps and clinics are increasing in numbers in parts of the rural areas. All this is highly commendable though some people may point out that the government is merely fulfilling the expectations of its supporters.

Be that as it may, one very serious question must be raised. This is, what are the chances that the government's approach to rural development will prove equal to the task it has in mind? Governments of the complexion of ours do not talk of 'revolutions', but what the present government is doing is nothing less than attempting to induce a revolution. It is attempting to produce a structural change in the pattern of population concentration in the country, to reverse the trend towards greater urban growth, at any rate, to scatter the centres of such growth and prevent the development of cities of the unmanageable sort, with all their problems.

That being so, the question arises as to whether light, water, the location of clinics, and even super-markets in the rural areas, are likely to do the trick. It may be remembered that the rate of growth of Kumasi in the sixties was halted by a combination of lack of job opportunities and the slump in the price of cocoa. Yet Kumasi has all the 'amenities' that should supposedly keep the youth in the country side.

What will in fact succeed in doing this is a massive re-making of the economic map of this country, a re-distribution of job opportunities at well-selected sites. Such a view of the matter points to the necessity for a thorough review of the government's agricultural policy: agricultural pursuits and a few rural industries are all that country-folk can look forward to, by way of economic succour in the foreseeable future. The government's encouragement of 'plantation' farming, whether by foreign companies or local elite groups, is not likely to yield job opportunities for rural youth. Mechanized farming, especially when it is undertaken by capitalist-oriented companies and individuals, requires few hands, and its returns, unless cripplingly taxed, are not likely to be widely diffused among the people. There is also the danger that large-scale plantation farming by foreign companies and individuals would precipitate the sort of change in the land-tenure system that would result in land-hunger among rural folk.

The emphasis, we think, should be on co-operative farming. This is not to say that the government is ignoring it but that it should be the corner-stone of its policy. The government should not be deterred by the myth—for so long accepted by the educated people of this country—of the so-called 'peasant conservatism', and by naively-drawn analogies with the industrialized countries. It should not be forgotten that it was illiterate farmers who made such a success of cocoa cultivation; the crucial factor in that success story was that there was an assured market for cocoa. To ensure regular markets for the farmers the "Task Force", of which we at present know very little, should be soundly organized, in fact turned into a permanent food distributive organization.

The promised social revolution of the countryside will not occur if mere social palliatives of the sort seen so far are offered. The crucial factor will be economic.

PART II of the Supplement on Sierra Leone will appear IN OUR NEXT ISSUE.

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inefficient and almost all are charging exorbitant prices and therefore are enjoying very high profits, it wants to bring in competition from the outside to eliminate the high profit margins and/or force the inefficient manufacturers out of production. The government has the support of Prof. P. T. Ellsworth, who says: "Legislation that discriminates in favour of inefficient producers, against efficient ones, and against the general body of consumers, can hardly be given high marks for common sense, let alone for fairness". (Ellsworth — *The International Economy*). Efficient producers here must apply to manufacturers of our local goods.

The case of the domestic manufacturers is that the assumptions upon which the budget is based are not correct. If they are to put the surcharges on their inputs, they have to increase the prices of their products to match, or else they will have to close down..

Kwame Adjei suggests that "both parties should stand by their arguments!" Meanwhile, must the "experiment" being conducted by "the personnel of the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, [who] seem like academics (thus their interest in research cannot be eliminated) go on? He concedes, however, that "a practical politician would not probably have adopted this part of the budget"

Liberalisation Policy

I believe it is rather in our own interest to help reach a quick solution. But what is borne out by the performance of the surcharges so far? In one breath the government expects that "higher surcharges may increase prices and *reduce* the level of goods imported". Yet in another breath the government thinks "if anybody can import without obtaining licence, then there will be *a glut of goods* on the market and prices will go down". This assumes that with the liberalisation policy (but with surcharges) people will automatically order goods, at higher cost than previously, glut the market and therefore sell at lower prices. This seems illogical to me. In any case, what happens when they have had the first experience?

If the assumptions of the government were correct, the Ghana National Trading Corporation (G.N.T.C.), a state institution, should have taken the lead in glutting the market and forcing prices down. Two months have elapsed but this does not seem evident. Again, the Ghana Industrial Holding Corporation (GIHOC), with its manufacturing branches like the State Distilleries Corporation, could have set the pace by absorbing the surcharges the way government expects. But the complaint now is that some of their prices have gone up by 100%! These — G.N.T.C. and GIHOC — are not private corporations out to "cheat" the Ghanaian consumer. Therefore their current operations should induce the government to re-assess its stand.

Lastly, there is the question of national goals. If the manufacturers find it tough-going, the logical step would be to close down. "The possible outcome of this policy", says Kwame Adjei "is to shift the economy from manufacturing to trading. This will be unfortunate. A reasonable number, if even they operate at a loss, may be necessary at this stage of our economic development". The last sentences rather justifies the establishment, by Nkrumah, of (justifiable, not necessarily in terms of profit making state corporations, manufacturing import-substitute goods. Unfortunately, private individuals cannot be expected to incur loss for "the good of the nation", when it comes to business. Any private entrepreneur who does that ought to have his head examined.

Long Term Interest

Unless changing the economy to that of (retail) trading is its aim, the government can stick to its policy. And success will surely come. But I doubt if this will be in our long term interest. A way of helping the manufacturing sector of an economy that finds it difficult to start off, or compete with foreign manufacturers, is to subsidize their cost of production. But this does not seem to be what government wants to do, or else we would have seen most of the former non-profit making corporations back in operation under GIHOC.

If the government believes in a self-sufficient economy (one cannot imagine an economy *completely* self-sufficient, anyway, something rather in our own interest in the long run, it may keep the surcharges on the finished goods but *remove them* on raw materials, machinery, spare parts . . . all of them inputs for manufacturing and agricultural industries. Here government will still be in the realm of economic theory and again with the backing of Prof. Ellsworth. On self-sufficiency, he writes: "Protection via tariffs, quotas . . . is the most effective means of reducing national dependence on imports. The production and consumption effects act together to restrict them".

This way we still can have the competition government wants to introduce into the economy without the domestic producers, whose "profits", even before they are made, the government wants

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to appropriate "on behalf of the people", being at a disadvantage to start with.

BOUNCING CHEQUES AND THE ECONOMY — A COMMENT

By J. K. Boateng

IN an article entitled "Bouncing Cheques and the Economy" published in your issue of 23rd October, 1970, Mr. I. Ackom Mensah raised important as well as interesting points in defence of settlement of bills by cheque instead of by cash in the country generally. In this short article, I wish to raise a few observations on some of the points made in the article referred to above.

Mr. I. Ackom Mensah seems highly disturbed that business houses should prefer cash to cheques in the settlement of bills by governmental agencies. The history behind this tough line adopted by the business houses goes back to the early Sixties, when the country's finances started collapsing with the result that cheques issued not only by governmental agencies but also corporations could not be honoured by the banks for lack of effects.

Taking the Tough Line

One would then agree with the business houses for taking the tough line they did a few years ago, since they needed liquid cash to meet their commitments; but with the slight improvement in the country's finances, which in turn has improved cash holdings of governmental agencies/corporations, "NO CHEQUES ACCEPTABLE"—from governmetal agencies as well as state corporations.

The contention that the extensive use of cheques in the business life of advanced countries countries like Britain and U.S.A. tends to make people savings-conscious seems unacceptable in our society as it is at the moment, for the following reasons:

(a) It is an established fact that the percentage of illiterates in commerce and farming is greater than that of the literates. And these illiterate fathers and mothers of ours are known to be in possession of thousands of cedis which are buried in mattresses and in ground. The simple reason for turning to these unorthodox ways of saving money is that the banks consider it impracticable to do business with illiterates, in view of certain associated problems like the customers' inability to read and write;

(b) it is also known that a large number of employees both in the public and priavte sectors are paid through the banks. But it is significant to note that the incidence of cash withdrawals during the first week of payday is high, with the result that by the end of the second week employees in both public and private sectors would have virtually withdrawn whatever amount was credited to their respective accounts by their employers.

The reason for this is obvious and until workers have enough cash to spare after meeting their normal monthly commitments, the question of their becoming savings conscious—even though they are paid through the banks—will continue to pose a big problem for all of us.

As to the suggestion that tough legisaltion should be enacted to deal with the question of "Bouncing Cheques", I think any tough legislation to arrest the situation will not achieve the desired result. The example of the death penalty for murder is there for all to see. And in any case a "bounced cheque" for what amount should we consider as constituting an act of bankruptcy by the drawer?

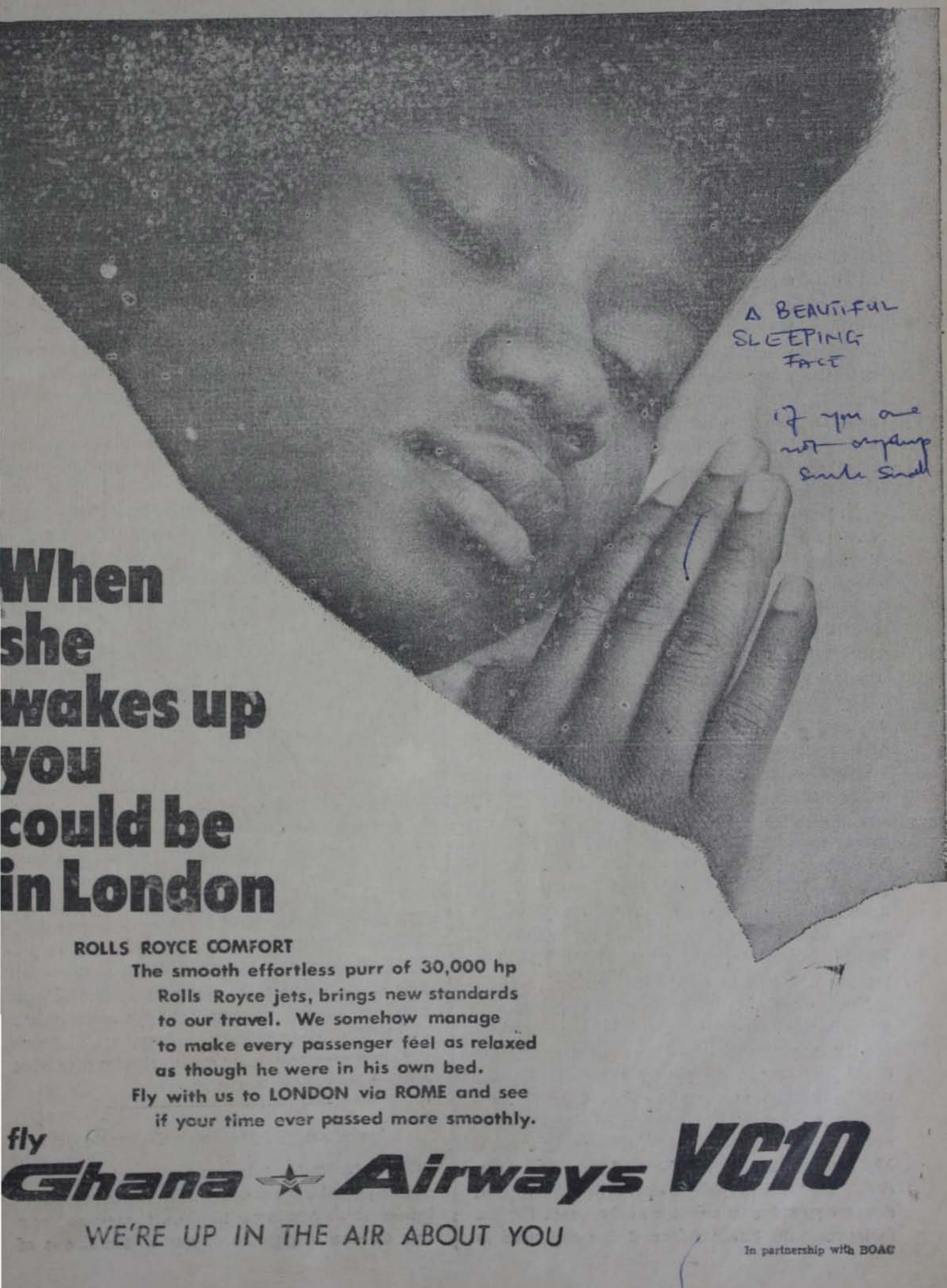
As regards the contention that the settlement of bills by cheque cuts down costs, it is to be noted that if there is any cost saving at all this must be negligible, since the cashier in that shop will also consider cheques received in settlement of bills as his daily takings which he must check before lodgement with the bank.

In fine, it is not the question of tough legislation that will make us see the "SIN" in writing out useless cheques to settle bills or any other commitment, but "HONESTY AND DEPENDABILITY IN OUR PERSON-TO PERSON RELATIONSHIPS".

Observer Notebook

Just Who Controls our Foreign Policy?

IT IS generally accepted that, with the possible exception of the United States of America, which is losing large numbers of its youths in Vietnam, governments even in the advanced countries are not made or unmade by their foreign policies. It is even more so in the developing countries, of which Ghana is one, where the vast majorities of the populations are so involved in the battle for sheer physical survival that they could not care less about foreign policy. Apparently, then, governments can experiment and speak as incoherently as they like abroad, with impunity about even such a vital matter as our policy towards South Africa (the one affair that, together with the economic arguments, should unite all Africans).



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But there is a limit to which Ghana of all African countries, can go in the enunciation of our policy towards South Africa. For good or for ill, we inspired the rest of Africa with a militant, albeit not always a very practicable, policy towards South Africa for close on a decade. Whatever anybody thinks about the methods employed, the aims of that policy were very sound and won us the respect of all except the white minority governments. Nobody would ask that we should revert to all the loud drum-beating and ill-considered spending of yesterday. But, surely, not even the most conservative members of the Progress Party like the illogicalities that characterize our utterances abroad on South Africa.

The Press services reported on the 11th of November that the Prime Minister told a press conference in Canada that he believed that neither trade sanctions nor guerrilla warfare would prevail against the white minority governments in South Africa; that African and Commonwealth countries should take the initiative in negotiating with South Africa while 'encouraging constitutional and moral change from within'. Ghana, he is reported to have said, would no longer pursue what he considered to be a futile policy of guerrilla warfare against South Africa. Besides its futility, he thought guerrilla warfare wrong, clearly in the moral sense. Then he said what must have sent a chill down the spine of the heroic and embattled freedom fighters in Angola, Mozambique, South Africa and Rhodesia; "sending a few people across the border is merely sending them to slaughter."

Then on the 13th of November, local press agencies reported Mr. J. A. Kuffuor, the ministerial secretary to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, to have told the UN that the present government of South Africa was a "minority clique" which had usurped power and whose basis for keeping power was so radically and obnoxiously contrary to the spirit and practice of the Organization that it was high time the Organization took the apartheid South African government for what it really was. South Africa could not, in the same breadth, reject the basic tenets of the UN charter and continue to sit on its councils.

Now, clearly, the first question that comes to mind is whether or not the P.M. was speaking for the government of Ghana: a junior minister could just not go off on his own bat. Equally clearly, the P.M. was speaking for the government of Ghana because he was on an official tour and not on a lecture tour. But if he was, how could Mr. Kuffuor then ask that South Africa be excluded from the UN? Where else, if not at the UN, does the government envisage as the venue for the dialogues with South Africa it has suggested in common with Banda of Malawi and Houphouet-Boigny of the Ivory Coast?

It appears useless to suggest to the P.M. that the white South Africans regard apartheid as an irreducible, unnegotiable principle and therefore that those who propose talks with them are merely ruining their country's prestige in Africa. Still, there is a lot that could be said about his statements on the matter in Canada. It was demoralizing for the freedom fighters. If the Mau Mau had listened to that sort of talk, where would Kenyatta be now? Did not the Kikuyu face the full blast of the British Royal Air Force? Did not the British give in what is now called Zambia, at least partly on the Zambians' threat of violence? It is, of course, one thing to criticize the guerrilla fighters for their inactivity and couple it with warnings about the massive weaponry of the white minority regimes. But it is another to pour cold water publicly on those who, having assessed the situation in the same manner as the P.M., have decided, in the face of tremendous odds, to carry on until Africa and the world become wise enough to give them aid.

Some people, of course, may be inclined to give credit to the P.M. for his moral uprightness in announcing to the world Africa's helplessness, and for not beating about the bush in the enunciation of Ghana's readiness to disengage from the struggle against South Africa. But to others just that is the most questionable part of it all, the unkindest cut of it all. Why is it necessary to go and announce in America something that lies so close to the African's heart, to be headlined across the world and give comfort to the chukling South Africans? There is nothing fine about that statement: it merely proclaims aloud what all Europeans feel about us. That is, our lack of guts.

Just what is the use of confidential files, confidential secretaries, diplomatic couriers and bags, if they are not to be used in conveying our thoughts on such an important and sensitive subjects?

It is a good thing that the Opposition has made its position clear on the subject. It would be tragic if the world were left in doubt that not all Ghanaians support the dithering and equivocal stand of the government on the matter of the South African affair. Lastly, it is really about time the government made it clear as to who says what on foreign policies and when.

Anniversary Of The Bolshevik Revolution

ON 6th November this year the Soviets celebrated the fifty-third anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution which overthrew the Tsarist regime. There was as usual a gigantic display of the sinews of

viet Russia's armed might.

The purpose of the display was, without doubt, remind the rest of the world—and particularly, rhaps, Communist China—that Soviet Russia indeed one of the two greatest military powers the world. The reminder must, however, be nsidered superfluous, if only because the global ach of Soviet military might is evident to all, cluding the Americans and the Communist inese.

Their military might has enabled the Soviets to ant their flag in most of the world's oceans, d to build diplomatic bridgeheads in Asia, frica and Latin America. Their military and plomatic presence is now strongly felt in the Mediterranean basin, especially. This is a great chievement. One can only hope that the Soviets ill deploy their military strength with the highest ense of responsibility. For how the Soviets, as well as the Americans, behave will determine whether or not there will be a suicidal third world war. It is incumbent, then, on the two global powers to ensure the successful completion of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT).

Domestically, the opportunity cost of the phenomenal growth of Soviet military might has been very great indeed. For some strategic sectors of the Soviet economy, like housing and consumer goods, have suffered heavily from the over-concentration on heavy industry which is geared towards arms production. Even so, it is fair to note that in the economic field the Soviets have on the whole scored some impressive successes. But for the continued, rapid growth of the Soviet economy, lesser and lesser amounts in resources will have to be poured into the armament industries. The interests of the Soviet economy itself must be another reason for ensuring the success of SALT.

Politically, the Bolshevik experiment is nowhere near to consummating the very vision that inspired the October Revolution, namely, Marx's vision of an earthly paradise of freedom in prosperity. For, despite all his intellectual aberrations, Marx was a great believer in human freedom. And yet, fifty-three years after the October Revolution, the Soviet people are still heavily borne down by the weight of a totalitarian regime. They still lack the fundamental human right of publicly expressing their criticisms and feelings.

And so only about a fortnight after the celebration of the fifty-third anniversary of a Marxist-inspired Revolution, Mr. Alexander Solzhenitsyn, the Russian Nobel Prize winner for literature, has been jailed for three years for allegedly writing "anti-Soviet" novels. But whether Soviet Russia becomes at once a prosperous and free country will depend not merely on the critical writings of a Solzhenitsyn, but also on the willingness of the majority of Russians themselves to be free.

A very encouraging sign of this was the news, earlier this week, about the distinguished Russian scientists who have just bound themselves together to examine the whole problem of freedom and the individual in that vast and powerful state.

There are many remarkable things about this announcement, not the least of which is the apparent freedom in which it was made. It is fervently to be hoped that the liberation from Czarist material slavery which the Marx-Lenin revolution brought to the people of Russia will in time be consummated by a matching intellectual and artistic freedom.

Gaullism Without De Gaulle

HISTORIANS will find Charles de Gaulle, the former President of France whose death occurred early last week, a figure as complex as some of the leading actors in French historical drama.

There was General de Gaulle, exponent of pan-Europeanism, who apparently found this perfectly compatible with a view of exaggerated French nationalism. In these two expressions, the General went to the extent of appearing to

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antagonise old colleagues in America, and indeed in the Atlantic alliance, which he tried to destroy. De Gaulle's constant **Non!** to the British application to join the European Common Market did not endear him to the British people, who always reminded the old fighter that he took refuse in Britain during the occupation of his country.

The General had an uncompromising will to accomplish goals which he believed were proper for his country. Thus, almost single handedly, he directed the underground resistance movement that led to the eventual freedom of his country. But de Gaulle continued to watch, at times from the sidelines, the political health of his country, which came to be characterised by chronic instability and disorder between early 1959, when he inaugurated and headed the Fifth Republic, and 1969, when he carried out a quit-threat after defeat in a referendum. These are well known facts.

For Africa, de Gaulle's accomplishments were equally fateful. At the risk of losing his life, he quickly "dismantled" the African wing of the French empire, in a manner which has forged a new and different relationship between France and her former African countries. But his feelings of French grandeur were such that he became virtually obsessed with the idea of how to recapture and improve upon the past greatness of his country. And he did this in a spirit of exaggerated independence, which could be embarrassing to those who came in contact with him. Such, for instance, was his diplomatic blunder over Quebec separatism, for which he offered no apology.

Will Gaullism survive the demise of the General? It is perhaps too early to be precise in one's evaluation at this stage, beyond saying that the General will certainly occupy a place in history as one of the greatest Frenchmen of this century, if not the greatest.

The Visit of the Surinam Chiefs

THE RECENTLY concluded visit of a team of four chiefs from Surinam was of vital interest and significance in a number of ways. We are used to visits from the New World by research students, university dons, and Black power leaders and advocates, but not a set of genuine traditional black chiefs who speak their own language but not Dutch or English or American. The visit shows, then, beyond all reasonable doubt that the back-to-Africa movement and the awareness of the black people of the new continent of Africa as their ancestral home have at long last seeped down to the ordinary people and chiefs even in villages in the remote hinterland of the North and South American sub-continents.

However, what makes the visit still more significant is the evidence that even a casual glance at the chiefs and the very sound of their language revealed the extent of Akan cultural and linguistic survivals among these people. It was much to our utter amazement that on talking to them, we discovered that they drum in exactly the same way and pour libation as the Akans do; have words such as *Tweduampon* and *Okra*, which in their language as in Akan mean god and soul respectively; call their senior fetish *Tano*, and have names such as Kofi, Kwadwo, Kwame, etc. We were also told that the traditional attire of the chiefs consists of a kind of kente cloth, sandals and brass breast plates.

Of course the thrill and pleasure of the chiefs from these identities were no less than ours. From all this, it seems almost certain that those groups in Surinam whose chiefs have just concluded a visit to us must have been descendants of some Akan people who were exported to South America in the late seventeenth or eighteenth century.

We would like to congratulate those who arranged this visit. We would also like to appeal to the government of Ghana, the University of Ghana, and the Dutch and Surinam governments to dispatch as soon as possible a joint Ghana-Holland-Surinam research team to Surinam, to conduct a detailed investigation into the history, culture and institutions of these fascinating peoples, and to determine the extent of Akan or Fon or Yoruba survivals among them and how these were preserved. This study should be undertaken as soon as possible, since from our enquiries the number of these four groups is fast diminishing, because, as happens in all developing countries, the young men have been drifting away from the villages to the towns for employment, excitement and adventure.

Welcome Transition!

MR Rajat Neogy, the Editor of *Transition*, the magazine universally acclaimed as "perhaps the best African-produced magazine there has ever been" and "one of the six best in the world", arrived in this country on 8th November to restart the publication of this magazine in this country. The sudden but very welcome appearance of Rajat and his paper here in Accra calls for some explanation.

Transition was founded and edited by Rajat' Neogy. After one year it received financial back-

g from the International Association for Cul-
ral Freedom, with which our own Prime Mini-
er was once closely associated and whose only
resent African Director on its Executive Board
our own Vice-Chancellor, Professor A. A.
wapong. The original home of the paper was
ampala, Uganda, and from there it rapidly
cquired fame not only in Africa but through-
ut the whole world as a first class, scholarly
nagazine which could favourably compare with
ounterparts anywhere in the world.

On 18th October, 1968, however, the editor
nd Mr. Abu Mayanja, a Uganda M.P., lawyer
nd regular contributor to *Transition*, were arrest-
d and detained, and later jointly charged with
edition arising out of a couple of paragraphs
rom a letter to the editor, in *Transition* 37, in
which Mayanja argued against an "ideologically
committed" judiciary. The trial was held on
9th January, and judgement was given on 1st
February, acquitting them both on all six counts
of sedition. In spite of this, however, they were
still held in detention under Uganda's Emergency
Regulations, and it was not until 27th March
1969 that the editor was released.

Having been stripped of his Uganda citizenship (he is of Asian origin but born in Uganda), and with his files seized by the Ugandan government, it was obvious to Neogy that he could not continue to publish *Transition* in Uganda. Ever since then, he and his supporters have been looking for a new home for this important paper, and they have now chosen Accra as the most ideal place for its revival. Asked why he chose Accra, Rajat replied, "because Ghana, of all African countries, offers the nearest to a government that is committed to freedom of expression, and which seems to regard press freedom as important as free elections". The government of Ghana has already given approval for the replant-

We would first of all like to congratulate our
ing of *Transition* in Accra.
government on its decision to allow this replant here, and would like to express the hope that it would do all it can to facilitate the nurturing of such a paper, so that the hopes which the editor and his sponsors have in it may never die. Secondly, we of the *Legon Observer* in particular, and we are sure the whole press of Ghana in general, would like to extent a very warm welcome to Rajat and his paper, to assure him of our support and co-operation in his endeavours to see the new plant of *Transition* grow, and to wish them a long, happy and successful stay in Ghana.



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Social Problems

MISCONCEPTIONS ABOUT FAMILY PLANNING—SOME OBSERVATIONS

By

Ken Brew

IN THIS article I would like to make a few observations on what Dr. Kpedekpo regards as answers to some questions raised by Dr. Abbey during the T.V. programme on Sunday 11th October, 1970. I do not hold a brief for Dr. Abbey and will not re-state his arguments, but rather merely examine what Dr. Kpedekpo wrote in the last issue of the **Legon Observer** (V/22).

I agree with him when he says that a definition of an optimum population growth is meaningless unless it is related to other things and that these things would vary from country to country. If it is possible to relate population growth to socio-economic variables then it is possible to find a point in time when a nation can stop worrying about its population. This Dr. Kpedekpo does not see because he confuses population problems with human problems in general. In fact when later he lists what he regards as population problems in Ghana, what is he trying to show except that in Ghana the population growth is more than the optimum?

Different Solutions

From Dr. Abbey's quotation of the different growth rates of the population of various countries who are all worrying about the population, he makes the inference that Dr. Abbey was asking for an optimum population growth, which is not irrelevant in the light of what has been discussed above. However, in my opinion, a more obvious inference is that population problems differ both in nature and extent from country to country—something which Dr. Kpedekpo himself points out. This further implies that the solutions may have to be different from country to country, instead of always following the known traditional patterns; and this is what calls into question the basis and methods of family planning in Ghana.

Dr. Kpedekpo, in attempting to make a case for family planning, points to such factors as "the erosion of our modest economic gains," inadequate educational facilities and increasing unemployment. I do not quite follow the first, but if by this he meant that our development effort has been frustrated by a rapid expansion of the population, then he had to make a case for, rather than merely assert it. With respect to the rest I would like to say that the population problem is essentially a long-run problem and must be viewed as such, so that the poor economic conditions over the last decade cannot be used as an indication of the extent of the population problem.

Do the inadequate medical and educational facilities not reflect underdevelopment? And is he seriously suggesting that underdevelopment is the result of the rapid expansion of the population? It is interesting to note that although the first civilian government was more or less in favour of pro-natal policies, the growth of the population in the 1960s seems to have been lower than in the 1950s and yet many economic variables took a downward turn.

The only country that has achieved any significant reduction in fertility through conscious policy is Japan, and even in this case the liberalisation of abortion laws was the key factor. Can we in Ghana afford it, moneywise or in terms of medical personnel? Even in the case of Japan, when the liberalisation of the abortion laws came into effect, she was well on the way to self-sustained growth so that the effect of the reduction in fertility rates tends to be exaggerated. As Josephine Ripley points out in the **Christian Science Monitor,** of 14th. August, 1970, Japanese industrialists are pleading with the government for a relaxation of the birth control policy, on account of the acute shortage of labour which is becoming a hindrance to further growth.

Need For Proper Spacing

I agree with Dr. Kpedekpo when he says that "high fertility in developing countries . . . is a built-in insurance against high mortality" and that proper spacing would avoid this wastage in human beings. However, as he himself points out, this would mean high reproduction. I cannot therefore see how this would reduce the population growth or alleviate what he lists as indices of the population problem.

He adopts an economic rationality which is irrelevant for most rural communities and the urban poor, and it is in this light that he sees a child only as an economic liability. When people have to live from hand to mouth and are always struggling for mere survival it is impossible for them to look beyond the immediate future, and therefore any further improvement in economic conditions would either be swallowed up by having more children or in meeting basic necessities. Savings therefore are a luxury to such people. Also, as in the rural communities, where income may take the form of products, "extra" children cannot be much of a burden. In fact, children start working early in order to supplement the

eagre family income and also provide security nen the parents are old. In this case children nstitute investment, not mere consumers and erefore cannot be a luxury. To change the desire r large families would require quite a jump in eir socio-economic conditions.

Imposing taxes on children would then not lve anything for, in any case, they would be rced to evade them and if people are too poor to ovide adequately for their children, how can y one expect them to be able to pay taxes on em. We cannot blame people for being poor. axing children and forcing the poor to reduce e number that they can have would merely eprive them of their only consolation.

Letters

Hutchful's Confrontation

IR—The news of the incident in which one G. C. lutchful "confronted" Dr. K. A. Busia at Legon ecently reads distastefully. Not many people under- and Hutchful's behaviour, even though he claimed he ould "prove" his case and that he was "expressing is feelings". I doubt if that was the best way to protest. Hutchful may be intelligent but I venture to suggest that his is a misdirected intelligence.

Has he never seen finer brands of cars owned by people in lesser positions than he found in the Prime Minister's motorcade? One thing should be clear: Dr. K. A. Busia is the Prime Minister of the Republic of Ghana. He cannot ride in a VW car when I too, an unknown little thing with no pressing responsibility, aspire to a VW. As the P.M., Dr. Busia must maintain a certain dignity. Hutchful's behaviour lacked refinement.

Furthermore, most of us know the Dr. Busia, the Prime Minister, who is capable of giving up a part of his official salary for the good of the country. His only fault in the eyes of Hutchful and his type is that he rode in a motorcade from the castle to Legon. Dr. Busia's conception of politics has not yet been understood by such men as Hutchful. It is a simple message for all who have ears to hear and an understanding to understand: that politics is leadership in servitude.

Navrongo Secondary School **Dennis Adjei-Brenyah**
P.O. Box 33
Navrongo

"Servitude"? Has Dr. Busia said that? — Editor.

Too Much Foreign Worship

SIR—My copy of the **Observer,** Vol. V, No. 22, reached me this afternoon (30th October) and I have just read the Notebook's "Those Jaunts . . .". While I am not completely aware of the seriousness of the problems raised by those jaunts, I cannot conceal my great



delight at my discovery that at least some members of the press in Ghana are very well informed about this oversold society.

Ghana has problems, yes, but which nation in the world doesn't? How can we even say that we have problems that are more serious than those of any other nation, economically developed or underdeveleped? On what basis do we make comparisons here? I can't see any.

I think Ghanaians have admired alien practices for too long. We now need somebody to point it out to us that there is a lot more that is admirable about us than we have granted ourselves hitherto. We need somebody to tell us, for example, that things made in Ghana are good **because** they are made by us. Yes this extreme seems to be necessary, because if a rod is bent one way we all know that in order to straighten it you need to bend it the other way.

Since, for one reason or another, politicians are not willing to (or cannot) perform this urgent service, we can only look up to you, the press for redemption. I consider this service an urgent one because I feel that if we recognised our own potentialities we could be a little less dependent on the so-called benefactors. **And concerning benefactors, I wonder if anybody has ever taken the trouble to consider the question of where the benefits really go!**

Let me congratulate you for being level-headed enough to print the facts as you did them, particularly in paragraph 4 of the note under reference. I hope and pray that those who need them most will read you.

U.S.A **Your Reader**

(Name and address supplied)

Compliance Order Exercise — A Failure?

SIR—Let us face facts, the Ministry of Interior has failed with the "Compliance Order". This is because there are a thousand and one aliens, particularly Zabramas, who have been able to return to engage in trading. This reminds me of what some aliens said when it was rumoured that all aliens without valid Residence Permits in the country would be expelled: "If this rumoured exercise were to be carried out by the Nkrumah government, there is a possibility that it would succeed; [as] for the Busia government, we doubt its success".

