



The Legon Observer

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EDITORIAL

WANTED: A NEW APPROACH TO SOCIAL PROBLEMS

IN his 1968 Aggrey-Frazer-Guggisberg Memorial Lectures, Professor Sir Arthur Lewis had the following to say:

I am arguing not that African intellectuals should talk less, but, on the contrary, that they should write more, and not just the easy journalistic day-to-day criticism, which was all that was needed in our colonialist past, but writing based on detailed study, and leading to practical constructive proposals. Our intellectuals should try to ensure that any group of politicians which comes to power does so knowing in advance what the main issues are, and what the snags are in each of the possible solutions.

One implication of these words is simply that the age of administration by amateurs is over. However small the size of a country, its problems are so manifold and intricately interwoven that their unravelling, the first imperative step towards their solution, requires study and consideration of them by a team consisting of students of many disciplines. Governments which may in sincerity but nevertheless in error proceed on out-dated assumptions usually mistake the symptoms for the disease and come up with panic measures.

Ghana, in common with several other countries in the world, has problems of increasing magnitude, those of an apparently rising rate of crime, of unemployment, over-crowding, rural-urban migration, and of bribery and corruption. Especially in the case of bribery and corruption, one reads articles in the papers and hears talk which suggest that the Ghanaians and other Africans are inherently corrupt. Yet there is no country in the world which has, at one period or other, not experienced bribery and corruption on a massive scale. It must be clear to those who have made it their business to study these problems on a comparative scale that there are certain socio-economic conditions which generate the problems that are at present plaguing us. One must add, of course, that some countries may accept corruption as part of the folkways of lubricating, for example, the machinery of elections and administration. But Ghana is surely not one of them. We all worry about bribery and corruption. We cannot afford them.

To urge a broad look at bribery and corruption is not to say that it cannot be uprooted or that we must wait until it disappears. It is to say that more exhortation, breast-beating and pointing fingers at selected groups would most probably prove ineffectual. What is required is the sort of investigation the government has mounted which, it is hoped, will be followed by the enactment of stringent laws against the practice.

But the laws themselves are not likely to operate effectively within the sort of framework that generates the necessity for the giving and taking of bribes. If politicians resort to subtle forms of getting money on the side, smaller mortal will follow suit. The present over-centralization of facilities in Accra itself creates conditions for the petty bureaucrat to obtain bribes. Why not, for example, make it possible for passports to be obtained in the provincial capitals, so that the congestion at the Accra office is eased and officials can work without the atmosphere of urgency that pressurize passport seekers to give bribes?

Similarly with crime. The response to the increase in armed thuggery in Accra and elsewhere has been for the Prime Minister to issue a sort of challenge to the criminals, and for the Minister of Defence to order the army co-opted into the fight against crime, to shoot what the minister calls "hardened" criminals who resist arrest. This is all very well as an attempt to calm the fears of a frightened citizenry. But how much good is it likely to do? How are the soldiers to determine whether or not the criminals encountered are "hardened"? Have they already got a list of them? Thieves may resist arrest out of panic and not because they are "hardened". The thing for the soldiers, trained at targeting, to do, is to disable the criminal, arrest him and leave the courts to determine the sort of punishment likely to have an enduring effect on him.

In enlightened countries, the assumption these days is that the majority of criminals are not devils at heart but that they may drift to crime precisely in the sort of conditions that prevail in Ghana at the moment: addiction to competitive prestige accumulation, with few avenues for its legitimate gratification; unemployment, the plight of the rural immigrant lost in the city; apparent affluence in the midst of mass deprivation due to an unequable distribution wealth.

These problems, then, are related. Therefore what is required is not tough talk but research which would lead to a mapping out of the breeding grounds and haunts of the criminals, and also that would throw some light on the genesis of crime. Such mapping out would facilitate a strategic deployment of patrol forces and, perhaps, lead to prevention of crime and the wanton killing of men who may have drifted into crime because society has itself failed to do its duty by them.

These patrols should proceed *pari passu* with the rethinking of the methods of prison reform;

and rehabilitation. It is in these roles—research and suggestions for attacking problems at source—that the **Observer** sees the proper use of students at the Universities. And it is with this in mind that we recommend the articles in the following pages which fall under the rubric of "social problems". It is a plea that "instant administration" should cease.

Social Problems

RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION IN GHANA

I. M. Ofori

THERE is ample evidence for the assertion that Ghana is fast becoming urbanised, by which we mean more and more of her population are becoming urban rather than rural dwellers. In 1931 about 7.8 percent of the total population were classed urban; this percentage in 1960 was 23.0. In numbers this is an increase from slightly over 300,000 urban dwellers in 1931 to 1.5 million in 1960. As the percentage of the urban population rose over the years, the size of the urban settlements also rose steadily. In 1948, for example, of the six largest towns, only Accra (134,000) and Kumasi (71,000) had populations of over 40,000. In 1960, five of the six had passed the 40,000 target.

Increasing Growth of Population

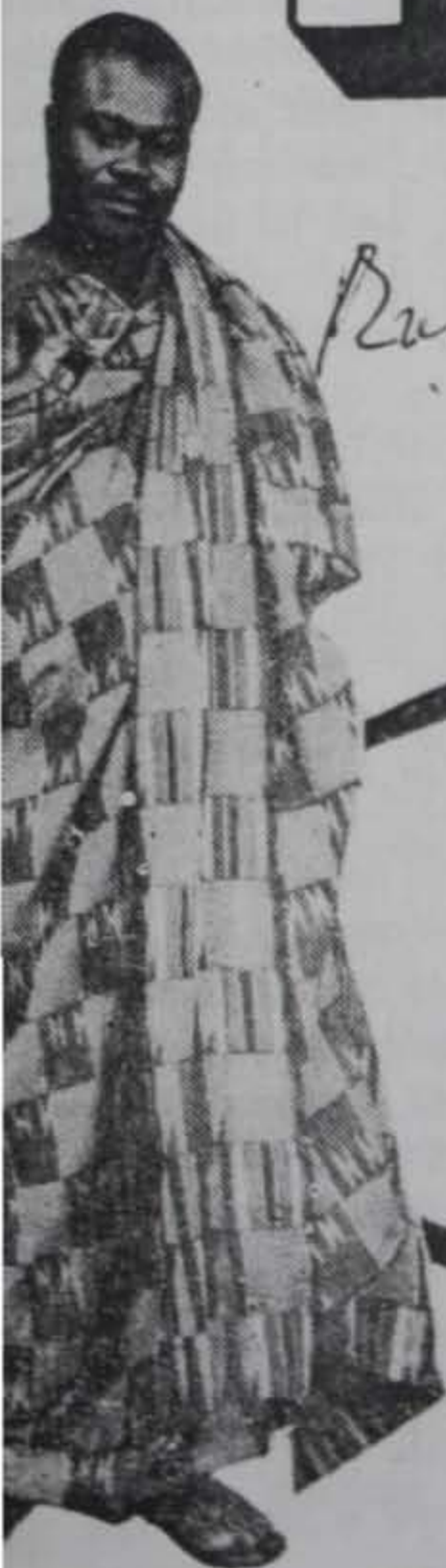
Urbanisation is of course a world-wide phenomenon. Since the Industrial Revolution and especially since after 1800 the rate of growth of towns has been faster than the growth of the world's population. It has been estimated that in the year 1800 there were about 50 cities with 100,000 or more inhabitants. By the mid-twentieth century there were at least 900. With no slackening in the world pace of urbanisation it has been forecast that "more than a fourth of the earth's people will be living in cities of 100,000 or more inhabitants in the year 2000".

