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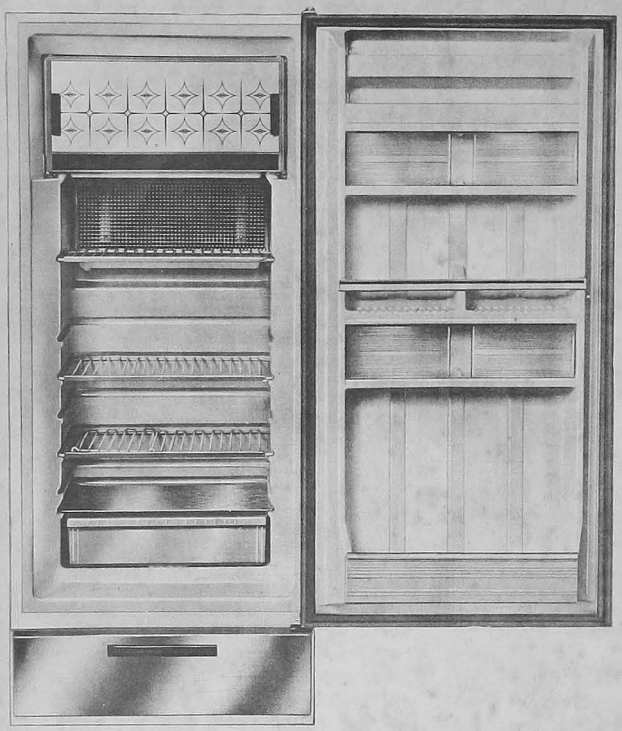
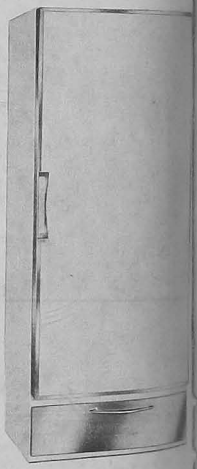
# FOREIGN AID

# BUDGET PREVIEW

*(Next Issue — The Budget)*





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## *IN THIS ISSUE*

# Editorial

## A PREVIEW OF THE BUDGET

THE SECOND Budget of the N.L.C. is due to be read to-day, the 4th of August. This year's Budget may not have many surprises for Ghanaians, if only because serious economic changes—devaluation of the cedi and an increase in the producer price of cocoa—have recently been introduced. These changes are so far-reaching in their implications for the living standards of Ghanaians that no one sensibly expects the Government to impose further hardships. As Brigadier Afrifa has put it, it is the last serious economic measure needed for rehabilitating and reactivating our economy. In this Budget, therefore, Ghanaians—businessmen and workers—are looking forward to what economic palliatives the Government can offer.

More specifically, there are a whole lot of problems the Budget will have to face up to. With devaluation, the Government has to embark on an intensive export drive. It must not, however, be assumed, as the Government has far been taking for granted, that this export drive must be left to individuals. The state must give positive inducements to farmers and businessmen, and where necessary take direct action. Unless this is done, the export advantage of devaluation may remain only theoretical.

Another problem the Budget may have to face is expenditure on education. So far education has been receiving the lion's share of the national income. This may be admirable or not, depending on one's social and political philosophy. The question to consider in this respect is whether we would like to see all educated to a mediocre level (in which case we have to continue spending a lot more still on education), or we would like to educate a few people really well. Perhaps, this may be a question for a future civilian government to answer; however, a debate can be started now.

Where great care has to be exercised, however, is that part of the Budget relating to Recurrent Expenditure. This expenditure shows whether any government is prepared to "tighten its belt", too. In this respect the expenditure on Foreign Missions has to be radically examined. A lot of money has been spent, and is still being spent, on our foreign missions. One wonders whether we still need most of these foreign missions. For a country like Ghana we have to think up seriously the question of zoning most of our foreign missions so as not only to weed out inefficiency in the foreign service but also conserve foreign exchange.

It could be expected that with devaluation we can now have a balanced budget; however, with our tradition of having deficit budgeting (we had an apparent deficit last year the full nature of which we are yet to know), it may be difficult to have a balanced budget. We can put up with a reasonably small deficit, if this can induce employment.

In terms of overall economic policy we have to reorganize our agriculture, for agricultural reorganization is crucial to the growth of our economy. The commodities we can sell abroad are likely to be agricultural in the forseeable future. The development of import substitutes—which we have been talking about—and an increase in incomes, is dependent on an efficient agricultural industry. Indeed, an agricultural revolution is crucial to the success of our efforts within the next few years and beyond. All economists—Arthur Lewis especially—who have had anything to do with our economy have emphasised this point. The right emphasis is yet to be put on agriculture.

The Budget must reflect our determination and will to solve not only immediate problems but also more general and long-term ones.

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**TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN**

**The public is informed that as from Thursday, the 6th of July, 1967, Mr. J. K. Donkor, former book-keeper of the** Legon Observer **at the Liberty Press, has ceased to work for the** Legon Observer.

**All our customers are advised not to make any payment whatsoever to Mr. Donkor. Any customer who makes any payment to Mr. Donkor in settlement of accounts with the** Legon Observer **does so at his own risk.**

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# L.S.N.A. Communication

## DECENTRALIZATION AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT—PART II

*By*
*Our Political Correspondent*

IN THE first part of this communication (L.O. Vol.II, No.11) we concentrated almost wholly on regional devolution which, together with local government, forms the subject matter of the communication. In this, the second part, we turn our attention to local government.

It has been argued in the first part of the communication that local government should be made real and effective. By this is meant that the structure, functions and powers of local authorities that the Constitutional Commission will recommend should be such as to give the authorities a reasonable chance of survival, not forgetting, of course, that these will have to go with other non-constitutional factors. Ethnic, historical and geographical factors must be given full rein in determining the units of local government so that these latter can have real roots in their surroundings. The units should then be endowed with sufficient powers and financial resources which will enable them to take meaningful policy decisions and carry them out. In other words their powers, financial and otherwise, should be such that they should be capable, without calling in the help of outside bodies too often, of providing satisfactory services in their localities.

