

Some — like Nathaniel Welbeck, CPP administrative officer and Minister of Information and Propaganda — are hamhanded, stupid men who do more damage to the government and Party image than the entire exiled opposition. Others, like the now cashiered Minister for Trade Dr. Djinn, have a long record of ruinous incompetence and “mysterious” growth in personal wealth, both contributing to the nature and intensity of the austerity challenge. Able and dedicated ministers like Kofi Baako (Civil Defence), K. Amoaka-Atta (Finance), and Mrs. Susanna Al-Hassan (Social Welfare) are not lacking. But they do not set the tone or image.

Parliament — not an important political arena since the 1952-54 session — is virtually moribund. The 1965 attempt to create a more broadly based parliament with members from all major geographic, cultural, and occupational groupings, was turned into a revealing display of the fears and powers of entrenched mediocrity. The central CPP organs (dominated by sitting MP's) calmly nominated virtually all old members, a number of new Party-entourage members more noted for praise singing than incisive thought, and a few competent academic-journalistic members.

THE CPP'S FAILURE is perhaps best seen against the achievements of TANU: a party with aims and programmes relatively similar to those of *Work and Happiness* and a comparable level of participation and organisation at independence. TANU and the Tanzanian government have been effectively integrated, and participation in Party and state decision making — down to the village level — has been growing in overall quantity and effectiveness. The Party-government image is dominantly one of honesty, energy, concern, and openness. 1965's constitutional reforms were widely discussed before and during their formulation, and the 1965 election was a clear demonstration of the possibility of a competitive, participatory One Party election. The resultant Par-

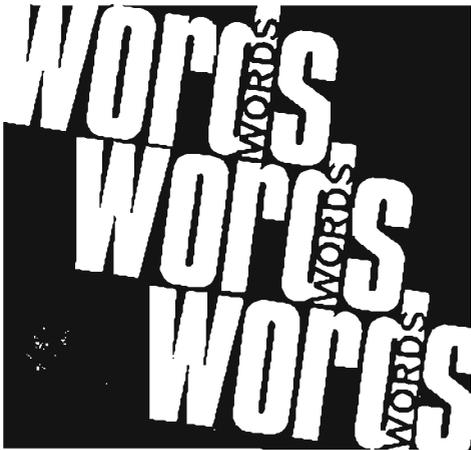
liament is an exceedingly representative body. The contrast with Ghanaian realities should be appalling to any CPP or state official truly committed to the published aims and principles of his Party and government.

The Civil Service has come to occupy an increasingly anomalous position. Its overall level of competence is for higher than that of most politicians and political appointees. Many of the most able civil servants are in broad agreement with the strategy of *Toward Work and Happiness* and of the *Plan* and have substantial — but variable — influence on substantive policy decisions. However, these men are basically technocrats, repelled by the lack of competence, integrity, and vision they feel characterises all but a few of the political elite. They are increasingly doubtful whether the Party and government are any longer capable of or even seriously committed to their own stated aims and principles. As a result they are withdrawn from political life, failing to add the leaven of intelligence, insight, and practicality (all desperately needed) which their participation could supply.

Three specific threats to Ghana's development and stability arise from lack of broad participation. First, because the thrust of Ghanaian policy is such as to alienate entrenched interests, it is basically untenable without broad support. An elite interest coalition (like the *Parti Democratique Ivoirien*) can operate in a setting of public discontent and distrust; a mass oriented body like the CPP does so at great peril.

Second, the growing feeling that rule is by a narrow self-selected and self-serving elite, creates growing cynicism and perpetuates the colonial heritage of distrust of the state and of all activity not directly serving one's own interests. This is a hopeless atmosphere for attaining the willing and willed austerity needed for development.