Broadly, three factors can be seen as contributing to the increasing urbanisation of Ghana. The first is the natural increase in the population. Assuming that there have been no significant changes in the fertility rates, lower mortality rates due to improved medical and hygienic factors can cause significant increases in the total population and thus in the number of urban dwellers. This is what has been assumed to be happening. There has not been any noticeable changes in fertility rates among Ghanaians. The second factor which has been contributing to the rapid

past to a hundred years in Ghana of

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urbanisation is rural-urban migration among Ghanaians. As the pace of industrialisation quickens and increasingly fewer people are seeking their livelihood in farming and other agricultural pursuits, the urban sectors of the economy become the absorbers of the removable surpluses of the population growth. The third factor is the immigration of foreign workers and their families from neighbouring countries. There have always been such immigrations. But the evidence suggests that the earlier immigration of foreigners into Ghana was directed to the rural areas towards agricultural and mining development. There is reason to suggest that this trend was reversed nearly twenty-five or so years ago.

This essay focusses attention on the second of our causal factors, the migration of the rural population into the larger towns, and especially the migration of young people into the urban centres of Ghana. Every year thousands of young men and women at various stages of their education migrate to the urban areas to swell up the already large number of the urban young. Why do these people come into the urban centres? What are their fortunes when they arrive? What can be done to check the yearly drift to the cities, and, perhaps hopefully, to induce the urban young to go to the rural areas of Ghana?

Rising Expectations

Why? Why do the rural youth flock to the cities? Undoubtedly the economics of rising expectations, mis-information about urban job opportunities, and mis-conceptions about urban life generally, among not only parents but also school leavers, are some of the compelling reasons why the youth of the rural areas migrate to the urban centres. A father who has on borrowed capital with perhaps the cocoa farm heavily pledged, put his children through ten years of education, endured all these because "as soon as Kofi or Ama completes middle form four and finds employment, I shall be satisfied and pay back some of the debt." Few fathers in the rural areas expect their children to do what they themselves are doing. An urban professional parent expects some at least of his children to follow his footsteps by choosing his (the father's) own, or a slightly more prestigious profession.

The urban legal father is not worried about the extensive law library he has assiduously built up. One or more of his children will become lawyers. The rural cocoa farmer is not interested in show-

ing his educated child even the boundaries of his farms. His children are being educated to become very different from himself! The rural dwellers' conceptions about urban job opportunities are grossly distorted and exaggerated. Because every year the young men and women who have left the rural areas in search of jobs in the urban centres do not come back disappointed, it is easily concluded that the market for jobs in the urban areas is good.

We can dismiss the notion that desperate economic conditions in the rural areas of Ghana are responsible for the rural-urban migration of the young. The bright lights and the dance halls of the cities may be attractive, but those are hardly the primary causes of migration. There is no mass starvation in the rural areas of Ghana. Indeed it can be argued that levels of living in the rural areas have improved as a result of transfer of urban affluence to the rural areas and that in some respects, life in the rural areas is so much cheaper to live.

Urban Job Opportunities

A major cause for the exaggerated and distorted views of job opportunities in the urban centres is the fact that we very often wrongly equate industrialisation with urbanisation. Though urbanisation can loosely be used as proxy for industrialisation, it does not bear any direct relationship to it. In Ghana, and in most of the large urban centres of the developing world, it would be more realistic to equate urbanisation with bureaucratisation when considering urban job opportunities. A considerable proportion of our urban population in Ghana derives from employment in public and local administration and commercial activities, rather than in any large scale industrial activity. The realisation of this fact is crucial in the assessment of urban job opportunities not only for the rural migrant but for the large urban school leavers as well.

This bureaucratically organised employment in our urban centres is becoming saturated even for our university graduates. Any hopes it might offer to middle school leavers and the second and third graders of the various public examining bodies are slim. Thus the rural urban migrants and the large body of urban school leavers can at best be unemployed, or employed in negative or zero-sum activities like crime, or in the last resort become employed in low productivity activities such as garbage scavenging.

atching cars, and so on. *Selling dog chains, shoe shine, key-a-ways - etc.*

It has been argued above that excessive bureaucratisation rather than industrialisation is what offers urban job opportunities for both the rural migrants and the urban school leavers at this stage of Ghana's economic development, and it was also implied that this bureaucratisation cannot be relied upon to absorb all those who look for jobs in the urban centres. The remedy is not to advocate rapid industrialisation to solve our unemployment problems. A more meaningful approach is a scrutiny of the educational system and to ask whether the educational structure of Ghana is too de-ruralising in its impact. The educational structure of Ghana seems to favour the drift of migrants from the rural areas to the towns.

Absorbing the Educated Persons

According to Dr. Addo of the Demographic Unit of the University of Ghana, the 1960 Census indicates that whereas 24 percent and 23 percent respectively of the male and female population aged 6 years and over were found to be resident in such areas. The implication of the above statistical picture is that the larger towns absorbed more of the educated persons aged 15 years and over than the younger persons. Thus 41 percent and 45 percent, respectively, of the males and females aged 15 years and over were resident in towns in 1960 while the corresponding proportions for those aged 6 to 14 years were 27 percent and 36 percent respectively for males and females.

If those being respectively for males areas were returning to their rural origins after their educational careers, one would not be alarmed. But the fact of the matter is that those who have received higher education in the towns have in the process acquired new skills and attitudes which they can only put to use in the towns. With the acquisition of new values associated with urbanisation and urbanism the recipients of urban higher education begin to adjust their future expectations and aspirations in these directions. Very little wonder it is that the call to go back to the land and the rural areas has had so little impact. The people to whom the call is directed have become de-ruralised through the educational process.

If industrialisation has not advanced enough to absorb the ever increasing number of school leavers and bureaucratisation cannot absorb them fast enough; if the educational structure is too de-

ruralising that nobody, no matter the level of his education, wants to go back to the rural life after the age of 15, what can be done? To say restructure the educational system is too simplistic. But it is only in the educational restructuring that any hope of reversing the rural-urban migration trend lies.

One of the more obvious things to do is to provide more and varied outlets in the system. The present educational system wrongly assumes that the very bright lads and lasses at every level will sort themselves out without bothering about the not-so-bright. For example, the common entrance exam sorts out those for the secondary schools; the sixth form entrance sorts out those who should go beyond the ordinary level certificate to sixth forms and those who are to go nowhere; the advanced level passes sort out those who should benefit from university education from those who should not. The defect of the system is that it is silent on the great number who cannot go on to do what the small number can do.

If there were more outlets in the educational system, people would begin to train for

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levels of employment and necessarily of the urban type only. Re-structuring the educational system can only come about slowly. Meanwhile attempts should be made to ruralise our educated young men and women. Perhaps the moment has come for a kind of compulsory national rural service to be introduced for our student population, who are among the chief beneficiaries of the sacrifice and toils of the rural peoples. Our student population, especially those in the sixth forms, teacher-training colleges, and the universities, must be recruited for a limited period, say of eight weeks in the yearly summer vacation to undertake rural reconstruction work. In this practical way our students would be performing in their own country what foreign students have been performing for us.