### Limiting the Control of the Central over the Local Government

To enable local government to take roots in the country it is particularly important to ward off excessive central control over local authorities. The Constitution can help in this in at least two different ways. *First*, the powers, functions and structure of local authorities should, as far as possible, even at the risk of some amount of rigidity, be entrenched in the Constitution. This is to ensure that local authorities do not become the issue, and will therefore not be at the mercy, of the central government. To permit this is to make nonsense of local government from the very beginning. Indeed, as already argued in the first part of this communication, the type of central control over local government that is unavoidable should be vested not in the national government but in the Regional Development Councils or Committees. Without this the latter themselves will be emptied of all meaning.

The *second* way in which the Constitution can help ward off excessive central control over local authorities is by ensuring that as far as possible local authorities have "independent" sources of income, and that at all cost the central government is deprived of the opportunities of using its control over local government finance to reduce local authorities to puppets, marionettes dangling in the air and dancing according to the tunes dictated by the central government. The usual sources of income for local authorities should be entrenched in the Constitution: rates, both general and special; property taxes; licences; and fees. The levels of these fixed annually should *not* be subject to approval by the central government. It is sufficient that they should be approved by the Regional Development Councils. There is no earthly reason why the Navrongo or Bawku or Banda local council should send its proposals for taxation all the way to Accra for a group of civil servants and the Minister in charge of local government for approval—in accordance with criteria that are not at all clear! There is everything to be said for such approval being given by a regional council consisting of representatives from all parts of the region, sitting at Bolgatanga and acting, no doubt, with the advice of experienced administrators in the region itself. It may be added, indeed, that there is no good reason why the whole estimate of a local authority should not be treated in this way. In addition to these sources of income, local authorities should also be financed by subventions from the Regional Development Councils as already indicated in the first part of this communication.

### Circumscribing Political Blackmail through Financial Grants

It would be a good idea if the central government were deprived altogether of the power to give subventions to local authorities. Experience proves that this power can be easily manipulated in such a way as not only to undermine the independence of local authorities but also to win elections. Areas that elect candidates supporting the government are given liberal grants and development projects, those that elect opposing candidates are penalized by having their share cut down or off completely. If democracy is to survive in the country the power of the government to do this must be watched closely. Unfortunately, it does not appear that the central can be prevented altogether from making grants to local authorities. To prevent it from doing too much harm with this power, therefore, it is suggested that the amount of grants given must bear a fixed proportion to the amount given to the Regional Councils. This means that the proportion in

which the amount is divided between local authorities in the various Regions must be the same as the proportion in which grants to the Regional Councils are distributed among them. If it is remembered that it has been argued in the first part of this communication that "the Regional Councils should, as of right, be entitled to a fixed percentage of the national budget and each Regional Council should be entitled to a fixed proportion of the sum available", it will then be realized that the ability of the government to do mischief with its power to make financial grants to local authorities is, to a large extent, circumscribed.

**Local Government Service Commission**

One very important reason why local government has so far failed lamentably in the country is that it has not been endowed with a strong, efficient, independent and uncorrupt local government service. Conditions of service have been appalling; salaries have been inadequate; prospects of promotion have been restricted; and security of service has been practically nil. Few people, if any, have thought of making a life-career of local government service. As for University graduates it has probably never entered the minds of any of them to enter local government service in the same way that they enter central government service. Now, until such time that local government can attract people of the same calibre as those who enter the administrative service of the civil service and until such time that people can think of local government service as a life-career local government will always be weak and its officers have to accept dictation from whoever is the supervising authority. It is with a view to tackling this problem that we think it would be useful if the Constitution set up a local government service under a Local Government Service Commission (L.G.S.C.)

The L.G.S.C. should be similar in composition and independence to the Civil Service Commission and its position should be entrenched in the Constitution. Its functions should also be similar to those of the Civil Service Commission. It will set standards of appointment, qualifications, conditions of service etc. It is not being suggested that the service should be unified; it should continue to be decentralized in the sense that appointments and promotions should be left to each local authority. The suggestions made here however do mean that a local authority cannot appoint anyone to a post for which he has not been certified by the L.G.S.C. nor pay him more or less than the scale laid down for that particular post. It would be of great help if in disciplinary matters local government employees could appeal to the L.G.S.C. Perhaps it might even be suggested that for the very top echelons of the local government service appointments might be made by the L.G.S.C. itself. Clerks of Councils, engineers and treasurers, for example, could be appointed by the L.G.S.C. In making such appointments no doubt representatives of the particular local authority to which the appointments are being made will sit with the L.G.S.C. We are confident that these suggestions will help lift the image of the local government service and thus attract some of the best brains of the country into the service.

To sum up, it is necessary to stress that the institutions here suggested can never *by themselves* ensure a successful, democratic local government set-up. Only the determination of the citizens can make these institutions—or any set of institutions, for that matter—work. If the citizens will be indifferent to the performance of local authorities, if councillors will be corrupt and accept dictation from outside, whether from "the party" or a boss or the central government, if the citizens will not insist on local authorities doing the right things then local government will fail. Yet if local government fails, local democracy fails; and if local democracy fails national democracy cannot survive: after all charity does begin at home. We cannot afford to let local government fail.

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# The Economy

## FOUNDATIONS OF ECONOMIC POLICY III
## FOREIGN AID

*By*

*G. Kportufe Agama*

THIS WEEK is budget week. The second budget of the National Liberation Council is expected to continue the policy of the first in laying the foundations for the subsequent expansion of the economy at a sustainable pace. It is likely that in this, as in the first budget, substantial aid will be sought from abroad. Indeed, one of the main elements of economic policy since February, 1966, has been resort to foreign aid. All indications lead to the belief that this will continue in the foreseeable future. It is appropriate, therefore, to discuss certain issues related to our dependence on foreign aid for our economic reform and development. In this article we provide a basis for this discussion.