Busia's government proved them wrong when the time came. But is it true today that they were wrong to have said that? The aliens returned to their respective countries but they are back today and continue trading. How and why do they come back, particularly Zabramas? They have no other occupation than petty trading. If so, why harbour them even if they have valid residence permits?

I asked one Zabrama who has come back, why he could not stay in his own country? "My friend, I cannot farm any more. I am used to Ghana and Accra life in particular". What is puzzling is that constables do see them trading, though they keep their stocks in handbags and in their pockets! This saves them from police detection. But how can these petty tricks beat the security network of this country? Secondly, why does the Ministry of Interior not employ a sufficient number of people to deal with the problem?

Abakrampa **Nana Abakah**

via Cape Coast

Bouncing Cheques

SIR—I write to support the views expressed by Mr. Ackom Mensah in his article on bouncing cheques (**L.O.** V/22).

Refusal of commercial institutions to accept cheques has, among other things, highly deleterious effects on the country's economy and on the sense of security of the people. Settling of accounts in cash is slow, and this is bound to affect in the same way of the economic growth of the nation. Settling of accounts in cash also requires people to travel with cash from one place to another; this is highly dangerous, in view of much criminal activity in the country.

I do, however, sympathize with the commercial institutions on their stand. It is risky to accept cheques that may turn out to be bogus later. The dishonest customer, however, has got a breathing space to explore avenues to make a concrete settlement of his account. I know of some "show boys" who always make a show of their cheque books but, who, I am sure have little in the bank worthy of their exhibitions. It is interesting to learn that it is only when they meet girls that they "carelessly" drop their cheque books.

Since the refusal of these business enterprises to accept cheques does more harm than good, I support Mr. Mensah's suggestion that the dishonest drawers should be dealth with under the country's Criminal Code (Act 29), or by a new legislation. This will minimize, considerably, the number of such people and encourage the commercial institutions to honour all cheques drawn in settlement of accounts.

A.T.T.C. **Victoria M. Ocloo (Miss)**

Winneba.

On Family Planning

SIR—Permit me to add a few words in support of those who feel that there is a need for family planning in Ghana. Briefly, those who question the wisdom of a population policy are viewing the question purely in terms of static man-land ratio instead of looking at it as a dynamic relationship between population growth and economic and social development. Even where, as in Ghana, potential resources seem abundant in relation to the population, it is important to see that high rates of population growth impede the accumulation of sufficient capital for the exploitation of those resources.

I give two reasons why the fertility rate should be checked in Ghana. At the most elementary level, we should maintain a population policy because of the dynamic relationship between population increase and socio-economic progress; if the population grows at 2.4% per annum then the economy must grow by at least this pace too, just to maintain the existing per capita income. In the past few years in Ghana the development of the economy has been insignificant, so that the annual 2.4% growth in population has been a major drag on improving living standards.

At a more sophisticated level, rapid growth in population forces a hard choice in the allocation of resources: the government has to choose meeting the immediate consumption needs of the growing population, and the demand for investment to raise the economic potential and the future productive capacity of the country. This

stion of priorities becomes even more crucial in lanned economy in mapping out development plans. hese two are sufficient reasons why Ghana must pt and maintain a population policy. Incidentally, re is no obvious relation between the establishment certain industries and the size of the population. itzerland, a small country, can support industries ich India, with its teeming millions of people, can- economically and feasibly maintain. The crucial stion in measuring the market size is not the number people per se, but their purchasing power.

pt. of Economics **Joe Manu**
iversity of Western Ontario,
ndon, Ontario.

"Film Shows must be Frequent"

R—I refer to the letter of Mr. Joseph Gyinayeh on e above subject which appeared in your paper of 28th igust — 10th September, 1970. It is not correct that 65 was the last time that a film show was given at oamang in Ashanti, as alleged by Mr. Gyinayeh. It is not surprising that he has published such wrong formation, because after all Mr. Gyinaveh was resi- ng at Wenchi and not a Boamang. The facts are as llows:

Film shows were given on the following dates in 969/70:

12th March, 1969 (Trial Census campaign)
29th July, 1969 (General Election campaign)
13th February, 1970 (Film show at Amoako, 100 yards from Boamang).

I would like to state also that owing to the poor tate of our cinema vans, the Ministry introduced a rash cinema van programme in May this year, whereby fleet of 10 cinema vans concentrate on each region t a time, visiting as many towns and villages as possible howing films on Government activities and entertaining ur rural folk. This programme started from the Western egion on 12th May, 1970. I am happy to say that he vans have so far covered the Western, Central and astern Regions, and are now touring the Volta Region. hey will move into Ashanti Region by the end of ctober, 1970, to cover all towns and villages including oamang.

linistry of Information **E. A. Allotey**
ccra **for Principal Secretary**

Seamy Side of Industrial Civilization

IR—Too often, Africans visiting the U.S. are shown nly the technological aspects of the industrialized capi- st system. In the past, Africans have been impressed, nd their return home are determined, with the aid of he western countries, to industrialize their own coun- ies, utilizing capitalist methods.

Today, however, many Africans are witnessing the retchedness of the dark side of America. There, he masses of all colours are forced to live in squalor nd degradation, while the majority of American hites enjoy "middle class" living. Black men are nt to fight against yellow men for a false white emocracy. The poverty and the social injustices that re integral facets of the capitalistic system are being rought to the surface, for all to see, by the Black Panther Party.

The revolutionary struggle being waged by the Black Panthers and other revolutionary organizations in America will, I hope, serve as a guiding light to the countries of Africa who aspire to emulate the brutal system of the United States.

All power to the people!

University of Ghana **F. R. Baruwell**
Akuafo Hall

Local Soaps

SIR—I am mother of three. I have been patronising the formerly imported (now locally manufactured) brands of toilet soap for many years, with great satisfaction particularly with their aroma in the bathroom and their longer life.

But since they started being manufactured here, those local soaps have fallen below the standard of their earlier quality, and belied the captivating advertisements that launch them. Housewives are particularly disappointed to note the conspicuous difference. This is one of the reasons why the Ghanaian consumer is often suspicious about local manufacturers: they lower the quality of their products and yet sell them at fantastic prices.

Yet the government is giving protection to these manufacturers by availing them of every conceivable assistance, including tax reliefs, liberal loans and a free hand in pegging their prices, **instead** of protecting the helpless consumer who is deprived of his basic right of choice and selection.

We are doomed if we allow this state of affairs to continue. And the doom may come sooner than some of us think.

c/o Yaw Piesich **Mary Yeboah**
Sunyani.

Book Review

D. H. LAWRENCE: A SELECTION

Edited by
R. H. Poole and P. J. Shepherd
(Heinemann Educational Books 1970)
Price U.K.: 45/-

Reviewed by A. N. Mensah

THE intention of the editors of this selection is to contain within a little volume of 300 pages some of Lawrence's most representative writing. At one level, and the editors themselves admit it, this is not a very difficult task: an author as consistently idiosyncratic as Lawrence is, proves easy enough to anthologise, nearly everything he wrote being representative.

The editors have taken advantage of this situation and have included in this selection a great deal that is not very familiar, without doing serious damage to the essential spirit of Lawrence. However, the task is complicated by the fact that Lawrence was, as far as he himself was concerned, primarily a novelist. It is easy enough to anthologise short stories, essays, letters and poems — and D. H. Lawrence used all these

genres — but how does one anthologise a major novelist in a volume as small as the present one?

The selections from the works themselves are preceded by a general introduction and a series of essays on Lawrence's ideas on the major topics that concerned him — politics, education, religion, sex and travel. These essays are very useful, clarifying popular misconceptions about Lawrence's views on sex and politics, in particular.

Lawrence lived in dread of democracy and socialism, and tended in his essays and in a novel like **Kangaroo** to advocate the rule of an "aristocracy", or even of a special kind of "leader". He has therefore been seen by many, including Bertrand Russell, as a kind of proto-fascist. Yet, paradoxically, the very reasons why Lawrence feared democracy would have guaranteed in him a horror of Nazi Germany had he lived to see it. The novelist's quarrel with "democracy" is that it tends to reduce man to his lowest common denomination, tends to overlook individuality, and encourages a mechanical existence. For the same reason, he probably would not have favoured a state where individual liberties were diminished, where "good" was defined as "whatever serves the German people".

Much has been made of Lawrence's so-called obsession with sex. Well, he considered sex important because in the sexual relationship man was at his most instinctive, was in touch with his basic self. Also, he considered himself forced to be frank about sex because he was appalled by the way Europe had managed to work itself into hypocritical hysteria on that and related human functions. For instance, it annoyed him intensely that the great Jonathan Swift could not face the fact that his mistress — like every created human — defecated.

Forces of the Universe

Again, the introductory essays are useful for the way they bring out the unity of the writer's attitudes on the various topics that he dealt with. For instance, the Lawrance who in his travels shows deep attachment to the Indian of New Mexico, on account of the latter's instinctive identification with the inscrutable forces of the universe, is very much the Lawrence who attacks the calculating wilfulness of the modern industralist. For always in Lawrence virtue resides in being a vital organism, responding, in the quick of one's being, to experience.

The actual anthology opens with a selection of extracts from Lawrence's letters. There are ten of these and the principles of selection seem to be, first, the extent to which a letter confirms or exemplifies a Lawrentian idea; and, second, a desire on the part of the editors to introduce something of Lawrence's sense of humour — a characteristic which is not readily apparent because of his irrepressible tendency to moralise.

The short stories and tales included in the selection are not the better-known ones. They include an early story, **The Christening**, and a later one, **Sun**. The first story deals with a dislocated coal-mining family of the type Lawrence had been born into and had written about with so much feeling in **Sons and Lovers**. The second belongs with Lawrence, the prophet of "feeling", and treats the theme of man's empathy and unity with the universe.

Included with Essays and Miscellaneous works is Lawrence's highly controversial essay on **Democracy**, which has brought him so much disfavour. Also included are two essays on the novel, **Morality and the Novel** and **Why the Novel Matters**. D. H. Lawrence's novels, the most impressive part of his work, are represented here by about a dozen very short extracts, the longest being a ten-page one from **Aaron's Rod**. The others are from **Women in Love, Kangaroo, The Plumed Serpent** and **Lady Chatterley's Lover**. The passages from **Kangaroo** and **The Plumed Serpent** have been included for the light they throw on Lawrence's wayward ideas on government:

> You see my tyrant would be so much circumscribed by the constitution I would establish. But in a sense, he would be a tyrant. Perhaps it would be nearer to say he would be a patriarch, or a pope: representing as near as possible the wise, subtle spirit of life. I should try to establish my state of Australia as a kind of Church, with the profound reverence for life, for life's deepest urges, as the motive power. Dostoevsky suggests this: and I believe it can be done.

The other passages are well-chosen. For instance the one from **Women in Love** illustrates Lawrence's unparallelled gift for describing sexual feeling, his ability to suggest by the power of the world that sex could be spiritual:

> So she relaxed, and seemed to melt, to flow into him, as if she were some infinitely warm and precious suffusion filling into his veins, like an intoxicant. Her arms were round his neck, he kissed her and held her perfectly suspended, she was all slack and flowing into him, and he was the firm, strong cup that receives the wine of her life. So she lay cast upon him, stranded, lifted up against him, melting and melting under his kisses, melting into his limbs and bones, as if he were soft iron becoming surcharged with her electric life.
>
> Till she seemed to swoon, gradually her mind went, and she passed away, everything in her was melted down and fluid, and she lay still, become contained by him, sleeping in him as lightning sleeps in a pure, soft stone. So she was passed away and gone in him, and he was perfected.

However, as we have already suggested, it is impossible to do justice to a novel through extracts.

Once again the poems selected for this anthology are not the well-known ones, but what is here is quite typical. In his poems, as elsewhere, Lawrence is concerned with man alive—man responding from his inner depth to every other living object, be it a snake, a mountain-lion, or a mere snap-dragon; man locked in the eternal but fulfilling conflict with woman; man in his constant need to combat the mechanical influence of modern education.

The selection here covers these themes, even if not too adequately. The poem, "Dog-tired", exemplifies "the Love Among the Haystacks" element in Lawrence's writing, where love is celebrated in the vital environ-

nt of a farm and under the wonder of the stars. Then re is "Violets" to exemplify Lawrence's experimenon with dialect; he had always been concerned with turing in his poetry the exact modulations of the aking voice. There is also "The Snap-Dragon" to mplify the "battle between the sexes" and Lawrence's canny sensitivity to living nature. However, it is dilt to be satisfied with any collection of the author's ems which does not include "Snake", "Piano", or even brilliantly sartirical little poem, "The Oxford ice".

Finally, the anthology closes with an assortment of otable tit-bits from Lawrence's prose writing. These e highly entertaining sometimes, and sometimes poively revolting. Below are two samples:

> The tragedy is, when you've got sex in your head, instead of down where it belongs, and when you have to go on copulating with your ears and your nose. (LDHL. Vol. II, p.726).
>
> So that the first thing to be done, in the education of the people, is to cure them of the fear of not earning their own living. (**Education of the people**, p.592).

In conclusion, it would not be out of place to consider he kind of reader who will profit most from this anthogy. In the first place, it is far too fragmentary to suit ny level of student. It would seem that the appeal of he book is obviously to the general reader; clearly, it is neant to be a brief introduction to Lawrence. But here gain it would have been better and more suited to this nd if the editors had included more of the better known of Lawrence's essays, stories and poems. For it seems hat the general reader is likely to come away from his anthology with a feeling that he does not know the Lawrence whom everybody else knows.

Perhaps it is the reader who is already quite familiar with Lawrence who is likely to find the most use for this volume, finding it a ready source of the not-so-familiar of Lawrence's work, as well as a quick reference text for some of his more seminal work, like the essay on democracy.

Miscellaneous

GHANA—INDEPENDENT OR "COLO"? — II

By

Kwadwo Kontopiaat

THE Chief, the Chief Fetish Priest and all the 77 gods of Kontopiaatkrom were so pleased with the report of Kwame Kontopiaat and myself on the first anniversary celebrations that they all unanimously decided to send us back to Accra to continue our investigations into how independent or "Colo" Ghana really is. On the whole we spent a week in Accra and the results of our investigations were simply startling.

Our first visit was to the whole complex of buildings which we were told were the ministries. Unfortunately for us, we arrived there at about 11.30 a.m., when even by Kontopiaatkrom standards, it was really hot. Somebody told us that the temparature was about 90oF and humidity 88o. Kwame Kontopiaat was in fact panting, while I had lowered my Adinkra cloth practically to my waist.

Could you imagine our surprise therefore when, on arriving at the top floor of one of the buildings, we found that each gentleman in each of the rooms there was in a full suit—tie, coat, and trousers? From the way they were wiping their foreheads with their handkerchiefs, or using paper to fan themselves, it was clear that they were really feeling the heat. Of course I could not help asking one of those suited gentlemen why they had to suffocate themsleves. His answer was: "That is how our colonial masters dressed, and that is how they taught us to dress".

When we pointed out to him that we had learnt from the President of the Historical Society of Kontopiaatkrom that in that country, for most of the year, the weather is cold and therefore that they needed that ridiculous and suffocating outfit to keep themselves warm, he replied simply, "No fears!" Still undaunted, Kwame reminded him that we have been in fact independent for at least 10 years now, and therefore that we need not slavishly stick to everything the ex-colonial powers taught us. Our friend simply turned round and told us that if his boss were to meet him in the corridors without a tie and coat, he would ask him whether he was a messenger.

The Welfare of Farmers

We could not but give up the battle. We entered another building, which we found was the Ministry of Agriculture; and would you believe that those people who were supposed to be thinking of the welfare of farmers, fishermen, cattle breeders, poultry farmers, etc., were also all in suits? Can this not provide a clue to questions about our inability to produce enough food even to feed ourselves?

At about 12 noon that day, we left the ministries in a taxi, naturally to look for somewhere to assuage our righteous feeling of hunger. The taxi driver overheard us discussing the question as to where to go for a bite and offered to assist us; he drove us to the Rodassabma Hotel. No sooner had we entered the dining hall than a smoothly dressed man approached us and asked us what we wanted to eat. Of course, both of us shouted "Green Green". Could you imagine our surprise when the waiter told us that he had never heard of that dish before? Well, well . . . I then asked for fufu and palm soup while Kwame ordered yam and garden egg and okro stew. Our waiter of course thought we were crazy. In desperation, and remembering that we were in Accra, I asked for kenkey, fried fish and plenty of hot pepper. "We do not serve Ghanaian dishes here, Sirs", was the final answer. We asked him what was served there, and he brought us a piece of paper on which the following was written:

(1) Baked (!!) Fish
(2) Meat Roll
Sliced Potatoes
Spaghetti
(3) Apple Cream, Custard
(4) Coffee.

"What in the name of the lost 77 gods of Cape Coast is Spaghetti?" Kwame demanded, "and why can't we have sliced yam or sliced plantain, or even sliced cassava, instead of sliced potatoes?" "We have been serving potatoes ever since the British people transferred the seat of Government from Cape Coast to Accra in 1877,

and since the days of good Queen Victoria", he snapped back, "and we are not going to change it now". Feeling quite exhausted by now, we asked for the cost of each meal, and when we were told that lunch was to cost N¢2.00 per person we collected our bags and walked out. One could have a whole meal in the Don't-mind-your-wife chop bar for 20 np.

Having filled our tommies with what we discovered was the staple lunch of the junior civil servants, namely **kokoo ke nkatie** (roasted red plantain and groundnuts), we entered what was a very impressive, indeed almost intimidating, building. In one of the rooms—or rather halls—we saw three people, each wearing a scarlet robe and a wig which, according to the Concise Oxford Dictionary, is an "artificial head of hair formerly much worn as a wig ornament, and still to conceal baldness or disguise appearance"! Facing them sat a number of suited gentlemen each of whom was wearing a wig which looked smaller than the first and a black gown.

Kwame was looking really thrilled at this sight, and rushed to the nearest telephone booth. When I asked him whom he was calling, he said he was sure those three people were not in fact human beings but rather three of the missing gods of Cape Coast, and so he was ringing Mr. Pobee to come and collect them back to Cape Coast. I thought that was a brilliant idea and Mr. Pobee of course rushed to the scene immediately he received the call.

The Lost Gods

Can you imagine our surprise when on his arrival he told us that the three there were not the lost Cape Coast gods at all but rather Appeal Court Judges? He added that they were dressing in exactly the same way even in the days of governor Sir Alan Burns, and that when after independence Nkrumah tried to help them to stop choking themselves by removing the wigs or caps, they put up such resistance that even Nkrumah had to abandon the attempt. Their contention was that since lawyers and judges wore these wigs, gowns and robes in the "Mother country", they would rather sweat to death than wear anything else.

We moved from that intimidating building over to another one only a few yards away. We knew that was the parliament building, because the M.P. for Kontopiaatkrom had showed us round during our previous visit. Here, seeing a band of people elected by the farmers, fishermen, market women, brokemen and sane men, we were expecting the scene not to be too different from that of the Kontopiaatkrom Ahenfie on the occasion of the meeting of the State Council. But alas, the scene that confronted us was as unfamiliar as it was ridiculous.

In the first place, more than three quarters of the 140 M.P's. present were wearing suits, and of course sweating for it. Incidentally, would you believe that even though I produced my Press Card as representing the Kontopiaatkrom Gossiper, I would not be allowed into the press gallery, simply because I was not wearing a suit? Secondly, we saw somebody obviously presiding over the meeting, anr during all the twenty or thirty minutes we watched the proceedings from the public gallery, he hardly uttered a word. You can imagine our amusement when, on enquiry, we were told that he was called the Speaker of the House!

Before this man lay what we at first thought was an Okyeame stick but later ruled out as such, since it was not being held upright by an attendant but was rather resting quite comfortably on a table. This we ultimately discovered was called the Mace, and we were assured that the president of the House of Commons in Britain was not only called the "Speaker" but also had a mace resting on a table in front of him.

Our final and greatest disappointment was the language that was being used in the debate. Speaker after speaker used the English language!! "Can't one speak Twi or Ewe or Dagbani here and get it simultaneously translated, as we learnt was done in some place called the United Nations?", Kwame asked. "Of course not", the answer came, "since English is after all the language used in the parliament of our ex-colonial master, why should we use any other language here?" "But I thought we could call our presiding officer at least an Okyeame, and use the Okyeame's stick instead of the mace", I put in. I was told that those were traditional and therefore barbaric institutions, and did not befit the new modern and progressive nation of Ghana!

Secret Eating Session

Our last visit was to an institution about eight miles from Accra. This we were told was the great University of Ghana. It was a Wednesday evening and we were kindly shown round one of the hall, which looked more like a medieval English castle than a hall of residence. We wondered whether this was sheer coincidence. After having gone round the rooms, we were taken to what we were told was the dining hall. The scene that confronted us was simply unbelievable. Eating was going on all right, and at least we saw yam and even slices of kenkey! Far from pleasing us, however, the sight of yam rather took us by surprise, because since everybody there was in a scarlet gown we thought it was the Legon gods who were in a secret eating session, and the gods of Kontopiaatkrom at least don't eat unmashed yam.

At the extreme end of the hall sat another roll of people. All or nearly all of them were wearing suits and gowns, the only difference being that their gowns were black and not scarlet. The floor on which their long table stood was a step higher than that of those clad in scarlet gowns. "That", our guide pointed out to us with every pride and gusto, "is our High Table, and you will see exactly the same High and Low Table divisions and the same gowns in any of the colleges of the great Universities of Cambridge and Oxford in the Mother Country".

At that juncture, we thought we had seen enough of Accra and of the principal institutions of a country that gained its independence on 6th March, 1957, that is, thirteen solid years ago! The verdict of the State Council and the fetish priests on our report was unanimous: Ghana is independent but "colo", as far as her poiltical, judicial and educational institutions, her formal dress and formal hotel meals are concerned, and it is about time all of them were changed or adapted to suit our climate and our temperament, and in the light of our traditional tastes and institutions.



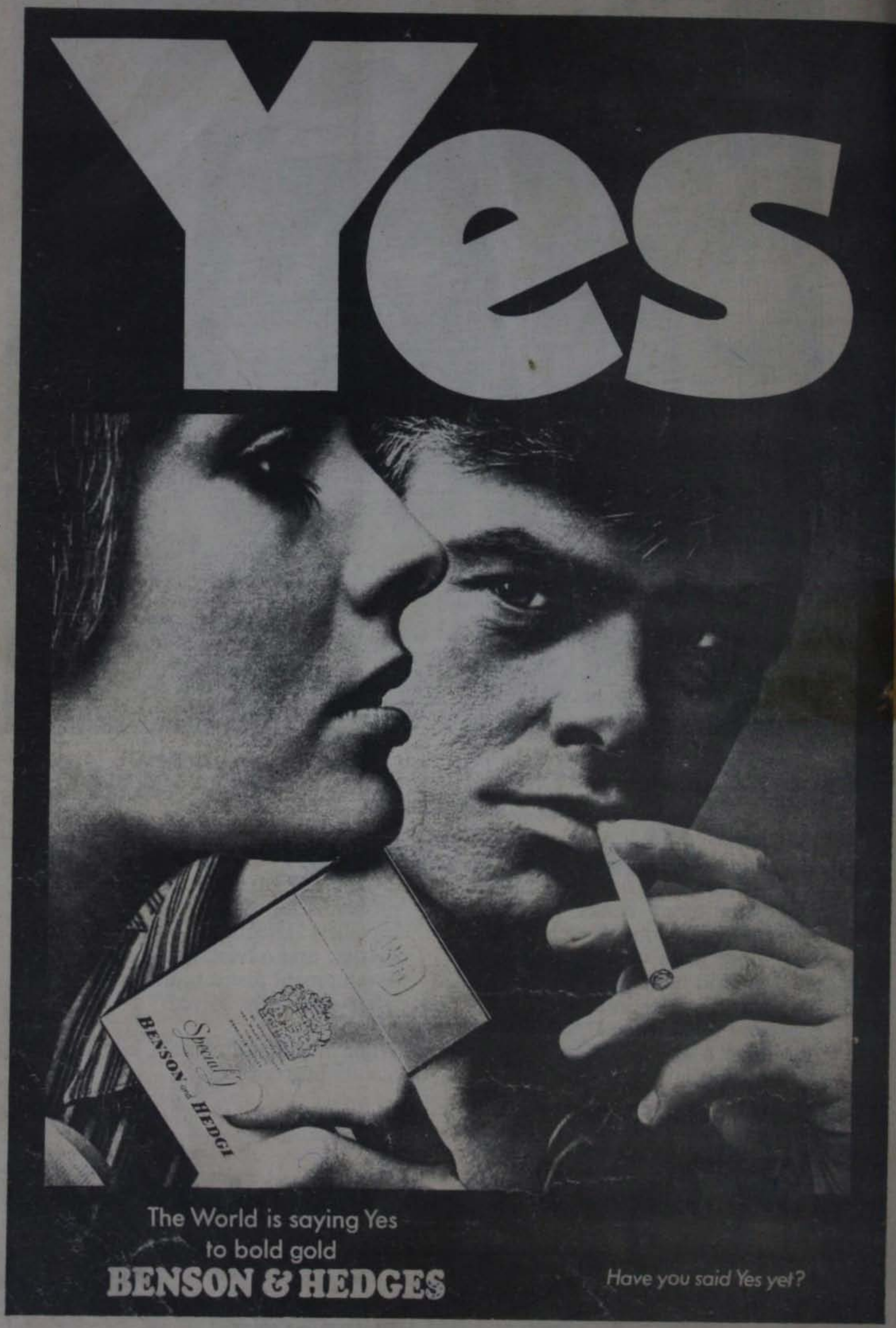
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EDITORIAL

WANTED: A NEW APPROACH TO SOCIAL PROBLEMS

IN his 1968 **Aggrey-Frazer-Guggisberg Memorial Lectures,** Professor Sir Arthur Lewis had the following to say:

> I am arguing not that African intellectuals should talk less, but, on the contrary, that they should write more, and not just the easy journalistic day-to-day criticism, which was all that was needed in our colonialist past, but writing based on detailed study, and leading to practical constructive proposals. Our intellectuals should try to ensure that any group of politicians which comes to power does so knowing in advance what the main issues are, and what the snags are in each of the possible solutions.

One implication of these words is simply that the age of administration by amateurs is over. However small the size of a country, its problems are so manifold and intricately interwoven that their unravelling, the first imperative step towards their solution, requires study and consideration of them by a team consisting of students of many disciplines. Governments which may in sincerity but nevertheless in error proceed on out-dated assumptions usually mistake the symptoms for the disease and come up with panic measures.

Ghana, in common with several other countries in the world, has problems of increasing magnitude, those of an apparently rising rate of crime, of unemployment, over-crowding, rural-urban migration, and of bribery and corruption. Especially in the case of bribery and corruption, one reads articles in the papers and hears talk which suggest that the Ghanaians and other Africans are inherently corrupt. Yet there is no country in the world which has, at one period or other, not experienced bribery and corruption on a massive scale. It must be clear to those who have made it their business to study these problems on a comparative scale that there are certain socio-economic conditions which generate the problems that are at present plaguing us. One must add, of course, that some countries may accept corruption as part of the folkways of lubricating, for example, the machinery of elections and administration. But Ghana is surely not one of them. We all worry about bribery and corruption. We cannot afford them.

To urge a broad look at bribery and corruption is not to say that it cannot be uprooted or that we must wait until it disappears. It is to say that more exhortation, breast-beating and pointing fingers at selected groups would most probably prove ineffectual. What is required is the sort of investigation the government has mounted which, it is hoped, will be followed by the enactment of stringent laws against the practice.

But the laws themselves are not likely to operate effectively within the sort of framework that generates the necessity for the giving and taking of bribes. If politicians resort to subtle forms of getting money on the side, smaller mortal will follow suit. The present over-centralization of facilities in Accra itself creates conditions for the petty bureaucrat to obtain bribes. Why not, for example, make it possible for passports to be obtained in the provincial capitals, so that the congestion at the Accra office is eased and officials can work without the atmosphere of urgency that pressurize passport seekers to give bribes?

Similarly with crime. The response to the increase in armed thuggery in Accra and elsewhere has been for the Prime Minister to issue a sort of challenge to the criminals, and for the Minister of Defence to order the army co-opted into the fight against crime, to shoot what the minister calls "hardened" criminals who resist arrest. This is all very well as an attempt to calm the fears of a frightened citizenry. But how much good is it likely to do? How are the soldiers to determine whether or not the criminals encountered are "hardened"? Have they already got a list of them? Thieves may resist arrest out of panic and not because they are "hardened". The thing for the soldiers, trained at targeting, to do, is to disable the criminal, arrest him and leave the courts to determine the sort of punishment likely to have an enduring effect on him.

In enlightened countries, the assumption these days is that the majority of criminals are not devils at heart but that they may drift to crime precisely in the sort of conditions that prevail in Ghana at the moment: addiction to competitive prestige accummulation, with few avenues for its legitimate gratification; unemployment, the plight of the rural immigrant lost in the city; apparent affluence in the midst of mass deprivation due to an unequable distribution wealth.

These problems, then, are related. Therefore what is required is not tough talk but research which would lead to a mapping out of the breeding grounds and haunts of the criminals, and also that would throw some light on the genesis of crime. Such mapping out would facilitate a strategic deployment of patrol forces and, perhaps, lead to prevention of crime and the wanton killing of men who may have drifted into crime because society has itself failed to do its duty by them.

These patrols should proceed **pari passu** with the rethinking of the methods of prison reform and rehabilitation. It is in these roles-research and suggestions for attacking problems at source—that the **Observer** sees the proper use of students at the Universities. And it is with this in mind that we recommend the articles in the following pages which fall under the rubric of "social problems". It is a plea that "instant administration" should cease.

Social Problems

RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION IN GHANA

I. M. Ofori

THERE is ample evidence for the assertion that Ghana is fast becoming urbanised, by which we mean more and more of her population are becoming urban rather than rural dwellers. In 1931 about 7.8 percent of the total population were classed urban; this percentage in 1960 was 23.0. In numbers this is an increase from slightly over 300,000 urban dwellers in 1931 to 1.5 million in 1960. As the percentage of the urban population rose over the years, the size of the urban settlements also rose steadily. In 1948, for example, of the six largest towns, only Accra (134,000) and Kumasi (71,000) had populations of over 40,000. In 1960, five of the six had passed the 40,000 target

Increasing Growth of Population

Urbanisation is of course a world-wide phenomenon. Since the Industrial Revolution and especially since after 1800 the rate of growth of towns has been faster than the growth of the world's population. It has been estimated that in the year 1800 there were about 50 cities with 100,000 or more inhabitants. By the mid-twentieth century there were at least 900. With no slackening in the world pace of urbanisation it has been forecast that "more than a fourth of the earth's people will be living in cities of 100,000 or more inhabitants in the year 2000".

Broadly, three factors can be seen as contributing to the increasing urbanisation of Ghana. The first is the natural increase in the poulation. Assuming that there have been no significant changes in the fertility rates, lower mortality rates due to improved medical and hygienic factors can cause significant increases in the total population and thus in the number of urban dwellers. This is what has been assumed to be happening. There has not been any noticeable changes in fertility rates among Ghanaians. The second factor which has been contributing to the rapid

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urbanisation is rural-urban migration among Ghanaians. As the pace of industrialisation quickens and increasingly fewer people are seeking their livelihood in farming and other agricultural pursuits, the urban sectors of the economy become the absorbers of the removable surpluses of the population growth. The third factor is the immigration of foreign workers and their families from neighbouring countries. There have always been such immigrations. But the evidence suggests that the earlier immigration of foreigners into Ghana was directed to the rural areas towards agricultural and mining development. There is reason to suggest that this trend was reversed nearly twenty-five or so years ago.

This essay focusses attention on the second of our causal factors, the migration of the rural population into the larger towns, and especially the migration of young people into the urban centres of Ghana. Every year thousands of young men and women at various stages of their education migrate to the urban areas to swell up the already large number of the urban young. Why do these people come into the urban centres? What are their fortunes when they arrive? What can be done to check the yearly drift to the cities, and, perhaps hopefully, to induce the urban young to go to the rural areas of Ghana?

Rising Expectations

Why do the rural youth flock to the cities? Undoubtedly the economics of rising expectations, mis-information about urban job opportunities, and mis-conceptions about urban life generally, among not only parents but also school leavers, are some of the compelling reasons why the youth of the rural areas migrate to the urban centres. A father who has on borrowed capital with perhaps the cocoa farm heavily pledged, put his children through ten years of education, endured all these because "as soon as Kofi or Ama completes middle form four and finds employment, I shall be satisfied and pay back some of the debt." Few fathers in the rural areas expect their children to do what they themselves are doing. An urban professional parent expects some at least of his children to follow his footsteps by choosing his (the father's) own, or a slightly more prestigious profession.