There are other intangible but worthwhile benefits. Our students during every summer vacation would re-integrate themselves into the rural societies from which we all come, and, one hopes, would be more readily inclined to living in the rural areas should they on the completion of their various trainings be posted to the rural areas.

THE GROWING OVERCROWDING IN OUR CITIES

By

J. Opare-Abetia

RAPID population growth with inadequate resources for housing provision has resulted in an acute shortage of houses in our cities. While the population of the country as a whole is growing at a considerable pace, figures for the cities show much faster rates of growth.

A comparison of the 1948 and 1960 censuses shows that while the total population of the country as a whole increased by 63% over the twelve years, there was more than twice the rate of the national increase in Kumasi and Sekondi/Takoradi and roughly three times the national rate of growth in Accra/Tema. The respective percentage increases are Accra/Tema 181%, Kumasi 167% and 140% for Sekondi/Takoradi. With a national increase of 27% over the 1960 Census as indicated by the provisional figures of the 1970 census, this rate of increase is likely to continue but perhaps not as fast as in Kumasi and Sekondi/Takoradi.

While it can be easily assumed that three factors, namely, natural increase of population, foreign immigration and rural migration, have all contri-

buted to the rapid population growth in the cities, a detailed study of the trend shows rural migration as the major contributing factor. This in itself lowers standards of urban housing with regard to acceptable standards and personal hygiene. A garage may appear a decent place of dwelling to someone who has migrated from a village into a city with all its gay life.

The heavy strain that the rapid urban population growth has exerted on housing has been recognised in urban surveys in Ghana. Dr. Busia's Social Survey of Sekondi/Takoradi, the government Statistician's Kumasi Survey of Population and Household Budgets and Ione Acquah's Accra Survey gave us a quantitative measurement of the situation for the first time in the three cities in 1950, 1955 and 1958 respectively. All the surveys revealed extreme conditions of over-crowding and lack of privacy in many homes in the cities as a result of sharing of houses by separate family units. Surveys conducted in Tema show the same trend. One would have wished that Tema would really become a model town so far as over-crowding is concerned. If we take a minimum standard of comfort of 2.5 persons, that is roughly two adults and a child per room of a reasonable size, the various surveys show that a considerable number of people in the cities live far below this minimum standard.

Acute Shortage of Houses

The situation should not cause too much concern if there were some signs of improvement. But all indications point to a worsening of the situation. A United Nations Report "Housing In Africa" comparing the results of the 1948 and 1960 censuses in Ghana, shows that the number of persons per dwelling increased from 14.2 to 18.4 in Accra, from 19.2 to 21.3 in Kumasi and from 13.6 to 17.8 in Sekondi/Takoradi. The report also shows that in 1960, 12% of the total population lived 20 or more to the same house. The proportion in towns between 5,000 and under 50,000 inhabitants rose to 20% and to 35.6% in Accra/Tema, Kumasi and Sekondi/Takoradi. The 1966 Annual Report of the Building Research Institute commenting on the situation had this to say: "The country has not solved its housing problem yet. The acute shortage of houses in the urban areas has become worse in recent years because the construction of houses has not kept pace with the migration to the urban areas." The 1968 Two-Year Development Plan prepared under the N.L.C. also commented: "The expansion of industry and commerce in Ghana has drawn a great

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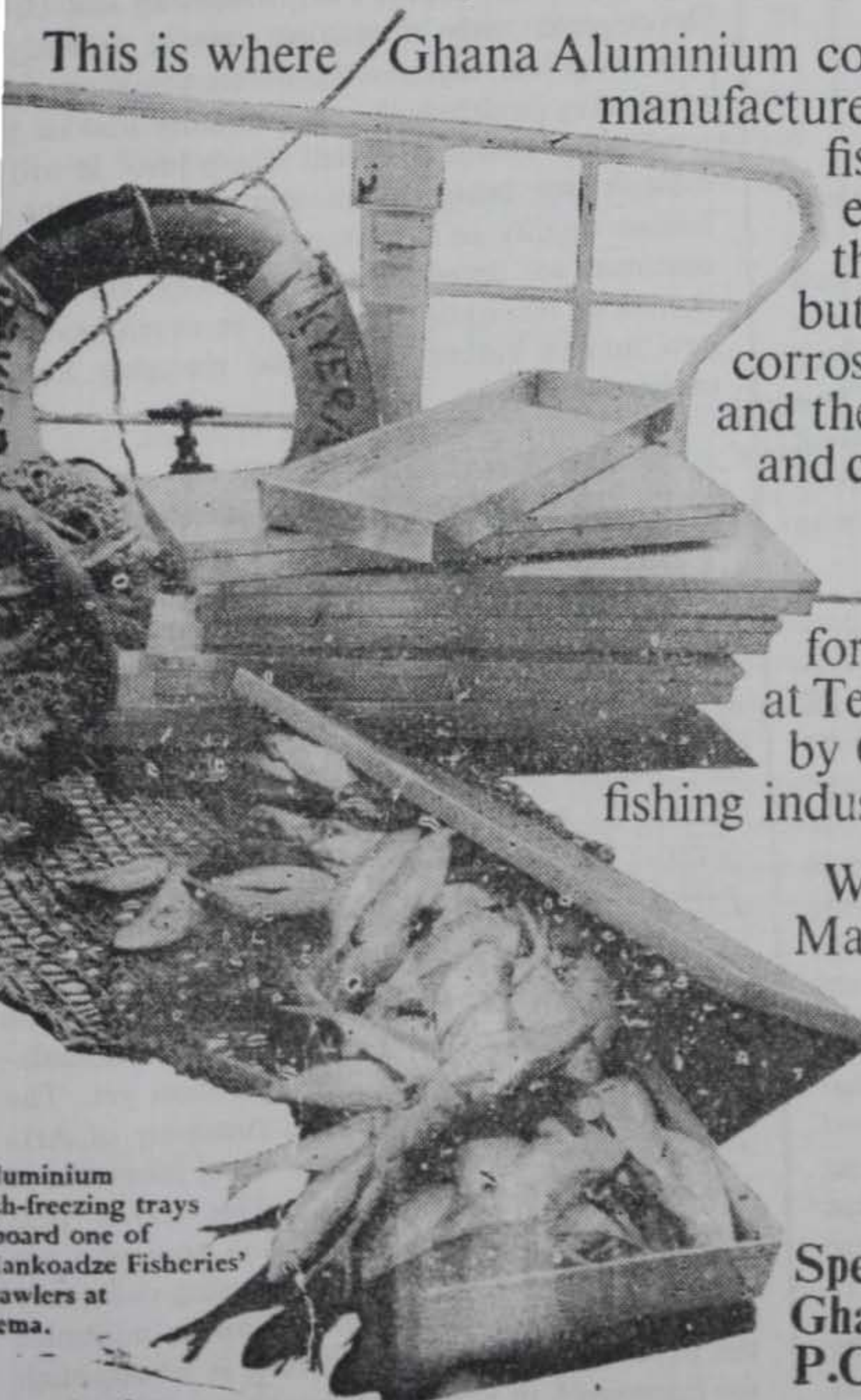
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large number of people from rural areas into the principal cities and towns. This migration has imposed a heavy strain on the available housing. The result has been over-crowding and with it the associated evils of ill health, social mal-adjustment and crime. For these reasons housing is a facet of a larger social problem whose solution will require renewal and slum clearance." It seems doubtful though whether "renewal and slum clearance" can solve the problem.