### Objectives

The first issue concerns the objectives of foreign aid. A country receives foreign aid to satisfy some need, and this may be social, political or economic; but the demand for foreign aid seems to arise from the desire to promote economic development. On the other hand, a country giving aid normally seems to achieve a set of different objectives. Three of these may be identified: first the desire to win the political sympathy, if not loyalty of the recipient country in the "cold war"—this is straight baiting; secondly, the promotion of mutual economic interests of both donor and recipient countries; and thirdly, expression of humanitarian feelings by the donor country. Both donor and recipient countries have learned much from each others' disappointments with aid based on the crude motive of winning the "cold war"; and although this motive has not completely disappeared, one can safely say that it has become refined and incorporated into the second motive of promoting mutual self-interest. It is this motive which has become predominant in recent programmes of foreign aid. For, the third motive is limited only to cases of national disaster and emergency in the recipient countries.

It is therefore important that countries receiving aid acquaint themselves fully with the nature of interests that they want to promote and how it relates to the interests which countries giving aid desire to promote. More often than not this acquaintance has been conspicuously lacking, and this has led to considerable misuse not only of resources secured from aid but also of the domestic resources of the receiving country. The economic basis of aid is that it increases resources available to the receiving country to meet its basic requirements, especially, of development. Resources acquired through aid fills the gap between domestic needs and available domestic resources. This role of aid implies that domestic resources are utilized with the maximum efficiency, or that the availability of aid promotes the efficient utilization of resources. Few would dispute the view that this should be the rationale for programmes of economic aid.

### Substitute

But the experience of planners of aid in recent years has led many observers to doubt the contribution of aid to efficient use of domestic resources by receiving countries. In fact, if one examines the allocation of resources in a country receiving aid, one is likely to find that the availability of aid often tends to increase misuse of domestic resources. Foreign aid is almost invariably used as a substitute for domestic effort. It provides a convenient excuse or opportunity for unwillingness by governments to adopt necessary but unpopular measures to promote efficient use of their domestic resources. The experience of foreign aid reveals that most recipient governments have shown a marked tendency to avoid such action on the domestic front as may be necessary for the sound state of their economies but which may damage their political fortunes.

This tendency to avoid finding domestic solutions to domestic problems by relying on foreign aid is further strengthened by the conditions which recipient countries must fulfil not only to qualify for aid but also to dispose of the resources they acquire through aid. Foreign aid may be divided into three main forms; namely, loans secured outside the normal capital markets, grants largely by governments, and technical assistance in the form of personnel and equipments. As the substantial proportion of world aid flows from the rich to the poor countries, the conditions that govern aid programmes reflect substantially the interests of the rich donor countries.

The conditions actually imposed vary from one donor country to another, but a common element in these conditions is the requirement of tying the recipient country's use of resources acquired through aid to the economy of the donor country. This requirement is expressed by the typical demand that, where financial aid is involved, the recipient countries should spend a given proportion, usually a high proportion, of their aid on resources of the donor country. In principle,

this demand seems to satisfy the principle of promoting the mutual interests of the donor and the receiver, but, in practice, there have been cases in which this proviso has meant only the promotion of specific interests of the donor country, for example, promotion of exports and/or employment to the obvious detriment of efficient use of resources not only in the receiving country but in the donor country as well. For the condition introduces a rigidity into international economic relations and thereby prevents the world community from reaping the benefits of international competition in trade.

**Aid Cover**

Another typical condition related to the one above which has become fashionable is that the donor country provides aid to cover "foreign exchange costs" of a project while the receiving country finances the costs of the project incurred in local currency. More often than not the distinction between "foreign exchange cost" and "local currency cost" is a rule of thumb, an arbitrary distinction which, on close examination turns out to have little justification in economics or commonsense. For in economies which depend heavily on imported goods, expenditures in local currency result in significant demand for foreign exchange to finance the importation of goods, for example, materials for housing, cars, office equipment and furniture provided for foreign personnel, and goods consumed by persons employed locally. Furthermore, where aid is provided in the form of imported plant, machinery and equipment, the receiving country usually finds itself committed to undertake expenditure in foreign exchange for their operation and subsequent replacement. Finally, as much aid at present is provided on a country-to-country basis, differences in conditions make it difficult for, or provide little inducement, to receiving countries to coordinate the use of resources acquired by aid in their economic plans. Indeed, some aid programmes, however temporarily useful they are to the receiving country, can have permanent adverse effects on the development of its own resources, if corrective measures are not enforced. The United States food aid programme comes readily to mind. For example, in Ghana, at present, the availability of maize imported under US Public Law 480 is causing a great deal of disquiet among farmers who find it difficult to dispose of their rich harvest of corn at reasonable prices.

**Dependent Policies**

The main effect of resort to aid, therefore, is that the policies of countries receiving aid tend to be formulated, perhaps unconsciously, to suit the conditions imposed by the donor countries rather than to cope with fundamental problems on the home front; and as these conditions are likely to reflect the interests of the donor countries, these interests become dominant in the policies of recipients of aid. One such interest of donors served by these conditions is that it enables the donor countries to overhaul their domestic policies, especially fiscal and trade policies to promote the importation of goods and services, particularly manufactures from the countries receiving aid. Aid is substituted for trade.

**Role of Civil Service**

In the receiving country, aid is substituted for radical reforms. One particular area where this tendency is clearly felt is in the machinery of government. In a country like Ghana, the role of the Civil Service in the economy is crucial, but it appears the organizational structure and orientation of its personnel are perhaps more suited to the government of Edwardian England than to the government of any country in Africa today. Curiously, civil servants of poor countries seem to have vested interests in programmes of economic aid, especially those undertaken with international organizations. These organizations open to them vast opportunities for influence and power in their countries far in excess of what they deserve to wield. This is dangerous for political reasons, for it develops the inclination among civil servants to camouflage important political issues as technical issues and therefore to reserve decisions on them to be taken by self-styled experts. And these decisions get implemented by fits and starts. This may be because civil servants, especially those in this country, lack the capacity to execute decisions, or because they are unwilling to disturb the social framework by implementing decisions, or simply because they are in the words of the novelist "not concerned with the very poor".

