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Editorial

THIRD REPUBLICAN PARLIAMENT: DREAM AND REALITY

Constitutions, it has been noted, spring from a belief in limited government. Countries differ in the degree to which they desire to impose limitations on the exercise of power. But whatever the character and the extent of the restrictions that are imposed on the political institutions constitutions establish, such limitations are rooted in a common belief in limited government and the use of a constitution to impose any such limitations. The Third Republican Constitution of Ghana needs to be seen against the background of these general considerations.

A careful reading of the accounts of the debates in the Constituent Assembly so far published; an examination of the circumstances in which the return to civilian rule originated and the major interests and political forces which pushed for a return to constitutional rule, will leave no one in doubt that the framers of our Constitution were imbued with a passion for political freedom and democracy. Those who drew up the Constitution saw separation of powers as the main prop of these two political ideals. This passion is best reflected in the words of the Constitutional Commissioners:

"...our new constitution should take the principle of separation of powers much further than we have been willing to go in Ghana hitherto. That principle, in essence, means that no one person or institution in government should be given too much power or authority; nor should uncontrolled or uncontrollable power or authority be given to any person or institution in government. The principle requires that the executive, legislative and judicial powers of the State should be assigned to separate institutions and organs with each having the power to check the power of the others in order to ensure that they do not encroach on one another's sphere of competence. ...the principle of separation of powers is meant to prevent, or at any rate minimize, the accumulation of power in the interest of the preservation of political liberty"

The framers believe that 'no one in Ghana now doubts the wisdom of this principle or its suitability as the central doctrinal underpinning of the framework of our government'. The principle then is embodied in the constitution; or what is often regarded as substantially the same thing, the presidential executive system of government is embodied as the main feature of the constitution. It was hoped that parliament, the

judiciary and the presidency will function as independent centres of power, and work all the same in harmony by complementing each other. It was also envisaged that the legislature will be a powerful counterpoise to the presidency. Has the legislature come within a dreaming distance of fulfilling the hopes of the framers? How, in other words, has it evolved over the past four months?

Certain trends are discernible. As a political institution, parliament is recognized by many Ghanaians as a familiar constitutional organ - an organ functioning within the framework of a parliamentary system of government. It is disquieting to note that parliamentarians of all political parties, notably PNP M.Ps, perceive their legislative role strictly in terms of mobilizing support for their various political parties. PNP M.Ps, for example, have consistently supported the executive (incidentally headed by a PNP President) on all issues which have come before Parliament; and the other M.Ps have behaved in a manner which leaves no one in doubt that any opportunity is seen in terms of its potential for reaping political advantage for their parties.

All this would be proper political behaviour in a parliamentary system of government. However, in a presidential system of government, such behaviour on the part of M.Ps must be seen as a misconception of the potential parliament has for becoming a countervailing power in the country. If this country is to maintain free institutions, then, our parliamentarians need to develop a strong corporate interest. They need to do this if they are not to be overshadowed by the president who also is elected by the people. If this happens, the people whom they represent will be voiceless, and the legislature will be a house divided against itself; powerless vis-a-vis the executive and the judiciary.

Keen and acute political observers are dismayed by an equally ominous development. There is a tendency for M.Ps to resort to the use of press conferences for the airing of popular discontents. It is hoped that this is just an ephemeral enthusiasm, for parliament is expected to provide a forum for just this purpose, and it is not expected that parliamentarians should evolve rival institutions for purposes that a legislature traditionally exists to serve.

If parliament is evolving as the Cinderella in Ghanaian politics, the government is partly responsible for this development. It was envisaged by the framers of the Constitution that the legislature will operate through a system of committees. At least, seven committees have been listed in the constitution, and an eighth committee, the Appointments Committee, has become nationally famous. If these committees are to work well, then our par-

liamentarians need to be liberally supplied with resources and facilities.

A good reference library, research assistants, xeroxing and printing facilities, stationery, typing papers, stencil sheets etc. are needed. These are services the government can and should provide if all the talk about working according to the constitution is to ring true. Parliament can exert pressure on the government by simply threatening to withdraw funds if it does not get its share!

An intriguing question to ask at this point is: why should parliament evolve in the way adumbrated above? A complicated analysis can be made, but three short explanations may suffice. First, Ghana has a long-standing tradition of parliamentary government, and such traditions die hard. As the Constitutional Commissioners recognized, much to their chagrin, 'we in Ghana have, mainly by force of ingrained habit and attitude born of our colonial heritage, tried valiantly but vainly for more than twenty years to fashion a governmental system based..... on government by or through a parliamentary cabinet'.

Whatever the Commissioners think of this heritage, it is true that it has nurtured certain political habits and attitudes of mind - habits and attitudes which make it difficult for a non-parliamentary system to function smoothly. Also, while under the parliamentary systems of the past the leading members of political parties tended to gravitate to the legislature, under the presidential system, it would appear that the political heavyweights are all outside parliament.

Messrs Victor Owusu, William Ofori-Atta, Col. F. G. Bernasko, and Mr. Ibrahim Mahama are all outside parliament. Also, Ministers are not parliamentarians, and are thus not available on anything like a continuing basis to debate policies they initiate. National attention, then, is for the most part not focused on the legislature, and to the extent that this is so, the prestige and influence of parliament tend to be vitiated accordingly.

Finally, it would appear, from the testimony of parliamentarians themselves, that the executive is seeking to encroach on the powers of the legislature. Mr. P. A. Adjetej, UNC Member for Kpeshe, has said in parliament that 'in accordance with the normal procedure of the House, Bills contained in the budget proposals ought to be published in the Gazette for two weeks and thereafter come before the House to go through the usual motions. Although this has not been done, the provisions of the Bill not yet law, are in fact being implemented' by executive agencies like the Central Revenue Department. Mr. S. Asante Fosuhene, PFP Member for Adansi, has called on parliament to express concern over the action of the executive

in purporting to enforce new proposals for the standard assessment of Income Tax and new lists of lorry and taxi fares without laying the relevant legal instruments before the House for its consideration and approval'. If the allegations are true, then, the executive is consciously seeking, as under a parliamentary system, to dominate the legislature.

There are disturbing signs that parliament is not evolving in the way envisaged by our constitutional framers. The rise of a clear partisan spirit in debates; the resort to the use of press conferences by parliamentarians; the absence of political giants in the legislature; and the attempts by the executive to control the legislature, are all early straws in the wind. The gap between dream and reality is widening.

There's a clear need for parliament to set a new course, both for considerations of principle and practical political interest of members. Besides satisfying the implicit constitutional obligation to provide a proper counter-weight to presidential power, an independent parliament with a distinct identity would give its members a strong hand in matters of patronage, the arranging of political packages and the like, essential coinage in many political systems. Members of a self-assured parliament, which acts as an independent source power in the State, can ask for their price, corporately or as individuals, for their consent to measures for which they may be called to a hard accounting by their constituents. The stronger their bargaining power, that degree less, will be the temptation for the executive to make demands on them which can be shown to be unwelcome to the people they represent.

Economy

THE BUDGET AND REMUNERATION IN THE PUBLIC SERVICE

By

Ato K. Ahwoi

In L.O. XI No. 13, a comparison of emoluments among various classes of Government employees was undertaken, some questions were raised and certain conclusions were drawn. In this article the writer will go a step back to determine the rationale behind wage and salary administration, and analyse these concepts in the light of the current budget.

The price of a commodity is determined by the supply/demand equation of that good, so says economic theory. Labour is a good, and as such, to price it, the tools of supply and demand must be applied.

Labour Supply

Labour supply or availability is partly related

to the period of training that particular labour, and longer periods of training, create scarcity for that labour. Scarcity of labour reduces its availability and raises the point of intersection of supply/demand curves. It is further presumed that during the period of training, labour forgoes emoluments, and amends must be made on completion of the training in the form of lighter wages. Based on this we presume that since it takes about twenty years to train a medical officer and it takes virtually no training at all to produce a labourer, medical officers are scarce and labourers are abundant, therefore, medical officers must be compensated more than labourers.

Some societies, however, recognise that labour which virtually needs no training, referred to as unskilled, may not necessarily be abundant and in such cases restitution is made to account for this anomaly. It is a fact that in the USA grave diggers and construction workers earn more than clerical officers sitting in air conditioned and centrally heated offices, not because that economy is not aware that it takes more time to educate a clerical officer, or that he has not foregone income during his period of training, but because that society realises that it is easier to come by clerical officers than grave diggers.

In Ghana we face a similar problem. On the labour market presently it is easier to come by 1000 people who want to be clerical officers than it is to lay hands on 1000 persons who want to be conservancy labourers. Yet, inspite of this phenomenon, our salary administrators still cling to the old concept that conservancy labourers are abundant and do not apply the labour market concept to determine their emoluments.