Various attempts in the fields of housing projects, subsidies and research have been made to solve the problem, but still no solution lies in sight. For example, in 1954-55 a United Nations Technical Assistance team studied the problem and presented the report *Housing In Ghana* in 1957. There are now the Faculty of Architecture and the Building Research Institute at U.S.T. There is no doubt that there is now sufficient knowledge available in the country for a comprehensive housing programme if the mechanics could be established.

Difficulties About Housing

It is tempting to push housing down the scale of priorities in view of the economic plight of the country. It is calculated that about 25,000 new dwelling units would be required in Accra-Tema, Kumasi and Sekondi/Takoradi and another 35,000 in other towns to bring the housing condition to a reasonable standard. Judging by the present output of houses both by private and government building, it is difficult to see how the target can be achieved.

As suggested by the 1968 Plan, "if a real impact is to be made on the problem of housing it is essential that the various government agencies responsible for housing are brought together to prepare a consolidated annual housing programme and budget. In addition these agencies must arrange to share and strengthen their technical services, to provide for large scale site development, to sponsor self-financing methods such as co-operatives and to secure the flow of savings, banking and insurance funds into housing."

There should be consolation in the fact that Ghana is not the only country in the world faced with a housing shortage. Housing is a problem also in the more developed countries and in some of the less developed countries there are worse conditions than we have in Ghana.

Nevertheless we should begin to do something about our own problem. There is the danger that

if attempts are not made to keep the situation in check, at least to prevent it from getting worse, it might get out of hand, and all our efforts towards social and economic development will come to nothing. Because housing constitutes the physical environment in which the family, the society's basic unit, must develop, any improvement in housing conditions will represent a tangible and visible expression of a rise in the general level of living. The qualities for nation building: honesty, respect for other people, good morals, thrift and proper care of public property can be cultivated more successfully in homes where people have privacy and they can order their lives as they see fit without the conflicts occasioned by the extreme conditions of congestion. One has only got to look at the frequency of quarrels in homes occupied by more than one family unit, to appreciate some of the degrading conditions of extreme congestion. In the words of the United Nations Ad Hoc Group of Experts on Housing and Urban Development, (Report 1962) "Housing and Urban development play a multiple role in creating or retarding employment and economic growth, in making health and social stability and in preserving the values of decent family life." It will be difficult to bring about any improvement in human quality in the cities if housing conditions continue to deteriorate. The cities should be centres of inspiration and for the development of new human values in a rapid changing human environment.

Some Novel Recommendations

What is needed now is a comprehensive housing policy that will initiate identification of the various categories of needs and the co-ordination of the programmes of the various agencies operating in the housing and building sector of the economy. A housing policy should also aim at assessing the urgency of the demand for houses and set targets within the various categories of need.

There are many novel recommendations in the United Nations Technical Assistance Programme report. Many of the very important recommendations have not been put into operation yet. The 1969 Proceedings of the Ghana Academy of Arts and Sciences also contain some novel ideas about housing and urban planning. This shows that there are qualified people in Ghana now who are aware of the dimensions of the housing deficiency and have got some ideas about how to minimize the problem. What is needed now is to establish the framework in which the specialists can operate

efficiently. Perhaps a Housing Board charged with the responsibility of initiation, action and co-ordination might be the answer.

THE CRIME PROBLEM

By D. N. A. Nortey

EVERYDAY, everywhere, in the press, in parliament, on the streets, people complain about and discuss what seems to be a wave of crime sweeping through the country. Everybody seems to be asking the question, what is the cause of this unprecedented rise in violent crimes and thuggery which appear to be flourishing in the country? And can anything be done to stem the tide?

This phenomenon and associated questions are neither new nor peculiar to this country. A hundred years ago contemporary accounts of San Francisco, in the U.S. told of extensive areas where 'no decent man was in safety to walk the street after dark; while at all hours, both night and day, his property was jeopardized by burglary'. This description can be applied with equal validity to Accra and some of our major towns.

External Pressures

The most natural question people ask about crime is "Why?" This question is asked about the individual criminal and about crime as a whole. In either case it is almost impossible to answer, because each single crime is a response to a specific situation by a person with an infinitely complicated psychological and emotional make-up who is subject to infinitely complicated external pressures. To seek the "causes" of crime, therefore requires close and careful analysis and study of the personality of the criminal and the social, cultural and other environmental factors which pressure the individual

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cases victims and observers of criminal acts do not report due to ignorance, fear of reprisals or they cannot afford to spend long hours at the police station. The result is that what the police records tell us form only a part of the real situation, and there is no means for assessing whether this forms the majority or minority of the total volume of crime in a country. Since the police records do not cover all crimes it follows that if there are no changes in police activities, any increase in the number of recorded crime may be a true indication of a true rise.

The police records from 1960 to 1968 indicate that the volume of crime for the period has almost doubled. The actual increase is about 93 per cent. Of course, this does not tell us much, because the increase in reported crime may be due to increased police activities or it may be due to the willingness of the general public to report cases due to a change in attitude towards breakers or both. However, the evidence from other sources confirm what the police statistics reveal, that is, there is a general increase in all types of offences.

Increasing Volume of Crime

According to the records the bulk of offences consists of offences against property. This forms 52.8 per cent of all offences known to the police. The next group in order of importance consists of offences against the person. This forms 33.6 per cent of the total. Next comes offences against public order 13.6 per cent. All the three classes of offences show remarkable upward trends, thus supporting the view that the volume of crime in the country is on the increase. Although burglary, house and shop-breaking, robbery with violence and perhaps thuggery strike the headlines, the rate of increase is not as high as other forms of stealing offences, such as "stealing by false pretences", "prostitution", "indecent offences" and "classified offences against public order".

Murder	144.4
Assault	141.4
Publication of Obscene Literature	133.3
Forgery	95.8

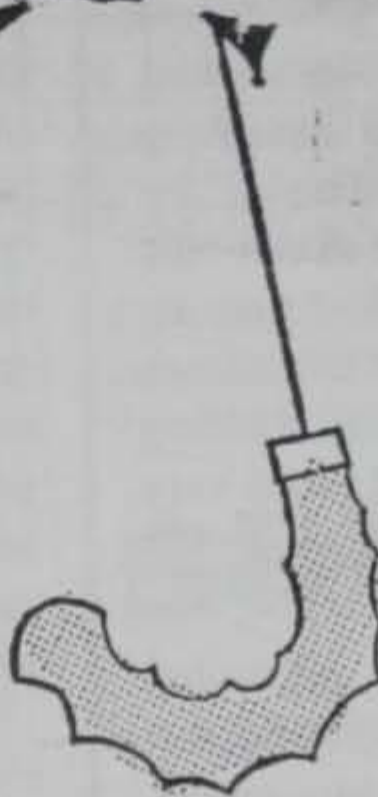
The above table shows that the most serious social problem is prostitution and kindred offences. Although no empirical research has yet been conducted into this social problem, a casual observation in the urban centres clearly indicates that the majority of those engaged in this type of offence are immigrants from the rural areas. These are mostly young girls, both literate and illiterate. The literates are girls who had completed their elementary school education. These girls flock into the towns with a view to finding jobs to earn a living. They come with no special skills and so get no jobs and therefore become unemployable. They have to live and perhaps get something extra to send to their parents at home.