At root, the necessary reorganization can be undertaken only by the government and not by the civil service itself. One hopes that the Public Services Structure and Salaries Commission will endear itself to this task and tackle it with utmost ruthlessness. That way, we will be compelled to examine our domestic resources and the uses we can make of them before resorting to foreign assistance, as Mr. E. N. Omaboe was reported to have said, "to plug holes in our economy". In his latest book, *Development Planning*, Sir W. A. Lewis observes that "self-respecting countries do not shape their policies in order to please foreigners". We in Ghana may do well to ponder over this observation in our gallop into the newly-found "expertocracy". *(Concluded)*

# Education

## EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION IN GHANA

*By*
*I. Ackom Mensah*

RECENTLY IN the local papers we read of a desperate appeal by the Ministry of Education for ideas and suggestions from the public to help combat school riots which have become rampant. One gets the feeling that there is something fundamentally wrong with the administration of our educational set-up.

Seeing that we don't hear of riots, demonstrations and strikes in the elementary schools, could it be that the cause of the deplorable occurrences is traceable to the absence of teacher training and adequate preparation for our secondary school teachers?

When the Auditor-General tells us in his famous annual report that the financial administration of our institutions is in a deplorable state, and goes on to reveal that cash deficiences, embezzlement and defalcations have become a common feature in Secondary Schools and Training Colleges, does it not imply that there is something basically wrong with educational administration in Ghana? Surely given efficient and effective administration Adisadel should not lose as much as ₵73,400.70, Berekum Training College ₵19, 227.11, Aburi (Methodist) Training College ₵11, 767.49 and Achimota Primary School ₵12, 803.49 in the year ended 31 December, 1964. The trouble is that the majority of our educational administrators including heads of institutions lack proper training in the principles and practice of the science of administration and the art of management. The fault then does not lie so much in the paucity of qualified Bursars. The riots and the embezzlements may be only symptoms of a serious malady.

### The Problem of Educational Administration

One hopes that the Educational Review Committee has given due attention to the problems inherent in the control, direction and the administration of this country's education.

Whether we like it or not, education, and for that matter public education, is a large scale business enterprise (minus the profit motive). It is an expensive business particularly with the adoption of a free education policy covering the primary school through university. Prudence dictates that we take immediate and long range steps to ensure that those whose responsibility it is to handle and manage the vast sums of money voted for education are properly trained in management and administration. The educational business involves the management of human and material resources, namely, the students, the teachers, the employees, plant and equipment, money and the environment. This calls for the inculcation of the ability (*a*) to plan and set forth objectives, map out goals and design appropriate strategies; (*b*) to organise resources; (*c*) to motivate or actuate operators and (*d*) to generally control or co-ordinate the whole operation and processes within it.

### Limited Facilities for Training in Educational Administration

As a nation we have seen fit to make special provision in our higher education structure for both Business and Public Administration. We are yet to appreciate the need for a dynamic programme to cater for Educational Administration. We appear satisfied with the costly and frustration-fraught on-the-job trial-and-error approach to training in educational administration.

Our training scheme may be briefly stated as follows: The top executive in the Ministry of Education is not there by choice, training or interest but by the natural civil servants quest for promotion and advancement. If our man comes to the Ministry of Education via the Education Officer's door, then he may claim some experience in educational administration. But this experience may lack the supporting base of formal training in the principles of administration. The idea of further academic training for the Ministry man is often frowned upon on the stock excuse that he "cannot be spare", and few headmasters are encouraged by the Ministry to work for higher degrees. It is unfortunate to have a top administrator on the educational scene with no training or relevant experience in education. It is equally regrettable to have a "headquarters boy" directing operations, whose personal experience of day-to-day school administration may be outmoded.

In the United States of America, the practice is followed whereby various experts in education are appointed on contract basis for limited periods to handle schedules requiring professional competence. These experts bring both first class knowledge and practical experience to bear in the execution of their assignments. They then return to the field. Unfortunately in Ghana educational control and direction is looked upon as the sacrosanct preserve of the career civil servant. To quote from a recent article in the *Daily Graphic:*

> "When it comes to the content of education or the pedagogics, we find that the Ministry

of Education, like some other Ministries, has not deployed its manpower well for it. Indeed being part of the Civil Service we find that the schedules are not held by expertise or aptitude or even by merit but by rigid seniority. This is the surest way to mediocrity which in turn breeds the penchant for routine redtape and bullying of those who serve under".

It is but fair to concede that we have had able educational administrators but these have been few and far between compared with the large battalion of mediocrities.

It is but an open secret that no formal training is given to the teacher in the elementary school structure to prepare him for the assumption of higher responsibility. Any teacher who can "close the attendance register", keep the Log Book, has enough seniority to his credit and is less troublesome, is ready to be promoted a headteacher whenever a vacancy occurs somewhere. The transfer of the old Government schools and certain denominational schools to local authorities under the old regime simply added the job of educational management to the already crowded schedule of the ill-equipped clerk of council. Lacking the expertise, time and interest, the Clerks of Council accorded the school management job only casual attention. Furthermore, faced with inadequate financial resources the Councils have not appointed qualified educationists as School Managers.