Sometime ago, economists made us believe that economic growth brings in its wake possible inflation and that at times a little inflation acts as a catalyst to development, but of late it has been realised that inflation can occur even in periods of stagnation and that stagflation is a reality.

Similarly it is not wholly true that unskilled labour necessarily is abundant. Unskilled labour can be scarce and presently in Ghana certain types of unskilled labour are scarce. The cocoa industry is dying just because there are no farm hands to help the ageing farmers yet the framers of our income policy look on unconcerned.

Supply and Qualification

It is interesting that at the upper echelons of society this rigid adherence to the scarcity value of labour is relaxed and emoluments do not take cognisance of these principles. Counting by the number of people who lobby to be made Managing

Directors one cannot help but form the impression that supply of Managing Directors is unlimited. I think I would not be far from wrong in concluding that most people think they can be Managing Directors but very few Ghanaians think they can be lecturers. The supply of labour for lectureship is therefore highly limited yet Managing Directors are more highly remunerated than lecturers. Another factor related to training and used predominantly as a determinant of emoluments is qualification. The system as operates now is that a holder of the Middle School Leaving Certificate receives a certain basic salary, the GCE 'O' Level holder certain emoluments, up to the highest possible qualification attainable. It is sometimes alleged "the Police are corrupt because their salaries are too low". Smugglers, it is also alleged, "pass through the Border Guards' net because these public officers are too lowly remunerated". These statements are tacit admissions that the system of salary administration is unrealistic. Those who parrot these statements conveniently forget that in Ghana the qualification one holds determines the salary scale he runs on. The Mills-Odoi and Issifu Ali reports epitomise this concept. The system is such that one cannot in isolation pay a Police Constable with Middle School Leaving Certificate more than his counterpart with equal qualification in the Ministry of Health, even though it is recognised that considering the policeman's responsibilities, he should be much more highly paid.

Until such time that income policy framers admit that some jobs are more hazardous, more beneficial to society, etc. and therefore have to be taken out of the system and valued differently, I just cannot imagine how the low salary of Border Guards, Customs Officials, etc. can be corrected. Once the system is changed such anomalies can be easily rectified.

Responsibility and Remuneration

The theory is also bandied about that responsibilities shouldered by an individual is a determinant of remuneration. I dare say that theoretical responsibilities are quite different from actual responsibilities. In the past seven years the country has been dragged to these low levels because top men,

instead of running their establishments according to the dictates of their conscience, allowed their institutions to be run from the Castle. The phrase "order from the Castle" or "instructions from above" precluded any shouldering of responsibilities, and was a licence for behaviours contrary to the ethics of sound management practices. The tops' reaction to their appalling lack of responsibility is that, under the circumstances prevailing in those days, there was nothing one could do but obey instructions from the Castle. This assertion however is bogus and fraudulent. During this era some of our institutions kept their sanity. Pressure could and was exerted on our Universities to accept students who were not qualified but, since our Universities had the moral courage and had not sold their conscience for a mess of pottage, they withstood these pressures and their institutions were left intact.

What would have become of Ghana if our Universities had shirked their responsibilities and passed through their walls doctors who could not diagnose and treat diseases, engineers who would build bridges only to collapse after three days, pharmacists who could not dispense drugs, etc? The state of moral degeneracy in which we now find ourselves could have extended to our Universities, but thank God, we had an institution whose members were more concerned with leaving a name than riches as a legacy to posterity. If any people should have been compensated for shouldering their responsibilities it was this group, not the present beneficiaries.

Urban and Rural Salaries

Our present system is such that there is absolutely no difference between the salary of a Ministry of Agriculture typist stationed at Sefwi-Ahibenso and his counterpart located at Accra. Under normal circumstances, the rural area employee should have been better off, because cost of living in the rural area is far less than in the urban area, but the truth of the matter is that presently in Ghana cost of living in the rural area is equally as high as that for the urban area for the simple reason that the distribution system, facilities and amenities, are so skewed against the rural folk that the Ahibenso resident can count himself lucky if he sees a tin of milk during a whole year. Meanwhile the urban dweller with the right contacts can always get milk. There is, therefore, no incentive in living in the rural area yet Government expects some people to live in these areas, produce the wealth of the nation for it only to be recklessly dissipated by urban dwellers.

Muddled Thinking and Budget

The muddled thinking on salaries is translated to other sectors of the economy as displayed in the recent government budget. From the recent

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budget the rural dweller pays more for lighting his abode due to the kerosine price of ₵3.50 per gallon, than the urban dweller who in addition to using power for lighting his abode uses energy for such unimportant functions like street lighting, television and playing music on his stereo-system, etc. A Ghanaian who uses electricity for cooking, ironing, lighting, playing music, watching television, etc. pays monthly, only about ₵25.00 whereas the unfortunate one who has to use charcoal buys a bag at ₵30 and would, during the month, spend at least ₵60.00 on charcoal for cooking only. The user of kerosine is in the same soup. He has to spend about ₵60 for energy needed for all his domestic requirements. To resolve this apparent discrimination Government could have kept kerosine price at about ₵1.00 (since it is an essential commodity) and levied a tax on users of electricity to compensate for any imagined or real loss of revenue from kerosine sales. This rational attitude could not be applied in due case of the kerosine issue because the privileged, who incidentally are some of those who prepare the budget, do not have to suffer and no sacrifices are needed from them in the nation - building exercise.

The Government budget has ₵2.8 billion allocated to recurrent expenditure whilst only ₵0.9 million is devoted to capital expenditure on the sector which most benefits the rural folk. A greater proportion of the recurrent expenditure caters for emoluments of public servants, emoluments which bear no relationship to productivity, but borders heavily on waste. To reduce Government budget and therefore, the incidence of taxes and deficit financing we must cut down waste in the system.

Fringe Benefits and the Elite

The middle and upper class cannot deny that in all developed countries only the top most official is allocated a company car and is housed by the company, yet back home these people do not see the wisdom in instituting similar measures. A German trained Doctor can be heard complaining "I have not been allocated a house" as if in Germany it is the responsibility of Government to house him. I doubt whether if top level public servants had been paid emoluments without all the so called necessary fringe benefits, they would have lived in those posh houses and so lavishly furnished these houses, and kept on their payroll all the hands (drivers, watchmen, cook, etc.) which they presently expect the Government to provide them with. The lesson for Ghanaians is that Government is wasting so much on the privileged that funds are not available to pay the down trodden enough wages to ensure them a decent living. We expect

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these people to produce, but they are so grossly underpaid that they cannot help but be underfed and being under fed, their productivity is low. A typical Catch-22 but the circle must, and can, be broken. It is absolutely unfair to expect the blacksmith at Ahibenso to pay C600 tax annually only for this tax to be used to employ a driver to drive the wife of a Chief Accountant of a Government establishment to the market and funerals. Yet this is what the budget recently presented wants Ghanaians to accept.

In all societies disparities in salaries exist but because the system is such that the lowest paid can adequately feed himself and his family, on his salary, no bones are picked. A worker staying at Madina and working at the Industrial Area has to spend daily C3.60 on transport alone!!! Thereafter, he is left with C0.40. Out of this amount he must feed himself, house himself, clothe himself and support his family daily. Do our salary administrators in all good conscience believe that this worker can live on 40 pesewas a day? Unfortunately this poor worker has to live on 40 pesewas daily whilst the top official spends daily about C1.40 on unnecessary telephone calls at home at the expense of the tax payer. From the table in the article in L.O. XI No. 13, and taking into account the present cost of living, it is obvious that a majority of Ghanaians cannot make ends meet while the privileged few are so well off that Ampadu's song, "Ebi te yie ebi nso nte yie koraa" rings as true to-day as it was about a decade ago.

Politics

WHICH WAY GHANA?

By

A Special Correspondent

Just a little over two decades ago Ghana scored one of her many firsts in Africa South of the Sahara with the attainment of independence. The euphoria that came with self-determination was great. In the sixties we were the most important 'power' in black Africa with all the influence that that carried. We played a major part in the liberation of the continent and in the formation of the OAU. And we were the predominant country in West Africa. For several years our prestige and influence were paramount and we could have stamped Africa as we wished. Alas, now we are unable to influence events on the continent in the way we want because we do not have the power or will to do so.

The bearing of our weakness upon our politics is almost too obvious to require analysis. Our economic decline has been such as to sap the foundations of our political life. Conversely, most of our politics have been such as to contribute to that decline. Our present difficulties are rooted in the relatively distant past; they do not arise from recent decisions and cannot be quietly or easily cured. The prognosis for the foreseeable future is discouraging, but we are encouraged by the fact that nothing in a country's future is inevitable. Everything depends upon the national purpose which in turn requires the necessary will and leadership.