The urban legal father is not worried about the extensive law library he has assiduously built up. One or more of his children will become lawyers. The rural cocoa farmer is not interested in showing his educated child even the boundaries of his farms. His children are being educated to become very different from himself! The rural dwellers' conceptions about urban job opportunities are grossly distorted and exaggerated. Because every year the young men and women who have left the rural areas in search of jobs in the urban centres do not come back disappointed, it is easily concluded that the market for jobs in the urban areas is good.

We can dismiss the notion that desperate economic conditions in the rural areas of Ghana are responsible for the rural-urban migration of the young. The bright lights and the dance halls of the cities may be attractive, but those are hardly the primary causes of migration. There is no mass starvation in the rural areas of Ghana. Indeed it can be argued that levels of living in the rural areas have improved as a result of transfer of urban affluence to the rural areas and that in some respects, life in the rural areas is so much cheaper to live.

Urban Job Opportunities

A major cause for the exaggerated and distorted views of job opportunities in the urban centres is the fact that we very often wrongly equate industrialisation with urbanisation. Though urbanisation can loosely be used as proxy for industrialisation, it does not bear any direct relationship to it. In Ghana, and in most of the large urban centres of the developing world, it would be more realistic to equate urbanisation with bureaucratisation when considering urban job opportunities. A considerable proportion of our urban population in Ghana derives from employment in public and local administration and commercial activities, rather than in any large scale industrial activity. The realisation of this fact is crucial in the assessment of urban job opportunities not only for the rural migrant but for the large urban school leavers as well.

This bureaucratically organised employment in our urban centres is becoming saturated even for our university graduates. Any hopes it might offer to middle school leavers and the second and third graders of the various public examining bodies are slim. Thus the rural urban migrants and the large body of urban school leavers can at best be unemployed, or employed in negative or zero-sum activities like crime, or in the last resort become employed in low productivity activities such as garbage scavenging.

atching cars, and so on.

It has been argued above that excessive bu-
aucratisation rather than industrialisation is
hat offers urban job opportunities for both the
ural migrants and the urban school leavers at
his stage of Ghana's economic development, and
was also implied that this bureaucratisation
annot be relied upon to absorb all those who
ook for jobs in the urban centres. The remedy
s not to advocate rapid industrialisation to solve
our unemployment problems. A more meaningful
pproach is a scrutiny of the educational system
nd to ask whether the educational structure of
Ghana is too de-ruralising in its impact. The
educational structure of Ghana seems to favour
the drift of migrants from the rural areas to the
towns.

Absorbing the Educated Persons

According to Dr. Addo of the Demographic Unit of the University of Ghana, the 1960 Census indicates that whereas 24 percent and 23 percent respectively of the male and female population aged 6 years and over were found to be resident in such areas. The implication of the above statistical picture is that the larger towns absorbed more of the educated persons aged 15 years and over than the younger persons. Thus 41 percent and 45 percent, respectively, of the males and females aged 15 years and over were resident in towns in 1960 while the corresponding proportions for those aged 6 to 14 years were 27 percent and 36 percent respectively for males and females.

If those being respectively for males areas were returning to their rural origins after their educational careers, one would not be alarmed. But the fact of the matter is that those who have received higher education in the towns have in the process acquired new skills and attitudes which they can only put to use in the towns. With the acquisition of new values associated with urbanisation and urbanism the recipients of urban higher education begin to adjust their future expectations and aspirations in these directions. Very little wonder it is that the call to go back to the land and the rural areas has had so little impact. The people to whom the call is directed have become de-ruralised through the educational process.

If industrialisation has not advanced enough to absorb the ever increasing number of school leavers and bureaucratisation cannot absorb them fast enough; if the educational structure is too de-ruralising that nobody, no matter the level of his education, wants to go back to the rural life after the age of 15, what can be done? To say restructure the educational system is too simplistic. But it is only in the educational restructuring that any hope of reversing the rural-urban migration trend lies.

One of the more obvious things to do is to provide more and varied outlets in the system. The present educational system wrongly assumes that the very bright lads and lasses at every level will sort themselves out without bothering about the not-so-bright. For example, the common entrance exam sorts out those for the secondary schools; the sixth form entrance sorts out those who should go beyond the ordinary level certificate to sixth forms and those who are to go nowhere; the advanced level passes sort out those who should benefit from university education from those who should not. The defect of the system is that it is silent on the great number who cannot go on to do what the small number can do.

If there were more outlets in the educational system, people would begin to train for



levels of employment and necessarily of the urban type only. Re-structuring the educational system can only come about slowly. Meanwhile attempts should be made to ruralise our educated young men and women. Perhaps the moment has come for a kind of compulsory national rural service to be introduced for our student population, who are among the chief beneficiaries of the sacrifice and toils of the rural peoples. Our student population, especially those in the sixth forms, teacher-training colleges, and the universities, must be recruited for a limited period, say of eight weeks in the yearly summer vacation to undertake rural reconstruction work. In this practical way our students would be performing in their own country what foreign students have been performing for us.

There are other intangible but worthwhile benefits. Our students during every summer vacation would re-integrate themselves into the rural societies from which we all come, and, one hopes, would be more readily inclined to living in the rural areas should they on the completion of their various trainings be posted to the rural areas.

THE GROWING OVERCROWDING IN OUR CITIES

By

J. Opare-Abetia

RAPID population growth with inadequate resources for housing provision has resulted in an acute shortage of houses in our cities. While the population of the country as a whole is growing at a considerable pace, figures for the cities show much faster rates of growth.

A comparison of the 1948 and 1960 censuses shows that while the total population of the country as a whole increased by 63% over the twelve years, there was more than twice the rate of the national increase in Kumasi and Sekondi/Takoradi and roughly three times the national rate of growth in Accra/Tema. The respective percentage increases are Accra/Tema 181%, Kumasi 167% and 140% for Sekondi/Takoradi. With a national increase of 27% over the 1960 Census as indicated by the provisional figures of the 1970 census, this rate of increase is likely to continue but perhaps not as fast as in Kumasi and Sekondi/Takoradi.

While it can be easily assumed that three factors, namely, natural increase of population, foreign immigration and rural migration, have all contributed to the rapid population growth in the cities, a detailed study of the trend shows rural migration as the major contributing factor. This in itself lowers standards of urban housing with regard to acceptable standards and personal hygiene. A garage may appear a decent place of dwelling to someone who has migrated from a village into a city with all its gay life.

The heavy strain that the rapid urban population growth has exerted on housing has been recognised in urban surveys in Ghana. Dr. Busia's Social Survey of Sekondi/Takoradi, the government Statistician's Kumasi Survey of Population and Household Budgets and Ione Acquah's Accra Survey gave us a quantitative measurement of the situation for the first time in the three cities in 1950, 1955 and 1958 respectively. All the surveys revealed extreme conditions of over-crowding and lack of privacy in many homes in the cities as a result of sharing of houses by separate family units. Surveys conducted in Tema show the same trend. One would have wished that Tema would really become a model town so far as over-crowding is concerned. If we take a minimum standard of comfort of 2.5 persons, that is roughly two adults and a child per room of a reasonable size, the various surveys show that a considerable number of people in the cities live far below this minimum standard.

Acute Shortage of Houses

The situation should not cause too much concern if there were some signs of improvement. But all indications point to a worsening of the situation. A United Nations Report **"Housing In Africa"** comparing the results of the 1948 and 1960 censuses in Ghana, shows that the number of persons per dwelling increased from 14.2 to 18.4 in Accra, from 19.2 to 21.3 in Kumasi and from 13.6 to 17.8 in Sekondi/Takoradi. The report also shows that in 1960, 12% of the total population lived 20 or more to the same house. The proportion in towns between 5,000 and under 50,000 inhabitants rose to 20% and to 35.6% in Accra/Tema, Kumasi and Sekondi/Takoradi. The 1966 **Annual Report** of the Building Research Institute commenting on the situation had this to say: "The country has not solved its housing problem yet. The acute shortage of houses in the urban areas has become worse in recent years because the construction of houses has not kept pace with the migration to the urban areas." The 1968 Two-Year Development Plan prepared under the N.L.C. also commented: "The expansion of industry and commerce in Ghana has drawn a

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large number of people from rural areas into the principal cities and towns. This migration has imposed a heavy strain on the available housing. The result has been over-crowding and with it the associated evils of ill health, social mal-adjustment and crime. For these reasons housing is a facet of a larger social problem whose solution will require renewal and slum clearance." It seems doubtful though whether "renewal and slum clearance" can solve the problem.

Various attempts in the fields of housing projects, subsidies and research have been made to solve the problem, but still no solution lies in sight. For example, in 1954-55 a United Nations Technical Assistance team studied the problem and presented the report **Housing In Ghana** in 1957. There are now the Faculty of Architecture and the Building Research Institute at U.S.T. There is no doubt that there is now sufficient knowledge available in the country for a comprehensive housing programme if the mechanics could be established.

Difficulties About Housing

It is tempting to push housing down the scale of priorities in view of the economic plight of the country. It is calculated that about 25,000 new dwelling units would be required in Accra-Tema, Kumasi and Sekondi/Takoradi and another 35,000 in other towns to bring the housing condition to a reasonable standard. Judging by the present output of houses both by private and government building, it is difficult to see how the target can be achieved.

As suggested by the 1968 Plan, "if a real impact is to be made on the problem of housing it is essential that the various government agencies responsible for housing are brought together to prepare a consolidated annual housing programme and budget. In addition these agencies must arrange to share and strengthen their technical services, to provide for large scale site development, to sponsor self-financing methods such as co-operatives and to secure the flow of savings, banking and insurance funds into housing."

There should be consolation in the fact that Ghana is not the only country in the world faced with a housing shortage. Housing is a problem also in the more developed countries and in some of the less developed countries there are worse conditions than we have in Ghana.

Nevertheless we should begin to do something about our own problem. There is the danger that if attempts are not made to keep the situation in check, at least to prevent it from getting worse, it might get out of hand, and all our efforts towards social and economic development will come to nothing. Because housing constitutes the physical environment in which the family, the society's basic unit, must develop, any improvement in housing conditions will represent a tangible and visible expression of a rise in the general level of living. The qualities for nation building: honesty, respect for other people, good morals, thrift and proper care of public property can be cultivated more successfully in homes where people have privacy and they can order their lives as they see fit without the conflicts occasioned by the extreme conditions of congestion. One has only got to look at the frequency of quarrels in homes occupied by more than one family unit, to appreciate some of the degrading conditions of extreme congestion. In the words of the United Nations Ad Hoc Group of Experts on Housing and Urban Development, (**Report** 1962) "Housing and Urban development play a multiple role in creating or retarding employment and economic growth, in making health and social stability and in preserving the values of decent family life." It will be difficult to bring about any improvement in human quality in the cities if housing conditions continue to deteriorate. The cities should be centres of inspiration and for the development of new human values in a rapid changing human environment.

Some Novel Recommendations

What is needed now is a comprehensive housing policy that will initiate identification of the various categories of needs and the co-ordination of the programmes of the various agencies operating in the housing and building sector of the economy. A housing policy should also aim at assessing the urgency of the demand for houses and set targets within the various categories of need.

There are many novel recommendations in the United Nations Technical Assistance Programme report. Many of the very important recommendations have not been put into operation yet. The 1969 Proceedings of the Ghana Academy of Arts and Sciences also contain some novel ideas about housing and urban planning. This shows that there are qualified people in Ghana now who are aware of the dimensions of the housing deficiency and have got some ideas about how to minimize the problem. What is needed now is to establish the framework in which the specialists can operate

efficiently. Perhaps a Housing Board charged with the responsibility of initiation, action and co-ordination might be the answer.

THE CRIME PROBLEM

By D. N. A. Nortey

EVERYDAY, everywhere, in the press, in parliament, on the streets, people complain about and discuss what seems to be a wave of crime sweeping through the country. Everybody seems to be asking the question, what is the cause of this unprecedented rise in violent crimes and thuggery which appear to be flourishing in the country? And can anything be done to stem the tide?

This phenomenon and associated questions are neither new nor peculiar to this country. A hundred years ago contemporary accounts of San Francisco, in the U.S. told of extensive areas where 'no decent man was in safety to walk the street after dark; while at ail hours, both night and day, his property was jeopardized by burglary'. This description can be applied with equal validity to Accra and some of our major towns.

External Pressures

The most natural question people ask about crime is "Why?" This question is asked about the individual criminal and about crime as a whole. In either case it is almost impossible to answer, because each single crime is a response to a specific situation by a person with an infinitely complicated psychological and emotional make-up who is subject to infinitely complicated external pressures. To seek the "causes" of crime, therefore requires close and careful analysis and study of the personality of the criminal and the social, cultural and other environmental factors which pressure the individual

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cases victims and observers of criminal acts do not report due to ignorance, fear of reprisals or they cannot afford to spend long hours at the police station. The result is that what the police records tell us form only a part of the real situation, and there is no means for assessing whether this forms the majority or minority of the total volumn of crime in a country. Since the police records do not cover all crimes it follows that if there are no changes in police activities, any increase in the number of recorded crime may be a true indication of a true rise.

The police records from 1960 to 1968 indicate that the volume of crime for the period has almost doubled. The actual increase is about 93 per cent. Of course, this does not tell us much, because the increase in reported crime may be due to increased police activities or it may be due to the willingness of the general public to report cases due to a change in the attitude to law-breakers or both. However, the evidence from other sources confirm what the police statistics reveal, that is, there is a general increase in all types of offences.

Increasing Volume of Crime

According to the records the bulk of offences consists of offences against property. This forms 52.8 per cent of all offences known to the police. The next group in order of importance consists of offences against the person. This forms 33.6 per cent of the total. Next comes offences against public order 13.6 per cent. All the three classes of offences show remarkable upward trends, thus supporting the view that the volume of crime in the country is on the increase. Although burglary, house and shop-breaking, robbery with violence and perhaps thuggery strike the headlines, the rate of increase is not as other forms of stealing offences, fraud by false pretences", "prostitu- kindred offences are classified against pub-

Murder	144.4
Assault	141.4
Publication of Obscence Literature	133.3
Forgery	95.8

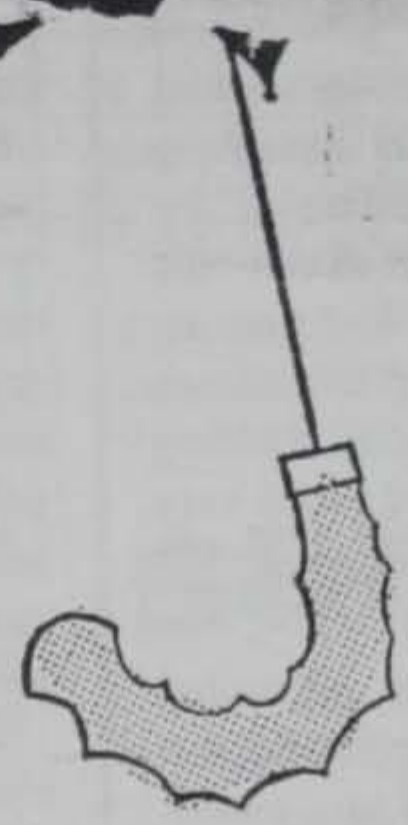
The above table shows that the most serious social problem is prostitution and kindred offences. Although no empirical research has yet been conducted into this social problem, a casual observation in the urban centres clearly indicates that the majority of those engaged in this type of offence are immigrants from the rural areas. These are mostly young girls, both literate and illiterate. The literates are girls who had completed their elementary school education. These girls flock into the towns with a view to finding jobs to earn a living. They come with no special skills and so get no jobs and therefore become unemployable. They have to live and perhaps get something extra to send to their parents at home.

Rise in Promiscuity

In the absence of suitable jobs they turn to the oldest profession. You will find four or six of them occupying a single room, sleeping and resting during the day and in the night go along the streets, drinking bars etc., hunting for customers. In Accra one has to drive along the Ring Road, the Liberation Road and the Achimota-Cantonments Road to observe them. In many cases they are protected by thugs who collect commissions for the protection they give them. These thugs are mostly unemployed persons who go about seeking clients for the girls at night and use whatever they earn in gambling during the day. These same thugs form the bulk of pick-pockets in the towns and, in addition, they smoke Indian Hemp and introduce the girls into the habit of smoking. These girls, due to economic conditions become immoral and see nothing wrong with it, especially when



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Observer Notebook

Debate on Press Trust

A LEGON Professor in history has recently reopened the debate on whether or not our nationally-owned dailies should be managed by an independent Press Trust. He thinks it should, because there has been no evidence that the national newspapers have, even in the Second Republic, proved themselves independent of the government. "Inpendence" must be reflected not only in arguments in editorial comments but also in reportage on the activities of all parties in the country. Yet strong independent-minded pressmen [illegible] by virtue of their terms of employment [illegible] play client to politician-patron for the growth of the democracy [illegible] have opted.

The ideal thing is to have various newspapers representing different points of view in the society, so that they reflect diverse views and constitute mutual counter-checks on the presentation of the social, economic and political facts about the country. But Ghana is a poor country, and running a newspaper requires the sort of capital investment which is beyond the capacity of our budding entrepreneurs. So it is that we have had, until very recently, collective ownership of newspapers of which the government is the custodian.

It is to separate the interests of the personnel of any particular government from enduring national interests in information about our conditions of life that the advocates of an independent Press Trust want to abolish the custodianship of the government of our national dailies. The argument, really, has very little to do with the present government so that it need not put anybody's back up. It looks into the future when the functioning of the press, as is at present constituted, may once again become the plaything of the advocates of demagoguery.

The argument, already noted, is that Ghanaian pressmen who have limited avenues for plying their trade, as the *Graphic* editorial of 20th of November itself admitted, may not be able to resist the threats and blandishments of the appointing authorities; and that the board of directors of our newspapers, as [illegible] how to do their work.

The objectors to the independent Trust idea say that that in itself will change nothing since employees would still be beholden to the Trust members, who will most probably be appointed by the government. This objection is not very sound. The membership of the Trust can be formed from appointees from statutory bodies, the universities and the like, so that the government itself would have no control on who gets appointed to the Trust. Members of this sort are not likely to be interested in slanting news reports in favour of anybody. Together with this, the tenure of appointment of [illegible] can be tightened up as to prevent the ruffled and [illegible] seeking politicians from threatening an [illegible] pressman [illegible] the [illegible] his duties.

[illegible] to the Trust idea would have case were it not for the ordinary Ghanaian [illegible] ability to distinguish between the state and the government of the day, whose personal and ephemereal interests, for example, in its tenure of office, may clash with the enduring interests of the state. When in the exercise of patronage, members of press boards are appointed, not because they have at some period in their life, been engaged in grappling with the problems of mass communication, but because they have performed personal services to the appointing authority or to his party, the press is likely to be placed in jeopardy and to be operated in a manner dangerous for the nurturing of an infant democracy.

But the problem needs a thorough consideration, perhaps by a committee consisting, not of party stalwarts, but of men who know something about the matter. Towards the debate, the **Observer** hopes to publish a full-length article in a forthcoming issue.

Combating Crime

THE Minister of Defence, Mr. J. Kwesi Lamptey, is reported to have said at a Progress Party rally that the police and the army have been ordered to shoot armed robbers who resist arrest. Many people think that this is the best way to deal with robbers and other dangerous criminals. But there are others who think that this will not be enough to [illegible] in the country.

for

person may, if the other person, having notice or believing that he is lawfully arrested, avoids arrest by resistance or fight or escapes or endeavours to escape from custody, use any force which is necessary for his arrest, detention, or recapture, and may, if the arrest is made in respect of a felony, kill him, if he cannot by any means otherwise be arrested, detained or retaken.'

The Minister of Defence was therefore saying no more than the law enforcement officer has power to do in certain circumstances.

However, this power can or should be invoked only in extreme cases. Before it becomes necessary to use this power the police must either be at the point of physically apprehending the felon or must already have had him in custody and trying to prevent his escape. And what is worrying the public is the poor record of the police in detecting crime and effecting the arrest of criminals. Let us take robbery, for instance. According to the Annual Report of the Police Service (1968), "There were 89 cases of robbery in (1968). 11 out of the 16 persons who were prosecuted in connection with 14 of the cases were convicted. The remaining five were acquitted." What happned to the remaining 75 cases? How many were closed undetected? One suspects that nothing more is said about them because most of those closed were undetected, or were still under investigation or pending trial in January 1970, when the report was written.

To take another example. In 1968, 391 "true cases" of murder were reported. Of these, 31 were closed undetected; 160 were awaiting trial before the courts; and 151 were still under investigation. Only 46 of the cases were disposed of by the courts. These figures show that by the end of the year 1968, only about half of all cases of murder reported had been solved by the police.

The figures are alarming. You only eliminate or curb crime by devising means which would either prevent the commission of crime or lead to the speedy detection and solution of those which are actually committed. And it is here that our law enforcement agencies are weakest.

We would suggest that better and more effective methods of crime detection should be introduced as soon as possible; detectives should be better trained; and the police should win the cooperation of the general public. All the new methods will not go far towards eliminating crime unless the public co-operate more with the police by reporting cases and assisting the police to effect arrest.

The figures also show that the courts are very slow in disposing of cases. Surely it is no credit to the courts that in any particularly year 160 out of 206 cases of murder brought before them should still be pending at the end of that year? Many police officers who should be working on fresh cases waste a lot of their working hours waiting in court to give evidence, and all too often they go home without being called. And this also applies to those laymen who are subpoened to give evidence on behalf of the prosecution. What is the use of reporting a case if all that you get in return is a waste of your precious time?

And it must not be forgotten that accused persons are **entitled** to speedy trial.

The Invasion of Guinea

THROUGHOUT last week the world was agitated and bewildered by a reported invasion of Guinea by white mercenaries. Visions of the Congo were conjured up. Africans became apprehensive about the possibility that that invasion, if really undertaken on the initiative of white mercenaries, might mark the beginning of an era of neo-imperialism in which mercenaries might choose to make the smaller, and therefore weaker, countries the bases of economically-oriented military action.

But there are other possible explanations. It does seem that most of the white mercenaries were Portuguese. If that is so, then one might

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be inclined to think that the invasion was some sort of a defensive attack: the Portuguese might want to create confusion in Guinea, cut off support for the embattled freedom fighters in Portuguese Guinea; or at any rate set up some sort of a puppet regime which would connive at their colonialist presence in their territory. This is not far-fetched It accords with the policy of encirclement of Zambia and other Black African states by South Africa with the economic opportunities being dazzled before Banda and other black rulers in Southern Africa.

A third possible explanation lies in opposition to President Toure's regime. One knows very little about the economic and political conditions of that country, but Guinea has a one-party state and is developing a truly socialist economy. Although a socialist economy may have some admirable virtues, a regimented regime is stifling and is likely, expecially in conditions in which one cannot have the highly mechanized control of Stanlinist Russia, to evoke a response of the coup type. In sum, it is just possible that opponents of Sekou Toure have made common cause with some rich potential foreign exploiters of Guinea's newly-discovered iron ore, and with the Portuguese rulers of Guinea—Bissau, to overthrow Sekou Toure.

None of these explanations, if true, pretends any good for Africa. The fact that some dregs of European society should choose an African state for modern land piracy is humiliating beyond measure to all of us. A puppet native regime in Guinea collaborating with Portugal to perpetuate Portuguese rule in a neighbouring country is no less revolting in prospect. And even if opponents of Sekou Toure called in mercenaries and the Portuguese to help rid themselves of what they consider an oppressive regime, that is no good either. It would mean that they have no local support. When an oppressive regime becomes unbearable the local people usually find a way of getting rid of it—as happened in Ghana, even though in our case an incredulous world still believes that outsiders had a hand in it.

It is consoling to learn from the reactions of African leaders that they have drawn the right conclusions from the attack on Guinea. These are that every African country could possibly fall a prey to the machinations of latter-day imperialists; that we need to close our ranks; and that we should hurry up with collective mobilization of our armies for collective purposes. It is not too late to unite and help ourselves. Or it might turn out that the so-called "sovereignty" to which some little souls of rulers cling will prove hollow.



Letters

The Laws of Apartheid

SIR—I am happy to see the subject of apartheid featuring prominently in the **Legon Observer** in recent months. But it seems to me that the tone of the contributions is so sophisticated that only a section of the population can fully appreciate from them the atrocious nature of apartheid.

In my opinion, the system of apartheid is so revolting to any civilized standards of morality that its portrayal should be made down-to-earth to enable every Black man to appreciate the seriousness of its threat in order that he might demonstrate his opposition to it in whatever form he deems appropriate and finds practicable. To this end, I reproduce below a few examples of what the practice of apartheid laws in South Africa can do to human beings. These were taken at random from the forty examples compiled in 1959 by Senator Leslie Rubin in his pamphlet **This is Apartheid,** published by Victor Gollancz, Limited, London:

> An African who was born in a town and lived there continuously for fifty years, but then left to reside elsewhere for any period, even two weeks, is not entitled, as of right, to return to the town where he was born and to remain there for more than seventy-two hours. If he does, he is guilty of a criminal offence punishable by a fine not exceeding ten pounds or, in default, imprisonment for a period not exceeding two months, unless he has obtained a permit to do so.
>
> If an African, born in a town, has lived there continuously for fifty years, no friend of his, who is an African, is entitled as of right to visit and remain with him for more than seventy-two hours.
>
> Unless he has obtained a special permit, an African professor delivering a lecture at a White club commits a criminal offence.
>
> No African is entitled as of right to acquire freehold title to land anywhere in South Africa, nor is it the intention of the present government ever to grant such right to the African, even in his own Reserves.
>
> If an Indian (or a Coloured or an African) sits on a bench in a public park, the bench being set apart for the exclusive use of White persons, by way of protest against the apartheid laws, he commits a criminal offence and is liable to a fine not exceeding three hundred pounds, or to imprisonment for a period not exceeding three years, or to both such fine and such imprisonment, or to both such imprisonment and such whipping.
>
> No African, lawfully residing in a town by virtue of a permit issued to him, is entitled, as of right, to have his wife and children reside with him.

Senator Rubin, in those days, represented the Africans of the Cape Province (excluding the Transkei) in the South African Senate.

P.O. Box B.75 **Kofi Boakye**
Community No. 2
Tema

Welfare State in Ghana?

SIR—Your editorial on Busia's first budget (**L.O.** V/18) indicates how ridiculous it is to apply the concept of a welfare society to a confused economy like ours. There is an unfortunate tendency in Ghana today to regard the 'welfare state' as an alternative to some other forms of socio-political organization. But is it?

The fact is that the government tells us practically nothing when it says it is committed to building a welfare society. If we bear in mind that the two basic tenets of the welfare state are (1) that every citizen is entitled to a minimum standard of living, and (2) that government policy aims at the full employment of the population, it is easy to see why every country can claim to be committed to the concept. Indeed, rather than being a distinctive form of socio-political organization, the welfare state seems to be what all forms of socio-political organisazation aim at becoming.

In any case, in the specific conditions of the Ghanaian situation, let us remember a few points: (1) A welfare society draws a poverty line and attempts to move every citizen above that line: we do not even have a national definition of poverty. (2) In a private-business oriented environment the welfare society will come only when the economy has moved from one of scarcity to one of abundance. (3) Even in an economy of abundance it would take a conscious governmental effort in the form of legislation, and never voluntarism, to achieve a welfare society.

Santa Barbara **Afari-Gyan**
California, U.S.A.

Open Letter to the P.M.

DEAR Dr. Busia—It is very unfortunate that during the last general elections the South African policy was not an issue. However, a few weeks after you became Prime Minister of Ghana you let Ghana know that you were going to reverse the policy that had been painstakingly pursued by her and the OAU with respect to South Africa. But before the grumblings in the country could turn into howls, your Foreign Minister very cleverly (but not totally) explained away that un-African idea by saying that you were just "wondering" whether it would not be worthwhile seeking a "dialogue" with South Africa. Unfortunately, you seem not to be wondering any more but are rather advocating a Munich-type appeasement policy towards South Africa. Perhaps this is now the policy of the Progress party of Ghana? Or is it the policy of Dr. Busia? The Progress party should let the country know!

The parliament of Ghana, not long ago, unanimously adopted a motion to the effect that Ghana still believes in and plans to continue its well-tested and long-standing policy towards South Africa, a policy which is in concert with that of the OAU. Since parliament is supposed to reflect the sentiments and wishes of the people of Ghana, I wonder why you have chosen to disregard the true and sincere wishes of Ghanaians in favour of the policy of "dialogue" (capitulation is a better word).

Dialogue was pursued as a policy by many countries before South Africa left the Commonwealth. Dialogue was used as a policy before sanctions were sought in the UN against South Africa. Dialogue is still being pursued by Malawi, Botswana and Lesotho, without

any visible advantage to those countries. Do you recall Macmillan's "Wind of Change" speech? Was it not in effect an appeal to the racist regime in South Africa to seek a dialogue with the Black majority? What effect did that speech have on the regime? Black South African leaders for many years sought a dialogue with the white minority, without results. When they changed their tactics to non-violent protest marches (a form of militant dialogue), the whole world was shocked by the reaction of the white minority. The idea was to teach the black Africans a lesson that they would never forget—that it does not pay to challenge a white man! You do remember the Sharpville massacre, don't you?

You have said time and again that one would be surprised how much one could achieve by sitting down and having a cup of tea with a white man. That's right. One would really be surprised. Since we came into contact with white men we have sat down with them and drunk enough tea to form an ocean. What we have achieved by that stares both you and me in the face.

Why are we still underdeveloped? Is it because we are any lazier than the Englishmen, or the white South Africans whom you seem to like so much? Or is it because it is not in the interest of the white oligarchy of this world that Africa should become strong enough to be a threat to their selfish interests? Why is it that you don't seem to be making any visible headway with your debts, whilst other countries, notably the white ones, don't appear to have any problems with theirs? Do we owe more than, say, the UAR or Indonesia or Great Britain? What happened to almost-dead-but-futilely-trying-to-kick Great Britain, when she was in extreme financial straits? Recall the massive efforts mounted by the whole of the western world to help her.

I cannot compare Ghana with Great Britain in this case? You are right I cannot, because Britain is more important to the world than we are. And that is just it. We DON'T count! In terms of power politics, we are not important. The whole of Black Africa is not considered important enough to worry about. This is why sanctions have not succeeded. This is why Great Britain is ignoring the protests of a whole continent over the South Africa arms sale issue. And instead of joining with your fellow Africans to fend for ourselves and letting the self-proclaimed master race know that we may be poor but are still proud, you talk appeasement.

Yes, poor we may be, but we are not without dignity. At a time when Africa is at last becoming united (even if slowly); when all Africa is trying to isolate the South African whites and force them to realize that they live in this world with both black and white human beings, and not with only white Boers; at this very crucial period in our history, you undercut Africa. You betray the OAU by going to white friends and telling them that all that your fellow Africans are doing is wrong.

Britain as well as South Africa has known all along that Africans are just making noises about the South African and Rhodesian issues; that when the real test comes, there will always be Busias, Bandas, Bongos and Boignys, who will break with their fellow Africans. Africans are too weak to be taken seriously; and they like the soft, lazy life so much that all one has to do is put them up in luxury, exert a little pressure on them, show a little bit of obstinacy, and they will capitulate. The whole history of Africa since the arrival of the white man has been one of a series of African capitulations. And that is why we are still looked down upon, or at best pitied and treated like children *all over the world*. And that is a fact, whether you realise it or not.

It has been thirteen (almost fourteen) long years since independence, yet what have we to show for it? For the first nine years after independence we were starving, but at least we had a lot of respect in the non-aligned world and some measure of respect in the aligned world. Now, thirteen years after independence, we are not only still starving but we have NO respect left to us anywhere in this world. And instead of you and your government co-operating with the rest of Africa to give the African some dignity and respect you are hobnobbing with Heath. I am certain that Trudeau must have found you very interesting if not intriguing!

The old adage says: "Power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely". You yourself have said that power is like sweet wine—the more you have, the more drunk you become. I would also like to add my own variation on the theme: "Power blinds men to realities; the more power they have the more unrealistic they become."

You, as Kofi Busia, may find it easy to get along with your white friends over a cup of tea, because they know you as Kofi Busia—Oxford don, former professor at The Hague, at Leiden, in Mexico, and in Ghana; visiting professor to the U.S., etc. But I would definitely be surprised to find you as an average African getting along in Britain, the U.S., South Africa, and even in Ghana, as well as you do as Kofi Busia, the professor. Because, you see, Dr. Busia, all the African professors and VIPs (not you alone) who drink tea with their white friends get along with them too.