To be a Secondary School Headmaster or Training College Principal, no special or formal preparation is required. With a university degree (never mind the field of concentration or area of specialisation), three to five years teaching behind him and some connection, a youngman qualifies to be literally catapulted into the headmaster's chair as soon as a vacancy occurs somewhere. For appointment to a training college headship, some years of expereience as a Senior Tutor or a first degree with limited experience is all that is required. Formal training in administration is not considered necessary. Somehow we believe that the special knowledge and the resultant wisdom for handling complex educational problems will fall like manna from nowhere into the lap of a Headmaster or Principal, once he is appointed to the post. And so overnight we transform a teacher into the boss of an institution responsible for its budget (although he has no idea of estimates preparation and budgetary control); and labour problems (when he has never heard of, let alone seen or read,the Labour Ordinance or the Industrial Relations Act). He has to undertake or direct the procurement of goods and services in spite of abysmal ignorance of ordinary commercial practice and usage. Plant maintenance, student feeding, campus planning and development, campus discipline and arbitration, campus development and administration, these are some of the headaches he inherits without formal preparation for scientific processes of decision-making. Problems of accounting and financial management in time make him rely too heavily on his ill-equipped Bursar who soon finds it convenient not only to bamboozle the head with his little learning but also to misappropriate funds to the head's chagrin.

Faced with the manifold problems of administration our budding scholar of yesterday becomes incapable of producing any creative work in the academic field. What energy has he left after attending to the manifold chores by his trial-and-error methods, even to chronicle his experiences and the challenges of his office for the guidance of future generations of headmasters and principals? He is a harassed person. Instead of job satisfaction and fulfilment our youngman reaps disillusionment, disappointment and maybe high blood pressure. The public outside his school or college gets to know of him only when his frustration and confusion leads or contributes to a strike or demonstration by his workmen or his students.

### Ministry's Circulars as Formal Training?

And as if to add insult to injury he finds himself pestered with a spate of directives and commanding circulars, orders and petty queries from the Ministry of Education—circulars and letters often issued and "signed for" by allegedly "directed" petty officials with little practical and/or theoretical knowledge of how to handle educational problems.

It is claimed that at the secondary school and training college levels, the heads of these institutions are supposed to exercise effective control over their operations with the Ministry of Education merely playing the role of an overseer. Going by my experience as a Governor of a training college for some years now I can say that the Ministry unfortunately tends to control rather than oversee the activities and policies of our secondary schools and colleges. They are left with no initiative and opportunity to judiciously experiment. An analysis of a cross section of Ministry circulars and so-called "guidelines" to secondary schools and training colleges will confirm this feeling. The Ministry should seriously consider creating the conditions that will enable

the heads of institutions to exercise *effective control* over their operations.

**University Administration**

The question of formal training and preparation affects our university administrators as well. Formal training, it is submitted, will increase the effectiveness as well as the output of our university administrators. With inadequate orientation in academic matters the accounting or administrative officer unwittingly imports dysfunctions into the work of the University through his systems and procedures. His adherence to a policy of administrative convenience in time leads to over-centralisation which is not only dysfunctional but wasteful. A number of the financial and administrative difficulties facing one or two of our university institutions have derived in part from the apparent unwillingness on the part of the top administrator(s) to decentralise the locus of power and responsibility. This shortcoming may be traced to the absence of proper training for these administrators.

**Need for Training for Educational Administration**

It is evident that there is need for some formal training for managers and administrators of our educational enterprise.

In the short term, crash programmes involving well-planned seminars and workshops and short courses should be organised and implemented with the co-operation of the Ministry of Education, the School of Administration and an Institute of Education. The Headmasters' Conference, the Principals' Conference and the various Teachers Associations should lend their unstinted support for these programmes.

In addition to the crash programmes we need to think seriously about a permanent answer. In this connection I feel convinced that properly conceived professional training at University post-graduate level for would-be educational administrators is the answer. Such training should cover both the *academic* as well as the *business* aspects of educational administration. It should be more demanding and of longer duration than the Diploma in Education Programme. I envisage a two-year Master's Programme catering solely for Educational Administration at all levels and jointly operated by the Institute of Education and the School of Administration.

**The Scope of the Programme**

On the *academic* side the Programme will include present Diploma in Education courses supplemented by seminars on topics such as Students' Role in Institutional Policy, Faculty-Administration Relationships, Campus Planning and Development, Faculty Reward Systems and Structure, Performance Measurement and Evaluation of both Teachers and Students, Student Guidance and Counselling service, special problems of the Residential Institution etc.

On the *business* side subjects to be covered will include:

Organisation Theory, Elements of Accounting and Management Control, Financial Management, Personnel Management including Labour and Industrial Relations, Procurement, Office Management and Record-keeping and the organisation, management and control of such auxiliary enterprises as:

(*a*) The Bookshop
(*b*) Dining Halls and Student Canteens
(*c*) Student Residence
(*d*) Sports Activities, and
(*e*) Student Organs and other Campus Publications.

Scientific decision-making via the *Case Method* will have a major place in the curriculum.

**Conclusion**

It is conceivable that the Educational Review Committee will recommend worthwhile changes in our educational set-up. In the final analysis it will be our administrators who will have the job of implementing the recommendations. These people handle large sums of the tax-payers' money every year in the execution of their duties. Any amount invested in their formal training at the highest level will be money well spent.

Lastly I would suggest that consideration be given by the authorities of the School of Administration to mounting a special programme to train Bursars for the Secondary Schools and Training Colleges. If the School has seen fit to provide facilities for an Elementary Local Government Programme one can see no good reason for refusing to help the country with the production of properly trained Bursars. This assumes that the necessary encouragement, financial and otherwise, will be forthcoming from Government at the instance of the Ministry of Education.

# Administration

## THE UTILIZATION OF EXECUTIVE TALENTS IN A DEVELOPING GHANA

*By*
*Kwame Adjei*

IN DEVELOPING countries, manpower deficiencies often present more serious problems than capital needs, and the way executive talents are utilized by a nation reflects its economic, political and social development. Manpower problems exist in this country, but this article will dwell only on problems connected with the utilization of executive, administrative or managerial calibre, particularly in the public sector.