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The First Republic

With resources available at the time of Independence, Kwame Nkrumah could have made Ghana a model country in the Third World. However, his philosophy of African unity as the only way to ensure the rapid progress of the black race overshadowed all other considerations, including Ghana's interests. He initiated some very good policies on education and made some rewarding economic investments like the Tema township project and the building of the Akosombo dam. But instead of concentrating on domestic development and reforms, the training of an administrative cadre, the taking of measures for the realisation of his great vision superseded everything. He established the Bureau of African Affairs to help in the liberation of African countries as well as the subversion of Governments opposed to his aims. African unity was a Juggernaut and nothing was to be spared in its achievement.

Nkrumah pursued a glamorous foreign policy which did put Ghana on the map but proved rather expensive for the young nation. His idea of building a socialist state got Ghana involved in world politics in the then raging cold war. Socialism, the people felt, was a threat to their life-style. The creation of the Young Pioneers made parents realise they had no control over their children. To have control of the social and political life of the Ghanaian made Nkrumah see the need to establish a dictatorship. The results were the introduction of the Preventive Detention Act which silenced his opponents, the establishment of the Presidential Detail Department which gave him an additional separate security agency, and, lastly, the formation of the Presidential Guard which also gave him a separate personal army.

Not long after proclaiming Ghana a Republic, Kwame Nkrumah realised that he had lost control over the system he had created. The above-mentioned policies led to widespread discontent among civilians and the military alike. And the fact that he was involved in the world ideological conflict facilitated the planning of his overthrow.

The First Military Take-Over

The 1966 coup brought about the first involvement of the military in the administration of the country. It was becoming clear by late 1964 that a violent upheaval of some sort was inevitable. Not only had economic conditions become difficult but no citizen could be assured of a good night's sleep. A simple knock on one's door could be ominous and everyone including those who walked the corridors of power spontaneously heaved a

sigh of relief whenever the One O'clock news broadcast was over. In the event, most Ghanaians considered the fall of their Messiah a good riddance.

There are three significant aspects of the 1966 coup which cannot be overlooked in any political analysis of this country. The first is the fact that bad governments can be changed by unconstitutional means. The second is the idea that soldiers can step in to use unorthodox methods to effect political and economic reforms. And the third is the very involvement of military personnel in the administration of the country.

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The first administration of the country by the military was characterised by the taking of ad-hoc measures aimed at correcting the ills of the Nkrumah regime. Examples of these measures were the rescheduling of the payment of our debts, the taking of short-term loans to import essential goods, and the air-lifting of food to alleviate the suffering of the people. In effect, there had been no serious economic planning at the time of the civilian take-over. An important feature of the handing over of the first military administration to civilians was the exclusion of former Convention Peoples Party adherents from participating in the administration of the country. This meant that the former power wielders had virtually to go underground.

The Second Republic

The Second Republic was short lived, but contained the ingredients for its overthrow. For the first time there was an attempt at some serious economic planning which involved the taking of long-term measures like the 1971 devaluation. The introduction of the Ghanaian Business Promotion Act and the Small Loans Scheme put the economy of the country in the hands of Ghanaians. There was also a serious attempt at Rural Development. And the Government of the Second Republic tried to bridge the gap between the middle and lower classes by cutting off the allowances of the former as well as making students pay for their education partly. But the people were used to short-term measures as quick solutions to their daily problems and were hardly in the mood to countenance unpalatable long-term measures. Another measure which militated against the aims of the Second Republic was the civilian attempt to control the military by cutting down the military budget. Lastly, after carrying out some sort of civic education, Ghanaians were generally expected to accept the principle of the ballot box.

The Second Military Take-Over

Unfortunately, the axe fell again in January 1972 and Ghanaians found themselves in the clutches of the military. The first phase of Acheampong's rule was characterised by popular measures like subsidising basic commodities and the renunciation of debts said to be tainted with corruption.

The impression of having initiated a long-term agricultural policy was given as evidenced by students' involvement in irrigation and farm projects. But this proved to be part of the usual measures to whip enthusiasm for newly established Governments. The enthusiasm waned after about 18 months and unfortunately for the government, the problems of the country were compounded by the 1973 oil crisis.

The seeds of Ghana's woes were undoubtedly sown before the advent of Acheampong but he certainly nursed them and helped their growth. The military became more acquisitive and got involved in all kinds of corruption. The country's foreign exchange reserves dwindled as the import licence programme was disrupted by the issue of licences to private individuals to bring in goods. Agriculture failed miserably and this was partly due to drought. But the significant feature of the regime was its sheer incompetence to handle the affairs of the country.

The people seethed with rage and frustration as blunders followed one after the other. Widespread agitation ensued among all classes and sections of the citizenry: the low-income group, the middle and upper classes, students, workers as well as professional groups. This led to the call for a return to constitutional rule by the Ghana Bar Association. The year 1977 saw the climax of agitation with the withdrawal of services by the professional groups. A significant feature of the widespread agitation was the creation of solidarity among professionals, and sundry other groups.

Acheampong at one stage wanted to hand over the Government to civilians but was faced with a dilemma. He felt that his handing-over would lead to the military being victimised. And the military men who had acquired assets unlawfully and therefore feared a probe were urging him not to hand-over. In desperation he came out with the idea of Union Government.

The Government's way of conducting the Union Government campaign brought about a very important, albeit dangerous feature of our political life. This was the fact that Ghanaians readily offered themselves to be trained as subversionists. Students created a situation which led to the closure of the Universities and this gave them the opportunity to go to the field to campaign against the Government on behalf of the Movement for Freedom and Justice.

Thinking that the attacks were directed against Acheampong personally, the other members of the Supreme Military Council removed him on 5 July, 1978. And to show their goodwill, the reconstituted SMC released all detainees and prisoners convicted by Military Tribunals for subversion. They also relaxed restrictions on freedom of speech and announced the holding of free elections.

These measures generated another problem within the military. Free speech brought out a lot of revelations and those army officers who had not benefited from the regime felt it was unfair for them to suffer with the others from a tarnished

image. A house-cleaning exercise within the military was consequently felt to be necessary before handing over to civilians.

The AFRC Inter-regnum

Flt. Lt. J. J. Rawlings' first attempt at a coup d'etat provided the symbol for what the military generally felt and this gave the impetus to the other ranks to join in the June 4 Revolution.

Now that the dust is gradually settling on this jolt in our society, popularly called the June 4 Revolution, we can better assess the merits and demerits of the rule of the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC) with some detachment and sobriety.

On the credit side, we must mention the generation of some kind of moral crusade which created the impression that honesty is a virtue and that it pays to be good. The evidence of this was the fact that in the reign of terror which the AFRC unleashed, honest officials had nothing to fear. There was also generally a certain sense of public accountability among the ruling and managerial class. We may also mention that crude, albeit unorthodox, methods proved effective in the collection of revenue and the detection of trade malpractices. A very good thing on the AFRC credit side is the fact that dignity was conferred on labour and workers. This led to management respecting their subordinates and caring about them, though we must quickly add that this had its demerits too.

High on the list of the demerits of the AFRC must come the general indiscipline in the Armed Forces, Government Departments, Corporations and virtually all establishments and institutions. The fact that Senior Army officers now find it difficult to resort to normal military discipline has led to the virtual disintegration of the Armed Forces. Major General Sam's remark that the Armed Forces cannot be rebuilt is significant.

On the civilian side, workers could cause the removal of senior officers by demonstration. Closely allied to the relations between Seniors and Juniors is the introduction by the revolution of a class war which is alien to our society. Finally, the absence of criteria and standards in the decisions of the AFRC, coupled with their secret trials culminating in the revelations coming out after the jail break, has seriously impaired the credibility of the AFRC.

Consequences

We have a Civilian Government installed now under a Constitution. But with the AFRC's credibility thus impaired, serious minded citizens have reason to worry about the effects of certain articles

of the Transitional Provisions of the Constitution. Certain actions of some of the military seem to suggest that even though they are out of the scene, they would want to act as overseers. In some cases the impression is even created that they would want to monitor the proceedings and decisions of the Special Tribunal. The refusal by soldiers to accept certain appointments in the Armed Forces gives cause for concern.

UNIVERSITY OF GHANA FACULTY OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF CLASSICS

Applications are invited for

2 LECTURESHIPS

Candidates should have graduate qualifications and experience in any of the following fields:

- (1) Ancient History, with special interest in Greek History
- (2) Greek and Roman Civilization with special interest in Philosophy or Religion.

DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS

Application are invited for

3 LECTURESHIPS

Candidates should have graduate qualifications and experience. Preference will be given to candidates with qualifications in the linguistics of one or more Ghanaian languages.

SALARY SCALE: C6,420.00 x C240.00 - C9,780.00 per annum (under review)

Appointments normally up to six years in the first instance.