Rise in Promiscuity

In the absence of suitable jobs they turn to the oldest profession. You will find four or six of them occupying a single room, sleeping and resting during the day and in the night go along the streets, drinking bars etc., hunting for customers. In Accra one has to drive along the Ring Road, the Liberation Road and the Achimota-Cantonments Road to observe them. In many cases they are protected by thugs who collect commissions for the protection they give them. These thugs are mostly unemployed persons who go about seeking clients for the girls at night and use whatever they earn in gambling during the day. These same thugs form the bulk of pick-pockets in the towns and, in addition, they smoke Indian Hemp and introduce the girls into the habit of smoking. These girls, due to economic conditions become immoral and see nothing wrong with their behaviour socially when



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Observer Notebook

Debate on Press Trust

A LEGON Professor in history has recently reopened the debate on whether or not our nationally-owned dailies should be managed by an independent Press Trust. He thinks it should, because there has been no evidence that the national newspapers have, even in the Second Republic, proved themselves independent of the government. "Independence" must be reflected not only in arguments in editorial comments but also in reportage on the activities of all parties in the country. Yet strong independent-minded pressmen have by virtue of their terms of employment been obliged to play client to politician-party and have not been non for the growth of the democracy. They have opted.

The ideal thing is to have various newspapers presenting different points of view in the society, so that they reflect diverse views and constitute mutual counter-checks on the presentation of the social, economic and political facts about the country. But Ghana is a poor country, and running a newspaper requires the sort of capital investment which is beyond the capacity of our budding entrepreneurs. So it is that we have had, until very recently, collective ownership of newspapers of which the government is the custodian.

It is to separate the interests of the personnel of any particular government from enduring national interests in information about our conditions of life that the advocates of an independent Press Trust want to abolish the custodianship of the government of our national dailies. The argument, really, has very little to do with the present government so that it need not put anybody's back up. It looks into the future when the functioning of the press, as is at present constituted, may once again become the plaything of the advocates of demagoguery.

The argument, already noted, is that Ghanaian pressmen who have limited avenues for plying their trade, as the *Graphic* editorial of 20th of November itself admitted, may not be able to resist the threats and blandishments of the appointing authorities; and that the board of directors of our newspapers, as

how to do their work.

The objectors to the independent Trust idea say that that in itself will change nothing since employees would still be beholden to the Trust members, who will most probably be appointed by the government. This objection is not very sound. The membership of the Trust can be formed from appointees from statutory bodies, the universities and the like, so that the government itself would have no control on who gets appointed to the Trust. Members of this sort are not likely to be interested in slanting news reports in favour of anybody. Together with this, the tenure of appointment of pressmen can be tightened up as to prevent the ruffled and easily-seeking politicians from threatening an independent pressman from the proper execution of his duties.

Objections to the Trust idea would have been less if it were not for the ordinary Ghanaian's inability to distinguish between the state and the government of the day, whose personal and ephemeral interests, for example, in its tenure of office, may clash with the enduring interests of the state. When in the exercise of patronage, members of press boards are appointed, not because they have at some period in their life, been engaged in grappling with the problems of mass communication, but because they have performed personal services to the appointing authority or to his party, the press is likely to be placed in jeopardy and to be operated in a manner dangerous for the nurturing of an infant democracy.

But the problem needs a thorough consideration, perhaps by a committee consisting, not of party stalwarts, but of men who know something about the matter. Towards the debate, the *Observer* hopes to publish a full-length article in a forthcoming issue.

Combating Crime

THE Minister of Defence, Mr. J. Kwesi Lamptey, is reported to have said at a Progress Party rally that the police and the army have been ordered to shoot armed robbers who resist arrest. Many people think that this is the best way to deal with robbers and other dangerous criminals. But there are others who think that this will not be enough to deal with crime in the country.

for

person may, if the other person, having notice or believing that he is lawfully arrested, avoids arrest by resistance or fight or escapes or endeavours to escape from custody, use any force which is necessary for his arrest, detention, or recapture, and may, if the arrest is made in respect of a felony, kill him, if he cannot by any means otherwise be arrested, detained or retaken. 7

The Minister of Defence was therefore saying no more than the law enforcement officer has power to do in certain circumstances.

However, this power can or should be invoked only in extreme cases. Before it becomes necessary to use this power the police must either be at the point of physically apprehending the felon or must already have had him in custody and trying to prevent his escape. And what is worrying the public is the poor record of the police in detecting crime and effecting the arrest of criminals. Let us take robbery, for instance. According to the Annual Report of the Police Service (1968), "There were 89 cases of robbery in (1968). 11 out of the 16 persons who were prosecuted in connection with 14 of the cases were convicted. The remaining five were acquitted." What happened to the remaining 75 cases? How many were closed undetected? One suspects that nothing more is said about them because most of those closed were undetected, or were still under investigation or pending trial in January 1970, when the report was written.

To take another example. In 1968, 391 "true cases" of murder were reported. Of these, 31 were closed undetected; 160 were awaiting trial before the courts; and 151 were still under investigation. Only 46 of the cases were disposed of by the courts. These figures show that by the end of the year 1968, only about half of all cases of murder reported had been solved by the police.

The figures are alarming. You only eliminate or curb crime by devising means which would either prevent the commission of crime or lead to the speedy detection and solution of those which are actually committed. And it is here that our law enforcement agencies are weakest.

We would suggest that better and more effective methods of crime detection should be introduced as soon as possible; detectives should be better trained; and the police should win the co-operation of the general public. All the new methods will not go far towards eliminating crime unless the public co-operate more with the police by reporting cases and assisting the police to effect arrest.

The figures also show that the courts are very slow in disposing of cases. Surely it is no credit

to the courts that in any particularly year 160 out of 206 cases of murder brought before them should still be pending at the end of that year? Many police officers who should be working on fresh cases waste a lot of their working hours waiting in court to give evidence, and all too often they go home without being called. And this also applies to those laymen who are subpoenaed to give evidence on behalf of the prosecution. What is the use of reporting a case if all that you get in return is a waste of your precious time?

And it must not be forgotten that accused persons are entitled to speedy trial.

The Invasion of Guinea

THROUGHOUT last week the world was agitated and bewildered by a reported invasion of Guinea by white mercenaries. Visions of the Congo were conjured up. Africans became apprehensive about the possibility that that invasion, if really undertaken on the initiative of white mercenaries, might mark the beginning of an era of neo-imperialism in which mercenaries might choose to make the smaller, and therefore weaker, countries the bases of economically-oriented military action.

But there are other possible explanations. It does seem that most of the white mercenaries were Portuguese. If that is so, then one might

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be inclined to think that the invasion was some sort of a defensive attack: the Portuguese might want to create confusion in Guinea, cut off support for the embattled freedom fighters in Portuguese Guinea; or at any rate set up some sort of a puppet regime which would connive at their colonialist presence in their territory. This is not far-fetched. It accords with the policy of encirclement of Zambia and other Black African states by South Africa with the economic opportunities being dazzled before Banda and other black rulers in Southern Africa.