### Shortage of Experienced Executives

There seems to be a shortage of skilled or experienced personnel in the country. This apparent shortage may be attributed partly to the fact that most Ghanaians were brought up in non-industrial environments. In addition, Ghanaian students do not often have the opportunity of gaining practical experience while in school. Full-time residence requirements and the automatic availability of scholarships to our university students do not encourage the need for these students to seek part-time employment. The "paternalistic tendencies" of the colonial Government, coupled with the socialistic policies of post-independence government of the C.P.P. restricted Ghanaian private enterprises. The result was that the lack of family-owned business, at least on any respectable scale, denied Ghanaian youths the opportunity to "walk through daddy's company" in their adolescent years. Again, it will be realized that our educational system generally tended to produce too many classical scholars.

All these point to the fact that most Ghanaian students have no business or organization orientation by the time they graduate. It is not, therefore, suprising that a large majority of university graduates do not know even how to write a cheque.

### Problem of Poor Administration

Two main factors have evolved as a matter of historical accidents. In almost all developing countries, paper qualification often becomes the passport for obtaining top jobs. Secondly, political patronage often put party favourites in charge of public offices. A combination of these two factors usually result in having a country run by "quack administrators and policy-makers", who are advised by "academic theoreticians" "paper philosophers", and "pseudo-intellectuals", whose sense of (practical) reality is often questionable. In fact, most of our troubles today can be traced back to the existence of this combination.

### Is the Problem Eradicated?

Ghana does not have active political parties today, so one cannot state that party favourities are at the helm of national affairs. On the other hand, one cannot also dismiss the fact that the NLC. usually gives appointments to persons either known to the members or recommended by persons known to the Council.

As far as advisers are concerned, it is difficult for any Ghanaian to admit of any major changes. In fact, most of Nkrumah's advisers are still advising the N.L.C. today. Some of them are civil servants who manage to keep their jobs under any government; but the question to be raised is that have such people matured in experience since February 24, 1966?

### The Selected Few

In any modern society or organization only a minority in the population will be called upon to formulate, administer and execute national policies, and there are various means whereby the administrators and executives are chosen. Some eager beavers manage to catch the eye of an influential boss; others get to be known by being just plain good "organizational men." A few get to the top through sheer perseverance and hard work. There are those who manage to get to the top quickly because they have been trained in a specialized subject, profession or occupation where competition is non-existent. Then there are those whose vessels came ashore through the sweet breeze of "Africanisation" policies.

It is clear, therefore, that there has come into existence a few people in the country who can appropriately be called the "industrializing elite". All one has to do is to look at the composition of public Boards, Commissions and Committees and they are seen around.

### Overutilization and Underutilization of Talents

A look at the appointment book of any of these gentlemen will amaze anybody as to how they manage to cope with their numerous duties. The plain fact of the matter is that most of them do not—and in fact simply cannot—have the time to perform these duties efficiently. An overworked executive is sometimes as good as staying away from his desk. He can be edgy, itchy, irritable and disorganize the morale of his staff. He often attends meetings late, and occasionally may not show up at all. Oftentimes he may be physically present at a meeting but mentally absent. Most of them attend meetings without looking at the

agenda—even though the items might have been circularized days or weeks earlier. A look at the minutes of public corporations, institutions and Boards will amaze anybody as to the high rate of absenteeism among this overburdened group of executives. There are instances of Board members who have not attended a single meeting for almost two years.

On the other hand, there is a large majority of civil servants (including Principal Assistant Secretaries and Senior Assistant Secretaries) Secondary school and Teacher Training college teachers, university lecturers, officials in public corporations and managers of private corporations whose talents can be utilized to help develop Ghana.

### Misallocation of Talents

Another funnel of waste in the utilization of manpower is not only putting unqualified people into top posts but also giving people assignments unrelated to their fields of study. The Civil Service is full of numerous examples. We have financial experts acting as administrative officers in non-financial capacities, while historians advise the government on finance and trade matters. Mathematicians, engineers, chemists etc. have been made Government Agents, whilst physicians were sent abroad as ambassadors. All these happened when the Government was using a rare commodity called "foreign exchange" to recruit staff from other countries.

### Youth and Experience

The typical Ghanaian executive, like his colleagues in most newly-independent nations, is relatively young and inexperienced as compared with his counterpart in an older country. The writer's own research showed an average age of Ghanaian executives to be 41. Similar studies indicate an average age of 43 for India and 44 for Egypt as compared with 53 for America.

### Some Implications

1) As a result of our historical development, executives in developing countries have to be younger and less experienced than their counterparts in older countries. The one thing that makes the situation even more serious is that the already young and inexperienced executive is often saddled with too many jobs and appointments.
2) It generally happens that persons who get into top positions too early later become bored, stale and lethargic at a period when they still should be virile, energetic and progressive. How would one want to be a Head of Department, a Vice-Chancellor, or Principal Secretary or Managing Director in the same office for 25 or more years before he reaches retirement age?
3) Young men in top positions also stifle the promotion opportunities of their subordinates—a situation that can create serious problems in morale, discipline and turnover.
4) A young and inexperienced executive often gets lost in the company of his counterparts from other countries—an inferiority complex problem which might affect his effectiveness adversely.
5) An inexperienced executive might either withdraw himself from the public scene or, in order to cover up his deficiencies, become bossy, arrogant and authoritarian—a typical characteristic of empty barrels.
6) Another means of making up for his deficiencies is for the inexperienced executive to surround himself with experts, advisers, consultants and what nots. It is true that developing countries need the assistance of foreign advisers; but it should also be pointed out that not all experts are EXPERTS.

### Some Suggested Solutions (Recommendations)

1) We should try and broaden the base for appointment to public offices. There are a lot of hidden talents roaming about in the country to be tapped. All it needs is a boss with a keen sense to discern and also the willingness to give a chance to people. It is not easy to discover talents, but at the same time if you do not try somebody, you will not discover what the person can do.
2) In this connection I will recommend a national talent scouting system. President Kennedy for example was noted for his ability to scout for qualified persons to fill his cabinet and other official posts.
3) Management training should be given priority in our national development programmes. Subordinates should be trained and given a chance on the job by "trial jobs" or watching superiors at meetings, conferences and making decisions. In other words, we should insist on "doing". It should be remembered that mistakes made at a junior officer level is likely to be less costly to the organisation than a mistake made by a senior officer.
4) We should avoid building organisations around individuals or a particular group

of people. Nobody is indispensable in any organization. It is sheer nonsense to hear people say that they cannot go on leave or leave their desks because nobody can do their jobs well. As part of the struggle for survival, human beings often try to make themselves indispensable. Let me make it clear that one of the criteria for judging a good boss is by the ability of his subordinate(s) to take over his job without any serious harmful effects to the organization. I would even propose that the chances of promotion of any executive should depend on his ability to prepare subordinates to take over his job.