Further particulars and forms of application should be obtained from the Registrar, University of Ghana, P. O. Box 25, Legon, Accra, Ghana or the Senior Assistant Registrar, Universities of Ghana Office 15 Gordon Square, London WC1H 0AG, with whom applications (EIGHT COPIES) should be lodged not later than 29th February, 1980

The springing-up of various movements - the June 4 Movement, the Movement on National Affairs and the People's Revolutionary League - some of which are openly calling for the overthrow of the Government is, to say the least, alarming.

A look at the Party in power clearly shows that there are divisions. And the radicals who would want an outright pronouncement in favour of socialism are unhappy with the present pragmatic stance of the President. There are even reports that the radicals are being encouraged by certain socialist countries. In a word, there is sufficient evidence to indicate political instability in the country.

The political situation is worsened by the economic scene. Previous economic measures only led to frustration. Agricultural policies have failed as evidenced by our importation of palm oil from Benin. We have dropped from the 1st to the 3rd position in the production of cocoa. The widespread shortages of the most basic commodities have rendered life difficult in the country. The Industrial sector is almost idle. Factories face constant shortages of raw materials. Most of the planning is geared towards serving the national and regional capitals and the bulk of the people who are to be found in the rural areas are left to fend for themselves. The high cost of transportation, which is due to the lack of vehicles and spare-parts in addition to the high cost of fuel, has made ordinary foodstuffs difficult to come by, and prices prohibitive, if at all obtained.

From the above picture of our political and economic situations, it is easy to understand the social conditions of the country. The ordinary Ghanaian feels he can't live a normal life. The malaise generally felt by the people has destroyed morale. The people can't make ends meet with their salaries and wages. There is no motivation for work. And one of the many consequences is the brain-drain. If the situation is not redressed somehow within a reasonably short time, we must anticipate a host of social ills like juvenile delinquency, prostitution, drug addiction, armed robbery etc. In a word, there could be a breakdown in the social fabric of the society.

THE FUTURE

These then are the immediate prospects. But can we console ourselves with the hope that "all this shall pass" and pass quickly? What are the conditions necessary for the reestablishment of a more healthy economic, social and political climate and are these conditions likely to be met? An examination of some of the more enduring consequences of the conduct of governments in recent years should make one pessimistic.

One development of the Nkrumah era which has often eluded political analysts but which has had profound consequences for our national life is what could be termed the debasement of the language of national discourse. This took many forms: from the turgid, incomprehensible and tedious prose one found in the "Sparks" attempt to educate us in the doctrines of socialism to the powerful simplifications embodied in the popular slogans of the day, e.g. calling all critics of the CPP government "neo-colonialist lackeys". Whatever form it took, the language used by public figures was what one could describe as pontifical-official pronouncements were true (even if one knew otherwise) and provided solutions to all problems in all spheres - and those who dared challenge these however tentatively were traitors. The general point is that the CPP government started a tradition in which the limits of the capacity for action of the public authorities were never recognised, at least in the sphere of language, although evidence that the limits were very real lay about us in abundance. We do need to realize that the patience required for building a nation is difficult to cultivate when the working hypothesis of the governors and the governed is that government is capable of everything and knows all!

A corollary to the above is an unfortunate tendency to deny the existence of a broad middle ground in political and social policy acceptable to most Ghanaians. That this is true is attested to by a close reading of the manifestoes of all the political parties which have contested the various general elections held under relatively open conditions. Clearly, future governments are going to have to recognise that they can do only so much and contending political parties will need to recognise in their rhetoric at least that the argument with their opponents is very much over who should have power and rather less about what should be done with it.

There is also the very disturbing question about the possible effects on the younger generation of so many years of abysmally incompetent government and its resulting negative influences on the behaviour of the adult working population. Does that slice of the population aged between 7 and say 25 - which is a very high proportion of the total - recognise the last few years for the aberration that it was or does it take it as the normal condition? Is there a recognition among this group that the normal equation is that effort produces reward and not 'kalabule' produces riches, that most nations develop, as it were, by putting one block on top of the other in a rather slow unexciting process, rather than through traumatic (and inevitably frustrating) attempts to change every-

thing overnight every few years? Even more difficult to answer is the question of what toll the sheer physical deprivation of the most recent years has taken on the development of the youth - physically and mentally. If, as I suspect, there has been some damage done to the self-image, the will to work and perhaps even the physical and mental capacities of this generation, it is to be feared that the medium to long term prospects for building a nation are not much more encouraging than the immediate uncertainties that were evoked above.

But not all what is done cannot be undone, and not all what is learned cannot be unlearned. If the causes of our present situation lie "not in our stars but in ourselves", we must surely be able to resume mastery of our fate.

Social

DEMOGRAPHIC TRENDS IN GHANA AND WORLD PLAN OF ACTION

By

S. K. Gaisie

The post-war II period witnessed the establishment of a variety of international and regional institutions, including the United Nations to deal, inter alia, with food, education, health and other developmental matters. Furthermore, a number of strategies and programmes have been formulated. Among them are the FAO's Provisional Indicative World Plan for Agricultural Development, the United Nations/FAO World Food Programme, the ILO's World Employment Programme, the Action Plan for the Human Environment, etc. All these attempt to promote development and improve the quality of life by coordinating action in all major socio-economic fields.

World Population Plan of Action (WPPA): a Political Instrument

Population, an inexhaustible source of creativity and a determining factor of progress, has been one of the important topics being debated by both the developed and the developing nations. However, it was not until the 1974 Bucharest World Population Conference that the topic of population was bitterly discussed by national governments.

A World Population Plan of Action was adopted at the Bucharest Conference. This Plan of Action was based on a number of principles and guidelines. The principles and guidelines are in turn based on 'internationally recognized values and goals reflected in political decisions of United Nations bodies'. Some of the main principles of the WPPA include: (i) 'The principal aim of social, economic and cultural development, of which population goals and policies are integral parts, is to improve levels of living and the quality of life of the people. Of all things in the world, people are the most precious'; (ii) Population and development are interrelated: population variables influence development variables and are also influenced by them'.

The WPPA 'recognizes the responsibility of each Government to decide on its own policies and devise its own programmes of population and economic and social progress'.

Ghana's Demographic Setting

This article focuses on the demographic trends and their implications for socio-economic development in Ghana in relation to the socio-political framework as outlined in the World Population Plan of Action. It reviews Ghana's population changes and the forces that propel them to observed growth rates; then discusses the policies and programmes that are put into effect in Ghana to harness such growth rates. Finally, some recommendations for effective change in population growth rates are advanced.

Post-independence Ghana witnessed a very rapid improvement in census-taking in the country. The 1960 census was a classic example of such improvements in respect of techniques, objectives and scope. The second census of the Republic of Ghana was carried out in March 1970 and the results are still being processed. The results of these censuses have provided a solid foundation for most of the demographic studies which have been undertaken in Ghana. Unfortunately, however, very little progress has been made in the collection and compilation of vital statistics.

The status of population data and vital statistics is relatively low and in most cases the analyses of the dynamics of population growth in Ghana have been based on estimates. Nevertheless, the available demographic data throw some light on the demographic developments in the country. These will be discussed under the following sections: total population size; its rate of growth as reflected in levels; changes in fertility, mortality and migration.

Fertility

Fertility is high and seems to have stabilized at rather high levels. The birth rate of Ghana has been

UNIVERSITY OF GHANA
FACULTY OF SCIENCE

DEPARTMENT OF BOTANY

Applications are invited for

(i) 2 LECTURESHIPS IN PLANT PHYSIOLOGY

Candidates should have graduate qualifications and experience with interest in either plant metabolism or cell physiology or whole Plant Physiology.

(ii) 4 LECTURESHIPS

Candidates should have graduate qualifications and experience in any of the following fields:

Plant Anatomy
Plant Ecology (Preferably Quantitative) Plant Taxonomy, Phycology.

(iii) RESEARCH FELLOW (Assistant Director of Botanical Gardens)

Candidates should have graduate qualifications and experience in any of the following fields:

Horticulture	Experimental Taxonomy
Agronomy	Plant Ecology or
Plant Physiology	Plant Breeding and Genetics

DEPARTMENT OF GEOLOGY

Applications are invited for the post of

LECTURER

Candidates should have graduate qualifications in one or more of the following fields
Mineralogy, Petrology, Physical Geology, Geomorphology, Quaternary Geology,
Stratigraphy, Applied Geology (e.g. Engineering Geology, Hydrogeology)

DEPARTMENT OF MATHEMATICS

Applications are invited for

4 LECTURESHIPS

Applicants should have graduate qualifications and experience in any of the following fields:

Algebra	Topology
Analysis	Theoretical Physics

SALARY: C6,420 x C240.00 - C9,780.00 per annum (under review)

Appointments normally up to six years in the first instance.