But that is not what Ghana's foreign policy is about. Ghana is interested in the ordinary African, from professor to labourer; in the whole continent of Africa having some dignity and respect, for a change. The type of respect that a poor, under-developed country like North Vietnam (many times poorer than Ghana) can have even in the eyes of the most powerful nations in the world today, the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. We may not need to fight a guerrilla war (like the VC) in order to win that dignity. But surely the "cup of tea" diplomacy and the "I-am-not-like-the-rest-of-them" stance are ridiculous, to say the least?

Perhaps I am just blowing a lot of hot air. I don't know what I am talking about, you might say. In that case, please could you tell the whole of Ghana how you propose to sow and reap where others have sown but not been able to reap? How you propose to make your cup of tea taste better than every other African's cup of tea? Until you have explained that programme to Ghanaians and obtained their approval of it, please stop making those defeatist statements on South Africa. Perhaps you know more than most of us do, and you probably have enough foresight to see what we ordinary mortals cannot see; but until you can convince us of the rightness of your policy of "Dialogue", please stop commiting us all.

May the Good Lord add to your wisdom to know what you are doing!

Yours sincerely,

C/o Dept. of Agriculture **F. G. Mante**
Legon

Miscellaneous

CHINA AND WORLD PEACE

By

Dennis Adjei-Brenyah

A FEW weeks ago, the Strategic Arms-Limitation Talks [SALT] resumed in Helsinki. It was a heartening story to an uneasy world. But even more heartening and pleasing to peace loving peoples the world over was the dramatic Chinese call for a world summit to formulate plans for a total annihilation of nuclear weapons.

The Chinese are a progressive people. Maoism is a progressive philosophy. Chinese progressivism and Maoism are one and the same thing. But no one, not even Mao himself, fully understands the Chinese people. But whether we understand Maoism or not is largely irrelevant. What is relevant is, we understand and want peace. Because of the Chinese 'peculiar' *character, people interested in world peace try to understand any new theory that comes from China. This underlines the interest in the dramatic Chinese call for a wholesale destruction of nuclear weapons.

China today is a world force. She is a nuclear power and as such she understands the horror of nuclear war. Most people cannot really appreciate the enormous destruction that a nuclear war can unleash on this planet. It has been claimed that China says she really does not mind causing a nuclear war because of her enormous population. Whether this is true or not China now makes a great call to all peace-loving nations. And peace is or should be the prime concern of all mankind.

This is not the first time China has made such a call. Six years ago, like the lone voice in the wilderness, she raised this issue. That call was not treated with the attention it merited. Now that China is also a nuclear power, she should be accorded the full attention of all peoples.

There are some who might harbour the fear that China is not serious in this call, others might say 'China is only attempting to camouflage a world thirsty of genuine peace and thereby gain the upper-hand in the race for those super-deadly weapons'. But there is one message that is loud and dear. The 700 million Chinese are as suceptible and as vulnerable as the 200 million people of the United States. The nuclear weapons in American hands are adequate for the huge population of China. China knows fully well that that if ever there was a nuclear war it would be an illusion to believe that their enemy would leave some Chinese alone to populate the earth.

This is the horror of the world in which we live. "Mankind must put an end to war or war will put an end mankind", so said the late John Kennedy. This is the to truth about a nuclear war. It would therefore be grim nse help if world leaders accept the Chinese of imm sitive action towards the cause of peace.

call to p rcumstances of the world, one realises with

In the c ame that China, a country with 700 million shock and sh outside the United Nations. The world people, stays ealise that China's absence in the U.N. should now r pairs the universality of the United Na- disastrously im nisation on whose thin threat hangs the tions—the orga survival. China should be admitted future of humai

into the U.N. to make that organisation truly meaningful.

China's call for a complete destruction of nuclear weapons at a time when delegates deliberate over the Strategic Arms Limitations in Helsinki should be construed to mean a desire for peace for our planet. As such it should be viewed with all seriousness and given all the necessary attention. We should not fight to make the world safe for anything—democracy or otherwise. We should "fight" to make the world safe for humanity and civilization. For that is the prime concern of mankind. To China and all peace-loving peoples I say that call was a great call—it was one giant leap forward in

*** Editor's quotation marks!**

Book Review

FOREIGN AID: SELECTED READINGS, PENGUIN BOOKS, 1970

Edited by
Jagdish Bhagwati and Richard S. Eukans
Reviewed by T. K. Cavanagh

THERE is much to worry about in this old world of ours. Ecological crises. The generation gap. Mid East troubles. War in Vietnam. Permissive societies. Absence of moral leadership. Student unrest. Marriage or golf game. But if you really want to do some serious worrying in a big way, try this: 20 per cent of the world's population controls 80 per cent of its wealth, the expectations of the poor are rising, and if the imbalance is not corrected soon we can expect anger and violence on a scale that will make revolutions of the past look like disputes over the price of tomatoes at Makola Market.

Concerned individuals, governments, and world organizations are focussing more and more attention on foreign aid. Rightly so, for it is through aid programmes that we seek to set the balance right between the rich and poor nations by achieving something known as 'self-sustaining growth' on the part of the latter countries. Within the past twelve months international agencies and governments have issued a series of **Reports** such as he **Pearson Report**, the **Peterson Reports**, and the **Jackson Report**. These tomes consider the weaknesses of foreign aid programmes during the First Decade of Development, offer positive recommendations for the Second Decade of Development, and generally enjoin the rich nations to do more. The interested citizen, however, may find these works difficult to come by. Moreover, government committees have never won praise for electrifying, or even readable, prose. More readily at hand for those interested in the subject is a recent (1970) Penguin paperback edition entitled simply **Foreign Aid**. It has its shortcomings, but it is cheap, available, and welcome.

The book consists of a series of thirteen articles by different economic experts, grouped under such headings as objectives of foreign aid, criteria for the allocation of aid, the distribution of the aid burden amongst donor countries, the pros and cons of multilateral as opposed to bilateral aid, the tying-up of aid, and, finally, a consideration of the wide ramifications of the disposal of commodities such as wheat and cotton in developing

countries.

In collections such as this, one expects to find unevenness in the quality of writing, in the clarity of expression, and in the value of the different parts. There are some parts of articles that prove practically unintelligible to the lay reader and are clearly intended for the trained experts in the dismal science. But on balance, if the reader perseveres through the terrible jargon and skims over the mysterious algebraic quotation he should be rewarded with a more thorough understanding of some of the problems of foreign aid.

Reading of the book will make it clear that there is very little giving in foreign aid. As a rule most of what is given must be given back, and usually with interest. There is also the practice of 'tying aid' to ensure that the receiving country spends the aid for goods and services in the donor country. Mr. Bhagwati's investigation of this subject is one of the most enlightening articles in the book. It may be common knowledge in some circles, but to me it came as a surprise to learn that "it is correct to argue that all U.S. grants have now become virtually 100 per cent tied to the U.S. "(p.243)". The practice is not peculiar to the United States foreign aid programme nor need it always be done formally.

Thus, a donor country may not monopolize contracts that it finances for its own nationals, but "a prudent recipient government can be expected to treat the capital assistance as effectively tied even though . . . an international bidding procedure might have reduced costs". (p.248) Mr. Bhagwati reflects the general tone of the book in his scholarly, balanced, judicious, and fair appraisal of the topic. The article was first published in 1967. In the 1970's we will see a trend towards the untying of aid. How far it will go is difficult to project. However, the Canadian government recently announced that 20 per cent of total bilateral allocations will be completed untied, and it is working with other donor countries towards agreements on measures to untie aid on a multilateral basis. President Nixon, following his receipt of the **Peterson Report**, has also promised "a new U.S. approach to foreign assistance in the 1970's".

Two articles by T. Balogh and P. N. Rosenstein-Rodan offer valuable insights into the thorny question of bilateral as opposed to multilateral aid. Giving full acknowledgement to the ideas of men like Senator Fulbright of the U.S., Mr. Balogh presents the case against bilateral aid. His main thesis, however, is that the best hope for the future lies in reform not rejection of bilateral channels because we need far greater and more bilateral aid. "In fact, we need both bilateral and multilateral channels because we need far greater and more effective action". (p.219) Given the complexity and problems of foreign aid one naturally suspects that there is no simple right or wrong approach, and both articles confirm this suspicion. The **Pearson Report** (1970) indicates that we can expect a trend in this decade that will cohere with the general recommendations of the two authors, i.e., the consortia technique combining both the bilateral and multilateral approach to foreign aid.

Mr. M. Friedman's article on means and objectives in foreign aid is the weakest selection in the book. It was included to counterbalance a preceding and more optimistic consideration of the same topic by G. Ohlin. The weaknesses in the whole concept and operation of foreign aid need to be examined but it is a mystery why the editors should have chosen such a banal, misdirected, and superficial study for inclusion in the book. Mr. Friedman argues that any kind of central planning by governments imperils economic development and a rising standard of living. Surely a matter of fiction, not fact. He states that foreign aid threatens freedom and democracy, and that supporters of foreign aid in the U.S. are communist dupes. More mythology. The author's eulogy on free competition can be countered by Pope Paul's words on the same subject:

> Of course, highly industrialized nations export for the most part manufactured goods, while countries with less developed economies have only food, fibres and other raw materials to sell. As a result of technical progress the value of manufactured goods is rapidly increasing and they can always find an adequate market. On the other hand, raw materials produced by underdeveloped countries are subject to wide and sudden fluctuations in price . . . As a result . . . the poor nations remain ever poor while the rich ones become still richer.

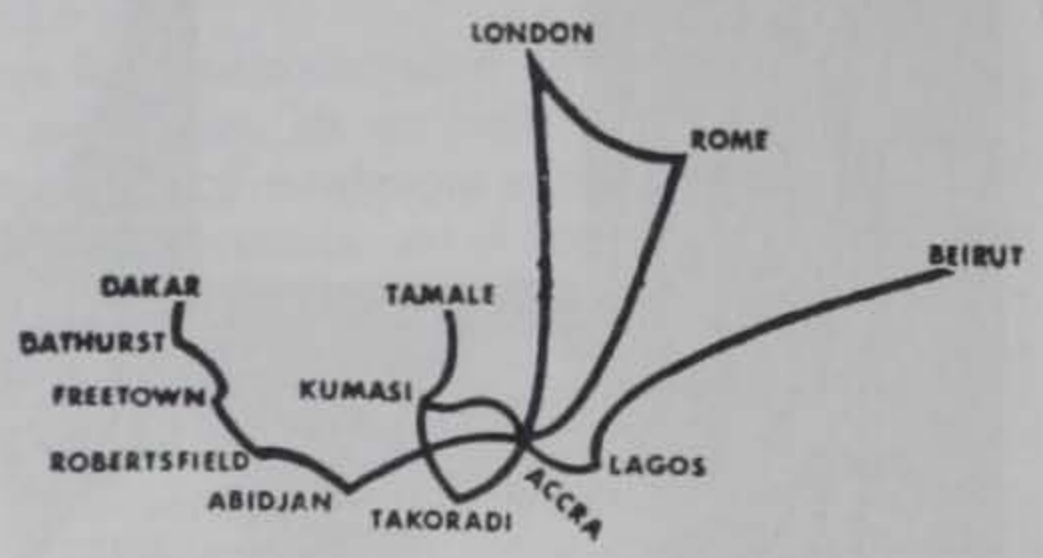
Friedman's references to free enterprise are at best misleading. He speaks of the creation of an "environment favourable to competition and individual enterprise". (p.74) But is this the type of environment created by General Motors whose operating expenses exceed those of most independent states, and whose cash wages are more than the national income of Ireland? Is there any connection at all between the free enterprise image of small independent shopkeepers on the one hand, and on the other hand, Standard Oil which has three times more people working overseas than the United States Department? Mr. Friedman has chosen to talk about free enterprise; one only wishes he had explained how he is using it. Most irritating of all, he stumbles unseeingly over one of the most pertinent problems relevant to foreign aid when he hails Singer Sewing Machine, Coca-Cola, and Hollywood for spreading knowledge and understanding of the U.S. Alas, too true. But personally, I would opt every time for aid, the U.S.I.S., and the Peace Corps over free competition, Cocoa-Cola and Raquel Welch. The best one can say about this article is that it is relatively short.

Other parts of the book are more satisfying. T. Schultz discusses the effect of surplus-commodity-disposal programmes on recipient countries. Writing in 1960, his observations were necessarily tentative. Yet he did warn about the impairment of agriculture in developing countries that could follow from food aid programmes, and suggested positive measures "to counterbalance these adverse effects". (p.318) Apparently these measures were not taken. The **Pearson Report** also refers to the negative consequences of food aid programmes and advocates an increase in loans and grants to remedy the situation. One wishes to be optimistic, but it is depressing to find the experts still struggling to move off square one after a ten year interval.

As a last observation, it seems wondrous strange that in such a rapidly changing subject areas as foreign aid it was necessary for the editors to draw on the period 1958-1965 for more than fifty per cent of the articles. Are these the best most recent articles? Perhaps. But some brief comment about this in the introduction would have been most welcome and would have removed a lot of nagging doubts that disturbed this reader from beginning to end.

The editors made no effort to present a definitive study. They have, however, provided us with a helpful and informative study about a matter that is of interest to all.

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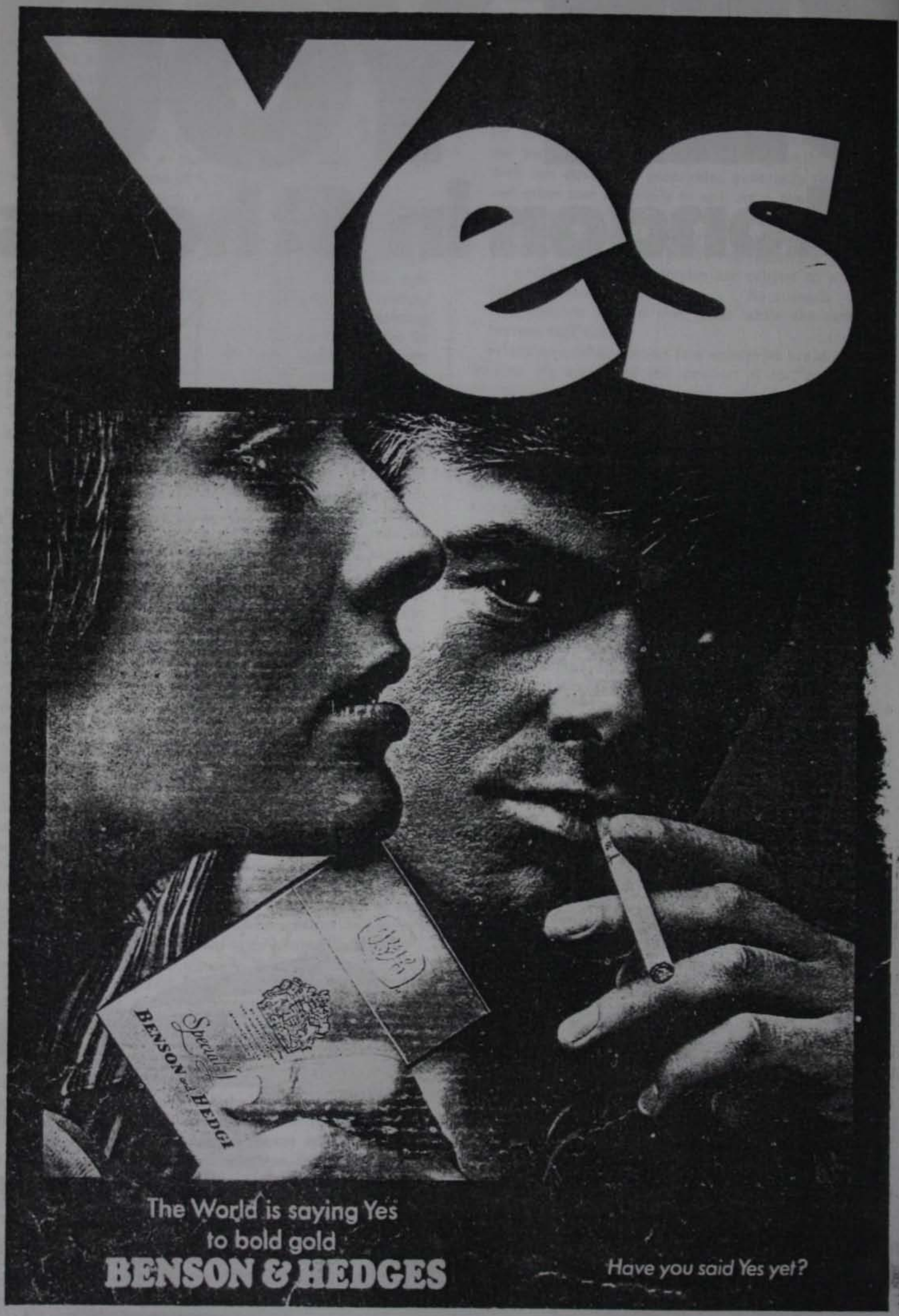
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LEGON OBSERVER SUPPLEMENT

SIERRA LEONE—THE ROLE OF THE PRESS

By K. A. B. Jones-Quartey

.NCE the first instalment of this brief series of rticles on current politics in Sierra Leone, the tuation there has taken at least one remarkable urn of development, namely the sudden revival of an opposition press. On Saturday, 31st. October, 1970, the Sierra Leone People's Party (S.L.P.P.) launched a new paper, the **People,** Vol. 1, No.2 of which is now before me. It is a weekly.

Readers of our last issue will recall that Sarif Easmon in his Open Letter to Prime Minister Siaka Stevens had spoken about the then current rumour of an impending ban on the opposition press, to be inflicted by the Premier himself. In fact this had then happened soon afterwards, and only two morning papers and one weekly publication of any consequence had remained, all of them government owned or party controlled.

(One uses the qualifying phrase "of any consequence" with very great reluctance, and only from the barest necessity for comparison among local rivals. For in truth the Sierra Leone newspapers of the present day are of any consequence only as journalistic curios, or at most phenomena, hardly as newspapers under any accepted definition.)

Two-edged Sword

In principle, the banning of any press from publication, as a form of political punishment or as a means of removing a troublesome opposition weapon, is at best a thankless, graceless exercise in power, and at worst a terrible two-edged sword. As an evil necessity this form of political punishment is, in Africa, often invited upon itself by an opposition press; certainly the so-called opposition newspapers suppressed by Mr. Stevens on this occasion were their own executioners. One was called **Truth,** another **The Probe,** a third, the **Daily Express,** and there was another which called itself **Encounter.** All four of these papers were little mimeographed affairs stapled together to make four, six or eight sheets, and most of them were of mushroom growth in the tradition of many predecessors, as of successors such as the one already out under the name of the **People.** The **People** is printed, but you have to see this ,'printing" to believe it!

Now neither the proliferation of news-sheets, especially at periods of political stress and anxiety; nor amateurishness in them, nor bad format nor poor printing, is in itself a reason for condemnation of them. On the contrary, it is often to the over-whelming credit of the proprietors and editors that they take their courage in their hand, and in patriotic self-sacrifice venture into the perilous waters of oppositional political journalism. After all, this is the tradition of some of the greatest journalism in world history. And this is particularly, and ironically, true too of the history of our own West African press itself.

Critical Difference

The journalistic efforts of the pioneers: William Drape in Sierra Leone and the Bannerman Brothers of Ghana, in the mid-1800s; of later ones like Herbert Macaulay in Nigeria, and later still of Danquah and Azikiwe and Wallace Johnson—these were efforts made in the midst of great technical handicaps, with lack of capital, plant, machinery and trained personnel, and with small markets their constant torturers, to say nothing of the persecutions of the colonial power.

So we have seen all this before. But there is a critical difference between the old **genre** and the modern race of West African opposition journals that we are discussing here, namely, in **the language of the press.** Language in the African press was never livelier, more spirited, more amusing, even exciting, than now. But the excitement these days is

always on two levels, and on the lower level it is, fatally, not so much excitement as excitation—excitation to anything but amusement in the hearts of the powers-that-be for the moment. Consider the following excepts from Freetown, taken at complete random:

From Vol.4, No.95 of the **Daily Express** of Wed., 3oth. Sept. 1970:

Editorial

COUNT-DOWN FOR SHAKI

The political count-down for Siaka Stevens has begun. Siaka's take-off count-down which started when he came to power, is now swiftly moving to blast-off point, with stalwarts of the A.P.C. deserting him, like rats desert a doomed ship, which is bound to sink.

Mr. Stevens is a stubborn man, he is a dogged man, he is a clever man, he is a good political juggler, he is a master in the art of dissembling, he combines the attributes of an "Iago," 'Richard Duke of Gloucester' and 'Machiavelli,' in his political methods. But he has turned out to be a fool . . .

From the same issue of the **Express** (p.3):

Mr. Prime Minister,

After learning about the recent disturbances and maltreatment of the peaceful citizens by your thugs in the Kambian District, I am prompted to write you this open letter in order to give you a piece of my mind.

* * *

In reference to your blatant and unfounded allegations that Dr. Mohamed Forna and Mr. Mohamed Bash-Taqi resigned from your government because of their greed for power, Mr. Prime Minister let me tell you as others have been trying to do, that you are making a fool of yourself . . .

For your interest I am a born and bred Sierra Leone-Lebanese. You must note that 90% of your Lebanese supporters have already withdrawn their support for you, as we have had enough of your dictatorial A.P.C. regime. As for me, you will fry in hell, but you will never know who I am or where I live, . . .

From the **Probe** of 23rd. Sept. 1970:

EDITORIAL

Let Us Refute Those Lies

In the first place we wish to point out that the people who are today organised against Mr. Stevens are his superiors in matters of education, variety of experience and a few other things we would not like to mention here. There is only one thing th: puts Mr. Stevens above them, and that is fo the time being, his position as Prime Minister, not his own person.

What Mr. Stevens wants people to believe is that he is a responsible man. But let us face it, is that how a responsible head o Government would behave? He is known t support thugs who have caused enougl havoc to damage a lot of good relations

Tell the people some other yarn, Mr. Stevens.

From the **Probe** of 30th Sept. 1970 (p.4):

Dear Editor,

If we look into the destructive and tyrannical rule of Mr. Stevens, in his capacity as Prime Minister, we can foresee what his rule would be if he were made Executive President. This is to say that if he is given free reign as some would like to suggest, he would make us his slaves in a matter of months.

I do thank and congratulate Dr. M. S. Forna and Mr. M. O. Bash-Taqi for having left our national tyrant to display his folly which is soon going to bring about his downfall. I also wish to thank Mr. I.B-Taqi for being the architect of opposition against our Tyrant.

The declaration of a State of Emergency is typical of his totalitarian inclination.

I therefore appeal to Men, Women and Children of all works (Sic) of life to join the struggle to remove this misfit from office.

Yet Mr. Siaka Stevens—or, as some people prefer to call him, Dr. Siaka Stevens—is Prime Minister of Sierra Leone! An opposition press which writes to and about him in the terms spelt out above, clearly knows absolutely nothing about the canons of journalism; secondly, it clearly invites dire consequences upon its own head. And since in West Africa little is known and less is cared about the laws of libel, defamation, slander, or true sedition, the only offended parties who take any reprisals are politicians in power, and the too-easy, too-obvioun:

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they take are political: the ban, the "Close it down" order, the confiscation. And this power to ban and to proscribe the press, like the irresponsibility that invokes it, is, I repeat, a terrible two edged sword. Let me illustrate both.

On the morning of the day of my arrival in Freetown the last time, that is, on Wednesday, 14th. October, 1970, the government owned and party controlled section of the press had on a big splash about the discovery of a large collection of arms and ammunition in the house of one of the detained ex-A. P. C. ministers. The **Daily Mail,** the biggest paper in the country, one of the ex-Cecil King West African chain, and now a Sierra Leone government organ, had it in banner headlines, cast in almost inch-high letters:

LE100,000 ARMS FOUND IN U.D.P. MAN'S HOUSE

Since this and other reports of seizure of illicit arms and ammunition from opposition politicians were now making the rounds freely and adding dimensions all the time to the already complex picture, I specifically asked the Prime Minister if he would make it possible for me to go and view these captured heaps of death dealing fire-arms and ammunition. The P.M. promptly agreed and gave me security cover for a round of visits, first to the army headquarters and next to the C.I.D.

At the army depot the young officer in charge of ordinance, Major J. S. Momoh, showed me a collection of rounds of rifle ammunition numbering 652. This was out of a total of 850 rounds reported by the army to have been unlawfully taken from the ordinance stores and first hidden in the grounds of the headquarters buildings, ready for taking away elsewhere. Luckily, the army had recovered them. This exhibit was impressive enough, if one accepted in good faith the official story of the theft and recapture; nor did I have good reason to reject or even to doubt it. On the face of it and to that extent, therefore, the P.M.'s faith in his forces and in the justification of his apprehension of danger was largely supported.

But this army side of the alarm about an incipient traffic in arms for unlawful purposes was a separate and minor aspect of the whole situation. When we came to the real thing, however—the captured "LE100,000" arsenal—the Prime Minister was not so lucky. And thereon hangs our return to the question of the role of the press in a rational society.

In a political situation of disturbance so serious as to involve death by violence, a state of national emergency, the arrest and detention of notable citizens, the probability of more explosions, further violence and death, etc. etc.—in such a situation, can a responsible newspaper afford to report the capture from "enemy" hands of N¢122,500 worth of arms and ammunition, when such a story is purely mythical? For in fact the sorry collection shown to me at the C.I.D. headquarters (half in unconcealable embarrassment and half with suppressed giggles) consisted of **four or five shot guns, some rusty old swords and cutlasses, a demi-john said to contain raw acid, and one palmful of bullets of various descriptions.** The whole miserable looking collection was not worth ½ of 100,000 pesewas!

Exposing 'Dictatorship'

More than that. The shot guns were all such as it is permissible for citizens to own, under licence, in Sierra Leone; indeed two of them were obviously and loudly so owned. They were brand new Italian Meachis, with the owners' names printed plainly on them. And these names were those of the two resigned ministers: Dr. Mohammed Forna and Mr. Mohammed Bash-Taqi! Yet the Prime Minister had been led to imagine the country to be in danger of a disturbance the size of an armed insurrection, and even of civil war — an arms and ammunition cache worth £50,000 then being but the tip of the iceberg . . . The point to be made here is that given the then and still current situation in Freetown, the implications and potentialities of such a press story could have spelt disaster for both government party and newspaper press. If the **Daily Mail** had been an opposition paper raising such alarms, it, instead of the **Probes** and the **Expresses,** could have been the one banned and suppressed, exposing the government in turn to cries of "Dictatorship!" and heaping coals of fire on its head thereby.

The press, however, is by no means the only source of trouble in Sierra Leone. Indeed it is not an original source of trouble; with its poor status and lack of basic requirements and professionalism, it only makes matters worse when they are already bad. Also, like so many others in Africa,

ne Sierra Leone press of modern times seems o be utterly incapable of differentiating between here abuse and scurrility on the one hand, and ard-headed, even tough, uncompromising criti- ality on the other. But then it reflects, after all— loesn't it?—the behaviour patterns of the society tself of which it is a part.

The real, original sources of political instability n Sierra Leone, as elsewhere, are first, ethnic differentiation resulting in lack of social cohesion; secondly, the fragility of its political institutions, through economic weakness, absence or inadequacy of infrastructural provisions, and want of experience in the running of modern establishments; thirdly, an unwillingness to share power and an inability to differentiate between criticism and enmity; fourthly, an inability to accept criticism, even of a constructive nature—a phenomenon not absent from Ghanaian politics by any means either; and perhaps lastly but not leastly, obsessive personal ambition for the enjoyment of power and its material possibilities.

Opposing Concentration of Power

In the particular case of Sierra Leone, one of the few individuals of popular standing whom almost everyone would exonerate of all political and financial ambition is Raymond Sarif Easmon. There are of course many notable men and women with equally clean records but who have not concerned themselevs actively in political matters. Of those who have, Easmon is certainly outstanding; but he has never sought political position or favours. Of the politicians with whom he identified himself recently—though only for the one undeviating purpose of opposing the concentration of power in one man—John Karefa-Smart is a declared seeker after power, Dr. Mohammed Forna is relatively untried in this field, while the Taqis and others are, more than less, established old hands in the power game.

This is a good point at which to introduce a little more fully than hitherto the personality and significance of Dr. John Karefa-Smart in the current history of Sierra Leone. "Karefa," as some call him for short, is of predominantly Temne origin, the eldest of several brothers. He was born and partly bred in Rotifunk, a northern town and one of the larger ones of the erstwhile Sierra Leone "Protectorate." He went to school in the Protectorate and in Freetown, in the latter of which he finished at the Albert Academy Secondary School.

This school was founded by American missionaries and is noted as the school with the largest number of Protectorate boys in Freetown. In my day the Academy also had the reputation of being under-supplied in standards of teaching, plant, equipment and so on. This made worse the two-tone nature of the structure of education and society in the country, which is, inevitably, part of the story of later and current social and political conflict between the Krios and the Protectorate peoples. It is, needless to remind the reader, part of the story we are now telling.

"John Karefa", as he is also often called by some others, was much influenced under the main thrust of the missionary effort in Africa, namely winning souls for Christ. This influence was exerted on him at the Albert Academy, the United Brethren-in-Christ (U. B. C.) mission Church, and later the Church Missionary Society institution in Cline Town which is better known to the world as Fourah Bay College, now the senior member of the (federal) University of Sierra Leone. (The junior partner is N'jala in the interior, about 100 miles from Freetown and originally an agricultural project and school.) These three institutions are all in Freetown. Up in his own homeground in Rotifunk, Karefa-Smart was under final missionary influence in the form of the American seminary established there many years now, and where John actually underwent his local training for the priesthood. It is widely known that he was eventually ordained, and he is probably still a minister of the U. B. C. Church.

Mixture of Admiration

But his higher education did not end there at Fourah Bay College and the Rotifunk seminary. By the beginning of the second World War or soon after the beginning - Karefa was a full medical doctor, having trained in Canada's McGill University. As a doctor he enlisted for war service and became an officer in the Royal Canadian Air Force's medical corps. In his glamorous uniform and shining bits of metal, John Karefa moved around a lot: between Canada, the United States and, among other places, the Caribbean Islands. (He was once posted to the Bahamas, during the brief governship there of the Duke of Windsor, ex-King Edward VIII.) We of the African student colony in New York used to regard John Karefa, on his brief visits, with the usual mixture of admiration, awe, envy and, in his case, a certain amount of disturbance in addition, for we considered that John was too non-aligned with us and too much

the other way with others.

Dr. Karefa-Smart's overseas and world experience continued unabated after the war and his "demob"; eventually he became a member of W. H. O. He also married a Western black girl of high education and drive, with whom he has several children. (Rena Karefa-Smart has always been active in voluntary organisational work, and has done some speaking and writing too in her time.) It was with this background that Karefa-Smart returned home in the mid-Fifties and, later, got into politics by joining Sir Milton Margai's Sierra Leone People's Party. The rest we have already indicated here and there in this series: In and out of his country; in and out of political office at home and international office abroad; strongly with Sir Milton Margai and strongly against Sir Albert; strongly for Siaka Stevens and, now, strongly against him—John Karefa-Smart has had a truly chequered career as a politician.

Different Motivations

When Raymond Easmon—unexpectedly for some people, unaccountably for others—joined Karefa-Smart to denounce Siaka Stevens in public on 13th September, 1970, the two men were working on separate and different motivations altogether. We have indicated that before: Karefa-Smart had come back to claim the rewards of his moral and, even more, his massive material support to Stevens through thick and thin during the latter's days in the wilderness; his defection subsequently and the organisation of his new and promptly aborted party were largely and admittedly the direct result of frustration of personal ambition, though backed by the discontent of others. The actions of Easmon, on the other hand, were the result of the culmination of his progressive disenchantment with his old friend the Prime Minister, and his ineradicable fear that Stevens was in danger of turning himself into a second Nkrumah, Albert Magai, Sekou Toure, Banda, or any of the others he so passionately believes to be running Africa headlong into permanent political unviability. Raymond Easmon's discontent may have led him into extreme forms of reaction and into the wrong choice of weapons, in the eyes of some; but no one can acuse him of doing anything in aid of, or because of frustration in, Raymond Easmon's personal ambitions.

The bid towards an executive presidency which he saw in the trends and which Siaka Stevens has vehemently denied off and on, was for Easmon illustrated in the famous questionnaire prepared for the Republic Constitutional Review Commission and meant to be a referendum to ascertain the will of the people for or against republicanism. The preparation of the questionnaire is largely credited to the late Blyden Jenkins Johnston, Secretary, at the time, to the Commission. Johnston was a highly competent, highly experienced, affectionately esteemed public servant of many years, but completely innocent of political education. His questionnaire—if his it was—is an incredible document.