5) I would also like to emphasize that Ghanaians should learn to say NO not only to jobs for which they are not capable of performing but also to extra appointments which may impair the efficiency and effectiveness of jobs already held. There are people, I am sure, who take pride in the number of posts held concurrently. We should remember that it is better to do one job well than to accumulate a lot of jobs and mess them up.

6) My last recommendation concerns the use of foreign experts. People leave their countries for various reasons. Very few (if any) nations will, under normal circumstances, give away their best men.

It should also be remembered that the international bodies employ nationals from all parts of the world, including some "experts" from developing countries. There is nothing sacrosanct about advisers from international organizations. In fact the people we see around us everyday with little regard may be better than the new face we may invite to solve our problems for us. What do you say?



# Observer Notebook

### Border Guards

IT HAS been made clear on several occasions that, in many respects, Ghana does not lack clarity of thought on her economic and social problems. Policies carefully worked out are sometimes deliberately neutralised through the inefficiency, selfishness, short-sightedness and the unpatriotic behaviour of certain Ghanaians. For example, during the last cocoa season, it was estimated that quite apart from 75,000 tons unharvested Ghana lost 25,000 tons of cocoa through smuggling. And for that reason, the country lost a colossal amount in foreign exchange.

The interesting point is that so much cocoa could never have been smuggled out only through the bush and on heads within so short a time. Recently truckloads of smuggled goods have been intercepted deep within Ghanaian territory. Whether the border guards went to sleep, were overpowered or were in collusion with the smugglers is a matter that needs serious attention.

The serious implication of this situation is that while we impose restrictions in order to revitalise our economy, some selfish persons who refuse to remember that, in the long run, it is their cousins, brothers, sisters and parents who suffer most, undermine the national effort. We impose restrictions to conserve foreign exchange; smuggling is then stepped up, and therefore we impose even more stringent restrictions, and there is yet more smuggling. We therefore end up in a vicious circle of inflation coupled with unemployment because of selfishness in certain sections of the society—all this to the detriment of ALL OF US including even the selfish.

However, it is encouraging to realise that the border guards are now beginning to take a long term view of the plight of this country. They seem to be more alert now. The recent interception of smuggled wigs at the airport is a sign that the border guards are now prepared to contribute their quota in saving our country from these dire economic difficulties. They have our wholehearted support. They should expose the big-time as well as the small-time smugglers. There should be no discrimination or fear of intimidation or boot-licking.

**Rhodesia: "Illegal!" "Illegal!" "Illegal!"**

IT IS reported that Britain is about to send a minister to sound African Commonwealth countries' opinion on her new moves to re-open talks with the Smith regime in Rhodesia. So far, it

has been fashionable in Britain to howl "illegal!" "foul!" at everything that the Smith regime does. Consequently, the declaration of independence was illegal and, in fact, treasonable; the printing of new currency notes was illegal; etc. etc. Everyone knows that all these were illegal; but it is one thing recognizing illegality and quite another stamping it out. Nobody, therefore, is impressed by all these legal arguments advanced by Britain, especially when the matter concerns a regime that has openly and persistently declared its contempt for constitutional and legal principles. Britain cannot deceive Africa into believing that she is not condoning the existence of the Smith regime.

Our crime as Africans is that we are weak and poor. Britain and the Smith regime are in a tacit collusion to exploit the impotence and poverty of Africans and African countries. We must therefore not lose sight of the fact that this is the politics of might, of self-interest, and of race.

Obviously, despite the nauseating and deceivingly soothing reports that sanctions are biting Rhodesia, any nitwit knows that sanctions will NEVER reduce Rhodesians to such penury as to compel them to crawl back to mother Britain for forgiveness. Anyone who believes that sanctions alone can settle the Rhodesian issue must be a dunce.

But what is this new deal that Britain is now peddling around? Mr. Wilson's hint reported in the *Economist* of July 8 1967, that 'the phrase "no independence before majority rule" may not be an irretractable commitment', must be a warning sign to anyone who will have anything to do with this envoy from Britain. If we cannot stop them, under no circumstances should we help them sell Africans into slavery as they did in South Africa in 1910. At least, with a clear conscience we shall then be prepared to play our noble part, at a more appropriate time, in liberating the millions of enslaved Africans. We should be very careful not to allow our present economic difficulties to be used to blackmail us.

What is at stake is the question of justice and human dignity. It is true that the Rhodesian Africans are not doing enough to free themselves but this does not mean that the impotence and ignorance of a slave are enough justification for his bondage. The Rhodesian crisis is indisputably an anti-climax to British decolonisation in Africa. Ghana should not be party to this iniquitous and unholy sell-out of Africans.

**O.A.U. Liberation Committee**

THE O.A.U. Liberation Committee made up of nine states—Algeria, Congo (Kinshasa), Ethiopia, Guinea, Nigeria, Senegal, Uganda and the U.A.R.—is currently holding a regular session at Kampala. The Committee was set up, with its headquarters at Dar es Salaam, to organise direct action with a view to liberating dependent African territories. Its work, therefore, is to use every available means—including armed force—to wipe off colonialism in the Portuguese territories, South Africa, South-West Africa and Rhodesia.