Further particulars and forms of application should be obtained from the Registrar, University of Ghana, P. O. Box 25, Legon, Accra, Ghana or the Senior Assistant Registrar, Universities of Ghana Office, 15 Gordon Square, London WC1H 0AG, with whom applications (EIGHT COPIES) should be lodged not later than 29th February 1980.

UNIVERSITY OF GHANA
SCHOOL OF ADMINISTRATION

Applications are invited for

(i) SENIOR LECTURER/LECTURER IN ACCOUNTING STUDIES

Candidates should have graduate qualifications and teaching and research experience in at least one of the following fields:

- (a) Financial Management
- (b) Advanced Accounting
- (c) Cost and Management Accounting
- (d) Auditing and Taxation (Elective)

(ii) SENIOR LECTURER/LECTURER IN MANAGEMENT STUDIES

Candidates should have graduate qualifications and teaching and research experience in at least one of the following fields:

- (a) Managerial and International Economics
- (b) Principles of Management/Administrative Science/Business Policy.
- (c) Marketing and Marketing Research
- (d) Quantitative Methods and Production Management
- (e) Personnel Management and Industrial Relations
- (f) Secretarial Practice and Office Management

(iii) SENIOR LECTURER/LECTURER IN ADMINISTRATION STUDIES

Candidates should have graduate qualifications and teaching and research experience in at least one of the following fields:

- (a) Public Finance and Public Policy Analysis
- (b) Government
- (c) Comparative Public Administrative and Public Enterprises.

SALARY SCALES: Senior Lecturer - C9,540.00 x C240.00 - C10,980.00 p.a.
Lecturer - C6,420.00 x C240.00 - C9,780.00 per annum (under review)

Appointments normally up to six years in the first instance.

Further particulars and forms of application should be obtained from the Secretary, School of Administration, University of Ghana, P. O. Box 78, Legon, Accra, Ghana or the Senior Assistant Registrar, Universities of Ghana Office, 15 Gordon Square, London WC1H 0AG, with whom applications (EIGHT COPIES) should be lodged not later than 29th February 1980.

estimated at about 50 per thousand population and the total fertility ratio between 6.7 and 7.0. The most plausible estimate indicates that every Ghanaian woman passing through the child-bearing period would bear, on average, 6.9 children and that she would replace herself with about 3.4 daughters two of whom survive to become future mothers. In other words, a woman in the present generation would be represented in the next generation by two women.

The high fertility level portrayed by the total fertility ratio is also reflected in the completed family size. Ghanaian completed average family size shows that the fertility of Ghana is as high as or higher than that of Latin American and Asian countries and is apparently higher than that of some other African countries.

Mortality

The estimated crude death rate and infant mortality rate of 23 per thousand population and 160 per thousand live births in the early 1960's declined to about between 19 and 20 and 133 respectively by the late 1960's. The 1971 Supplementary Enquiry data showed that infant mortality declined further to the level of 122 per thousand live births at the beginning of the present decade. These overall rates conceal great variations between regions.* The urban death rate of 14 per thousand is about two-thirds of the rural rate. The urban rate is lower than the rural rate: 98 as against 161 per thousand live births. Estimates based on the 1971 Supplementary Enquiry indicated that the urban and the rural infant mortality rates had declined to 84 and 100 per thousand live births respectively during late 1960's and early 1970's.

The estimated values of life expectancy indicate a steady decline in mortality since the early 1940's. The available figures (or estimates) suggest a very slow decline in mortality during World War II and the early part of the 1950's and then a relatively rapid decline just after that period. Estimates by the author indicate that

*Estimated crude death rates range from between 8-10 per thousand in the Accra Capital District to between 25 and 27 per thousand population in the Upper Region. As regards infant mortality the regional estimates range from 56 in the Accra Capital District to 192 in the Upper Region during the 1960's.

*Regional differentials indicate, however, that life expectancy in the Upper Region was about between 30.0 and 32.5 years by the end of the last decade whilst that of the Greater Accra Region was in the neighbourhood of 56.0 years.

Ghana's expectation of life at birth of about 35.3 years in the 1940's rose to nearly 40 years in the late 1950's and then climbed up to between 46 and 47 years in the late 1960's and early 1970's. The magnitude of decline rose from 0.42 years per year in the 1940's to 0.62 years per year in the 1960's. These figures are indicative of substantial downward trends in mortality.

Migration

The existing statistics show that Ghana experiences a great deal of internal migration from one locality to another. The four usual types of internal migratory movements have been identified in Ghana: rural to rural, rural to urban, urban to urban and urban to rural. It has been noted by Gaisie and de Graft Johnson that "although the rural to rural movements are the most numerous, the most significant is the rural to urban movement".

The place of birth statistics which have been used as proxy for migration data, indicate quite clearly that there is considerable movement of the population of Ghana. Estimates based on the matrices of birthplace by place of enumeration show that most of the regions lose populations through migration to Greater Accra, Brong Ahafo and Ashanti Regions. It has been observed by Gaisie and de Graft Johnson that "migration in Ghana tends to be of the labour type and Greater Accra with its concentration of government ministries and industrial establishments tends to attract large population. The Ashanti and Brong Ahafo Regions also, due to the cocoa farms, tend to attract migrant farm workers".

In 1960, 12.3 per cent of the total Ghana population were immigrants and about 36 per cent of the foreign-born immigrants were from the neighbouring African countries of Togo, Upper Volta and Nigeria. About 86 per cent of the immigrants were unskilled labourers, semi-skilled labourers, traders etc. By 1970 the proportion of the foreign segment of the population had decreased to about 6.6 per cent. The enforcement of the Aliens Compliance Order in 1969 could be said to have been largely responsible for this sharp decline in the number of foreign nationals. However, the knotty problem confronting demographers at the present moment is the number of foreign nationals who declared themselves as Ghanaians in the 1970 census.

Population Size and Rate of Growth

At the beginning of 1921, the country had a population of just over 2 million, and by the first

quarter of 1960 the population had increased to 6.7 million, that is, it more than tripled in the short period of nearly forty years. The population continued to expand at an accelerated rate and by 1970 it had reached the 8.5 million mark. The present size of the Ghanaian population is estimated to be about 11.3 million and the population of Ghana origin has reached 10.2 million. Thus, the population more than quintupled within a period of fifty-six years.

One of the significant features of Ghana's population is the rate of growth. Although data for the early part of the century are not very reliable, the recorded figures indicate that Ghana's population has been growing at a relatively high average annual rate since 1921: 3.2 per cent between 1921 and 1931; 2.8 per cent between 1921 and 1960 and 2.7 per cent between 1960 and 1971. Estimates prepared by the author indicate that the population has been expanding at a higher rate of about 2.7 per cent per annum during the 1960's and that the rate has increased to 3 per cent per annum at the present moment. Recent estimates show that the rate of growth will climb up to 3.2 between 1980 and 1985: an increase which is largely attributable to decline in crude death rates.

The rapid growth of Ghana's population is attributable to a constant high fertility rate, declining mortality rate and an inflow of immigrants from neighbouring African countries; the influence of the migration factor has presumably been diminished considerably by the enforcement of the **Aliens Compliance Order** in late 1969 and early 1970. It must be borne in mind that the number of Aliens who have returned to Ghana since the change of political administration in January, 1972 cannot be estimated in the light of the existing information on international migrants, particularly those from the neighbouring countries. And neither can we estimate the number of Ghanaians who have been trooping into other African countries in recent times.

Notwithstanding, the imbalance between fertility and mortality rates which are largely responsible for the rapid expansion of the country's population, the projections of the population of Ghana origin show that in the absence of any changes in the level of fertility, the 1960 population would double by 1982, a period of less than 25 years and by year 2000 there would be nearly four Ghanaians for every one in 1960. Even a reduction of 28 per cent in fertility by the year 2000 would result in an increase of 3 fold in the population by the end of the century, implying that there would be three Ghanaians in 2000 for every one in 1960. Even if Ghana is able to cut down her fertility rate by

nearly 50 per cent between 1985 and 2000, her population would more than double within the next twenty-six years unless, of course, a marked decline in fertility begins in the immediate future - an unlikely prospect. It must be borne in mind that slight changes in the fertility level would not have any significant effect on the size of the future population and the important issue which would be agitating the minds of Ghanaians who have given some thought to the rapid population growth in the country is the rate at which fertility would decline once the process had begun. Note that a reduction of nearly 57 per cent by the year 2000 would generate a population of nearly 18 million by that year and this would be nearly twice the 1970 estimated population of Ghana origin of 10.2 million.

Age Structure

Of major significance to the socio-economic development of a country, changes in the age structure of the population and its labour force become extremely important.