It sets out to seek the free, uninfluenced, certainly uncoerced, choice of the electorate: (1) for a change in the form of government or for retention of the **status quo,** and (2) for an executive **or** ceremonial president. These, remember, are currently the national issues around which party and patriotic political passions are blazing. So the questionnaire goes about seeking the mandate of the people in this way:

* * *

4. Q. Do you want a change into a Republican Form of Government?

   A.

   (*a*) Q. If yes, why?

   A.

   (*b*) Q. If no, why?

5. Q. What kind of President do you want for a Republican Sierra Leone?

   A.

6. Q. If the President is ceremonial, should he have any Executive powers?

   A.

   (*a*) Q. If the Ceremonial President should have Executive powers, please state the Powers you suggest he should have.

   (*b*) Q. If the President is Executive, what should be his powers and what should be the checks on such powers?

The questionnaire next moves to the matter of the courts, and asks:

12 Q. What hierarchy of Courts would you recommend?

   A.

   Q. Should Sierra Leone retain Appeals to the Privy Council after becoming a Republic?

   A.

   Q. Why?

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A.

Q. What should be the final Court of Appeal for Sierra Leone?

A.

Q. Why?

A.

The great struggle between factions in the country is whether to instal or not to instal an **executive** president, as distinct from a purely **ceremonial** one. The questionnaire proceeds to ask whether the president, if he is ceremonial, should have executive powers! Again, the document is absolutely confused about the legal and judicial status of an independent republic, and calls attention glaringly to the persisting colonial mentality observed previously, when it asks whether Sierra Leone should retain appeals to the Privy Council **after** becoming a Republic.

Since this questionnaire must be assumed to have passed through at least a minimum number of stages, and been seen by at least a few other people in authority before finalisation and distribution, the political stagnancy behind it cannot escape emphasis. However, it is fair to add that a good many individuals in Freetown were highly contemptuous of the document in conversation, though not always for its essential naivete in parts —it was also impregnably unanswerable, elsewhere, due to complete impracticality. I was told that in fact very few returns had come or were coming in ....

State of Emergency

The state of emergency continues in Sierra Leone; the arrested oppositional leaders are still in detention; the oppositional newsheets banned by the government remain so; and the party that Karefa-Smart and his friends attempted to establish stays banned also. In addition to these conditions, there is the unsettled and unsettling business of the two-years-old treason trials involving, among others, the former Head of State, ex-Brigadier Andrew Juxon-Smith, and the former Attorney-General Mr. Berthan Macaulay. Add further to this the case of eleven out of 12 army officers now reported to be on trial for conspiracy to stage a coup—and the cup of political troubles for Prime Minister Siaka Stevens can be said to be really full.

The sources of conflict are, in short, many, and the possibilities of more explosions and of breakdowns in law and order, or in political equilibrium, very real. But Mr. Stevens has some advantages which he should use to save his regime from collapse and his country from remaining in the current African pattern of instability and turmoil. One advantage is that the Prime Minister is, naturally, more aware of what is at stake for him personally, and through him for the country, stakes he should not want to lose for less worthy prizes. A second advantage he holds is that of his being essentially non-tribalistic in his reactions and reflexes. It is held by many keen observers that he resists those of "Protectorate" origin near him who are minded to "have their own back" at the Krios, as long, as much and as many times as possible, if they can get away with it...

We shall not dare to predict anything here, since such would be both pretentious and foolish. We can only hope that Sierra Leone be spared further trouble, by the timely re-assertion of rationality over her internal affairs by all her leaders.

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GOVERNMENT AND OPPOSITION IN SIERRA LEONE—THE CLOUDS RE-FORM

By K. A. B. JONES-QUARTEY

AROUND the massive, narrow-corridored Law Courts building in Freetown, on Saturday, 17th October 1970, a two-part crowd milled about all day, excited by two events closely linked in time but completely different in nature. The crowds were composed of large numbers of citizens on the one hand and, on the other, large numbers of police with truncheons and soldiers in full action dress. In the morning these uniformed forces were massed around the Law Courts buildings and environs, at the ready to deal with any eventualities; for a **habeas corpus** hearing was due in court that day, filed in favour of the opposition leaders then and still held in detention by order of the government of Prime Minister Siaka Stevens.

'A State of Emergency'

The morning crowd, mostly supporters and members of the ruling party, the All Peoples Congress (A.P.C.), were of course there to see what was going to happen and, by the nature of the eventualities, to cheer, to jeer or perhaps even to get into a scuffle or two among themselves, ranged political opponents as some of them were. But very little happened during this half of the day, except for the noisy mixture of loud speculation, light hearted banter and threats of political hell-fire and damnation each against the other side. For the court action was adjourned after all, having been mentioned once before and then fixed for hearing on this Saturday morning.

The morning "session" then merged into the afternoons' own feature event, namely the selection of "Miss Sierra Leone 1970" (in which, incidentally, this observer was pressed into service as one of five judges chosen on the spot!) Thus the two events were of diametrically opposite nature but united, on the one hand, by the unabated interest of the two crowds of civilians, while at the same time disconnected by the presence of soldiers and police, both times, in large numbers. In point of fact in the afternoon the uniforms were only engaged in the long process of returning to barracks, but as long as they were around, their presence was incongruous with the kind of atmosphere you would expect at the site of a beauty competition.

However, incongruous or not, the activities of the army and the police in this area of Freetown on Saturday the 17th of October was in fact but a prelude to and a dress rehearsal for the drama of Monday the 19th and Tuesday the 20th. For these were the dates of the meeting of parliament at which the Prime Minister: (1) sought and got the acquiescence of the House on his motion "that a state of emergency [existed] in Sierra Leone", and (2) asked that ministers who had carried out certain duties, from the 14th of September to date, in connection with a disturbed state of political affairs since that date, should be indemnified by an act of parliament for those performances. The army and the police on these occasions had only moved their guard about a mere 500 yards up and then all the way to Towerhill, where sits the dark brown, modernistic pile that is Sierra Leone's National Assembly. There the security was thick, though by no means awesome; businesslike in their searching and frisking, but not hostile.

The Prime Minister, greeted on entry by a standing house but a seated opposition, moved on this first day (Monday the 19th) his motion for a declaration of emergency. In his speech introducing the motion Mr. Stevens made five points:

1. That, following certain events of a political nature within his party and government, there had been a series of disturbing incidents in the country since the 13th of September, tending to the disruption of peaceful conditions and relations. He cited at least five occasions between then and now when there had been assault and fighting, attack with raw acid, rioting and death, etcetera. Upon growing pressures on him he had been obliged, he stated, to arrest and detain certain individuals, including two resigned ministers, who had formed a new and disruptive political party responsible for the present state of unrest;

2. that a new and really dangerous element had only just developed, namely, an assembling of arms and ammunition by the anti-government interests, obviously for unlawful purposes; also, he said, it had been discovered that letters were being sent to people by the detainees — even from prison! — offering bribes for unlawful activities.

3. that the consequences of such a trend of affairs included threats of disorder, as well as bad effects on development projects and on the international

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relations on which such projects so often depend (by way of aid, loans, contracts, etc.);

4. that he had thought of bringing forward the next general election in order to meet the demands and desires of the opposition, but now, in view of these developments, he was inclined to forget about the idea;

5. that he would appeal to the opposition for their goodwill and co-operation in the interest of the whole country. But if this was not forthcoming, then he had a duty to perform in carrying out his party's clear mandate to govern the country, which was exactly what he intended to do; he would use his full powers in doing this, holding everybody to the demands of law and order, without exception.

Mr. Siaka Stevens is an old, experienced political campaigner, and one of the greatest performers in the game anywhere. His language may not always be of the most correct or the most polished, but it is always of the most skilled and effective, full of wit, scorn sarcasm, knowledge of his side of the case, grassroots sophistication in handling it, and powers of mollification and persuasion as well. All these he turned on in full in his speech, on this as on most such occasions. But in debate the opponents are not sitting on their hands waiting for numerous reasons for which to admire their antagonists' accomplishments. And on this occasion the opposition—numbering only 10 to the government's 42, plus nine committed chiefs—gave the Prime Minister no comfort for his pains.

Really a Party Crisis

The leader of the Opposition, Mr. Jusu Sheriff, and his nine lonesome colleagues, had challenged Mr. Stevens' speech all the way, throwing as many exclamations of contempt and ridicule at the Prime Minister as the latter had hurled threats and sarcasms at them. Now Mr. Sheriff rose to the P.M's challenge and dismissed it, in effect, as completely unworthy of the time and attention of a serious opposition. Mr. Sheriff declared that the P.M. had not invited the opposition into consultation, in a situation which he was claiming to be of the character and proportions of a national emergency but which was in fact and in reality no more (and no less) than an internal crisis within the ruling party itself, as the Prime Minister well knew.

Mr. Sheriff said that the co-operation Mr. Stevens was now demanding of the opposition was not the kind he should be demanding, and certainly could not be expected to be forthcoming from any opposition members. But this was comparatively mild fare. Stronger meat was coming yet, both from Mr. Sheriff and from his able chief lieutenant, Dr. Iddrisu Yilla, another medical practitioner-politician. Were the dice not so loaded against them, these two would certainly have scored some really telling blows against the government. For a number of their points sounded, to this observer, like being very difficult to answer.

There was, for instance, the one about the whole emergency having originally arisen only out of an internal crisis within the A.P.C., and which could and should have been contained therein; there was the charge that the Prime Minister had then gone on to take emergency and extreme measures like arrests and detentions, the declaration of an emergency, and the like, when, in the considered opinion of the opposition, all that had been needed were the services of the police and a recourse to the courts. . . . The government's denials and counter-claims against these arguments, before, during and since this debate, were hardly such as could have won any but a party-majority vote. (Next day, the government also got their vote on indemnification for ministerial acts performed as duty during the emergency).

Behind the happenings of these two days in Parliament lies a story which goes back some eight years to 1963 and the death of Sir Milton Margai: patriarch, organiser and first Leader of the Sierra Leone Peoples Party (S.L.P.P.), first Prime Minister of Sierra Leone. Readers of the *Legon Observer* will recall from our accounts of the incidents that on the death of Sir Milton there had been a titanic intra-party struggle for succession and power. The two contestants were Sir Milton's younger brother, Mr. (later Sir) Albert Margai, and Dr. John Karefa-Smart. Karefa-Smart is the brilliant, mercurial internationalist medical man (W.H.O. Deputy-Director, wartime Canadian R.A.F. medical corps), who has also developed into the great question mark of Sierra Leone politics of the current decade, in addition to being a longtime minister of religion.

Metamorphoses

In the end, and as a way of avoiding really serious trouble, Albert Margai was given the preference and eventually succeeded to his brother's premiership; all other reckonings aside, his supporters believed him to be the more dynamic of the two men, the one more likely to carry out reforms of a modern and progressive nature. Alas, these hopes were dashed on the rocks of Sir Albert's progressive autocracy and his government's massive corruption; he was duly overthrown within the vortex of a double-coup in March 1967. This was the first of a series of spectacular coups marking Sierra Leone's own emergence in Africa's Decade of Coups, which the Sixties were.

Meanwhile, John Karefa-Smart was going through the metamorphoses in political alliance, sandwiched between returns to his international medical desk at W.H.O., which have made him the question mark we described before. In 1964, the year after Albert Margai won the S.L.P.P. leadership, Karefa-Smart resigned from his old party and joined Siaka Stevens's All Peoples' Congress (A.P.C.). The A.P.C. remained in opposition until the fateful events of 1967/68, but before these happenings Karefa-Smart had left Sierra Leone politics for the timebeing and returned to W.H.O.; he was not present when Siaka Stevens was sworn in for the second time in April 1968 and became the finally acknowledged Prime Minister of his country. It should be remembered that under the old Milton Margai regime Dr. Karefa-Smart had held office as an S.L.P.P. minister, being at one time his country's highly personable and articulate Foreign Secretary.

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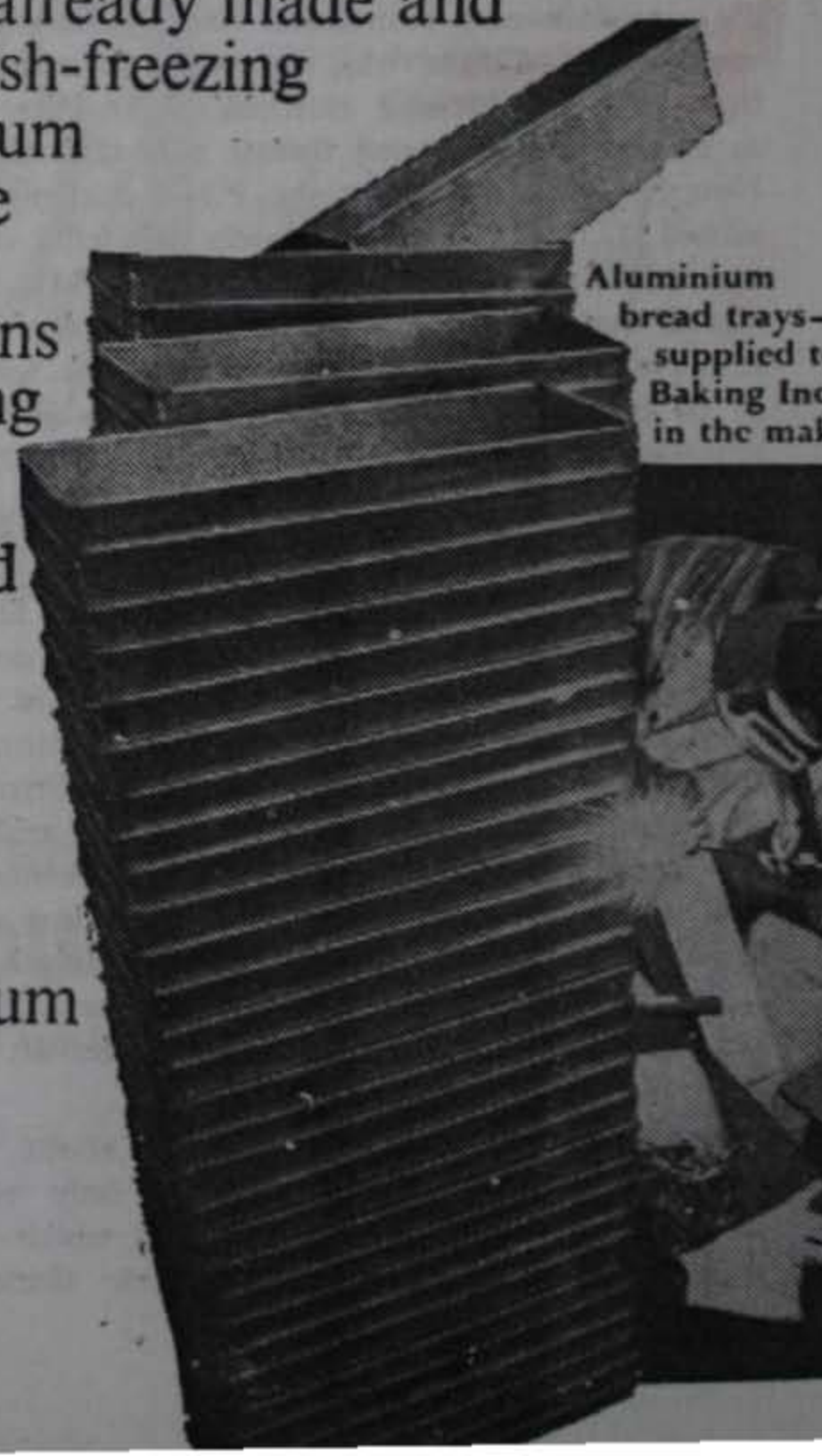


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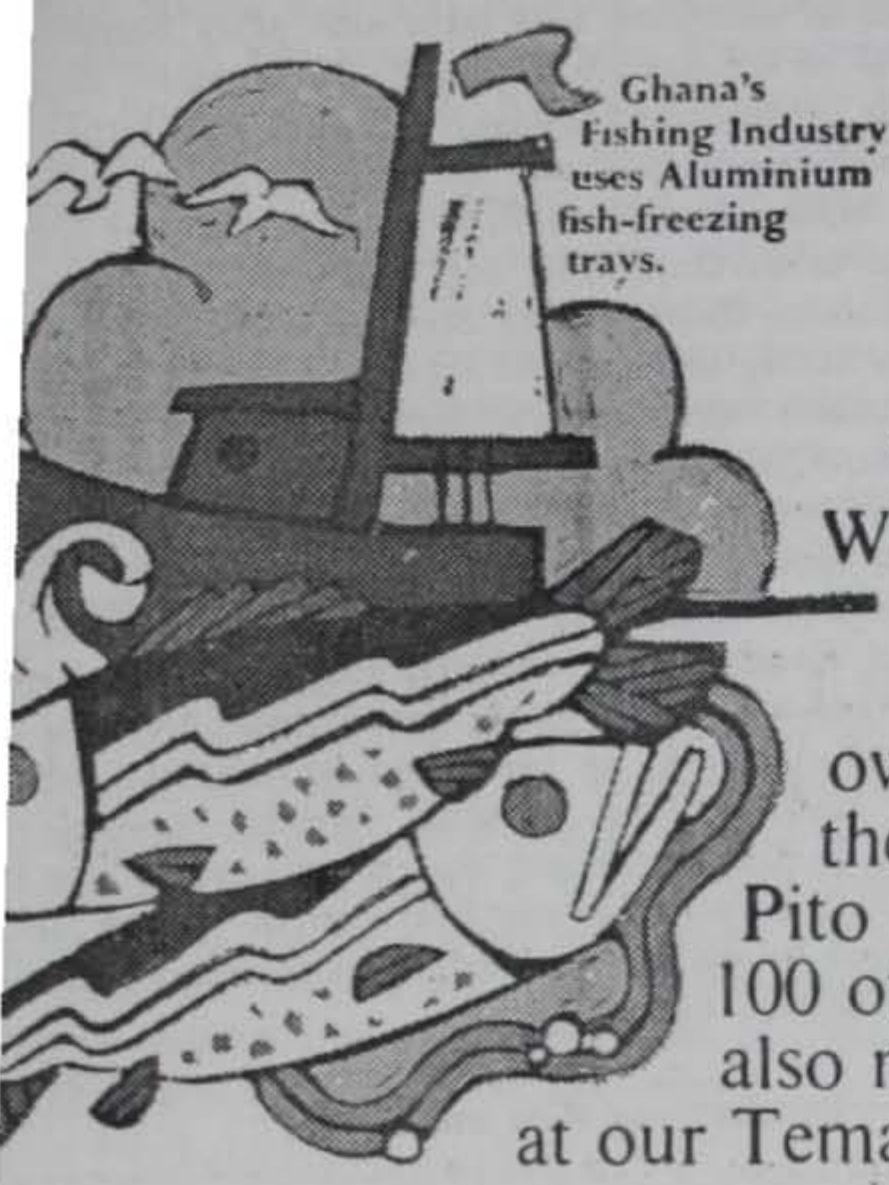


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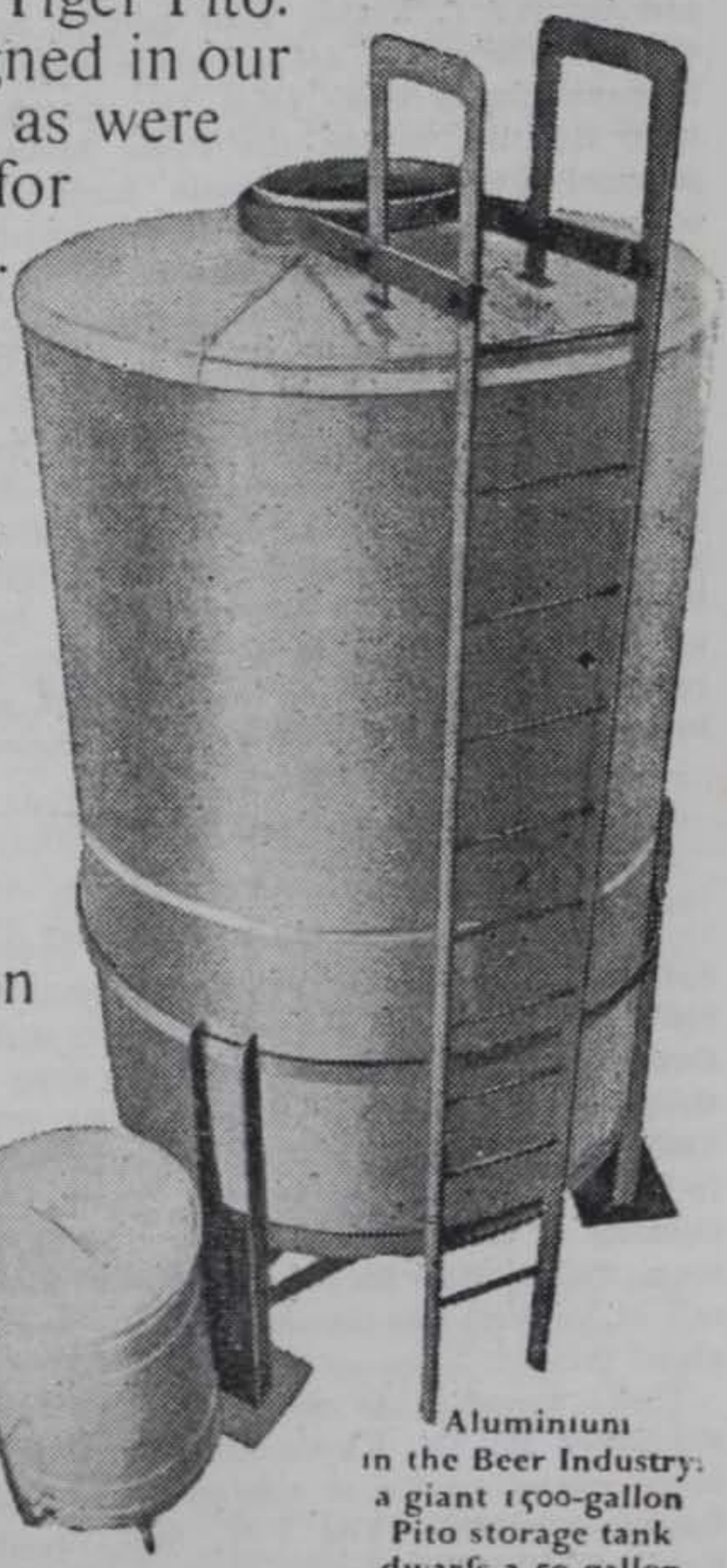
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of the A.P.C., Karefa-Smart is reputed to have given moral and material support to Siaka Stevens throughout, and to have had almost unbroken physical contact with the leader and other party stalwarts; especially did he associate with Stevens personally, during the P.M.'s involuntary exile from the political vendettarism of Albert Margai, and later from Juxon-Smith's National Reformation Council regime. But it was widely held to be axiomatic that political self-interest of the most intense kind was the keystone of Karefa-Smart's policy of care and comfort for Siaka Stevens, and that he would sooner or later come to claim what his heart had always desired and what he felt was in fact his due, namely the highest post in the land, political or administrative. That meant the Prime Ministership, eventually, or "immediately", the Governor-Generalship!

Dr. Karefa-Smart duly arirved in August this year, as predicted by his opponents and expected by his followers. For naturally he always had some following, and had added some more in recent times, in the wash of a considerable reverse disenchantment with Siaka Stevens and the A.P..C. among some political sectors of the country. The stories are of course legion as to what happened immeriately upon Dr. Karefa-Smart's return. But the version the Prime Minister gave me personally contained the main features I later discovered to be common to all the reports (my interview with Mr. Stevens having taken place the morning after my arrival in Freetown on 14th October).

The facts seem to be that Dr. Karefa-Smart saw the P.M., his old chief and political bedmate, very soon after his arrival. He asked for the Governor-Generalship, said the P.M., to which the latter replied that like Pilate he could find no fault in the present acting holder of the office, Mr. (Chief) Justice Banja Tejan-Sie, with whom he had been working in close harmony since he, Mr. Stevens, came to power. What, then, asked Karefa-Smart, about a seat in parliament immediately, from a bye-election or so?

A Volunteered Alternative

About this the Prime Minister likewise pointed out that it was neither politically nor procedurally in his power to create a bye-election or a seat in parliament for Dr. Smart, or anybody else, out of nothing, so to speak. If the claimant would wait a little there would be a legitimate opportunity for him in a few months, for he, the Prime Minister, was thinking of calling a Republican Constitution election soon. Failing that, the regular general election at the end of his term was due in two years and a bit. What about these?

Then, according to the P.M., he volunteered an alternative for Dr. Karefa-Smart to accept, since the latter seemed unable to tolerate the arguments about the other requests. The P.M. said he proposed to Karefa-Smart that he could start on his comeback trail by accepting a post as Special Political Adviser to the Prime Minister, in which capacity he could come along straight away with the P.M's party to the then imminent September Summit Conference of Non-Aligned Countries. This offer Dr. Karefa-Smart rejected outright also (said the Prime Minister), and left him with the clearly indicated intention of going his own way and taking his own course—which apparently included forming a new party of his own to seek his objectives and change things for the better.

Unfortunately, Dr. Karefa-Smart was not available for his side's version of these events, neither were any of the principal colleagues with whom he did in fact form a new party soon afterwards, the United Democratic Party (U.D.P.). For, long before my arrival in the country, Karefa-Smart and his men had already been placed in detention and their new party banned, with a state of emergency also on. These other men included Dr. Mohammed Forna, the able and hitherto effective Finance Minister of the A.P.C. government; Mr. Mohammed Bash-Taqi, another minister (of Works, then of development); Mr. Bash-Taqi's younger brother, Ibrahim, dismissed by Stevens as Minister of Information earlier on; and Dr. Raymond Sarif Easmon (paternal cousin of Ghana's Surgeon and Medical School Dean, Charles Odamtten Easmon), who is unquestionably one of Sierra Leone's most remarkable men, as we shall soon see.

The immediate causes of the dramatic arrest and detention of Karefa-Smart and the others are as already sketched-in above and summarised by the Prime Minister himself, in his speech to the State of Emergency parliamentary meeting, likewise summarised earlier in this narrative; the remote causes are many, and call here for a selective exercise—which I will endeavour to make as objective as a neutral but deep-seated interest can make it.

Perished—to Rise no More

The main political problem of Sierra Leone is constitutional. It has been so since Independence 1961, especially since the regime of Albert Margai. It was Albert who first tried to bring the country from Dominion status to republicanism. But his motives, strategy, and tactics created a great and overwhe!ming revulsion and revolt among large and varied sectors of the people of Sierra Leone. In this inferno compounded of bitterness, rage and violence Albert Margai perished politically—presumably never to rise again. (Please see **L.O**. II/3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 12, & 26; III/2, 10 & 13; IV/10; V/21 & 22, for a reminder of the details).

One of the widely attributive causes of Albert Margai's fall from grace to grass was that he not only admired but aped Kwame Nkrumah, and was on his blatant way to trying to achieve in Sierra Leone what had so disastrously eluded his hero in Ghana, namely a dictatorial self-sufficiency which would be a law unto itself alone. Sir Albert's attempted Republican Constitution died a-borning in 1966/67.

His successors, however, were bound to pursue the ideal of republicanism; both Juxon-Smith and Mr. Stevens declared personally, in turn, to this observer that it was ridiculous and absurd for Sierra Leone, practically alone among newly independent African states, to keep on remaining tied to an outside sovereignty, right in the revolutionary world of the mid-20th century (But they each had to admit that there were still ideological babies and antediluvians in Sierra Leone who would rather die than grow up politically. Their mentality in this field, in other words, takes its rise in the Waters of Babylon, or from before the time of the Flood.) So, the responsible leaders have realised that republicanism must

ome to Sierra Leone too, and the sooner the more espectable. The only problem was that of the question: What kind of Headship for the new Republic?

It was mostly because Sir Albert Margai was tailoring an Executive Presidency for himself in his republican constitution that the trouble broke out, the opposition to him being furiously led by, among others, Sarif Easmon. And it was because Prime Minister Stevens seemed to him to be going the Nkrumah/Margai way that Easmon found himself all of a sudden in the same camp with Karefa-Smart, Forna, the Bash-Taqis, et al. For Sarif Easmon had declared publicly that he would join the Devil himself, if need be, to fight anyone against any attempt to establish a constitutional executive presidency in Sierra Leone under republicanism. Easmon, a tireless and fearless, as well as fearsome, writer in the press, had before his arrest addressed an Open Letter on these matters to the Prime Minister, whom he believed to be eager for such a headship of state and whom he was therefore going to fight to the finish, as he had fought Margai and Juxon-Smith before Stevens.

Easmon's letter, though intemperate in some passages, is important for us here, as it is the only full account we have from the detainees themselves, who, as I said before, could not have been interviewed by me. The letter also, as it happens, anticipated, chapter and verse, the case made out against the detainees in parliament by the P.M. exactly one month later. It was published in the *Daily Mail* of 19th September 1970, and reads in bulk as follows:

"Party above Nation"

It seems to us you have come to set your APC party above the nation. Even within the party, the men closest to you can be discounted as no more than opportunists and men of straw. It is no exaggeration to say that in the APC for some time now any serious political thinking or planning is down to zero.

In blunt terms, Sir, your Government has been a failure.

But then, every Government in Siera Leone before you has been a failure. We Sierra Leoneans can endure that.

What we cannot endure is a threat to our liberties. This, Mr. Prime Minister you, above all, should know. For you were, like me, in the vanguard of our fight for those liberties under Mr. Albert Margai's regime.

What the country cannot understand is that, after less than three years of your being in power, we are being yet again manipulated into a position where we must stand up and fight for those very rights for which, in the recent past those very rights for which, in the recent past, you yourself soldiered not unworthily

I do not in this letter intend to dwell on general matters in which we of this country feel you have let us down. I want to deal specifically with the situation that, within the last week, is being nursed to simulate a crisis—a crisis serious enough to warrant the declaration of a state of emergency.

The public, Mr. Prime Minister, is bewildered at your announcement of your decision to convene Parliament to declare a state of emergency. As far as we know, states of emergency are only declared when a country is threatened by external enemies; or when there is so much unrest within the country that there is a threat to law and order.

But we are on friendly terms with Guinea and Liberia. It is true that on Monday last, I believe, over the telephone a little boy's rather scared voice told me he was the head of the mercenary force Albert Margai had sent to invade this country. I am sure, Sir, you too could have taken this information in your stride.

As to internal security, there is some disturbance up in Kono District. There is always something brewing in Kono. If there are disturbances elsewhere they can all be dealt with under the Public Order Act. Certainly, no local unrest ought to be made an excuse for putting the handcuffs of a state of emergency on a whole nation.

Over the last week-end, two Ministers resigned, Sir, from your Government. These two Ministers, along with other speakers, addressed a perfectly lawful and peaceful public meeting in the capital on Sunday, 13th.

Fooled?

It is beyond belief, Mr. Prime Minister, that two such simple things . . . could in themselves have led you to want to declare a state of emergency for the whole country . . .

On your return on the 13th instant, you made a statement declaring a state of emergency.. .

According to this statement, fifty or more lorries carrying a lot of people from the Provinces were held up by Security forces at mile 47. You alleged that these people had been fooled into believing they were to attend a meeting of the APC in Freetown. You left us to doubt what mischief might have taken place if these, our provincial brothers, had joined the meeting at the Queen Elizabeth Playing Field.

While it is admitted that Prime Ministers sometimes are subject to Churchill's "terminological inexactitudes", may I point out, dear Prime Minister, that the coming of these lorries to Freetown on Sunday had nothing whatever to do with your desire to declare a state of emergency.

It is known, Sir, that a couple of days before this, certain Services had been alerted by your Deputy to "avoid association" with the Opposition, and to be ready for the declaration of an emergency "within the next forty-eight hours".

The statement about the lorry "convoy" from the Provinces cannot bear examination either. Who informed Security that all the people on the fifty-odd lorries had been misinformed they were to attend an APC meeting in Freetown? Security could not have gained the information from the people on the lorries, since the armed soldiers could not possibly have been posted in advance to stop the vehicles at mile 47.

And WHY should they have been led to believe

they were to attend an APC meeting? The thing just does not make sense.

Moreover, it has not emerged in your statement, Mr.. Prime Minister, that the travellers on these lorries were in any way a hostile lot. They were not armed, as far as is known, with sticks or stones, let alone guns, or any other weapons with which they were likely to disturb the peace of the capital.

Permit me to point out too, Sir, that the Government announcement over the SLBS on Sunday the 13th instant that all public meetings were forbidden was an unlawful declaration. Your Deputy was informed that public meetings could be banned in this free country only under a state of emergency or the Public Order Act.