A third possible explanation lies in opposition to President Toure's regime. One knows very little about the economic and political conditions of that country, but Guinea has a one-party state, and is developing a truly socialist economy. Although a socialist economy may have some admirable virtues, a regimented regime is stifling and is likely, especially in conditions in which one cannot have the highly mechanized control of Stanlinist Russia, to evoke a response of the coup type. In sum, it is just possible that opponents of Sekou Toure have made common cause with some rich potential foreign exploiters of Guinea's newly-discovered iron ore, and with the Portuguese rulers of Guinea—Bissau, to overthrow Sekou Toure.

None of these explanations, if true, portends

any good for Africa. The fact that some dregs of European society should choose an African state for modern land piracy is humiliating beyond measure to all of us. A puppet native regime in Guinea collaborating with Portugal to perpetuate Portuguese rule in a neighbouring country is no less revolting in prospect. And even if opponents of Sekou Toure called in mercenaries and the Portuguese to help rid themselves of what they consider an oppressive regime, that is no good either. It would mean that they have no local support. When an oppressive regime becomes unbearable the local people usually find a way of getting rid of it—as happened in Ghana, even though in our case an incredulous world still believes that outsiders had a hand in it.

It is consoling to learn from the reactions of African leaders that they have drawn the right conclusions from the attack on Guinea. These are that every African country could possibly fall prey to the machinations of latter-day imperialists; that we need to close our ranks; and that we should hurry up with collective mobilization of our armies for collective purposes. It is not too late to unite and help ourselves. Or it might turn out that the so-called "sovereignty" to which some little souls of rulers cling will prove hollow.

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Letters

The Laws of Apartheid

SIR—I am happy to see the subject of apartheid featuring prominently in the *Legon Observer* in recent months. But it seems to me that the tone of the contributions is so sophisticated that only a section of the population can fully appreciate from them the atrocious nature of apartheid.

In my opinion, the system of apartheid is so revolting to any civilized standards of morality that its portrayal should be made down-to-earth to enable every Black man to appreciate the seriousness of its threat in order that he might demonstrate his opposition to it in whatever form he deems appropriate and finds practicable. To this end, I reproduce below a few examples of what the practice of apartheid laws in South Africa can do to human beings. These were taken at random from the forty examples compiled in 1959 by Senator Leslie Rubin in his pamphlet *This is Apartheid*, published by Victor Gollancz, Limited, London:

An African who was born in a town and lived there continuously for fifty years, but then left to reside elsewhere for any period, even two weeks, is not entitled, as of right, to return to the town where he was born and to remain there for more than seventy-two hours. If he does, he is guilty of a criminal offence punishable by a fine not exceeding ten pounds or, in default, imprisonment for a period not exceeding two months, unless he has obtained a permit to do so.

If an African, born in a town, has lived there continuously for fifty years, no friend of his, who is an African, is entitled as of right to visit and remain with him for more than seventy-two hours.

Unless he has obtained a special permit, an African professor delivering a lecture at a White club commits a criminal offence.

No African is entitled as of right to acquire freehold title to land anywhere in South Africa, nor is it the intention of the present government ever to grant such right to the African, even in his own Reserves.

If an Indian (or a Coloured or an African) sits on a bench in a public park, the bench being set apart for the exclusive use of White persons, by way of protest against the apartheid laws, he commits a criminal offence and is liable to a fine not exceeding three hundred pounds, or to imprisonment for a period not exceeding three years, or to both such fine and such imprisonment, or to both such imprisonment and such whipping.

No African, lawfully residing in a town by virtue of a permit issued to him, is entitled, as of right, to have his wife and children reside with him.

Senator Rubin, in those days, represented the Africans of the Cape Province (excluding the Transkei) in the South African Senate.

P.O. Box B.75

Community No. 2

Tema

Kofi Boakye

Welfare State in Ghana?

SIR—Your editorial on Busia's first budget (L.O. V/18) indicates how ridiculous it is to apply the concept of a welfare society to a confused economy like ours. There is an unfortunate tendency in Ghana today to regard the 'welfare state' as an alternative to some other forms of socio-political organization. But is it?

The fact is that the government tells us practically nothing when it says it is committed to building a welfare society. If we bear in mind that the two basic tenets of the welfare state are (1) that every citizen is entitled to a minimum standard of living, and (2) that government policy aims at the full employment of the population, it is easy to see why every country can claim to be committed to the concept. Indeed, rather than being a distinctive form of socio-political organization, the welfare state seems to be what all forms of socio-political organization aim at becoming.

In any case, in the specific conditions of the Ghanaian situation, let us remember a few points: (1) A welfare society draws a poverty line and attempts to move every citizen above that line: we do not even have a national definition of poverty. (2) In a private-business oriented environment the welfare society will come only when the economy has moved from one of scarcity to one of abundance. (3) Even in an economy of abundance it would take a conscious governmental effort in the form of legislation, and never voluntarism, to achieve a welfare society.

Santa Barbara
California, U.S.A.

Afari-Gyan

Open Letter to the P.M.

DEAR Dr. Busia—It is very unfortunate that during the last general elections the South African policy was not an issue. However, a few weeks after you became Prime Minister of Ghana you let Ghana know that you were going to reverse the policy that had been painstakingly pursued by her and the OAU with respect to South Africa. But before the grumbings in the country could turn into howls, your Foreign Minister very cleverly (but not totally) explained away that un-African idea by saying that you were just "wondering" whether it would not be worthwhile seeking a "dialogue" with South Africa. Unfortunately, you seem not to be wondering any more but are rather advocating a Munich-type appeasement policy towards South Africa. Perhaps this is now the policy of the Progress party of Ghana? Or is it the policy of Dr. Busia? The Progress party should let the country know!

The parliament of Ghana, not long ago, unanimously adopted a motion to the effect that Ghana still believes in and plans to continue its well-tested and long-standing policy towards South Africa, a policy which is in concert with that of the OAU. Since parliament is supposed to reflect the sentiments and wishes of the people of Ghana, I wonder why you have chosen to disregard the true and sincere wishes of Ghanaians in favour of the policy of "dialogue" (capitulation is a better word).

Dialogue was pursued as a policy by many countries before South Africa left the Commonwealth. Dialogue was used as a policy before sanctions were sought in the UN against South Africa. Dialogue is still being pursued by Malawi, Botswana and Lesotho, without

any visible advantage to those countries. Do you recall Macmillan's "Wind of Change" speech? Was it not in effect an appeal to the racist regime in South Africa to seek a dialogue with the Black majority? What effect did that speech have on the regime? Black South African leaders for many years sought a dialogue with the white minority, without results. When they changed their tactics to non-violent protest marches (a form of militant dialogue), the whole world was shocked by the reaction of the white minority. The idea was to teach the black Africans a lesson that they would never forget—that it does not pay to challenge a white man! You do remember the Sharpsville massacre, don't you?

You have said time and again that one would be surprised how much one could achieve by sitting down and having a cup of tea with a white man. That's right. One would really be surprised. Since we came into contact with white men we have sat down with them and drunk enough tea to form an ocean. What we have achieved by that stares both you and me in the face.