The most striking feature of Ghanaian population is its extreme youthfulness. The proportion of children under 15 years is more than 45 per cent, and indications are that the Ghanaian population in general is becoming more youthful. High dependency rates obviously accompany such a youthful population. Projection shows that Ghana's population would become much younger as it progresses towards the year 2000 and that a marked transformation of the age structure could only be effected under conditions of fairly steep decline in fertility in the immediate future. For instance, a reduction of the proportion under fifteen years to less than 40 per cent (i.e. 36 per cent) in the year 2000 could only happen if fertility declines by more than 50 per cent between 1975 and 2000. But it is doubtful whether a reduction in fertility of such magnitude could be achieved by year 2000.

Ghana's present-day population has, therefore a high growth potential inherent in the age structure with subsequent rapid expansion of the population continuing beyond the year 2000. It is important to remember that the immediate benefits of declines in fertility are always relatively small and that the population is bound to grow for a considerable length of time before the rate of growth drops substantially. It has been estimated that an immediate fertility decline to replacement level in developing countries would be accompanied by an ultimate population increase of two thirds before growth ceased. Thus, even if Ghana's fertility were to drop to replacement level in the year 1990, her population would continue to

grow until the middle of the 21st century. Because of the dynamic nature of population change its effects on development would, therefore, take a relatively long time to be felt.

Size and Growth of the Labour Force and Related Problems

Ghana's labour force of 2,772,026 in 1960 (1,677,058 males and 1,045,968 females) increased to 3,331,618 in 1970 (1,859,395 males and 1,472,223 females). It grew at an estimated rate of 2.5 per cent per annum during the decade; a high rate of growth with far-reaching implications for employment, unemployment and under-employment. It is important to bear in mind that a high growth rate of 2.9 per cent per annum of the total population has been generating a faster rate of growth of the labour force. Thus, an estimated growth rate between 3.0 and 3.2 per cent of the total population between 1975 and 1980 would push the growth rate of the labour force to between 2.7 and 3.0 per annum during the same period. Estimates prepared by Gaisie and de Graft-Johnson show that Ghana's labour force would reach 4.2 million mark by the end of 1980.

The size of the demand for new jobs depends on the changes in the demographic structure of the growing population and the spatial displacement of such a population. It has often been argued, and at times promised in the national plans, that one of the social and moral obligations of a responsible government is to provide productive employment for both male and female adults in the working age population. It has been noted that the unemployment rate for Ghana in both 1950 and 1970 was 6.0 per cent per annum. And a constant annual rate of 6.0 per cent would yield an unemployed population of about 252,000 by 1980 unless concerted effort is made to create more jobs. It has been noted, however, that the modern sector of the economy has a "low absorptive capacity... to provide employment opportunity for existing unemployed as the new additions to the labour force". Thus, the extent to which the unemployment problem can be successfully tackled will depend on the performance of the economy in the short run and the changes in the demographic realities that currently obtain in Ghana in the long run.

Massive increases in the labour force would mean in effect that an annual increase of at least 3 per cent in the number of jobs would be required if under-employment and unemployment were to be avoided. In addition, the rapidly growing labour force would call for extra capital to

provide equipment and training for the additional workers in order to maintain the level of output per worker of the existing labour force whose productive capacity even now needs considerable improvement. It must also be borne in mind that the education and training of the much needed high-level and middle-level personnel would entail a huge expenditure of public funds over a considerable length of time. "Inadequacy of training, paucity of qualified instructors and physical facilities for practical training" are some of the bottlenecks which had been identified in the Five-Year Development Plan 1975/76 - 1979/80.

There is the need to examine the influence that demographic variables exert on employment policies within the context of the determination of development objectives. A meaningful planning requires that objectives should be defined in relation to the ultimate beneficiaries of development (i.e. the people). Their numbers and characteristics are, therefore, important determinants of policy objectives which can only be defined in relation to the actual and estimated future values of demographic variables. Thus, by varying the numerical values of demographic variables and observing the required changes in the type and level of policy instruments for achieving given objectives, alternative sets and levels of policies may be determined and the one which reduces the pressure on increasing employment most can be selected. It is equally important to examine the effects of employment policies and programmes on demographic variables. These policies and programmes may be considered as a means of population policy both in respect of growth and distribution on population.

Governmental Efforts

The two-year National Development Plan, published in 1968, contained a brief reference to the Government's intention to establish family planning services in the country. Thus, the Ghana Manpower Board, which was created in January, 1968 with the Commissioner for Economic Affairs as its chairman, was charged with the responsibility of reviewing... "the policy of the Government on population and migration and advise on measures to be taken to ensure the fullest utilization of the human resources of the country". A special sub-committee of the Board was set up to prepare a National Population Policy for the country. At that time there were no political pressures and the sub-committee approached the issue with diligence and objectivity, paying more attention to demographic facts and their socio-economic implications than to the instructions of politicians.

It took the sub-committee almost six months to complete its work and the National Population Policy which emerged was submitted to the National Liberation Council (NLC) for approval. The NLC approved it and it was published in March 1969, as an official policy paper: "Population Planning for National Progress and Prosperity." It is clear from the policy recommendations contained in the document that the Population Policy pledges the Government to provide those who wish to restrict their family with the means for doing so.

Cognisant of the multifaceted dimension of population planning as reflected in the policy recommendations, the Government established the Ghana National Family Planning Secretariat within the Ministry of Economic Planning with a definite mandate of "overall responsibility for planning and co-ordinating the (family planning) activities" of both the private and public sector. In January, 1970 the Government authorized the requisite funds (¢93,000 for the first 6 months) to commence the programme.

In the following, however, we shall focus our discussion on the policies relating to the determinants of population growth in Ghana and the reader is referred to either the policy document or chapter twenty in **Population Growth and Socio-economic Change in West Africa**, edited by Caldwell et al for detailed account of Ghana's Population Policy.

Mortality and Population Policy

Reduction of mortality and morbidity rates has been part and parcel of economic development of any society. Among the major policy recommendations spelt out in the **Policy Document** is the following relating to mortality: "The vigorous pursuit of further means to reduce the still high rates of morbidity and mortality will be an important aspect of population policy and programmes". In the next paragraph the need for promoting environmental health and offering Development Plan was emphasized and it was promised that steps "will be taken to see that they are effectively implemented". These recommendations and pronouncements echo, to some extent, some of the recommendations for Action which are set in the World Population Plan of Action:

The reduction of morbidity and mortality to the maximum feasible extent is a major goal of every human society. It should be achieved in conjunction with massive social and economic development. Where mortality

and morbidity rates are very high, concentrated national and international efforts should be applied to reduce them as a matter of highest priority in the context of societal change.

A reduction of morbidity and mortality is also regarded as an important undertaking because "mortality reduction may be a pre-requisite to a decline in fertility".

The Plan also recommends that

"Reduction, or if possible elimination, of differential morbidity and mortality within countries particularly with regard to differentials between regions, urban and rural areas, social and ethnic groups, and the sexes;"

✓ The prevailing regional mortality differentials noted earlier are a testimony of maldistribution of medical and health services in the country. Northern and Upper Regions experience the highest mortality rates in the country with Western, Central and Brong Ahafo on one hand, and the Eastern, Volta and Ashanti Regions on the other hand exhibiting progressively lower mortality rates. The average life expectancy of a Ghanaian living in the Greater Accra Region is nearly twice as high as that of his or her counterpart in the Northern or Upper Regions.

It is encouraging, however, to note that the Ministry of Health is now placing emphasis on the "provision of basic health services, i.e. the provision of health centres, health posts, clinic and mobile health". It was envisaged in the defunct five-year plan that about 80 per cent of all local authority areas will be provided with some kind of health facility by the end of 1980. The primary health care system will be concerned with the provision of primary curative, preventive and promotive services (i.e. MCH, Family Planning, Communicable Disease Control, Environmental Health or Health Education) and it is intended that the system will "act as the foci for all health and health-related programmes within the community. The emphasis in all these activities will be on preventive and promotive services as an integral component of rural reconstruction" This new approach is envisaged to bring 60 per cent of "women during pregnancy and confinement" into the orbit of being attended by trained midwives or trained traditional birth attendants by 1980. The infant and pre-school mortality is expected to be reduced by 25 per cent and "at least 75 per cent of pre-school children should be under health supervision by the end of the plan period."

Some of the demographic implications of this comprehensive programme are that 1.8 million of the estimated 1980 pre-school population of 2.4 million will be within the reach of some health facility by 1980 and the estimated infant mortality rate of 122 per one thousand live births in 1970 will be cut down to about 92 by the end of the plan period. It is important to bear in mind that balanced diet, good housing conditions and availability of potable water* and facilities for disposal of solid and liquid waste are some of the major factors which will contribute a great deal to the achievement of these targets and it is, therefore, difficult to undertake any realistic assessment of the viability of the programme's objectives. Nevertheless, any scientific evaluation of the programme will have to await the results of the next census and vital registration system.