I am informed the reaction to this was that some of your Ministers made some wild talk to the effect that, law or no law, your Government was going to prevent the meeting taking place. Fortunately, the police showed the commonsense that our statesmen lack, and would not be prevailed upon to break the law of the land to please our sawdust Caesars.

The matter does not end here. It is generally understood, Mr. Prime Minister, that you were in touch with your Deputy by telephone, at least on Saturday and Sunday last.

If this is so, the order to exercise power beyond the pale of the law—namely, stop the meeting of the Committee of Citizens last Sunday—could not have been unknown to you. What your onetime friends and most ardent supporters cannot understand is that you did not countermand the order of your subordinates.

However, we are all relieved you have not, so far, acceded to the wishes of your wild men and ordered the detention of those who called the meeting. I chaired the meeting. With the four principal speakers —Mr. Mohammed Bash-Taqi, Mr. Ibrahim Taqi, Dr. Mohammed Forna and Dr. John Karefa-Smart—we are waiting to see if, as was strongly rumoured over the week-end, an order will be signed for our detention after Parliament shall have done you the grave dis-service of declaring a state of emergency in Sierra Leone.

For I should make it clear to you, Mr. Prime Minister, no reasonable person can see the necessity for such a declaration in Sierra Leone today. In fact, what people are saying is that you are already exercising dictatorial powers in this country—even before we commit political suicide by allowing you to become the executive president of our country.

Lastly, Mr. Prime Minister, it is rumoured that after the declaration of a state of emergency it is your intention to clamp down completely on the Press. If this is so, permit me to congratulate you in advance on the achievement.

Of course, the NRC did it before your time. But then, they usurped power at the point of a gun. Even at his worst—and that worst was very odious—Albert Margai did not sink to this level.

In retrospect, then, Mr. Prime Minister, I hope you chalk it up with pride that you are achieving the impossible of making that monster, Albert Margai, look like an angel.

I am,
Mr. Prime Minister,
Your one-time friend,
R. SARIF EASMON.

If this document makes somewhat painful reading in many parts, we should remember that, and unfortunately, modern African politics has come to be characterised by the "no holds barred" rule, and certainly you can add that in it, also, one man's meat is really and truly another man's poison. Thus the reaction to Sarif Easmon's letter and to the other causes of the Prime Minister's complaints, was expectedly summary: Easmon and his associates suffered exactly what his letter had "predicted". Their arrest and detention were ordered, and the opposing press—almost always in Africa wild and abusive—was closed down, even before parliament had given the expected assent to the emergency declaration Easmon had tried so desperately to have withdrawn.

—**Editor's Note:** Owing to a technical accident, this article could not continue in its present format. It will be concluded in our next issue.

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LEGON OBSERVER SUPPLEMENT

LEADERSHIP IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT

by S. N. Woode

"SUBSECTION (2) of Section 1 of the Local Government Act, 1961 provides that every City Council shall employ a Town Clerk; but as in the case of the Treasurer the Act says very little about the duties of the Town Clerk" [1].

"The Local Government Act provides for the appointment of a Chairman whose main function is to preside over Council Meetings." [2]

The observations above give rise to interesting reflections on what has to be done to provide leadership in matters of control and direction in the internal organisation of local councils in this country. One needs to read the the reports on the affairs of the city councils of Accra-Tema, Kumasi and Sekondi/Takoradi to find out that the absence of strong focal points of leadership in the management of these councils created conditions which made the practice of passing the buck and "irresponsible" administration significant features of the administrations of these councils.

Internal Structures

The fundamental statutes that have since 1951 governed the basic internal structure of local councils in this country provided that councils be made up of elected councillors who collectively dealt with broad matters of policy and controlled the purse strings of the councils. The councillors of a particular council elected one of their number to act as chairman of the council for one year, and, as the quotation above indicates, he presided over the meetings of the council. All councils were required by law to operate through committees which helped the councils discharge their responsibilities. Some of these committees — Finance and Staff, Education and Development — were statutory; that is, the law provided that they must be established. Other committees were permissive in the sense that if a council thought them necessary, it could appoint certain committees to manage and regulate some of its responsibilities. In the nature of things, statutory committees tended to be standing and permanent features of the internal organisation of local councils. The permissive committees could either be standing or *ad hoc*, depending on the nature of the work for which a particular committee was established, and the time it took to accomplish the work in hand.

The law was silent on what departments were to be set up within a council. It merely stated that certain officers, a Town Clerk, a Treasurer, a Town/City Engineer and a Medical Officer of Health had to be appointed. In the internal arrangements of things we find that, (and this was especially true of the City and Municipal organisations which had the money to employ these officers), each of these officers headed a department, the responsibilities of which were consistent with their respective professional qualifications and experiences. Thus a Treasurer (who had to be an accountant) was the head of the Treasury Department; the City Engineer headed the City Engineer's Department; and the Medical Officer of Health ran the show in the Health Department. These chief officers were individually responsible to the council for discharging the responsibilities of the council. Thus, for example, the Medical Officer of Health was responsible for carrying out the health and sanitary functions of the council.

Departmental Organisations

In carrying out his responsibilities no head of department came under the direction and control of any individual councillor or officer. That is, there was neither an elected executive nor a chief executive officer to control, supervise and give a sense of direction to the activities of the individual departments. What we found in practice was that the departmental organisation of the council corresponded with the lay-out of the committees; and each department worked and lived with a corresponding committee. For instance, the Medical Officer of Health worked with the Public Health Committee and the City

Engineer's Department worked with the Works and Development Committee.

One hesitates to come up with a chart that shows the sources and flow of matters that come up to council for direction. We can, for the sake of simplicity, isolate the four areas of central government, councillors, the officers of the council and the public. When matters came up for decision, it was expected that the full council would realise its ineffectiveness to handle all classes of business and refer the case to its particular specialized committee to study and report back to the council. These committees, it is argued, have the advantage of smallness and members interested enough in the work of their respective committees to have the eyes for detail and the presence of professionals to offer expert advice. Having sorted out the issues involved in the case in hand, the committee reported back to the council for its final decision. The decision was transmitted to the department concerned for executive action to be taken under the supervision and direction of a corresponding committee.

Representation of Various Groups

This *modus operandi*, it is claimed, serves many useful purposes. It is argued that the full council of members are ill-equipped to handle the mass of detail that most businesses throw up; and that a small body of interested representatives will have the time and forbearance to go through any mass of detail and present the council with the issues in a clear-cut fashion. In the process of sorting issues out the committee system of local government allows, it is again argued, interests of a wider variety of people to be represented; and furthermore provides a considerable number of people the chance for administrative and political education. Finally, it is argued, that this style of local government ensures that executive action taken by local executives in local areas will be subjected to popular control.

These are worthwhile advantages to engage the interest of all who feel committed to democratic habits; for they indicate the political role of local government in the entire political system of the country. But then local government does not and cannot exist merely as a school for training in politics and in the art of governing oneself. Citizens pay taxes and rates in anticipation of hygienic public latrines, well-equipped schools and long-lasting feeder roads and generally efficient and effective administration. It is not the case that the committee system of local government fails to deliver the goods; it is a suggestion that some other style of administration might yield more human happiness from the rates and taxes we pay to our local councils.

The English who have been using the committee system of local government since the 19th century and from whom we copied this style of administration, have realized "that the association of each service with a committee and of a department and chief officer with both produces a loose confederation of disparate authorities." [3] It is from this situation that flow all the sins of bad management, passing the buck, self-importance and self-containment and the difficulties of achieving co-ordinated administration. Thus while "all over the city (Accra-Tema) we (saw) the ugly spectacle of over flowing refuse dumps and latrines", [4] there was indecision as to who was to take effective action to obtain import licences to enable the city government to order spare parts for the repair of the city's conservancy vehicles. Was it the duty of the Medical Officer of Health whose department has the responsibility of discharging the statutory health and sanitary functions of the council or the Town Clerk whom the Commission of Enquiry into the affairs of the Accra-Tema City Council chose to regard as the "Chief Administrator" to take the necessary action to get the vehicles on the road and on the job? And where does the Fleet Maintenance Engineer's Department come in in a case of this nature?

Denying Privileges to Comment

We deny ourselves the privilege to comment on the conclusions of the Commission on this matter. What can be said, though, is that the committee system of local government that we copied from the English did not allow the Town Clerk to be recognized and accepted as the executive head of the council's paid officers in the sense of having authority over the heads of the department of the council. Nor did it allow the heads of departments to be responsible to the council through the Town Clerk. The success of the Town Clerk in achieving co-ordinated administration might be due to his position as the clerk to the council and all its committees, which work involves preparing agenda for meetings and reading and interpreting correspondence. In this position, if the Town Clerk is sharp, he acquires total knowledge of the work of the

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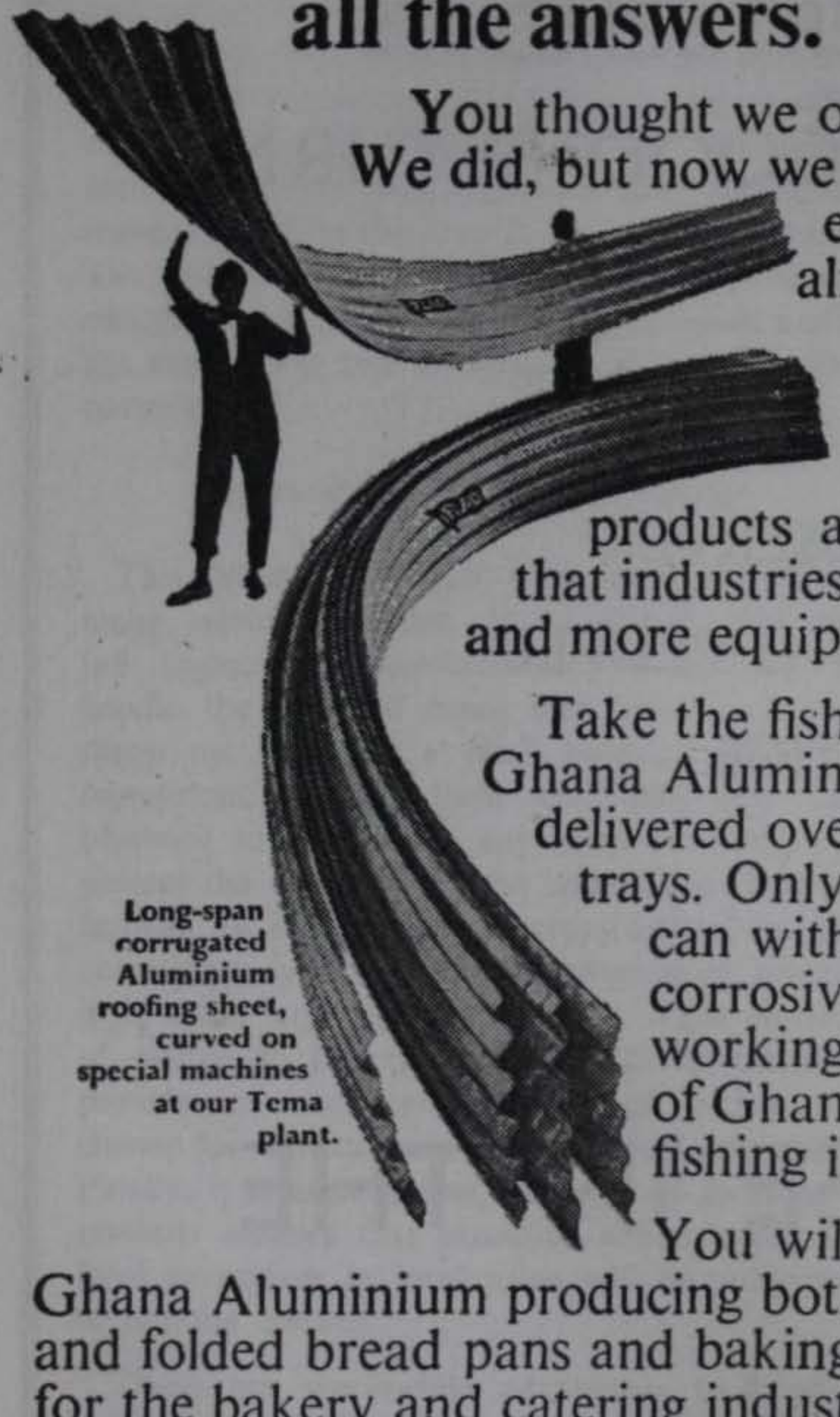
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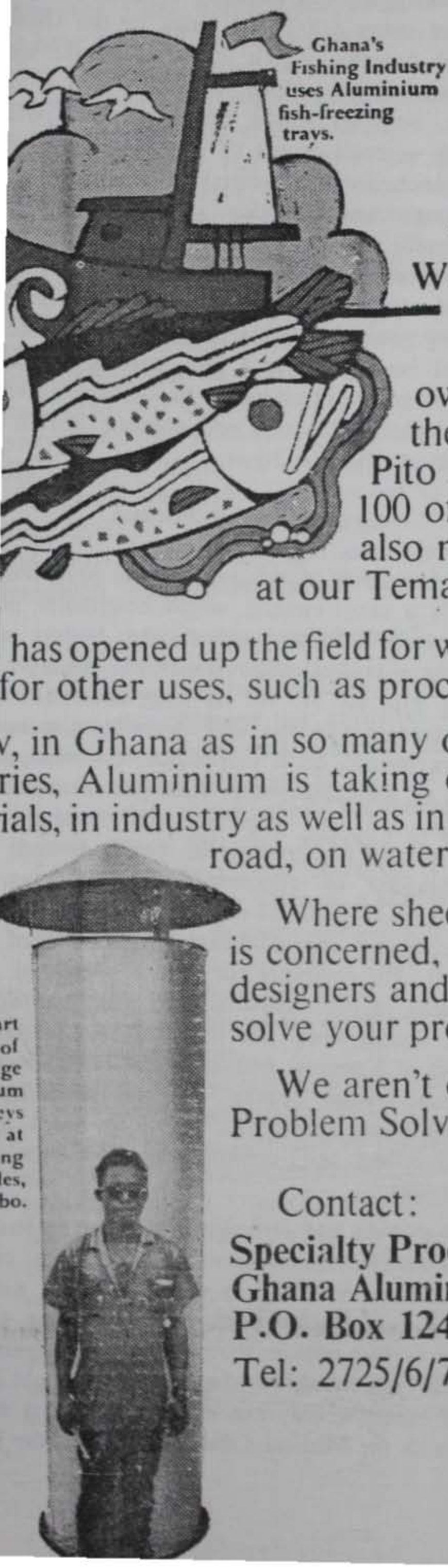


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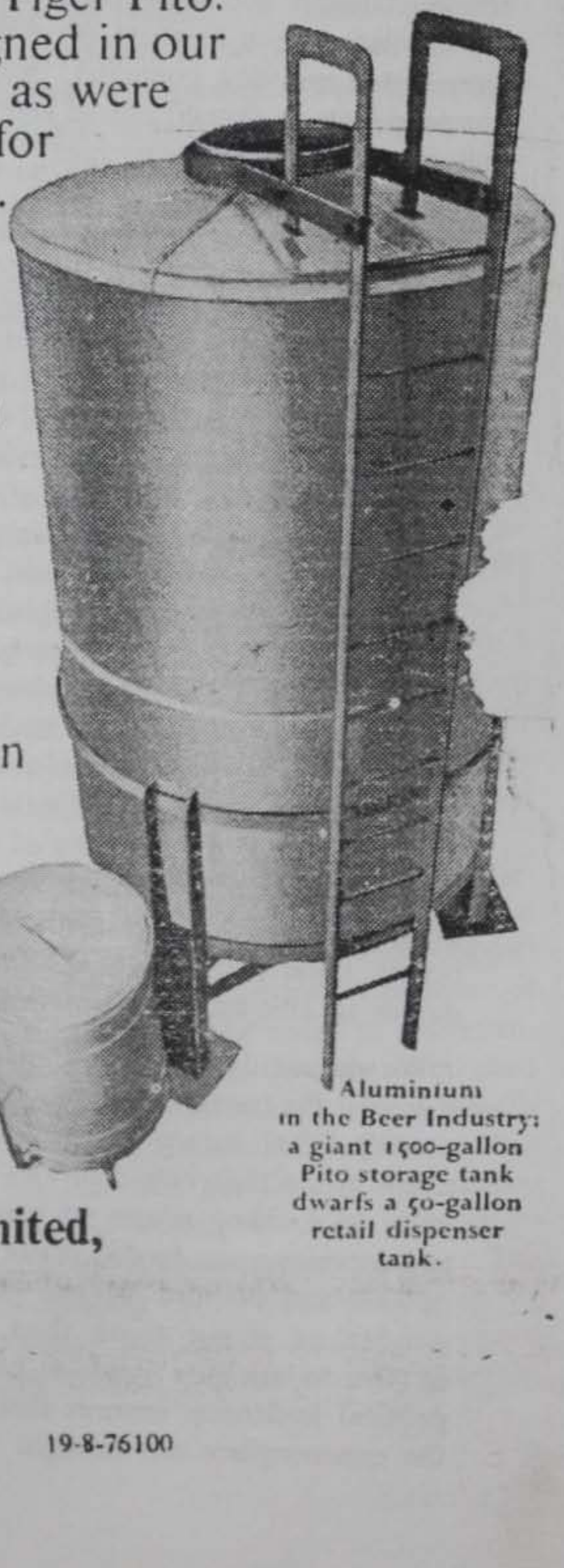
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council — which is power. But even this power is useless if he does not have the requisite professional and managerial skills to get things done.

The absence of a recognized chief executive (i) to provide effective and efficient administration (ii) to ensure that heads of departments worked as a team; and (iii) to ensure effective control systems must have been clear to the C.P.P. administration. For, an amendment to the Local Government Act of 1961 in 1964 provided that the Accra-Tema City Council be equipped with an Executive Chairman as the official head of the council to perform certain functions of the council. The executive chairman of the Accra-Tema City Council was appointed by the Head of the C.P.P. government. By 1966 almost all chairmen, strong in the knowledge that they were party stalwarts and encouraged by the payment of regular salaries to them (true of chairmen of municipal and city councils), had taken permanent seats in council offices and were directing affairs as "executive chairmen".

'Feelings of Political Leadership'

The movement towards having executive chairmen was certainly an interesting development which matter (I dare say) still generates fierce emotions when mentioned. One argues one way or the other depending of course, is on one's party political inclinations. The crux of the matter was t "the feeling at the time was that the council ccra-Tema) needed political leadership,"[5] n can be a legitimate proposition because in committee system of local government it is sible to have a council lacking effective poli- l leadership due to the mode of electing a hairman for a year and the role cast for him. When such a situation presents itself, life can be miserable for the servants of the council who have to put up with constant interference in their work from individual councillors and local politicians. Clearly this is a condition hardly conducive to efficient and consistent administration.

We do not deny that in public administration there is the need for political leadership. We need political direction to bring the common touch to the slide rule solutions that experts will offer. In deciding where to build public latrines and locate streets, feeder roads and schools, the opinion and interests of the public are just as weighty as, if not more than, the calculations of the technicians. And a properly organised political leadership ensures that the elements of the commonplace are brought to bear on technical decisions, in ordering priorities and in setting the tone for executives to take the cue.

Having said this for the need for political leadership in our local councils, what can be said on who exercises administrative leadership? Here the experiences of other countries can be instructive. And what we find the most engaging proposition is the city-manager style of administration of some 2,000 odd cities in the United States of America, which is based on the idea that municipal government can be run just like business, built on sound financing with policy made by a small group of (on the average 9) elected councillors (directors). The idea of the city-manager was hit upon at the beginning of this century when honest and hard-working citizens of certain cities in America got sick and tired of corrupt politicians who were running their city governments. Feeling the consequences of inept financial control and poor administration, they sought to replace the politicians with highly trained, dedicated and efficient officials in the field of administration.

Laymen And Politicians

In a few words, in this type of city governmnet, there is a small council which determines policies, passes byelaws, adopts the budget and appoints a professionally competent manager to get on with the job for as long as he behaves. The manager appoints and dismisses the heads of departments; he is responsible for what goes on in all the departments with power to decide on the size and organisational structure of departments, the grading of positions and the qualifications of appointees. He advises the council on its financial condition and needs, prepares, submits and administers the budget of the council. He combines in himself, clearly, the functions of our Treasurer and what our Town Clerk timidly does. His assigned role is similar to that of a general manager in a business organisation, holding regular meetings with departmental heads and giving decisions much more readily than our committees of laymen and politicians.

Thus if we had a recognized and a professionally competent chief executive in our local councils, the responsibility of which officer it was to have taken a positive decision in getting spare parts to help repair the conservancy fleets of Accra-Tema would not have been in doubt. The chief executive only needed to have had a meeting with the Medical Officer of Health, the Fleet

ntenance Engineer and the Treasurer to have ired the facts and taken action. Such a meet- would also have given each of these chief cers the opportunity to have gained a total ure of the needs of the administration as far the sanitary problems of the city was con- ned. That is, all would have learnt from Medical Officer of Health the consequences not having enough vehicles to help dispose of use; the Fleet Maintenance Engineer would o have apprised his colleagues on the need for ving spare parts always in stock; and the Trea- rer would have put in the necessary words about e financial condition of the council.

The plan of the city-manager may have its ilings. Indeed it may be considered alien; and e suggestion is not that it should be adopted this country root and branch. The greatest iticism of the plan is that conceived as it was the spirit of business enterprise, it rides oughshod over the political aspects of local overnment. But do the lessons of the fifteen ears (1951-66) experiment in democratic local government—as particularly highlighted in the city administrations of Accra-Tema, Kumasi and Sekondi-Takoradi—not lead one to think of other systems of internal organisation which will introduce professional administration and integrated management in our local councils?

What's the Real Answer?

The answer may not necessarily be the city-manager plan. Perhaps our legislators will come up with a solution that can be said to be Ghana's original invention in the field of public administration. But whatever the system may be, it must ensure that the authority of the whole administration in a local authority is conceived as one and, not as in the past, a number of separate departments. It must allow that one person is placed in a firm position to have a total picture of the conditions and needs of the administration and get the whole machinery moving as an integrated whole.

However, it does not seem that the provisions of the Local Administration Bill, 1970, create the conditions for the authority of the whole administration of the suggested District Councils to be felt. The District Councils are described in the Bill as the fundamental units of local administration responsible both for "carrying out the ordinary functions of local authorities" and for the "promotion of development plans for their areas, the supervision and direction in their areas of the work of decentralized Ministries and departments, and the management of certain essential services".[6] The District Council will be at once the unit for providing local government services and the unit for administering the decentralized services of the central government.

This arrangment is quite an innovation in the public administration of this country, though the integrated type of field administration the Bill seeks to provide operates in France and in some other European countries.

The responsibilities placed on these District Councils will not only call for the type of representatives who will be fully informed on all major isues facing the council, they will also call for an ordered system of internal management which will help the councils achieve the effectiveness no doubt expected of them by the Progress Party government which might want to use the councils as instruments of development in the country. However, the silence of the Bill on who will offer leadership in directing and controlling the affairs of these councils leaves one to speculate as to whether the old pattern of internal arrangements with its many committees and subcommittees and its concomittant need for an elaborate machinery of co-ordination is going to be a feature of the new councils.

Taking Discretionary Powers

There is the mention of the chairman of the council who like other councillors will be an elected member of the council but owe his position as chairman to an appointment by the Prime Minister. But as in the basic laws of local government of the 1950s and 1960s present Bill on Local Administration is quiet on the powers of the chairman as an executive head of the Council.[7] Perhaps the ministerial instrument which appoints the chairman of the District Counicl will take the discretionary powers of defining clearly what the nature of his functions will be.

However, if there are some people who, because of their experiences of the Executive Chairman of Accra-Tema City Council, object to executive control over District Councils of the 1970s being placed in the hands of politicians by a Head of Government, then the next class of persons in line for leadership of the Councils will be the District Administrative Officers. But here again we find that the District Administrative Officer is in a weak position to offer effective leadership in administrative matters. The Local Administration Bill, 1970, sees him as the council's secretary performing functions assigned to him by the council[8]. If we examine the pro-

visions of the Bill on regional management, we find that in that case the relations between the Regional Administrative Officer and the Regional Chief Executive on the one hand, and those between the Regional Administrative Officer and the officials of the regional administration on the other have been clearly defined. The relation between the Regional Chief Executive and the Regional Administrative Officer, we are told, will be similar to that of a Principal Secretary and his Minister. That is having advised the Regional Chief Executive, the Regional Administrative Officer is held responsible for getting on with the job of administration in the region.

The provisions of the Bill do not say much the same things for the District Administrative Officer though the explanation to the Bill indicates that he, like the Regional Administrative Officer, will be the head of the staff of the District Authority. But it is not clear reading from the Bill what the relations will be between the District Administrative Officer and the Chairman the nature of whose functions are not yet clear. The apparent silence of the Bill on the sort of relations that would exist between the District Administrative Officer and the Chairman tempts one to suggest a principle that should be followed in assigning responsibilities between the Chairman and the District Administrative Officer. Here we suggest that, as is the case with many major business organisations, arrangements be deviced in such a way that the District Administrative Officer lives at the apex of a triangle supporting and balancing the council. That is, the appointed chairman should be limited to offering the necessary political leadership on broad policy decisions which the District Council must take in each of its fields of responsibilities and determine the ends to be achieved. The District Administrative Officer, as a general manager, should be left free to organise the means to achieve the ends established by the council.

The Spirit of the Bills

This mode of operation, we contend, does not conflict with the spirit of the Bill which emphasises more of the "administration" than the "government" of localities. And if we are right in assuming that the end the Bill seeks to achieve is effective and efficient administration of central and local government services in local areas, then a professionally competent administrator must be allowed to offer leadership in matters of management. By limiting the Chairman to political leadership and the professional administrator to administrative leadership we seek to make the authority relationships of the whole administration of the council clear to the government, the officers and the public. We again, seek to enable the District Administrative Officer and the other senior officers of the council to get on with the job of administration with the minimum of interference beyond the policy-making stage from the councillors and the chairman of a District Council. Above all, we want to ensure that the district authorities operate as similarly as possible as major business organisations do—a necessary requirement for positive and dynamic contribution towards solving the problems of development in this country.

FOOTNOTES

1. *Interim and Final Reports* of the Commission of Enquiry into the Accra-Tema City Council, Accra, 1969 p.44, para. 144.
2. Ibid, p.44, para. 147.
3. D. N. Chester, "Local Democracy and the Internal Organisation of Local Authorities" in *Public Administration*, Autumn, 1968, Vol. 46, p.287. Chester is here summarising the observations of the Maud Committee on Management of Local Government.
4. *Interim and Final Reports* of the Commission of Enquiry into the Accra-Tema City Council, Accra, 1969, p.8 para. 36.
5. Ibid., p.45, para. 149.
6. Local Administration Bill, Accra, 1970 (Nov. 23rd) pi. para. 4.
7. Contrast the position of the Chairman of the District Council with that of the Chairman of the Regional Council who also owes his appointment to the Prime Minister; but is called the Regional Chief Executive in order "to emphasise the character of his functions."
   Ibid., pii. para. 10.
8. Ibid., pii. para. 9(2).

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polise the loyalty of their people. Thus *all members of the leadership elite become wedded to the ideal of undivided loyalty to a single cause:*

(b) but a section of the revolutionary elite get fixated in a second attitude of mind, that of being *anti-government by development*, i.e., through the experience of having fought to change "the fundamental character of a country rather than accepting well-established rules of political life and working within them". What becomes the nationalist take-over government is thus *loyalty-orientated*, so to speak, while an oppositional segment breaks away and sets itself up in a new, *anti-government*, stance;

(c) the conflict thus engendered between two emerging forces is inevitable, but to the successor-government group it all seems illegitimate and treacherous on the part of the oppositional elements. (Apter puts this position almost the other way: that in the new nations it is the opposition leaders—or many of them—that "regard the new government much as they did their colonial predecessors, i.e., as basically illegitimate" (*op.cit.*, p.56), a generalisation completely unacceptable to me);

(d) the new leaders are faced at independence with the whole range of political, social, and economic problems known to human societies, and to them the need to tackle these is immediate, not futuristic;

(e) from those leaders of the freedom-fight who press most to the bitter end, politics have become the permanent occupation and the breadwinner. Pre-occupation with a role in opposition appears to them like intolerable flirtation with non-realities in political and economic life, a luxury suited only to "wealthy countries where political life is less stern and the future more secure". (*Op. cit.*, p.57);

(f) in addition to all these, the urge is overpowering to "catch up" with the advanced nations; to demonstrate ability long submerged under the dominant (former) colonial regime; to aim for quick results as a means of "proof" —all of which aims and urges are incompatible with democratic competition, debate, choice, and the rest of the time-wasting gestures of democratic procedure.

Some objective facts which giv
number of the above partly subject
of the radical African leaders are
(a) the new regimes are without adequ
of skilled manpower for the operatio
dern state machinery; (b) they are lik
out a managerial class trained in the operati
and techniques of large-scale industry or me
cantile business: and (c) they have no capital
for development and no credit except on a basis almost of charity. Martin Kilson (in "The Politics of African Socialism", *African Forum*, Vol. I, No. 3, Winter 1965) has written pointedly about "this lack of preparedness", this poor representation, among the new African elites, of "many important modernizing attributes"; this lack of training and experience "in running large-scale industrial, commercial, and financial institutions" and "in such technological and scientific fields as agronomy, engineering, and metallurgy all of which are required for modern economic development". (*Op. cit.*, p.17)

Various Forms of Ideologies

Thus psychological pressures as well as material realities underlie the case against political opposition (in the form of another organised party), as made out by the one-party statists. The reasons which lead the Nkrumahs, Sekou Toures, Nyereres, Houphouet Boignys, et al., to the exclusivist positions they take on this matter cannot, therefore, be frivolous ones. Not only that. The *Nkrumahs, Sekou Toures and Nyereres* have their foundations in, or are moored to, Marxist-Leninist ideologies and dialectic, or at least to various forms and/or degrees of socialism—pure, adulterated, bastardised; classical, African, confused etcetera. The *Houphouet-Boignys* and *Bandas*, on the other hand, are in the one-party game for less intellectual-revolutionary ideology and more homespun, pragmatic reasons. But all the different schools of one-party thought and action do have their reasons, and, to repeat, these cannot be frivolous ones.

But they may be false, or misapprehended, or even weak. Take a simple one namely, the claim that traditional African society had its answer to the reality of conflict in the resolution of a problem within the council of elders, with the chief summing up and formulating the consensus, this being then accepted as the general will, until superceded by the decisions arising out of another and later deliberation on the same class of problems. A University of Ghana lecturer in

.e has pointed out that this is a ument which cannot bear close exane process of harmonisaton of pre ıfflicting interests or opinions within of elders of a traditional community , a relatively simple one wholly sufficient for simple society with simple needs. Traditional societies which progressed beyond "primitive" needs and bloodbased relationships would find their procedures and solutions no longer adequate. Nyerere may be in the process of forcing some progress into, or out of, this traditional paradigm; we have to wait and hope. But in its usual form the argument certainly lacks reality.

Conflicts in Society

This is principally because developments in human society involves two parallel yet radically different processes which affect "government" decisively. First, Man increases his *number* by *addition*, but, secondly, his relations with other men by *multiplication;* or, put into slightly different terms: people increase in number by arithmetical progression, but their relations with one another multiply by geometric progression. A single individual becomes 2, then 3, 4, 5, etc., or 10, 20, 23, 36, 40, etc.; but the relations between or among individuals, developing upon the needs, wants, feelings (of love, hate, rivalry, jeolousy, anger, admiration, etc.), as well as the goods and services, etc., of each individual in relation to every other individual—these increase in series like 2,4, 16, 32, 1024, etc. (or 3, 9; 27, 629, etc.), i.e., where the interests, drives, ambitions, rivalries, and conflicts in society proliferate endlessly. Moreover, the higher the rate of material progress, the higher the rate of increase in the number of "relationships" among people.

When man gets to this point the simple resolutions of traditional society become, to the complex demands of his new order, as the Dane gun to modern artillery . . . . Precisely at this point, therefore, it becomes absurd to claim for the single-body caucus the power to harmonise such large numbers of heterogeneous elements without political rupturing from the persistence of dissident groups. Other arguments against the one-party statist position are also available. For instance, if this is the nature or pattern of relationships, then the only way to create a controllable situation among the dissidents would seem to be to give to them, too, the right to organise their discontent into something respectable, responsible, and responsive to rationality. Otherwise one alternative at least could be *disorder arising out of unmitigated discontent*. In addition, the Marxist resolution has its own problems, to say the least of it.