Why are we still underdeveloped? Is it because we are any lazier than the Englishmen, or the white South Africans whom you seem to like so much? Or is it because it is not in the interest of the white oligarchy of this world that Africa should become strong enough to be a threat to their selfish interests? Why is it that you don't seem to be making any visible headway with your debts, whilst other countries, notably the white ones, don't appear to have any problems with theirs? Do we owe more than, say, the UAR or Indonesia or Great Britain? What happened to almost-dead-but-futilely-trying-to-kick Great Britain, when she was in extreme financial straits? Recall the massive efforts mounted by the whole of the western world to help her.

I cannot compare Ghana with Great Britain in this case? You are right I cannot, because Britain is more important to the world than we are. And that is just it. We DON'T count! In terms of power politics, we are not important. The whole of Black Africa is not considered important enough to worry about. This is why sanctions have not succeeded. This is why Great Britain is ignoring the protests of a whole continent over the South Africa arms sale issue. And instead of joining with your fellow Africans to fend for ourselves and letting the self-proclaimed master race know that we may be poor but are still proud, you talk appeasement.

Yes, poor we may be, but we are not without dignity. At a time when Africa is at last becoming united (even if slowly); when all Africa is trying to isolate the South African whites and force them to realize that they live in this world with both black and white human beings, and not with only white Boers; at this very crucial period in our history, you undercut Africa. You betray the OAU by going to white friends and telling them that all that your fellow Africans are doing is wrong.

Britain as well as South Africa has known all along that Africans are just making noises about the South African and Rhodesian issues; that when the real test comes, there will always be Busias, Bandas, Bongos and Boignys, who will break with their fellow Africans. Africans are too weak to be taken seriously; and they like the soft, lazy life so much that all one has to do is put them up in luxury, exert a little pressure on them, show a little bit of obstinacy, and they will

capitulate. The whole history of Africa since the arrival of the white man has been one of a series of African capitulations. And that is why we are still looked down upon, or at best pitied and treated like children *all over the world*. And that is a fact, whether you realise it or not.

It has been thirteen (almost fourteen) long years since independence, yet what have we to show for it? For the first nine years after independence we were starving, but at least we had a lot of respect in the non-aligned world and some measure of respect in the aligned world. Now, thirteen years after independence, we are not only still starving but we have NO respect left to us anywhere in this world. And instead of you and your government co-operating with the rest of Africa to give the African some dignity and respect you are hobnobbing with Heath. I am certain that Trudeau must have found you very interesting if not intriguing!

The old adage says: "Power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely". You yourself have said that power is like sweet wine—the more you have, the more drunk you become. I would also like to add my own variation on the theme: "Power blinds men to realities; the more power they have the more unrealistic they become."

You, as Kofi Busia, may find it easy to get along with your white friends over a cup of tea, because they know you as Kofi Busia—Oxford don, former professor at The Hague, at Leiden, in Mexico, and in Ghana; visiting professor to the U.S., etc. But I would definitely be surprised to find you as an average African getting along in Britain, the U.S., South Africa, and even in Ghana, as well as you do as Kofi Busia, the professor. Because, you see, Dr. Busia, all the African professors and VIPs (not you alone) who drink tea with their white friends get along with them too.

But that is not what Ghana's foreign policy is about. Ghana is interested in the ordinary African, from professor to labourer; in the whole continent of Africa having some dignity and respect, for a change. The type of respect that a poor, under-developed country like North Vietnam (many times poorer than Ghana) can have even in the eyes of the most powerful nations in the world today, the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. We may not need to fight a guerrilla war (like the VC) in order to win that dignity. But surely the "cup of tea" diplomacy and the "I-am-not-like-the-rest-of-them" stance are ridiculous, to say the least?

Perhaps I am just blowing a lot of hot air. I don't know what I am talking about, you might say. In that case, please could you tell the whole of Ghana how you propose to sow and reap where others have sown but not been able to reap? How you propose to make your cup of tea taste better than every other African's cup of tea? Until you have explained that programme to Ghanaians and obtained their approval of it, please stop making those defeatist statements on South Africa. Perhaps you know more than most of us do, and you probably have enough foresight to see what we ordinary mortals cannot see; but until you can convince us of the rightness of your policy of "Dialogue", please stop committing us all.

May the Good Lord add to your wisdom to know what you are doing!

Yours sincerely,

C/o Dept. of Agriculture
Legon

F. G. Mante

Miscellaneous

CHINA AND WORLD PEACE

By

Dennis Adjei-Brenyah

A FEW weeks ago, the Strategic Arms-Limitation Talks [SALT] resumed in Helsinki. It was a heartening story to an uneasy world. But even more heartening and pleasing to peace loving peoples the world over was the dramatic Chinese call for a world summit to formulate plans for a total annihilation of nuclear weapons.

The Chinese are a progressive people. Maoism is a progressive philosophy. Chinese progressivism and Maoism are one and the same thing. But no one, not even Mao himself, fully understands the Chinese people. But whether we understand Maoism or not is largely irrelevant. What is relevant is, we understand and want peace. Because of the Chinese 'peculiar' *character, people interested in world peace try to understand any new theory that comes from China. This underlines the interest in the dramatic Chinese call for a wholesale destruction of nuclear weapons.

China today is a world force. She is a nuclear power and as such she understands the horror of nuclear war. Most people cannot really appreciate the enormous destruction that a nuclear war can unleash on this planet. It has been claimed that China says she really does not mind causing a nuclear war because of her enormous population. Whether this is true or not China now makes a great call to all peace-loving nations. And peace is or should be the prime concern of all mankind.

This is not the first time China has made such a call. Six years ago, like the lone voice in the wilderness, she raised this issue. That call was not treated with the attention it merited. Now that China is also a nuclear power, she should be accorded the full attention of all peoples.

There are some who might harbour the fear that China is not serious in this call, others might say 'China is only attempting to camouflage a world thirsty of genuine peace and thereby gain the upper-hand in the race for those super-deadly weapons'. But there is one message that is loud and dear. The 700 million Chinese are as susceptible and as vulnerable as the 200 million people of the United States. The nuclear weapons in American hands are adequate for the huge population of China. China knows fully well that that if ever there was a nuclear war it would be an illusion to believe that their enemy would leave some Chinese alone to populate the earth.

This is the horror of the world in which we live. "Mankind must put an end to war or war will put an end to mankind", so said the late John Kennedy. This is the truth about a nuclear war. It would therefore be a grim consequence if world leaders accept the Chinese call to circumstances of the world, one realises with

In the same way that China, a country with 700 million people, stays outside the United Nations. The world should now realise that China's absence in the U.N. disastrously impairs the universality of the United Nations—on whose thin thread hangs the survival of humankind. China should be admitted to the U.N. to make that organisation truly meaningful.

into the U.N. to make that organisation truly meaningful.

China's call for a complete destruction of nuclear weapons at a time when delegates deliberate over the Strategic Arms Limitations in Helsinki should be construed to mean a desire for peace for our planet. As such it should be viewed with all seriousness and given all the necessary attention. We should not fight to make the world safe for anything—democracy or otherwise. We should "fight" to make the world safe for humanity and civilization. For that is the prime concern of mankind. To China and all peace-loving peoples I say that call was a great call—it was one giant leap forward in

* Editor's quotation marks!