There is no doubt that concerted effort is being made to depress the level of mortality but the degree of achievement will depend not only on the performance of the economy but also on needed structural and institutional changes in the economic and social systems, including, among other things, drastic improvements in environmental health standards. It is a matter of common sense that development strategy should aim at meeting the needs of the marginalized groups and unless the country utilizes her resources to improve her urban poor and rural folks, there is no genuine development. Attempts to reduce the growth rate may also be undergirded by efforts to establish a more just and egalitarian health delivery system, since improvement in the health of the common man or woman may be essential for an effective population policy.

It is therefore important that the World Population Plan of Action recommended that:

health and nutrition programmes designed to reduce morbidity and mortality be integrated within a comprehensive development strategy and supplemented by a wide range of mutually supporting social policy measures; special attention should be given to improving the management of existing health, nutrition and related social services and to the formulation of policies to widen their coverage so as to reach, in particular, rural, remote and under-privileged groups".

*For example Ghana Water and Sewerage Corporation envisages that total coverage of water could be increased from 38 per cent to 50 per cent during the plan period (i.e. 1975 - 1980). Thus, about 5.3 million Ghanaians will be without potable water by 1980.

Notebook

USE OF GOVERNMENT VEHICLES

There appears to be no doubt now that this nation is in a pretty poor shape. The shortage of very essential items of food such as meat, fish, beans, etc. threatens to become a permanent way of life for the bulk of the population. As individuals, and collectively as a nation, we are faced with the humiliation and daunting prospect of having to receive and acknowledge alms; we cannot even provide simple farm implements like cutlasses and hoes to enable our farmers prepare the land for farming; our schools, colleges and universities are chronically short of text books, teaching aids and equipment; our hospitals cannot provide simple medication to relieve the sufferings of the sick; Government agencies and Corporations are perpetually citing lack of transportation as a major cause for their inability to perform their duties effectively.

In the midst of all this, we find that we cannot drive through the streets of our capital without being literally besieged by convoys of Government vehicles. When the AFRC gave the order that Government vehicles were to carry special number plates to make them more easily identifiable, many of us foolishly assumed that we were going to see the end to the frivolous use of such vehicles by those privileged to use them. But alas, the use of these cars is a constant source of irritation to those of us who have to brave the times and find transportation at very high cost in order to go about our daily duties.

The Government needs to tell the nation how much it costs to maintain and run these vehicles, and whether the users are sufficiently concerned about this reckless way of dissipating national resources which could otherwise be put to better use; and what is the nature of the business of those little-men-turned VIPs seen being chauffeur-driven in Government vehicles in the country-side, on Sundays, at hotels and at funerals. Incidentally, there are cars bought with public funds which do not have GV number plates. Unless there are very good reasons for this all cars bought out of public funds need to have GV number plates, as a matter of urgency.

President Limann quite rightly keeps on reminding Ghanaians to show honesty, discipline and probity in their daily lives. It might be too much to expect the Head of State to concern himself with such a mundane problem as the sensible use of government vehicles. We accept that, but we refuse to accept that it is beyond the ingenuity of

the Government to find a means for preventing so many privileged Ghanaians from taking the rest of us on this type of jolly ride.

We humbly ask for effective action now. Otherwise a number of Ghanaians would be tempted to take a cue from the President and call on the citizenry to form 'road blocking vigilante groups' to stop and question all passengers in all vehicles bearing government number plates. Since membership of such a group would include (1) anyone who in recent times has had occasion to feel dissatisfied with any service by a Government agency or Corporation, (2) all who have transportation problems and (3) those of us who find the price of petrol at ₵7.50 per gallon too high, we would easily be in the majority!

Letters

Petrol Coupons

SIR - The device of allocating petrol by coupons may be socially helpful in a situation of acute shortage, properly perceived to be temporary. The oil "embargo" against Ghana, in the wake of the June 4th Revolution would qualify for such classification. But the system is probably fast becoming more a social nuisance than aid, especially after the justifiable 114% price hike on petrol last December, along with the normalization of the supply links.

Now, anyone who chooses the option of quantitative, or direct controls, inevitably runs the risk of rigidities, expensive delays in adjustment to changing circumstances, political costs of doing away with the controls, aside from the direct cost of collecting information and administering the controls. It turns out that most of these cases are a social waste.

One now hears of little movement of oil from Tema to the filling stations because the stations already have enough stocks on their hands. It is difficult to adequately check the truth of such a story because of the prohibitive cost of gathering information - burning petrol (itself expensive and restricted) or spending time trying to make a phone call (a display of near madness, if one is at Legon). But it is easy to feel inclined to believe such excess supply story because the price of petrol now appears prohibitive to some people, while the coupons hold back a lot others from buying more. In the face of such apparent excess supply, some people are having to pay more for a gallon of petrol, when they are in dire need, in the form of "consideration" for help by a pump attendant. Meanwhile, the

society as a whole pays to administer the coupons - the cost of paper, ink, machinery, electricity, workers, and administrators. Unless these resources have no other use in this scarcity-prone economy, their use this way is sheer waste.

The answer or "solution" to the situation being described is not a greater show of "macho" or stricter controls. We have enough of them effectively strangling the economy. Rather, it is time to reconsider whether the controls are still working for the good of the society? If we should have them at all costs, may it not be necessary to constantly monitor (at costs!) the supply situation so as to ease off, on the number of gallons allowed, when necessary? The more preferable option would be to remove the controls. Even if one were to cite the incident of petrol smuggling across the borders, it will still not be a sufficient reason for retaining them - the smuggling goes on, controls or no controls.

The truth of the matter, however, is that controls are only cosmetic solutions to the economic problems. There would have been some justification for holding on to them if our economic problems were not so fundamental and chronic.

I.S.S.E.R.
University of Ghana
Legon.

James C.W. Ahiakpor

The Retired Young Officer (3)

SIR - Prof. John Pobee's cynical sympathy with 'the Retired Young Officer' which appeared in a letter to *The Legon Observer* Vol. XII No. 1, should not pass without comment.

When the 'retired young officer' in question and his colleagues launched their 'revolution' which sought to 'clean' our society, they did not, and have never claimed, that theirs was a revolution of legality. Although decrees were passed to enforce some of their revolutionary actions and measures, they did not shout from any roof top in any part of Ghana or the world that their 'revolution' was committed to legal processes. It is therefore unfortunate that Prof. Pobee should seek to create the impression that because the young officer's regime did not recognise legal processes or make them available to those who fell victim to the 'revolution', he should not under any circumstance avail himself of the facilities provided by a subsequent regime which finds itself constrained by a Constitution to be legal!

This country has a glorious tradition of denigrating its genuine heroes and saviours: that is why we still hold Nkrumah and Busia in ambiguous admira-

tion. And now, it has become fashionable for the Ghanaian elite to spite whatever was achieved by the 'retired Young Officer' in the name of the Rule of Law and Democracy. In this, no doubt, Prof. Pobee is being fashionable for he is singing the fashionable tune of the moment. May he always be fashionable. However, let us always remember that it is far easier to preach and sound learned after the event than be in the thick of things, creating history and fashioning the course of your fellow men's lives.

Institute of African Studies, James Kofi Agovi
University of Ghana,
Legon.

SIR - It is terribly nauseating to see those who are better placed to say the right things refuse to do exactly that and instead twist history to suit certain interpretations!

The mere fact that no civilian leader was executed after the June 4 uprising stresses the fact that the eight soldiers executed were so punished for a reason that is more serious than those mistakes that their civilian counterparts committed during their various terms of office. The military in 1966 and 1972 gave us certain reasons for taking over power from the popularly elected civilian governments of Kwame Nkrumah and Kofi Busia. But when they assumed power their deeds were much more detestable and ruinous than the two governments that they ousted.

When Lt-Gen. A.A. Afrifa was invited to clear himself before the 1979 General Elections (which he won) he told us that he was eating 'kelewole' in the evenings as Head of State! Also when General I. K. Acheampong was given the opportunity to tell the world why he was engaged in such wanton dissipation of public funds the General told us that women cried to his office and he felt he should help them! So that's how our monies went into the drain. Whom did they think they were deceiving? When they had made the millions of Ghanaians suffer hunger and deprivation of all basic amenities that make life worth living for so many years they did not feel ashamed and rather had the impunity to tell us those things.

Secondly, apart from the fact that they did all these they belonged to an institution which has something called "discipline" and which invokes certain sanctions if the codes are ignored. Can Professor John S. Pobee tell us that those people were not guilty as far as military regulations are concerned, and is he prepared to say that these people were not treated as soldiers?