It may here be pointed out, in passing, that the "deficiency theory" supporting one-party ideology and as analysed by the Apters and the Kilsons, though powerfully atrractive is not all that self-sufficient a rationale either. In his chapter entitled "The Role of Adult Education in Orientating a Rational Tradition in Africa for Economic and Social Development", on page 264 of the book *Mass Education: Studies in Adult Education* . . . . (Edstroem, Erdos and Prosser editors), a contemporary, J. Opare-Abetia, puts it this way:

> One such theory is the deficiency theory, which states that lack of resources such as power, capital, suitable climate, skilled manpower and managerial ability has been the cause of stagnation in Africa. But when one examines what Africa has done with the resources in which it has the greatest economic advantage, and the outcome of independence in many African countries, it is difficult to accept this explanation. It would be difficult to find any country in the world which has attained a high level of economic development because it possessed at the earliest stages of its economic development all the ingredients considered prerequisite for economic breakthrough in Africa. History teaches us that the development was gradual and that it started from very humble beginnings. It was the result of the changed outlook about nature and society which motivated men to utiiize their resources to the extent of the existing knowledge at the time. If Africa is to wait until it can have an abundant supply of the material factors of production, without giving its people fundamental lessons in the whys and hows of economic development, very slow and little economic development will be achieved . . . .

But let that pass. I would now like to be the devil's advocate and summarise my own feelings about the one-party phenomenon by two postulates of my own, by which to throw the argument wide open again:

(a) The persistence of one-partyism in Africa seems to me to argue a validity or a potency not yet discovered or recognized; and disastrous one-party experiments like the ex-C.P.P. regime in Ghana do not suffice to outlaw or

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LEADERSHIP IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT.
—S. N. WOODE

EDITORIAL

THE DIALOGUE ON DIALOGUE

IN his statement (11th of December) to the National Assembly on the possibilities of dialogue as one way of ending apartheid, the Prime Minister is reported to have said:

> I must emphasize again that the sort of dialogue we advocate is one directed towards securing the total abolition of the theories and practices of apartheid. There can be no question of a dialogue calculated to maintain the status quo in Southern Africa or to the acceptance of apartheid in any shape or form.

That, really, is the crux of all the talk about dialogue with South Africa on the question of apartheid. Politicians in power are not regarded as academics who, ideally, delight in floating abtruse ideas about this and that which may be of no immediate practical concern to their fellow men. Politicians deal with possibilities and the test of the soundness of any policy is its chances of success and the possible repercussions of that success. The debate on dialogue with South Africa, healthily engendered by the Prime Minister's overseas remarks, should be concerned with whether or not it is likely to succeed in eliminating apartheid.

Any sensible estimate of the chances of dialogue in securing the end of apartheid must be based on a good knowledge of the philosophical and socio-economic foundations of that doctrine; on a knowledge of the history of the Black, Coloured and 'liberal' White resistance movement which, as the Prime Minister himself pointed out, has embraced attempts at 'dialogue', in various forms, with the South African authorities; and on a knowledge of the content of the relations of the South African government with the Black African countries which have started doing business with it. It is difficult to see how one can talk meaningfully about dialogue as a viable policy without these kinds of knowledge. For this reason, and as a contribution towards the debate, the **Observer** plans a survey for our next issue on the questions posed above.

But even now certain points, arising out of the statement

MERRY X'MAS TO ALL OUR READERS

in the National Assembly, need clarification. The first relates to whether or not the statement was the sum of the P.M's individual reflections on the matter or it was the cabinet's collective view. The Prime Minister is reported to have told the National Assembly that he wished to take the opportunity 'to share my thoughts on the apartheid issue and my reason for suggesting that new approaches including dialogue in addition to whatever weapons that have so far been employed against apartheid should be explored'. But then, later in the statement, he also said:

> My government is of the view that another weapon which could be effectively used is that of dialogue either with the South African government itself, or with moderate forces, black and white, within South Africa

Did the Prime Minister mean that the 'thoughts' behind, and the 'reasons' adduced for, the policy of dialogue were his own, but that the whole cabinet had been persuaded to accept them? And are we, then, to expect no more contradictory statements from members of the government on the matter.

Secondly, the Prime Minister mentioned that the government would seek 'dialogue either with the South African government itself, or with moderate forces, black and white, within South Africa'. Is one to understand that there would be no dialogue with what may be called the 'militant' forces in South Africa? But this would be necessary if for no other purpose than to persuade them to abandon what the P.M. considers to be the futile, yet cruel, policy of sending a few people across the border to slaughter.

Thirdly, where is the dialogue with the 'moderate forces' to be held? It is common knowledge that even those 'moderately' opposed to apartheid—and 'moderate' apparently refers to the method of opposition to, and not to the degree of hatred for, apartheid—are normally prevented from leaving the country and that even tea parties that seem likely to discuss apartheid from its victims point of view are banned.

It may well be that the Prime Minister envisages some sort of agreement with the South African authorities which will secure permission for representatives of the 'moderate forces' to fly in and out of the country to engage in dialogues—perhaps participate in conferences — with other opponents of apartheid on the ways and means of peacefully ending apartheid. Or maybe those representatives of the 'moderate forces' will be allowed to pay frequent visits to the embassies of the African countries — which will be established in Pretoria as a matter of course if and once the South Africa authorities accept the policy of dialogue — to talk about non-violent ways of ending apartheid.

Questions of this sort must suggest others about just what the dialogue both with the South African authorities and the moderate forces is to be about. Will the South African authorities now concede that apartheid is no more an internal affair and, therefore, open to international discussion?

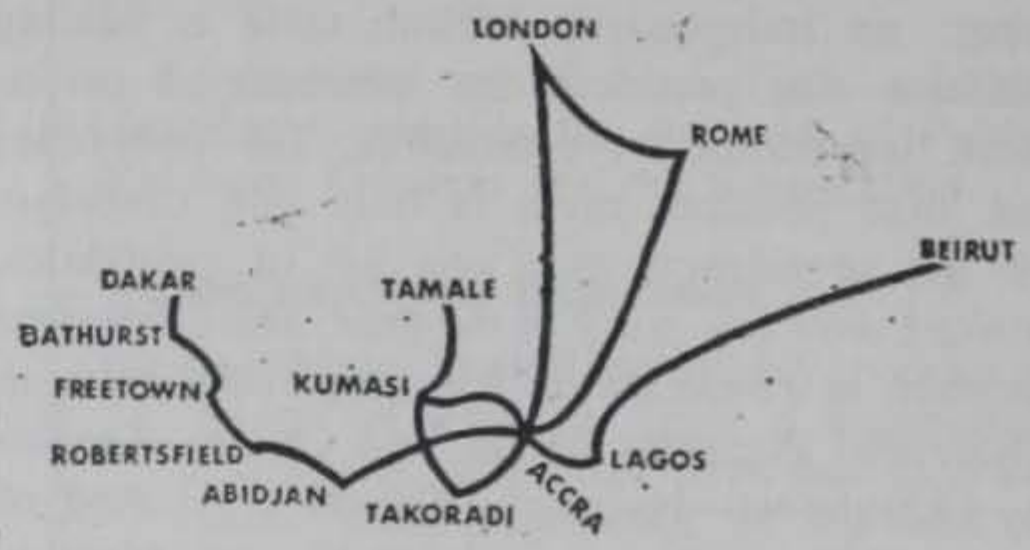
It is difficult, indeed, to see how the dialogue trick is going to be pulled off unless the South African authorities fulfil the major condition the Prime Minister laid down for its success. This is that they accept the African advocates of dialogue as their equals. But this would mean the abandonment of the basis of apartheid and would herald the authorities' willingness to pull down the whole structure of institutionalized apartheid. In that case our intervention would cease to be called for: there are certainly enough talkers in the South African prisons to do all the talking that would then become necessary. The crucial point is whether or not there has so far been any sign, apart from the willingness of the South African authorities to put some African countries on the dole, that they are prepared to abandon the basis and the institutions of apartheid. There has surely been none.

Hence even though one may understand the Prime Minister's weighty reasons for despairing of the armed fight against South Africa, one finds it difficult to accept the dialogue policy as a serious alternative. And as others have pointed out, talk about dialogue splits the African ranks and comforts the common enemy. One wishes that the matter had been mooted and discussed first behind the closed doors of an O.A.U. meeting.

For Ghana, the dialogue debate has been a useful exercise. If only the attention given to it would be brought to bear on domestic issues, we really should be getting some where. It does seem that the period of government by oracles is over.

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Politics

ONE-PARTY STATES AND THE ROLE OF OPPOSITION IN CONTEMPORARY AFRICA

By
K. A. B. Jones-Quartey

For the last twelve months or more, announcement after announcement from the "Third World" has told the rest of the world the same thing: an independent African state is holding elections—for president, for members of parliament, for municipal councillors, for this office and that position; there is only one candidate for the presidency, only one list of candidates, *in short only one party in the field*. Thus President Senghor is re-elected to his umpteenth term in office; and President Banda, and Obote—Kenyatta—Houphouet—Nyerere—Mobutu . . . And of course their parties are returned, to continue ten, fifteen, twenty years in office, *without opposition*.

'Re-electing' One party Presidents

This phenomenon is characteristic of, but not exclusive to the third-world countries of Africa. In Asia, the Near East, the Arab world (considered as a cultural unit) and in South America, the underdeveloped states and the newly established independencies are persistently and everywhere "re-electing" one-party presidents, governments, municipal councils, and the rest of the monolithic paraphernalia. What does this phenomenon mean and emphasize? To try to answer that question and re-examine one of the foremost phenomena of our time is the purpose of this paper. It was first presented to a Department of History seminar at Legon in 1966. In the four years and more since then, the situation which the paper tried to analyse on that occasion has changed not at all, except, significantly, in Ghana. Threfore, only slight modifications have been made in the analysis that now follows.

The revolutionary leaders of contemporary Africa have, in the overwhelming majority, chosen one-party government as the only political way out of the initial handicaps of independent status. And they have rationalised their position by the following postulates, *inter alia:*

(a) Party political opposition, Westminster style, is unnecessary in emergent Africa, incompatible with its traditions—its own sense of democracy—and unrelated to its realities;

(b) party political opposition is thus a foreign luxury Africa cannot afford, because

(c) it is politically and economically wasteful, and is less expensively provided for in the traditional process of harmonisation of interests within the "Council of Elders", or, in the modern sense, within the single party through "democratic centralism";

(d) opposition, worse than merely being wasteful, creates factionalism and separatism, where the urgency for political harmonisation and economic reorganisation—where, that is to say, the consolidation of the gains of the revolution — demands, instead, unity of purpose and of aim from all section of the polity;

(e) factionalism and separatism cannot even be expected to, and certainly do not necessarily, stop there, but often proceed to violence, internecine warfare, and defeat for the revolution; to balkanisation, neo-colonialism and the re-enthronement of western capitalist exploitation, with its resultant bourgeoizification of an illegitimate, apeish African elite.

Though much of this argument can be and has been disproved, or at least challenged with varying degrees of success, the case of the revolutionary left in contemporary African politics—even as expressed in the extreme terms of subparagraph (e) above—is still not to be dismissed out of hand with some disdainful "democratic" gesture. There is a valid rationale for the political attitudes that occasion these postulates, though perhaps there is no theoretical or even factual justification for all of them. In any case we have the living reality with us of the persistence of one-party states in Africa and elsewhere, making nonsense of indignant and self-righteous democratic claims. We might as well compose ourselves, therefore, to further serious examination of the phenomenon and its ideological foundations.

David Apter's analysis (in "The Role of Political Opposition", in *Africa—The Dynamics of Change*, 1963, Passin and Jones-Quartey, editors), modified, is pertinent:

(a) Most new nations attain independence only after a prolonged period of struggle against the colonial rulers. During this struggle the nationalist leaders naturally mono-

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deny that possibility of validity or potency;

(b) the failure of federalism and multipartyism in Nigeria, say, and, on the other hand, the "success" so far of one-partyism in the Ivory Coast—these two differential cases would tend to suggest that at least all the answers are not yet in.

From this I would like to proceed to my major proposition, namely that there is still a case to be made out for my suspicion *that "Africa" has not yet discovered its most suitable political and economic system or systems*, and that the present condition of flux and upset is not one in which to *determine* that it should be this or that system and not another. A re-study of the social history of nations, the continuing re-study of revolutions and of the ideas of our contemporary revolutionaries — not omitting Franz Fanon and Julius Nyerere — is clearly a duty resting upon us.

Be precise. Take sides and stop hedging.

IDEOLOGICAL CONFLICT IN GHANA

By

J. F. S. Hansen

THE struggle for a socially emancipated Ghana has yet to begin and when it does, it cannot overlook the hypocrisy of camouflaged vested interests in existing social inequalities and the natural right of the individual Ghanaian for social justice. It is bound to be a struggle between a neo-elitist, pseudo-patrician democracy which the typical Ghanaian phrase-monger euphemistically calls the "Welfare State" and a democracy of the common-man, a democracy of the dispossessed, the politically disinherited and the exploited.

For the Peoples' Popular Party (PPP) the concept of social justice presupposes the actual existence of continuing social inequalities and injustices in our society. Social justice, however, may mean different things to different people. For example, a conservative interpretation of social justice must necessarily differ from that of the socialist: for while the former is primarily interested in preserving the **status quo** of master-servant relationship the latter believes that society must be purposefully transformed in order to make the concept of the equality of man more meaningful.

In political affairs the notion of ideology is indispensable to the formulation of party political programmes. For it answers the all-important question: what **type** of society? A political party has accordingly to determine its position not only in relation to strictly internal social and economic problems, but also to the prevailing economic and political issues beyond its borders. Declarations of ideology, therefore, far from being mere scholastic issues, involve the most explicit formulation of the mental plus the intellectual climate of the enquiring mind in search for solutions to specific political, economic and social problems.

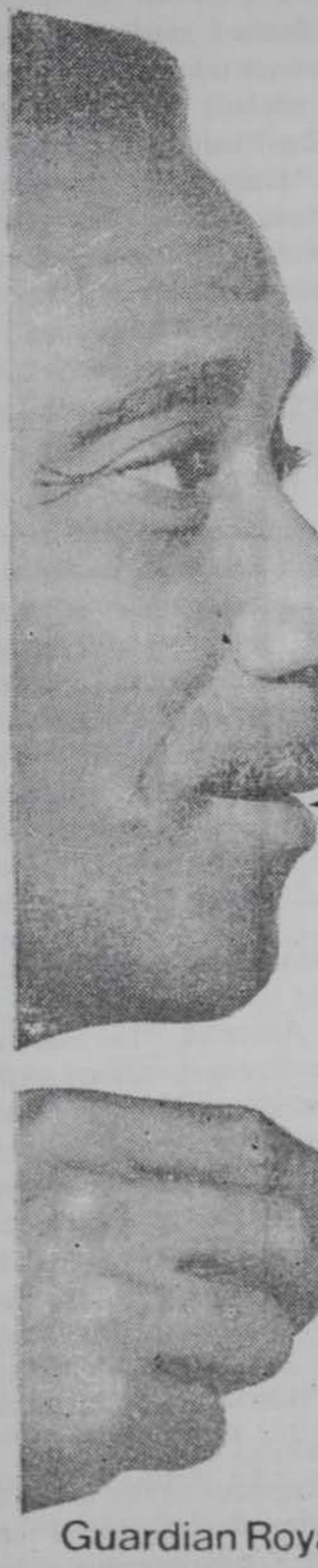
At the beginning of the Industrial Revolution, Malthus, for instance, attributed the poverty and misery of the rising industrial proletariat to an absence of "sexual discipline" and Ricardo, accepting the basic premises of Malthus, formulated the notorious "Iron Law of Wages", which held the proletariat entirely responsible for their poverty and misery. For, so it was argued, more wages for workers would merely encourage the production of more children which, in turn, would result in a fall in the "real" value of their wages.

Faced with a situation involving grinding poverty and increasing misery for the workers, the methodological approach of Malthus and Ricardo ignored the fact that there was something inherently pernicious with Laissez-faire capitalism. Instead, it accused the oppressed human element —(the workers), caught up, as it were, in the merciless vortex of capitalist exploitation — of lacking "moral self-control." Thus the classical economists failed to understand that social inequalities, including misery of the workers, was being more and more accentuated by the inherent contradictions of the capitalist system, a system of organised exploitation which equated man with machine.

The Welfare of Workers

Socialist thought is therefore indebted to the perspicacity of Karl Marx not only for debunking the ideological assumptions of the classical economists, but also for reversing their methodological postulates. In so doing Marx squarely attributed the misery and poverty of the industrial proletariat to the internal contradictions of capitalism which, was, and still is, concerned more with the volume of **profit** and less with the welfare of the Workers. It is clear, then, that the methodological approach of the classical economists to the crucial question of social inequalities was ideologically different from that of Karl Marx who argued that the whole complex of social inequalities as a social evil cannot be eliminated from society unless and until the means of production, distribution, marketing and exchange are in the full democratic control of a consciously organi-

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sed proletariat. Hence his famous clarion-call: "Workers of the world unite. You have nothing to lose but your chains. You have a world to win." For all socialists this means a **world** of actual not hypothetical social justice, a world in which a conscious redistribution of the national wealth not only bridges the glaring gap between the rich and the poor, but also eliminates what the American economist, Veblen, has described as " conspicuous consumption."

For all socialists, the socialisation of the workers—i.e. arousing their consciousness as a class of exploited people for the purpose of organising them into a political force opposed to the exploitative voraciousness of the capitalist system and its ethical presumptions—is the only means of achieving social justice.

It is, therefore, clear that the struggle between "Capitalism" and "Socialism" for social justice in Ghana is bound to continue to be a topical. live and dominating issue precisely because for all socialists the ideology of "capitalism" and the ideology of "socialism" are mutually exclusive. Furthermore, since the validity of the theoretical basis of a party's socialist programme must, in the final analysis, determine its political activity, there is nothing pejorative in a party being committed to a theory of socialism it proposes to implement, at the appropriate time, with the full backing of popular mandate.

Large Measure of Agreement

In an article, in the (**L.O.** V/23), Dr. Asamoah confesses that the "Manifestoes issued by the Parties (i.e. PP, NAL, UNP, APRP) are "quite similar", and goes on to admit that this was "not an accident" "because for a number of reasons [not stated] there is a large measure of agreement about the ends of contemporary Ghanaian society and the means by which they can be achieved."

Although Dr. Asamoah hardly bothers to explain what he means by the phrase "quite similar" and a "large measure of agreement . . .", a distinction must be drawn between the strictly technical limits of Ghanaian society within a Ghana considered as a geographical fact, and the ethical goals of political activity in Ghana. If, therefore, by "ends", Dr. Asamoah means the "ethical goals" of genuine political activity in contemporary Ghanaian society, then he has a duty to explain what these goals are. It would therefore appear on the face of it that the tireless efforts of the opposition to duplicate and triplicate the PP into NAL, UNP, APRP etc., is hardly worth the declaratory effusiveness of the leaders since the opposition, by its own account, is being presented to the public as ideologically emasculated and therefore all talk about opposition to the PP amounts to nothing but breezy political chicanery.

Dr. Asamoah further says that "indigenous exploitation has not yet taken the form that lends itself to Marxist analysis". But what does Dr. Asamoah mean by "indigenous exploitation"? Does he mean the "exploitation"' of "indigenous" people? If, so, by whom? Or, does he mean by "indigenous exploitation", the exploitation of "indigenous" natural resources? If so, by whom? It is painfully clear that Dr. Asamoah's choice of words has not been a happy one. Dr Asamoah is, however, entitled to his own opinion even though his own analysis is unwittingly a vindication of the Marxist analysis.

How many more iniquities should "International Capitalism" perpetrate in Ghana in order to become susceptible to Marxist analysis? Any dispassionate student of the history of contemporary social development in Ghana cannot fail to observe that there is in Ghana a process of incipient social stratification, however inchoate. The overriding concern of socialist political activity, therefore, is to arrest this process in order to prevent it from fossilising.

Opposing 'International Capitalism'

According to Dr. Asamoah, "the main cause of exploitation in developing countries, including Ghana, is "International Capitalism". Every socialist is bound to agree with this diagnosis of the malaise plaguing Ghana, and indeed all developing countries. But it should be strongly emphasised that it is precisely for this reason, and in order to rid Ghana of all forms of capitalist exploitation, that the P.P.P., as a socialist party, is unalterably and implacably opposed to all manifestations of capitalism including "International Capitalism".

It is common knowledge that the P.P.P. was banned to eliminate dangerous rivalry in the 1969 General Elections on the specious ground that it was Nkrumah's party, a sub-conscious political Oedipus-Complex which is still haunting the minds of the guilty. That the P.P.P. is not dead today is a result of a relentless struggle to affirm the constitutional right of any political party to exist in Ghana. Furthermore, the commitment of the P.P.P. to socialism is a direct logical opposition to all other parties which are not socialist.

As a socialist party, the People's Popular Party

has no illusions whatsover about the ethical goals of socialism, i.e., the collective endeavour of all sections of the community to establish and ensure a just society. Nor is the P.P.P. deceived by pious phrase-mongering. Naturally as a socialist party, the P.P.P.'s main pre-occupation is with the unethical basis and structure of our society which continue to create a vast complex of social inequalities. For the P.P.P., social inequalities in contemporary Ghana are **significant** enough facts which cannot render a party "insignificant" merely because it advocates their total elimination. But was the P.P.P. banned because it was "insignificant"? If so, then nothing could have demonstrated more clearly the political immaturity, illiteracy and obtuseness of the N.L.C.

Some beneficiaries of the present iniquitous social system in contemporary Ghana are understandably bound, out of sheer self-interest, to oppose socialism. Such people, however, should do so with less hypocrisy and with more sincerity. The most ""traumatic" event in the Nkrumah era was not that socialism "failed", but that as a historical truth, socialism as an economic proposition was still-born. Otherwise, how, for example, could a genuine socialist economic policy have seen fit to purchase with the tax payers' money sub-marginal gold mines in Konongo while leaving intact and undisturbed, the International capitalist stronghold of the Ashanti Goldfield's Corporation on our main rich gold ore resources?

The 'Craze' of Nkrumah's Era

Independent observers of the West have also pointed out that the "craze" of the Nkrumah era for infrastructure (new roads, new ports, new facilities for general and technical education and the attempt to transform an otherwise Colonial Frontier Force into a genuine, but idle National Defence Force equipped with expensive modern weapons) ironically contributed largely to Nkrumah's own downfall. Oddly enough it was the beneficiaries of the new elitist stratum of Nkrumah's "socialist" Ghana who conspiratorially opposed his "socialism". If this argument is true then the lesson must be clear. There is little point in attempting to build socialism with opportunist or with either fawning or gaping sycophants, in short without convinced and dedicated socialists. In the coming struggle for social justice in Ghana, the P.P.P. will be guided not only by the lessons of the past but also by the lessons of the present.

The Economy *

THE UNEMPLOYMENT PROBLEM

By

J. L. S. Abbey & Ken Brew

The role of human resources in the development of any country cannot be overemphasised. If in any country, therefore, a large proportion of the people who can work are idle for various reasons or human resources are in general under-utilised, this respresents a serious economic waste, not to talk about the social and political problems that it may give rise to.

Broadly speaking, the latter problem may be termed underemployment and the former unployment. The focus of this article is on unemployment. This is not to say that underemployment is not important in the country but that we see it as more of a rural problem, much less distinguishable, which the government's emphasis on rural development will hopefully eliminate in the near future.

Elimination of Underemployment

Rural development is of course aimed at more than the elimination of rural underemployment but we believe that any such policy in Ghana should at least include this crucial objective: the raising of rural and agricultural incomes in a meaningful way. This essentially amounts to the provision of adequate marketing facilities and in this regard the government's establishment of the "task force" is a step in the right direction. It would seem at least probable that if every farmer could be assured of a market for his output there could be less talk of low productivity, mechanisation etc. Surely productivity should be based on total output (which we do not know for most of our non-export agricultural products) rather than what gets to the market.

More than underemployment, however, it is unemployment which has received more publicity in Ghana over the past few years in both official and unofficial circles, because being an urban phenomenon it is more conspicuous. It is indeed one of the conerstones of the population debate and the family planning exercise in particular. Serious as the problem is, however, in the hands of fanatical and perhaps over-committed advocates for population control, the unemployment problem has been, on some occasions, blown out of proportions. So it is that in a September issue

of a local newspaper it was claimed that half of Ghana's population was unemployed. It has also sometimes been said in official circles that 600,000 people or 25% of the labour force is unemployed.

In the absence of detailed figures on unemployment levels and reliable data from official publications to go on, attempts at estimating unemployment are hazardous. Thus in the pamphlet "Ghanas Population Policy" published in 1969, which launched population planning as an ingredient of development policy, it was stated that in 1960 "unemployment was already high—25% of the wage labour force and about 9% of the total labour force — and there has been no significant success in reducing these proportion".

Finding Additional Jobs

It was also stated in the same document that "the economy will have to find additional jobs for an average of about 144,000 persons each year until 1985". The rationale for this latter estimate may be found in the new one year development plan, for the period July 1970 to June, 1971, published in September, 1970. On page 145 of this document it is estimated that "as many as 210,000—225,000 enter the labour market each year. A growing proportion of these are middle school leavers. The preponderance of this group among new entrants to the labour force is the result of the expansion in the 1960's of middle school education. In 1970, more than 65,000 are expected to complete middle schools. Of these only 11% will gain admission into secondary schools. If 55,000 to 60,000 jobs are opened up for replacements because of death and retirements, there remains a residual of 145,000 or more additional job opportunities required to accommodate the annual increase in the ranks of job seekers".

There are two points to be made about these two quotations. The first underlines the lack of adequate knowledge of the total number of unemployed, not to mention what the characteristics of these are. Clearly there will not be much progress in reducing these proportions till one knows more than we now do. This means that even if we succeeeded in creating the requisite number of jobs they may not be filled because the new entrants may not be found to be suitable or, what is perhaps a better way of putting it, the jobs created may not be suitable for the job seekers. This is evidenced by the claim that at the same time that unemployment is high, "there is also an insufficient supply of high level trained manpower, a shortage which highlights the need for expanded costly higher education". The point to note here is that what may be deemed high level trained manpower is difficult to specify, especially if one bears in mind that we now have the problem of unemployed university graduates. Surely the problem is obviously more than the mere expansion of costly higher education.

Then again the estimate of 145,000 new jobs is on the low side since only a small number of 55,000 to 60,000 jobs openings due to deaths and retirement can be filled by the new entrants. Also although 11% of all candidates seeking admission to secondary schools get admission much less than 11% of the middle school leavers gain admission.

Effects of Expansion

Finally, the real effects of the expansion of primary education have not yet apepared on the employment scene. The free and compulsory education programme was started in the 1961/62 academic year. In that year enrolment in primary Class I was more than double that of the previous year, from 106,928 to 231,784. The majority of these pupils have faithfully gone through the system and in 1968 there were 133,577 of them in Middle Form 2 as compared with 80,870 in the previous year. We therefore estimate that at the end of the present financial year the first batch of Middle Form 4 pupils who started on the programme in 1961 will enter the job market and there will be some 120,000 of these! Clearly from the next financial year 90% of all new jobs created should be for Middle Form 4 School leavers.

As already noted the unemployment problem is largely an urban phenomenon. This is the result of the drift of people from rural to urban areas which is of course not peculiar to Ghana. One of the explanations usually given is the existence of a minimum wage in the urban areas which tends to attract more people than could be coped with. This may not be too important since this minimum wage is enforced only in the labour union—controlled establishments. Also there are many types of jobs, especially domestic employment, which do not fall within the scope of the minimum wage legislation and in fact does not directly affect salaried employment.

What might be more important is the mere satisfaction derived from being in an urban area and enjoying the things that modern civilization has to offer. More seriously the availability of

ocial amenities and subsidised services means extra "real" income for the urban dwellers for if hese had been non-existent they would have had o pay for them.

Another factor is the system of education. The basis of the present system of education has never been questioned seriously. The only theories of education that we have are those that we inherited from our colonial masters, suited presumably to their more developed economies. This form of education therefore is a luxury for us. To think that any form of education at all will increase productivity, generate surplus value and expand the economy enough to be able to absorb all those pouring out of the educational stream, thus justifying the initial investment, is a fallacy of misplaced concreteness. It must be pointed out that education is not just investment but consumption and, at the moment in Ghana, our education is mainly for consumption in its overemphasis on formal academic education further encouraged by the nature of remuneration.

Resources Vs. Production

This structure of remuneration has tended to increase the expectation of school leavers. In the 1950's and early 1960's, when only about 20% of children of school going age went to school, it was easy enough to provide white collar jobs for suitable school leavers in the urban areas and at salaries well above what they would have earned in the rural areas. At the moment when the rate is about 60% and the numbers larger, it is no longer possible to provide jobs for all of them in the urban areas and they have thus swelled up urban unemployment.

Another reason for the urban unemployment is the improper balance between resource endowment and production in the modern sector. Thanks to our colonial heritage we have tastes for certain goods and services which if we cannot produce we have to import. One way of getting around this has been to plunge blindly into import substitution.

Since we are poorly endowed with the necessary resources we either have to imitate the raw material imports or import them. This is inimical to rapid expansion. Not only do we have to import the raw materials and machinery as well as skilled personnel which not only jeopardises our balance of payments but also part of the little employment which is created is taken up by foreigners

Secondly, the small size of the market means that most industries cannot operate at full capacity so that fewer people than possible are employed. Also with excess capacity, production is inefficient and this is reflected in the high prices of the locally produced goods. Added to this, the relatively capital intensive techniques of production militate against making use of our cheapest input, with labour, and forces us to use more capital which we can ill afford. All these militate against the rapid expansion of the modern sector and, therefore, the creation of job opportunities is hampered.

If we are prepared to live with all these contradictions in the economy, then, to reduce the population even would not leave us any better off. If we cannot produce goods and services efficiently then we have to stop producing human beings. For these imply that not only are children luxury items but that adults are superfluous.

MODERNIZING AGRICULTURE

By

V. K. Nyanteng

IT IS noted that a typical farmer in Ghana farms on a piece of land as long as it is fertile often up to 3 to 4 years. Once the fertility of the land is diminished, the land is left to revert to bush or its natural vegetation. The farmer then moves on to another piece of land which may be miles away which he clears for his new farm. Meanwhile the fertility of the abandoned field is regenerated by nature. Within any period from two to about 20 years, depending on the vegetation and the crop the farmer intends to cultivate, the land is considered again as suitable for a new farm. This system of farming is called shifting culitivation.* In fact, it constitutes the main farming system in Africa.

There was rationale for practising this system of farming in the environment in which a Ghanaian farmer found himself in the past. Land was plentiful and population relatively sparse. In the absence of knowledge of the existence and use of fertilizers, and the use of compost and animal droppings to maintain or improve the fertility level of the used field, the only way known to regenerate the fertility of the used field was to allow

* **EDITOR'S NOTE: I think, I should point out that there is a difference between "shifting cultivation" which means cultivators move settlements to obtain new lands and "bush fallow" system which involves only a change of farm sites.**

the field to fall fallow.

Although shifting cultivation is the response ot the traditional Ghanaian farmer to environmental circumstances, it has been established that the system is wasteful of capital in the sense that capital is invested in clearing the field which is abandoned in a few years. It is estimated that if the field could be maintained and the capital invested in clearing a new piece of land is used to expand and to improve the fertility level of the old field, farmers could make big farms. At present an average farmer only cultivates about 2-5 acres of land. Because a farmer shifts after staying on a field for a relatively short period, the system gives the farmer no incentive to invest in the land they work in other ways. Under the system, a farmer may have as many as six small farms scattered over a wide area. This leads to both management and marketing problems. It is noted that the system is one of the greatest obstacles in the way of agricultural development in the whole of Africa.

The Major Cash Crops

In an effort to increase the rate of agricultural development in Ghana, an attempt has been made to change this system of farming. Farmers have been told that this is an uneconomic system of farming. They have further been educated on the advantages that could be obtained by staying on one field much longer if not for the whole of one's life and how this could be achieved through the use of chemical fertilizers, compost and animal droppings to maintain or even to improve the fertility of the soil. However, despite all the lectures and demonstrations, shifting cultivation still remains the main farming system. It is necessary, therefore, to look more carefully at the problems faced by a farmer attempting to follow a more settled system of agriculture.

Ghana has two main vegetational zones, forest and savanna. In the forest zone where cocoa has become the major cash crop and has claimed a greater part of the zone, shifting cultivation has been reduced drastically. The nature of the cocoa crop makes the farmers in the forest zone stay on the same land for as long as 50 or more years. Staple food crops of the "forest" people are plantain and cocoyam and these could easily be grown on the cocoa farms.