Book Review

FOREIGN AID: SELECTED READINGS, PENGUIN BOOKS, 1970

Edited by

Jagdish Bhagwati and Richard S. Eukans

Reviewed by T. K. Cavanagh

THERE is much to worry about in this old world of ours. Ecological crises. The generation gap. Mid East troubles. War in Vietnam. Permissive societies. Absence of moral leadership. Student unrest. Marriage or golf game. But if you really want to do some serious worrying in a big way, try this: 20 per cent of the world's population controls 80 per cent of its wealth, the expectations of the poor are rising, and if the imbalance is not corrected soon we can expect anger and violence on a scale that will make revolutions of the past look like disputes over the price of tomatoes at Makola Market.

Concerned individuals, governments, and world organizations are focussing more and more attention on foreign aid. Rightly so, for it is through aid programmes that we seek to set the balance right between the rich and poor nations by achieving something known as 'self-sustaining growth' on the part of the latter countries. Within the past twelve months international agencies and governments have issued a series of Reports such as the Pearson Report, the Peterson Reports, and the Jackson Report. These tomes consider the weaknesses of foreign aid programmes during the First Decade of Development, offer positive recommendations for the Second Decade of Development, and generally enjoin the rich nations to do more. The interested citizen, however, may find these works difficult to come by. Moreover, government committees have never won praise for electrifying, or even readable, prose. More readily at hand for those interested in the subject is a recent (1970) Penguin paperback edition entitled simply *Foreign Aid*. It has its shortcomings, but it is cheap, available, and welcome.

The book consists of a series of thirteen articles by different economic experts, grouped under such headings as objectives of foreign aid, criteria for the allocation of aid, the distribution of the aid burden amongst donor countries, the pros and cons of multilateral as opposed to bilateral aid, the tying-up of aid, and, finally, a consideration of the wide ramifications of the disposal of commodities such as wheat and cotton in developing

countries.

In collections such as this, one expects to find unevenness in the quality of writing, in the clarity of expression, and in the value of the different parts. There are some parts of articles that prove practically unintelligible to the lay reader and are clearly intended for the trained experts in the dismal science. But on balance, if the reader perseveres through the terrible jargon and skims over the mysterious algebraic quotation he should be rewarded with a more thorough understanding of some of the problems of foreign aid.

Reading of the book will make it clear that there is very little giving in foreign aid. As a rule most of what is given must be given back, and usually with interest. There is also the practice of 'tying aid' to ensure that the receiving country spends the aid for goods and services in the donor country. Mr. Bhagwati's investigation of this subject is one of the most enlightening articles in the book. It may be common knowledge in some circles, but to me it came as a surprise to learn that "it is correct to argue that all U.S. grants have now become virtually 100 per cent tied to the U.S." (p.243). The practice is not peculiar to the United States foreign aid programme nor need it always be done formally.

Thus, a donor country may not monopolize contracts that it finances for its own nationals, but "a prudent recipient government can be expected to treat the capital assistance as effectively tied even though . . . an international bidding procedure might have reduced costs". (p.248) Mr. Bhagwati reflects the general tone of the book in his scholarly, balanced, judicious, and fair appraisal of the topic. The article was first published in 1967. In the 1970's we will see a trend towards the untying of aid. How far it will go is difficult to project. However, the Canadian government recently announced that 20 per cent of total bilateral allocations will be completed untied, and it is working with other donor countries towards agreements on measures to untie aid on a multilateral basis. President Nixon, following his receipt of the **Peterson Report**, has also promised "a new U.S. approach to foreign assistance in the 1970's".

Two articles by T. Balogh and P. N. Rosenstein-Rodan offer valuable insights into the thorny question of bilateral as opposed to multilateral aid. Giving full acknowledgement to the ideas of men like Senator Fulbright of the U.S., Mr. Balogh presents the case against bilateral aid. His main thesis, however, is that the best hope for the future lies in reform not rejection of bilateral channels because we need far greater and more bilateral aid. "In fact, we need both bilateral and multilateral channels because we need far greater and more effective action". (p.219) Given the complexity and problems of foreign aid one naturally suspects that there is no simple right or wrong approach, and both articles confirm this suspicion. The **Pearson Report** (1970) indicates that we can expect a trend in this decade that will cohere with the general recommendations of the two authors, i.e., the consortia technique combining both the bilateral and multilateral approach to foreign aid.

Mr. M. Friedman's article on means and objectives in foreign aid is the weakest selection in the book. It was included to counterbalance a preceding and more optimistic consideration of the same topic by G. Ohlin. The weaknesses in the whole concept and operation of foreign aid need to be examined but it is a mystery why the editors should have chosen such a banal, misdirected, and superficial study for inclusion in the book. Mr. Friedman argues that any kind of central planning by

governments imperils economic development and a rising standard of living. Surely a matter of fiction, not fact. He states that foreign aid threatens freedom and democracy, and that supporters of foreign aid in the U.S. are communist dupes. More mythology. The author's eulogy on free competition can be countered by Pope Paul's words on the same subject:

Of course, highly industrialized nations export for the most part manufactured goods, while countries with less developed economies have only food, fibres and other raw materials to sell. As a result of technical progress the value of manufactured goods is rapidly increasing and they can always find an adequate market. On the other hand, raw materials produced by underdeveloped countries are subject to wide and sudden fluctuations in price . . . As a result . . . the poor nations remain ever poor while the rich ones become still richer.

Friedman's references to free enterprise are at best misleading. He speaks of the creation of an "environment favourable to competition and individual enterprise". (p.74) But is this the type of environment created by General Motors whose operating expenses exceed those of most independent states, and whose cash wages are more than the national income of Ireland? Is there any connection at all between the free enterprise image of small independent shopkeepers on the one hand, and on the other hand, Standard Oil which has three times more people working overseas than the United States Department? Mr. Friedman has chosen to talk about free enterprise; one only wishes he had explained how he is using it. Most irritating of all, he stumbles unseeingly over one of the most pertinent problems relevant to foreign aid when he hails Singer Sewing Machine, Coca-Cola, and Hollywood for spreading knowledge and understanding of the U.S. Alas, too true. But personally, I would opt every time for aid, the U.S.I.S., and the Peace Corps over free competition, Cocoa-Cola and Raquel Welch. The best one can say about this article is that it is relatively short.

Other parts of the book are more satisfying. T. Schultz discusses the effect of surplus-commodity-disposal programmes on recipient countries. Writing in 1960, his observations were necessarily tentative. Yet he did warn about the impairment of agriculture in developing countries that could follow from food aid programmes, and suggested positive measures "to counterbalance these adverse effects". (p.318) Apparently these measures were not taken. The **Pearson Report** also refers to the negative consequences of food aid programmes and advocates an increase in loans and grants to remedy the situation. One wishes to be optimistic, but it is depressing to find the experts still struggling to move off square one after a ten year interval.

As a last observation, it seems wondrous strange that in such a rapidly changing subject areas as foreign aid it was necessary for the editors to draw on the period 1958-1965 for more than fifty per cent of the articles. Are these the best most recent articles? Perhaps. But some brief comment about this in the introduction would have been most welcome and would have removed a lot of nagging doubts that disturbed this reader from beginning to end.

The editors made no effort to present a definitive study. They have, however, provided us with a helpful and informative study about a matter that is of interest to all.

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