The contrasts Professor Pobee was trying to draw between the regimes of the AFRC and the PNP of Dr. Limann in the prosecution of justice have nothing to do with the so-called "fair play and equity and generosity even to our opponents under any regime". The difference between the two regimes is clear: the AFRC was a military regime and the PNP of Dr. Limann is a popularly elected government. These must not be confused at all.

Nobody takes delight in the slaughter of fellow human beings, but where gross ineptitude, wickedness and avarice as displayed by the executed men have been the stock-in-trade of leaders who proclaim themselves as redeemers and liberators in administering violence to a whole population as happened during their regimes, it is difficult to see how one can sympathise with them if they meet with violence. After all it is not the use of guns alone at the Teshie Camp that determines violence. The death of many Ghanaians during the past seven years of military dictatorship was the result of the total neglect of the good of the majority of the people for the satisfaction of the whims and caprices of the few who mattered to them.

L.I, Commonwealth Hall J. Kwasi Tega
University of Ghana
Legon.

SIR - I really feel the rejoinder of James K. Agovi is not worth a reply. I just wish to make four suggestions: first, it is important for academics to have intellectual integrity in respect of truth. It is in poor style to create a caricature of what is actually said and attribute that caricature to someone else and then proceed to attack the caricature. Second, it is important to read things for what they said and not engage in detection on false premises. Please, read carefully before you take your pen. Third, emotive phrases like "cynical sympathy", "sound learned after the event", "continue to be fashionable" and "glorious tradition of.....denigrating genuine heroes and saviours" are really off-beat and inappropriate but reveal a state of bias and the psyche of the writer. Fourth, it is important for academics to be strict in the use of words like "revolution" and not be "fashionable" to use it for every tremor. A coup d'etat is not necessarily a revolution; the execution (or is it the murder?) of fellow human beings when they have not been properly tried does not constitute a revolution. 'Eye Kanea' is not part of a revolution. Please, read and ponder over what the universally acclaimed revolutions have said.

Dept. of Study of Religions John S. Pobee
University of Ghana,
Legon.

Staff Accommodation At Dambai Training College

It is being built as a new settlement. It is situated at the southern side of the Oti River and came into limelight as a result of the formation of the Volta Lake of which River Oti is an inlet. Dambai Old Town, Banka and Wankayaw are some of the suburbs.

Situated in the heart of fertile lands, Dambai is an important food producing centre - yams, rice, legumes, maize, cassava and vegetables, as well as fresh water fishes are produced here. This has made this neglected but economically important settlement in the northern Volta Region a vantage marketing point and a passenger stopover. Farmers, fishermen and traders from all parts of Ghana may be found there! The town boasts of a junior secondary, four primary and two middle schools. There is neither a postal agency nor a health post. The nearest hospital - Worawora or Krachi - is more than eighty kilometres away and it takes more than a day to reach any of these. Roads leading to the village are motorable only during the dry season and the commonest passenger transports are cargo trucks and articulators. No dailies reach here and, literates, especially teachers who must read journals to keep abreast with the times, simply forget about them.

Sanitation in this area leaves much to be desired. There is no public latrine and pigs are kept to serve as conservancy labourers and a source of pork. Water-filled pits which are perpetual breeding grounds for mosquitoes are not uncommon. And it is here that Dambai Training College is sited! The College has no staff bungalows. The only bungalow being built by Volta Star Enterprise (a building contracting firm) since 1976 is yet to be completed. The tutors live in terrible surroundings, though other government employees live in comfortable quarters. It is good the Ministry of Education built this college here for a fair distribution of facilities in this Region. But the staff need to be well accommodated.

If, out of frustration, a tutor decides to leave the college for the enjoyment of better facilities elsewhere who is to blame? It is high time we realised that it is one thing spending huge sums of scarce government revenue to produce qualified manpower, and another thing retaining and maintaining the trained manpower. Ghana is fast becoming the producer of highly qualified manpower for other countries.

Dambai Training College F. Carl Cudjoe
Private Mail Bag
Dambai - V/R.

For the Record

JANUARY 18, 1980

World Bank Atlas Shows Poorest Share 2 Per Cent of World Income

The 1979 World Bank Atlas, just published, shows that average real per capita gross national product (GNP) in both industrialised and developing countries grew at about 3 per cent a year during 1977 and 1978. According to the Atlas, the past two years also revealed no noticeable change in the inequality of global distribution of income.

The statistics show that, while the richest 15 per cent of the world's population enjoyed nearly 60 per cent of world income, the poorest 20 per cent continued to share less than 2 per cent. In 1977, 21 countries, with about one-fifth of the world's population had per capital incomes of \$200 or less; 29 countries, however, inhabited by one-seventh of the population of the globe, enjoyed per capital incomes of \$5,000 or more.

The United Arab Emirates, with a per capital income of \$14,800, continued to be the richest country in terms of per capita GNP in 1977, followed by Kuwait (\$12,690), Qatar (\$11,370), and Switzerland (\$11,080). The remainder of the top 10 include Sweden with a per capita income of \$9,340, Denmark (\$9,160), the United States (\$8,750), the Federal Republic of Germany (\$8,620), Norway (\$8,570), and Canada (\$8,350).

JANUARY 25, 1980

A. G. Studying Report on 5 Escapees

The Government has received an official report from the Ghana High Commission in Britain on the five convicts who escaped from the Ussher Fort Prison and are now reported to be living in London.

The Minister of Interior, Dr. W. C. Ekow Daniels, told the G.N.A. that he received the report last week and forwarded it to the Attorney General's office for study.

The five escapees are Captains Victor Okai Koi, Edmund Koda, Sergeant John Asmah and Nana Tweneboaa.

JANUARY 26, 1980

€675M Advance Licence Allocated

The Government has made advance import licence allocations amounting to €675 million for

the first quarter of 1980 to priority areas including agriculture, industry, transportation, exports and mining.

Mr. F. K. Buah, Minister of Trade and Tourism, announced this at the 17th annual general meeting of the Ghana National Chamber of Commerce in Accra.

JANUARY 28, 1980

Kibi Bauxite to be Exploited

The Government is negotiating for the exploitation of the Kibi bauxite deposits.

President Hilla Limann announced this when he visited Koforidua on January 26.

JANUARY 28, 1980

Mad Rush to Get Heads Shaved

A number of people including top public servants within the Tamale Municipality who saw a snake "God" have begun shaving their heads as a life-saving method on the advice of the Chief of Tamale, Dakpem Alhassan.

A. G.N.A. report said the python "God" appeared in an uncompleted house wearing an aluminium ring at the tail.

JANUARY 29, 1980

Rid Africa of Foreign Ideologies

The Catholic Bishop of Kumasi, the Right Reverend Peter Akwasi Sarpong, has urged African universities to help rid the continent of all foreign ideologies.

Bishop Sarpong made this remark at the opening of the 26th meeting of the executive board of the Association of African Universities at the U.S.T., Kumasi.

JANUARY 24, 1980

Resettle Displaced Traders

The National Council on Women and Development has recommended to the government to consider resettling some 10,000 traders who have been displaced following the demolition of the Makola and Kantamanto Markets.

The Council proposed Fadama Park as an ideal place for their resettlement.

JANUARY 24 1980

Involve Students and Staff

Dr. Kwamena Ocran, Minister of Education, Culture and Sports, has appealed to heads of institutions to involve their staff and students in the preparation of school budgets.

Dr. Ocran was addressing heads, tutors and students from secondary schools and training colleges in the Ajumako, Asikuma and Assin Districts at the School of Languages at Ajumako.

JANUARY 30, 1980

Voters' Register to Open

The Voters' Register opens for revision on March 3, this year for registration of qualified Ghanaians who had not previously registered as voters.

The Electoral Commissioner, Mr. Justice Kingsley Nyinah Jr., announced this at the inauguration of the National Publicity Committee (NPC) in Accra.

CORRECTION: Observer Leader

L.O. Vol. XII No. 1, 18-31 January 1980

P 4. For Mr. Kwame Afreh.....reported the loss **500,000 tonnes** of cocoa through smuggling alone read.....reported the loss of **50,000 tonnes** of cocoa

LEGON OBSERVER

NEW SUBSCRIPTION RATES

	SURFACE		AIR	
	6 Months	1 Year	6 Mths	1 Year
Ghana	¢25.00	¢50.00	—	—
Africa	\$8.00	\$15.00	\$12.00	\$24.00
U.K.	\$8.00	\$15.00	\$15.00	\$30.00
Europe	\$8.00	\$15.00	\$15.00	\$30.00
U.S.A.	\$8.00	\$15.00	\$17.00	\$33.00
Canada	\$8.00	\$15.00	\$17.00	\$33.00

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Reference No. 80-4-24102(c)

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Reference No. 80-5-24102(d)

Candidates should possess a good command of written and spoken English; knowledge of French and/or Arabic desirable.

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