Third, lack of dependable or comprehensive information, combined with both real and fancied evidence of incompetence and corruption, causes the government to be blamed both for the inescap-



*East Africa Journal* (PO Box 30492, Nairobi), March, prints a discussion between Ezekiel Mphahlele, Gerald Moore, Okot P'Bitek, Rajat Neogy and David Rubadiri on East Africa's literary drought. Is it a drought of writers or willing publishers? Opinion was divided, though the chance of the creative writer in an African language of being published was as always rated low. (A somewhat fantastic exception will be the BBC's Third Programme broadcast of Alexis Buthelezi's Italia-prizewinning play *Nokhwezi* in May in Zulu, though an official South African entry for the prize, this is to be welcomed — provided there are no apartheid nuances in it.) Perhaps our reviewer David Thompson, formerly of the English department at Roma, Lesotho, now of King's College, London University, was too hard on Heinemann's batch of new African novels last issue. Their faith in new African novelists carries out common publishing practice of taking a chance on a first novel for the hope it offers of real success with its successors. Many English novels find a publisher on this basis: it is hard that African

writers should be blamed for immaturity on a first book when non-Africans get by. “This is by an African therefore it has to be better” is as stupid as “therefore it need not be as good”.

HEINEMANN'S are soon to publish a collection of new writing from Nsukka — poetry, drama and fiction by students of the University of Nigeria (and a selection will be featured here in advance of publication). No drought there, of writers or a publisher. While *Black Orpheus* appears less frequently, Ibadan University is to publish an occasional *African New Writing*, the first in about September next year. The editors are Professor Desmond Maxwell and Christopher Okigbo, both prominent (with S. B. Bushrui) in Ibadan University and Nelson's *W. B. Yeats — Centenary Essays* a cosmopolitan collection with only Okigbo's “Lament of the Masks”, a praise-song on Yeats in the Yoruba tradition, speaking of the poet in an African voice. From the same imprint have come *Africa in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, “a handbook for teachers and students” edited by Joseph C. Anene and Godfrey N. Brown and a companion volume *A Thousand Years of West African History*, edited by J. F. Ade Ajayi and I. Espie, which will be reviewed here by Thomas Hodgkin, in July. A progress report on modern African history-writing by Hodgkin in the special history issue of *The Times Literary Supplement* on 7th April, provides an excellent background to these books. It also listed techniques of research similar to those described by his former pupil Martin Legassick in *The New African*, March 1966 (an article which brought Legassick, who is at the University of California, Los Angeles, an immediate enquiry from a London publisher, after a book on pre-1800 South Africa).

Longman's, London, come near the subject with *The Mfecane, A Nineteenth Century Revolution in Bantu Africa*, by J. D. Omer-Cooper, professor-elect in history in the University of Zambia, and formerly senior lecturer in history at Ibadan, where he wrote the South African chapters in the Anene-Brown volume above.

WILLIAM COLLINS, ONE OF THE GIANTS of British publishing, did well out of Trevor Huddleston's *Naught for Your Comfort* and Chief Luthuli's *Let My People Go* is still selling well for them. Rev. Charles Hooper, who collaborated on the Luthuli book, also published his *Brief Authority* with Collins, revealing the full horror of the Afrikaner Nationalist government's repression of the Zeerust risings in 1957. Their subsidiary Harvill Press are publishing the *Jail Diary* of Albie Sachs, compiled from his notes and letters after 90-day imprisonment in 1963-4 (he has just been released after a further agony of solitary confinement under the 180-day clause which has replaced 90-days). Small wonder that Collins's South African agents wanted to appease white South Africa by showing “the other side”, and Douglas Brown of the right-wing, London, *Sunday Telegraph* was commissioned for the job. His book *Against the World* has come out to applause from radical anti-apartheid critics like Kenneth McKenzie (in *New Society*, London) and his wife Myrna Blumberg (in *The Guardian*, London), though they and other critics have sharply disagreed with his conclusion that, as McKenzie paraphrases it “the outside world can and should do nothing about South Africa, except perhaps pray”. But the South African government is not even grateful for this crumb: the Board of Censors has banned *Against the World* in South Africa.