In the savanna zone, shifting cultivation still has greater attraction and is practised probably to the same extent that it was a century ago. The two main contributory factors to the perpetuation of



About 80% of yams found in markets in Ghana are grown in the savanna zone. The farmers in this zone, through experience, have found out that yams always require "new" land for cultivation in order to get good yield. Based on this experience, a "new" field is always cleared to cultivate yams every season. For this reason yam is always the first crop to be cultivated on a new land cleared for farming if the farmer cultivates yams as one of his crops. Yam farms can now be found at distances of more than 12 miles from villages. After havesting this crop, other crops such as maize, rice, groundnuts, cassava, etc., are grown on the same land. Some farmers claim that maize can only do well on land on which yams have first been grown. The explanation is that such land in the area normally supports some grass **(Hyparrhenia dissoluta)** called **nkunkuma** by the Brongs. This grass has an extensive root system which forms a thick mesh few inches down the soil. If the grass is cleared, the roots remain in the soil. If maize seed is put into this soil it fails to germinate. However, if mounds are made for the purpose of growing yams, the roots of the grass are dug up and die under the sun. So that after harvesting the yams, the land becomes suitable for maize cultivation.

The Problem of Farmers

Farmers who want to use "nkunkuma-infested" land for the first time for maize cultivation clear the field much earlier, leave the grass to dry on the field and then burn it. This action destroys the roots in the soil and the field can be used for maize cultivation. This slashing and burning method is not widespread because the "savanna" people largely subsist on yams and always see to it that they grow yams at least for their subsistence before considering other crops for cash. Some farmers have discovered that if the field is ploughed, the roots of the soil come to the surface and die, thus making the soil suitable for maize cultivation. The problem of the farmers who would like the use of this method is that they find it difficult to get tractors and other implements to plough the land.

The use of fertilizers might enable these farmers stay on the same land and maintain the yield or even improve on it. But here, too, there are problems. Most of these farmers are so poor that they cannot afford the cost of fertilizers and with the knowledge that the yam can do well on new land, which they still find abundant, they give preference to shifting from field to field with the seasons. Some farmers have tried the use of fertilizer on their yam farms and have not been successful in its application. Such farmers have concluded that it is probably not true that fertilizers can make the difference. Others who are convinced that fertilizers can make all the difference and enable them to stay on the same field, find it difficult getting fertilizers to buy in their area. With the belief that yam always requires a new field for its cultivation and the problems of getting the fertilizers, shifting cultivation has remained the main farming system among the foodstuff farmers in the savanna zone.

Practice of Shifting Cultivation

Another important contributory factor to the continued practice of the shifting cultivation system of farming is a grass plant **(Imperata Cylinderica)** called **entoo** by the Brongs, **sebegro** by the Ashantis, and **tempremu** by the people around Asuboaso. The vegetative part of this grass is used as a roofing material by the farmers for their buildings, storage structures, etc. After a new field has been cleared and put under cultivation of some crop, this grass starts germinating on the field. Initially, the grass grows gradually and not all over the field so that a new field could be cleared at long intervals. On new land which is supporting, say, yams, weeding may be done about 2-3 times between planting and harvesting. It is claimed that on an old field the grass grows so rapidly that, if such a field is used to cultivate yams, weeding may be done about 4 to 6 times between planting and harvesting. It is believed that, if fertilizer is used on such a field, the grass grows much faster and weeding has to be done at relatively shorter intervals. This contributes to the farmers' unwillingness to stay on the same land and use fertilizer to regenerate the fertility of the soil.

This is one of the problems caused by this grass. Another problem is that when it is weeded and it starts germinating again, the young plant stabs the farmers when they go to work on such a field. They claim it is very painful. Because the grass grows faster, and may soon cover the whole field, it becomes difficult for the farmers to work on such fields. So after the land has been used for a short time of, say 2-4 planting seasons, for various crops, it is abandoned to be taken over by the grass.

There are at least two possible solutions to the

problem of the grass. The first solution to the grass problem is that the field should be ploughed after every season's cultivation so that the grass, which starts growing, is largely destroyed as explained above. The other solution might be the use of weedicides to kill the plant to the root. Stam F.34 and Swep powder have been tried at a rice experimental farm near Amantin in the Brong Ahafo Region to destroy the grass.

In conclusion, it is being suggested here that if the shifting cultivation system of farming is to be stopped to give way to a better system of farming in the savanna zone, then the use of ploughs and weedicides must be considered along-side the use of fertilizers

Observer Notebook

The Fight against Cholera

THE Ghanaian press reports that on Friday the 11th of December, the Minister of Health made a statement in the National Assembly detailing the measures taken by his ministry to counter the possible outbreak of cholera in this country when the officials learnt of its occurrence in neighbouring Guinea.

The measures, according to the Minister of Health, included a thorough briefing with films and lectures of all doctors in the ministry's major centres and regional heads of Medical Services on the measures to take for the prevention, treatment and cure of cholera. The doctors were asked to investigate all cases of diarrhoea by laboratory methods. In keeping with international practice, certain priority groups were singled out for anti-cholera vaccination, these included fishermen whose occupation took them along the West African coast and who, therefore, were likely to contact the disease and spread it most. The fishermen, however, had refused vaccination because of its unpleasant side-effects.

The disease, the minister is reported to have said, had, as been foreseen by his ministry, been imported into the western and central regions. The outbreak in Keta had been transmitted through mourners in Togo. Rigorous measures against a further spread of the disease, and for the speedy cure of cases had been immediately taken. But the ministry still thought that 'the only way the disease would be overcome was to accelerate the provision of good drinking water and an efficient latrine and refuse disposal system for the population'; that 'it was ridiculous to clamour for vaccination, when it was much easier to prevent cholera by the observance of personal and public hygiene.'

The Minister of Health made a brave show, but did not really meet public criticisms of his ministry's handling of the cholera problem. The first point is, why, knowing the generally loose character of our West African frontiers, did the ministry not start immediately with vaccination, on hearing of the out-break in Guinea but resorted to the magical formula, 'there is no cause for alarm?'

If vaccination is unnecessary, why then did the ministry resort to it at all? It is certainly ludicrous to talk of sanitation as the really effective preventive measure against cholera. It will take generations for Ghana generally to acquire good water and that sort of sanitation system, personal and public hygiene that would check a cholera outbreak once it appears on our borders. And that just is the reason why vaccination, to which the minister himself, with all his impeccable personal and household arrangements, has probably had a recourse with his family, is necessary.

The public is concerned about the lack of foresight shown by his ministry not only in failing to set about vaccination promptly but also in the bizzare arrangements made for the operation once it got under way. The minister surely saw for himself the endless stretches of attendants at the Adabraka polyclinic. And if this is what happened in Accra, how did the villagers fare? As it is, it is meaningful to ask how many deaths have occurred of which we know nothing.

The Ministry of Health must be told that words like 'there is no cause for alarm' are never a substitute for action and planning and that the public expects some imagination in the deployment of work teams on occasions of this sort. The officials are paid to cater for the convenience of the public.

ADVERTISE IN

THE

'LEGON OBSERVER'

...etters

The Effects of the Surcharge

...a letter published in the (L.O. V/23) a contributor ...icized the manufacturers of this country for their ...bility to put up a concrete case for any objections ...y may have against the surcharges recently imposed ... imported raw materials.

...In making these comments, your contributor was ...obably guided by the recent statement which was ...ued by the Manufacturers' Association and published ... the local dailies. I am not a member of the Execu...e Committee of the Manufacturers' Association and ...nnot speak for them. But I can imagine, coming, as ... did so soon after the Press interview by the Minister ... Finance and Economic Planning, that the statement ...as intended to be a reply to the Minister's interview ...hich was published in the Graphic issue of 10th ...ctober, 1970.

...I agree with your contributor that the Association's ...atement did not merely beg the question but it was ...ltogether uncalled for. I personally considered the ...inister's comments so arrogant that nothing short of an ...utright condemnation should have been the most ap...ropriate thing to do. However, the Association, per...aps cowed by the Minister's words, thought it fit ...o retreat from its previous stand and to adopt that ...efeatist attitude. I think the time has come when this ...ort of sheepish submission to authoriy should cease, ...nd that people should begin to put on their thinking caps and behave like men.

The manufacturers have not been able to call for cancellation of the Open General Licence system and the surcharge, because to an extent, the present situation is their own creation. At a time when this country was in such economic difficulties, when the balance of payments position was in danger of possible dislocation, the businessmen piled up pressure upon the government to place raw materials on Open General Licence. Whether they thought this could be achieved without some means being devised for protecting the foreign exchange position I do not know. Now that they have got the O.G.L. they asked for, can they turn round to tell government to cancel a system they have themselves advocated? And so the half-hearted approach and contradictions, to say nothing of the confusion in the minds of the public, must go on.

This is not to say that the government has any justification in introducing import surcharges of such severity. Before the Budget, manufacturers in the shoe industry, for example, were paying import duty on raw materials at the rate of 10%. This rate of duty has now been increased to 66⅔%, an increase of 56⅔%. In addition to this, we now have to pay import surcharge of 40%. This brings the total additional tax burden to 96⅔%. Where we have to import new machinery for replacement purposes we have to pay another 5% surcharge.

What is the sense in this, I ask? How on earth can such increases in taxation be justified? I can understand a graduated increase of say five, ten, twenty, or even thirty per cent. But how can you jump from ten to 106⅔% and expect the manufacturer to continue in



business. And yet this is what has happend in the case of the shoe industry.

To add pain to injury, the government has persistently warned that in spite of the increased taxation, it does not expect any significant increase in prices. This is precisely where I disagree. We have it on record that with 43% devaluation, prices rose in 1968 by no less than 14.9 per cent. Devaluation loss cannot be said to be a direct item of cost to a manufacturer and if it should influence prices to this extent, then it is obviously wishful thinking to say that with these fantastic increases in the cost of raw materials the existing price level should be maintained. If the government is not prepared to rationalise these taxes then it should be bold to tell the people to expect price increases which, to my mind, would be considerable. It is necessary to make this quite clear to save businessmen from being used as scape-goats.

Ambassador Shoe Factory Ltd. **E. E. B. Ofori-Atta**
P. O. Box 368 **Managing Director**
Accra

Leadership in Rural Development

SIR—May I add a thought to Clemence Kudiabor's suggestion of utilising local notables for the development of villages.

To achieve high and evenly distributed growth in our rural areas, it is assumed that a multiplicity of small projects covering a large proportion of the villages in Ghana will be necessary. This approach, however, has proved and will continue to prove the most difficult to conceive and operate. For each small project the three essential ingredients are **expertise** (including finance), **local knowledge** (of the people and agriculture) and **motivation** (integrity, having the confidence of the people concerned, and a willingness to help). However, rarely will all three be present in sufficient quantity for success. Up to the present time the Ministry of Agriculture has been making strenuous efforts in local agricultural development by relying on village-based agricultural assistants, who tend to emphasise their own general agricultural expertise to the detriment of a full appreciation of the problems of their particular environment, not to mention any lack of motivation (as Ofori Akyea said—"civil servants do not have to exert themselves to get paid").

If (as L.O. V/24 implied) the above methods are not proving satisfactory, is it time to turn our attention to "the village school master, the catechist etc"? The qualities likely to be found in a few prominent persons in each community would include local knowledge and motivation but not agricultural expertise. Could not this expertise problem be tackled by a strategically placed department through which the government could find its proper role and achieve the success it so cherishes with surprisingly little cost?

Envisaged is a department based on district or regional level, staffed by a handful of competent agriculturalists and equipped with a carefully prepared series of "Do-It-Yourself-type" manuals such as "Introducing tomatoes as a cash crop" or "How to build a small dam for irrigation"). The development process would then rely on the initiative of these local leaders (who wish to help the community, understand the environment and the people personally and are respected, trusted and intelligent) to approach the "projects" office at district level and say "We have a problem but also the willingness to solve it if you will help us". The project officer can then profer advice and the appropriate literature and, if necessary, visit the project. The local initiator, however, would remain primarily responsible for the project.

In this way, not only will the cost of developments be cut, but its success made more sure because it rests in the hands of the community itself.

Agricultural Economics Department **Neil Parker**
Legon

The Lost Opportunity Of The Hutchful Incident

SIR—Correspondence on the Hutchful episode and especially Mr. Adjei-Brenyah's letter in your last issue (L.O. V/24) have so shocked me that I must overcome my indifference and write to give one other side of the story.

One had hoped that for once the Hutchful episode would spark a revolution amongst Ghana students so that they would rise up to their responsibility towards themselves and society. But Ghanaian students sit quietly and do nothing when politicians talk of slashing their grants but the politicians continue to ride in big cars. They do nothing when after one year these politicians do not declare their assets as enjoined on them by the Constitution. But above all, they seem totally unaware of what, for instance, Djakarta students did to their politicians when they thought they were guilty of profligate spending and were thus letting the revolution down.

Ghanaian society not only took the Hutchful challenge lying down but also had to employ the old unsober adulatory arguments to justify its reverence for people who take it for rides—yes, Ghana is so great that our Prime Minister should ride in a Mercedez Benz. How dare one suggest OUR Prime Minister should ride in a smaller car when every small businessman can buy such a car etc. etc. They are totally unaware that in a country like Sweden, for instance, the Prime Minister, campaigned in the last elections in a **Volkswagen**; that in a country like Sweden, the Prime Minister has not even an official residence yet, whatever you may think, Sweden is definitely greater and much richer than Ghana.

Indeed a people gets the government it deserves and Ghanaians are doing just that, including the Legon Society on National Affairs, whose only activity seems to be publishing its "organ" every fortnight; including me who am so sickened by it all that I have opted out of the society and think only of myself and mine.

Ghana Publishing Corporation **W. K. Ansah**
Publishing Division
Private Post Bag
Tema

The Need for Press Council

SIR—The Minister of Information, Mr. Brodie-Mends, has called for the immediate establishment of a Press in the country. The need for a Press Council has been stressed over and over by almost all the newspapers in the country including the **Spokesman** and the **Legon Observer**. The call by the Minister should, therefore, be welcomed by all those who cherish the freedom

he press.

he occasion of the Minister's call, however, raises ie fears about the motive behind his statement. The nister's call was the immediate result of the Spokes-n's report that Scotland Yard was helping the Ghana ice in their investigations on a currency deal. Ano-r report was on a news despatch on the health of the sident. According to Mr. Brodie-Mends, the news s 'killed' by "people who respected themselves and ir profession".

One could conclude that the Spokesman's report was ie. Now the questions which arise are these: why dn't any of the government-owned newspapers publish e Scotland Yard story? Why did the government oose not to inform the Ghanaian public of the true ndition of the President, and especially of the nature his illness?

Does Mr. Brodie-Mends want a Press Council made p of members who will be chosen by the government, whom they will be "yes-men?" The occasion of the linister's call was unfortunate. What we want is a ress Council comprising members with notions of rec-itude and of independence of mind, who will have the ood sense to public the **truth.** If what is desired is the oncealment of facts which may be unpleasant, then what is required is a Censorship Board and not a Press Council.

Legon Hall **Emmanuel Addy**
Legon.

Split in the Volta Region

SIR—Mr. Cosmas Yaw Khra's comments in the **Legon Observer** (L.O. V/23) on Mr. J. H. Kodzo Fiafor's earlier expressions about recent moves for secession from the Volta Region of the Krachi District as publicly stated by some of its leaders were irrelevant and misconceived.

Every people has the inalienable right to associate with whichever country it likes, provided conditions are favourable. Mr. Khra has every right to express his loyalty to the Krachiwura and his M.Ps, but his efforts to blindly uphold their infallibility have only succeeded in laying bare his own ignorance of national trends so far as development planning for areas in the country is concerned.

I believe Mr. Fiafor was rightfully ventilating his viewpoint and concern about the erroneous way groundless ethnic sentiment was being projected to explain the neglect of Krachi District, which is just one among many undeveloped areas. It is strange to suggest that the Volta Region Administration and Krachi District Council, are responsible for the alleged "discriminatory" neglect of Krachi. It is strange still for a well informed citizen of today's Ghana to be so pitifully unaware of the source of development planning for the regions at least before the Second Republic as to conceive that joining another region would be the solution to neglect. So Mr. Khra's Keta analogy is not just unfitting but funny.

Honourable M.P.s for the area should at least know the truth and make it their responsibility to clear the minds of their people of such an error instead of lending their support to it. In any case we know that our government knows the situation and its implications better. Happily, too, we know that Krachi is one of the undeveloped areas in the region on the priority list. With the devaluation of planning in the regions now should the leaders of Krachi be at a loss as to what do about their grievances, they are advised to quick make them known to the Volta Region Planning Cor mittee.

Mensah Sarbah Hall **J. K. Sapient Akpa**
Legon.

Observer's Language

SIR—Please allow me to draw attention to the follow problem.

The reading public of the **Legon Observer** en reading, and highly appreciates, the contributior both national and international affairs, which are of high quality, and show marks of objectivity ... presentation of the facts. But a problem occurs whe there is choice of over-specialized words, which ar often beyond the comprehension of some of us. Wit special reference to both **Special Editions**—"Busia Sc Far" (Vol. V/20) and "Opposition So Far—Ghana anc Africa" (Vol. V/23) the contributors went too far and made it impossible for some of us to appreciate their efforts.

May I appeal to your contributors to write more simply bearing in mind the varying standards of your many readers.*

L.A. (Anglican) Middle School **J. E. Domfe.**
Fumesua-Ashanti

*** Editor's Note: We hope our contributors will take note of this.**

Miscellaneous

LEGALISATION OF ABORTION

By

E. M. Otchere

ON the 19th of November, 1970, an honourat member of Parliament tabled a motion calling on the House to legalise abortion.

May I take this opportunity to comment on this all important motion. The honourable member asserted that illegal abortion in the cour try has been on the ascendency within the last t years basing his assertion on figures released cently by the Minister of Health. Out of 18,955 abortion cases treated, 111 women many of whom were unmarried and girls. T very serious and the report should attr attention of all citizens.

But the questions now to be looked whether the move to legalise abortion an end to abortion or reduce the numb tion cases; and if it is legalised, wha to be its religious and social implica

It must first of all be considered if i not to encourage abortion as far as r Christianity or Islamic, is concerned. Commandment of the Decalogue "Thou shall not kill". In the Chri

herefore, any one who causes abortion is as ilty of murder as anyone who gets it caused. his decision has been arrived at because I am nvinced that causing abortion—leading to the h of the foetus and premature birth of a e father or mother—is no less a crime than ng a dagger through the heart of another per- This act is vehemently opposed to religious ets and teachings. If the house should over- these points and approve of the motion, then uld be indirectly helping people to cause r and it is likely to incur the bitter dis- e of the religious bodies in the country fact the world at large.

Will our women stop this practice if abortion legalised and will they always go to the govnment hospitals to have it caused as was anticipated by the honourable member?

It cannot be over-emphasised that, with the lealisation of abortion, our women, particularly he young, will be encouraged to indulge in fornication and habitual sexual acts at the expense of their health. Many women and girls are likely to fall victims and the number of abortion cases will increase in great numbers. The people to suffer most will be our lady students and village school girls. And since many of them are far away from government hospitals, the quack doctors will definitely go into business on a large scale. The number of deaths among our girls will increase instead of being reduced.

Legalisation of abortion will definitely be a boon to our numerous "high time" girls and lure others into prostitution since they would be able to have a legal way out to avoid having "unwanted" babies. They will ever look upon married life with contempt and shun it so as to enjoy the pleasures of "care-free" life. Will they not then become a menace to the society?

It has been observed that divorce is usually averted when women get into the family way. There is often a reconciliation after safe delivery and peaceful married life continues. Some girls, particularly school girls, have been able to get husbands because the men who put them in the family way have often been compelled to marry them. What would have been the fate of such women if abortion had been made legal? The "fortune hunters" would have quickly resorted to abortion to enable them write off their prospective wives and concubines.

Legalising abortion means legalising the sale of abortion drugs. And can it be guaranteed that in their haste to "get the thing out" our girls will

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patient enough to take the drugs according to ructions and also go in for the right type of gs?

Viewing this case in its entirety, one would be tified to conclude that legalising abortion is tamount to leaving a house by the main gate y to steal back into it through the back door. In this connection, may I suggest that the nned Parenthood Association be given every istance, both financially and technically, to ensify and extend its operations to educate r women on how best they can avoid having nwanted" babies. Prevention is better than cure d our women should not be encouraged to take ed only to dispose of it through legal abortions. Furthermore, legal action should be taken ainst any quack doctors who cause abortion as ell as the women who go to them to have their egnancy aborted, and severe punishment meted it to them. Where shall we head to if abortion legalised?

For the information of Mr. Kwadwo Kontopiaat

LETTER FROM THE CITIZENS OF KONTOIAATKROM TO HON. KWADWO KONTOPIAAT

IR — We ought to have written earlier, but for pressure of work and the question of paying for postage, oupled with timidity.

During your last visit to your constituency of Kontopiaatkrom, it was agreed at the meeting of the Executive Committee of the dynamic "Ebi Nti Yie Party" hat our annual Fund Raising Harvest should take place n Sunday, 15th November, 1970. Before you left for Accra in your new shining "Super", you remember ow we organized a fitting welcome with the propaganda an blaring high-life music with intermittent announcement of your arrival at Kontopiaatkrom and how the whole village was turned into jubilation, as if there was wedding march in one of the big towns. It was with ome hesitation that you invited your parents who cannot do away with their walking sticks, to ride in your new "Super", with all the villagers looking in amazement, "the inside of your car", the radio and your charming wife by your side. In fact, it was a day which the citizens of Kontopiaatkrom will never forget.

We followed your instructions to the letter and wondered how the townsmen and women would be able to make their contributions towards the annual harvest. As you are aware, owing to the recent heavy rains the expectations of the farmers of good cocoa harvest had been shattered. Already some farmers, including your old uncle who had done so much for the dynamic "Ebi Nti Yie Party", had raised loans from some middlemen with the understanding that payment would be made during the cocoa season, with the threat of legal action against them. Some of the farmers did not take their creditors seriously nor threat of court action since the raising of loans is not a new thing to them.

Since your last visit there had been series of deaths, including young and old at Kontopiaatkrom.

Owing to the funeral celebrations, our secretary, Koo Bro wasted the time of the whole Executive Committee members failing to call a meeting to finalize all arrangements in connection with our annual harvest. At last long, the secretary travelled to the local governors, at a distance of about 7 miles, for a permit to enable us to organize our annual fund raising harvest. According to the secretary, who incidentally is an illiterate, the local governors, (you know them better than we villagers and so there is no need for giving their official titles) have not changed their attitude since the colonial days.

They insisted that Koo Bro, the secretary, should "grease their palms" before they issue him with a permit. He made it plain to them that this was the "Ebi Nti Yie Party" in power and that if they would not discharge their duties without favour, he would see to it that they were either transferred or dismissed. Further he would not hesitate to bring it to the notice of our Member of Parliament, Hon. Kwadwo Kontopiaat, D.D.T., A.S.P.R.O., A.P.C., A.F.R.O. Realizing that Koo Bro was not a man of straw who should not be played with, a permit was hurriedly issued to him.

It was upon Koo Bro's arrival to Kontopiaatkrom that it became known at the local "Don't Mind-Your-Wife Palm Wine Bar" that the local governors were encouraged by the "Jokers Party", our rivals, to disrupt all our plans, and prevent us from organizing our annual fund raising harvest festival.

On the day of the harvest the whole population of Kontopiaatkrom went wild with joy, as we paraded the narrow streets with our harvest products, which included a big goat and danced to the music of "Sea Never Dry Brass Band". You remember, the Organising Committee of the harvest passed a resolution of no confidence in you, for neglecting to fulfil your promises, especially the tarring of the village narrow streets. Koo Bro who has been watching your interests all these days, took a decision and managed to raise a loan with which he purchased the goat at the harvest for the "ring leaders".

With Christmas on our door-steps, and our hopes shattered by the poor cocoa harvest we obtained just NC10.00 from our harvest sales. You could well imagine how poor are the citizens of Kontopiaatkrom. We had to pay NC5.00 to the "Sea Never Dry Brass Band" which we could ill afford, so we are appealing to you to remit this amount to us at your earliest convenience, as the leader of the band is threatening to institute civil action against us at the local Odikro's Court.

We have been working "harder" and "faster" towards the completion of the local Community Centre and the Water Supply, through communal labour with technical advice and financial assistance from the "Pro-Sure" government. The two projects must be completed before Christmas, so that we can invite you to the opening, to grace the occasion with your presence and dignity, as the M.P. for Kontopiaatkrom Constituency.

All the folks at home join me in their felicitous greeting to you. Please do not overwork yourself and do not forget to champion our cause at the National Assembly for your reward is great and moreover we cannot afford to miss you, our saviour, mentor and benefactor whose absence from Kontopiaatkrom has created a vacuum which cannot be filled by the secretary, who regretably is an illiterate.

God bless you.

Your's sincerely,

Koo Bro.

University College
Cape Coast

Book Review

The Dark Wanderer

By Albert W. Kayper-Mensah
(Horst Erdmann Verlag, Federal Republic of Germany)
Reviewed by Gerald Moore

THESE poems clearly spring from an honest attempt to keep coherence in a life which has diverged physically and spiritually further and further away from Africa. Mr. Kayper-Mensah is himself perhaps aware of the distance which now separates him from the daily experience of African life, for, after a good many years at British universities, he has spent the last twelve in diplomatic attachments in London and Bonn. He seeks to compensate for the duality of his present existence by invoking, for instance, the spirit of Beethoven and the wisdom of the Akan proverb in alternate groups of poems. Thus we have many passages expressing the exaltation inspired by classical music:

And a Pastoral Symphony brought
Back memories from sounds of woodland
Of arabesques of pleasure and passionate desire
A feel distinctly German . . . ,

and some in praise of the more earthy delights of High-Life:

Nkomo kom
Who thirsts and hungers
For your voice,
Your laughing looks?
But the best of sights
Is the thirst of thighs.

If this doesn't work, it is because the writer no longer views Germany with enough critical detachment to create the sense of a genuinely new relationship with it. Take a verse like the following:

In those qualities of mind
And temper that have made
The German mind
Such a prize among
The Nations — the Heidelberg
Of the human spirit,
Rarest and most vital
Plank in his House of Sciences:

This sounds perilously close to Leopold Senghor asking the Immortal Powers to set his beloved France on the Right Hand of the Father. I say nothing of those other things which Germany must inevitably represent for anyone who has lived through the past forty years (as Mr. Kayper-Mensah has). It is enough to remember only where Ghana actually stands in relationship to the richer and more ruthlessly progressive nations of the day — of which Germany is certainly one — to feel that the poet is in danger of congratulating himself on the degree of his acculturation, rather than telling Ghanaians at large anything they might usefully hear.

There is much to be said for writing honestly of one's experience, and Mr. Kayper-Mensah's is that of an elitist; but a saving sensibility to the lot of others is also part of the true poet's equipment. It would have saved this poet from writing lines like the following:

Home is where the book is friend;
And film, record, tape and slide
Are tools for fashioning delight;
And the turning of a knob
Brings the tuneless in great music,
Oratory and poetry
Into here and now and loving.

Perhaps. I find more relevant to where Ghana stands now the figure of Ayi Kwei Armah's naked teacher (Pace Abiola Irele, I believe he is rightly and significantly naked) lying on his hot, narrow bed and listening to the bitter words of a popular High-Life, which contrast so ironically with some of the surroundings in which it is actually and enthusiastically danced.

Can it be that a certain woodenness in the lines (those quoted are sufficient example) goes with this lack of any real centre to which the poet's reporting his experience? A certain amount of family **Gemutlichkeit**, complete with snow and fir-trees, is really no substitute. Good poetry arises when the need of a poet to articulate his suffering and his joy coincides with the need of a whole people to hear a new voice. How to do this in Ghana, where most people cannot even hear English anyway? A painful question, but I believe it is most likely to be done by those who, even though using English, appeal to a common fund of experience and voice a mood that many are longing to hear voiced.

If this is true, the growing points of Ghanaian literature are Kofi Awoonor-Williams, Ama Ata Aidoo and Ayi Kwei Armah. Sad that two of these three are also in exile from the land. One can only hope that this exile will not endure to the point where the writer can only address his own experience as an exile, an experience necessarily divorced from that of most of his people.

But there is hope. English poetry was never richer than when Shelley, Keats and Byron were all in Italy, and only Wordsworth was left to bleat upon our native hills.

Poem

On the Birth of an Unknown God

(For V. A. K., Surgeon)

Miracles are common today;
Your irreverent tinkering with foetal mysteries
Has made the child determined to be born
A creature without divinity.

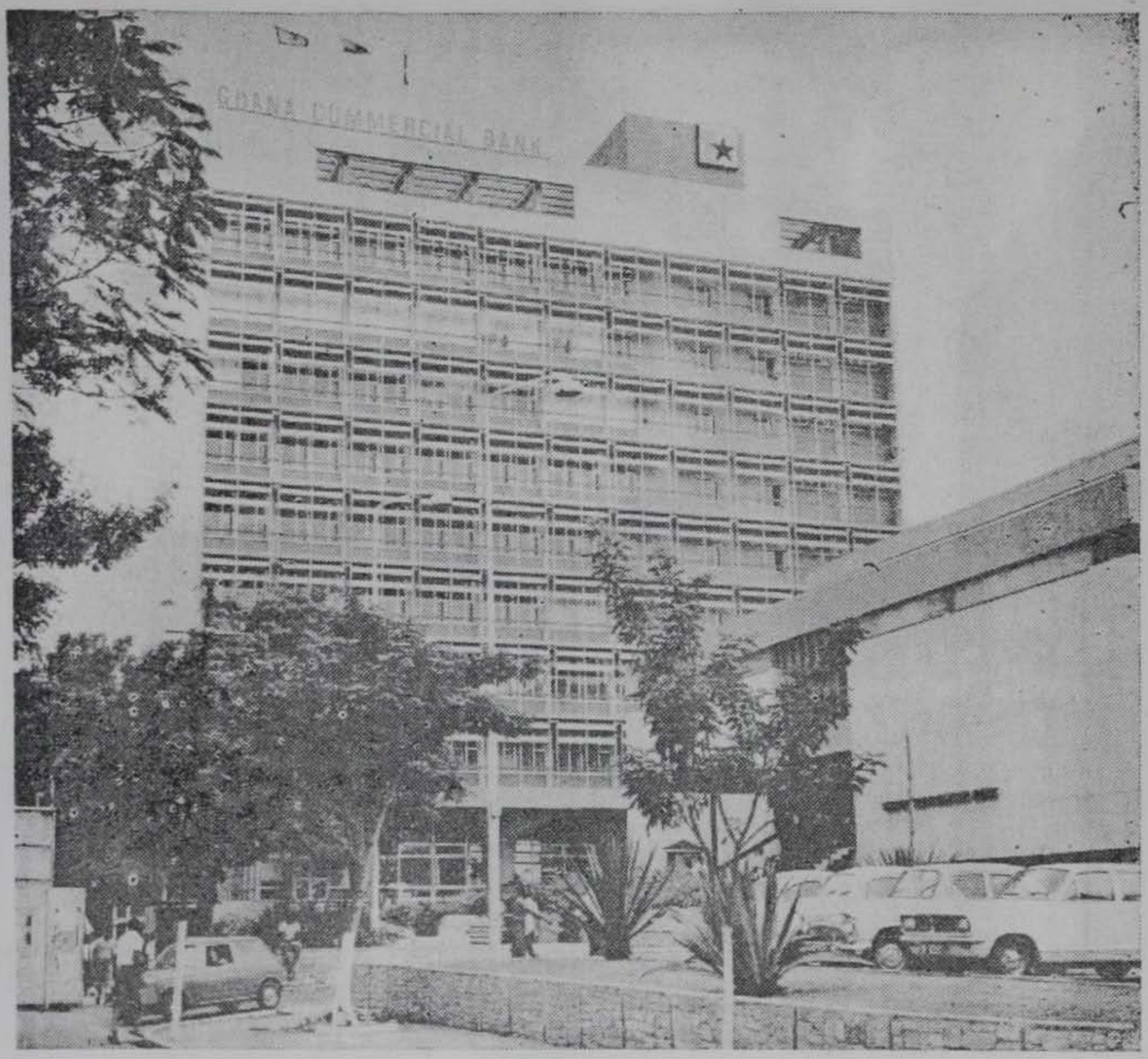
Yet your laconic notes this time proclaimed
A real event; and your stuttered explanations —
Your unaccustomed incoherence — gave the lie
To your fetish of compendious brevity.

Parthenogenesis is something that your kind
Will contemplate with but a sceptic smile.

His reality, corroborating his mother's ignorance
Locked her in mortal humility; divinity
Is jealous, you see, and her's
Would have robbed you of all-human pride
In Aesculapian achievement.

Go on then, mortal magician,
Cousin of Prometheus; give her a sacred hearth
Wherein to make the progenitive fire of passion
Of which her Maker denied her.

K. K. Dei-Anang



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