In the light of present conditions, it is indisputable that the Committee has an onerous job to perform. The International Court's decision on South-West Africa, for instance, has been a major set-back and the Portuguese-South African-Rhodesian *entente*, actively endorsed by even Malawi, has presented what U Thant has described as a wall across Southern Africa. But it would be wrong to say that the Committee's difficulties are nothing but the creation of the architects of colonialism and racism. It must be admitted that some of the Committee's troubles are the making of the freedom fighters themselves. Firstly, in some cases such as Angola, their disunity engenders wasted energy on internecine struggles. The Common enemy is left alone while the "natural" allies become "artificial" enemies. Secondly, it is a well-known fact that many leaders of the freedom fighters prefer the limited freedom they get in independent African countries, where they are based, to fighting for the liberation of their own countries. As a result, a lot of the financial aid sent to the freedom fighters finds its way into the private bank accounts of the freedom fighters. In fact, the present troubles in Rhodesia can be partly explained in terms of the inactivity of some of the nationalist leaders who preferred globe-trotting to organising mass support at home.

These two observations necessitate a re-appraisal of the aid given to the freedom fighters. Much as money is needed for the purchase of certain day to day items, it would probably be appropriate to lay greater emphasis on aid in kind or technical aid such as arms and ammunition, clothing, food, press and mass communication facilities.

# Commentary

## PUBLIC SERVANTS OR MASTERS?

*By*
*Ato Kwamina*

IN GHANA it is a crime to be an ordinary person, that is, someone who does not go about his daily business in Western attire, speak the English language with a tolerable degree of fluency, hold a university degree or a very senior post with the Civil Service or private corporations, or show evidence of wealth. This is no exaggeration, as a visit to any of our Government or other public offices will show. Visits to our shops or department stores will not demonstrate the existence of this social problem since the shop assistants generally display an egalitarian attitude by being rude to all and sundry.

Yet it would not be fair to give the impression that all our public offices are torture chambers for the ordinary citizen. Most of the very junior officers or clerical assistants are willing or even anxious to help the public; so are most of the senior officers who generally listen to you courteously and do not hasten to ask you to see a subordinate who may not understand the nature of your business. Unfortunately the ordinary citizen is hardly ever given the opportunity to see those at the top. He can only consult the middle grade officers who are disconcertingly uncooperative and make him feel uncomfortable in their offices. He is in the presence of the public masters.

### The Public Master

On entering an office, the ordinary citizen is immediately confronted with a conspiracy of silence and indifference. He looks around uncertainly while he is openly stared at. He addresses the officer sitting closest to the doorway and realizes only too late that he has committed the rash, unpardonable act of speaking, unbidden, to the chief master or officer in charge of the office. The remaining officers look on in grim silence while waiting for the senior officer to ask the offender to see them. The offender is then put through a carefully designed process of torture. He is asked whom he wants to see, and can only reply by stating the reason for his visit. He is immediately asked to wait, that is, stand outside the office or sit on an extraordinarily hard bench in the office. It is a brave ordinary citizen who will dare to address the same officer after a decent interval of thirty minutes. He may be condemned to a further period of waiting or may be inexplicably asked to see the next officer who is more experienced in the art of torture. This officer wants to know why he is being disturbed. He will convey the question to the offender by asking it in words or by simply glaring nastily. He again adopts either of the two methods of communication to ask the visitor to wait for another hour or come back the next day. He uses a choice collection of offensive words to reply to the incautious visitor who insists on being heard or who asks to see the officer in charge.

If the visitor had travelled all the way from, say, Kumasi and is obviously anxious to discuss the reason for his visit, then the public master may adopt a different tactic after the initial act of unfriendliness. He may smile sweetly and ask the visitor if he really wants to be helped. He may even point out, untruthfully, that the visitor could not be helped by anyone else in the office. The experienced ordinary citizen then nods understandingly and surreptitiously hands over a cedi or two to this kindly effendi. The visitor is then immediately taken to the superior officer near the doorway, who must also be placated in a similar manner. The visitor is then asked to pay a legitimate fee, after which he enjoys the delicious moment of seeing his document stamped and signed by the officer. This is all the visitor came for—to have a piece of paper stamped officially.

Variations of this standard process by which the public servant succeeds in acquiring the title of public master may be experienced at such places as the Ghana Commercial Bank (where, incidentally, the ordinary female teller is slowly improving her arithmetic); the passport office where files are regularly misplaced but just as regularly found by the clerks who respond with remarkable sensitivity to the weakest cash stimulus; and Korle Bu Hospital where most nurses, and the sisters, almost regard it as part of the ethics of their profession to frustrate the suffering patient. They could be worse than the proverbial Mrs. Gamp. If the Motor Traffic Unit in Accra has not been included in this sample list of places where the ordinary citizen suffers, it is because the motorist who is caught for overspeeding or for some other non-criminal offence need not fear that he would be committing a crime if he attempted to placate a zealous policeman with money.

### Reaction of the Suffering Public

Unfortunately most members of the suffering public encourage these public masters by resignedly accepting their unattractive characteristics. They never argue or insist on being listened to if the public masters decide to be awkward. A few bold citizens might carry the day by dropping

names and issuing threats. The men at the top of course know how tyrannical their subordinates are, but if they decided to sack them, most offices would be left empty. Therefore all that the men at the top can do is to try to soothe the injured visitor, when he is fortunate enough to reach them, by having him attended to quickly, after which they dismiss the visitor with a promise to discipline the subordinates.

### Explanations

This problem of public masters also exists in many other African countries. In Ghana it is not necessarily one of bureaucracy or of inherent lack of courtesy, for Ghanaians are generally regarded as friendly people. In the series of post-coup lectures on the general theme "What Went Wrong", it was suggested that the problem persisted because the offenders were party members who could not easily be sacked from office. Although this is partly true, it is too facile an explanation. The problem is still with us and is as serious as, if not worse than, before. The explanation must be looked for elsewhere.

A partial explanation is the attitude of snobbery which is a carry-over from the days when the clerk with no more than standard seven school-leaving certificate considered himself to be vastly superior to his less literate neighbour. There was tremendous respect attached to education, top hats, wing collars, and tail coats. Anyone who has read the Guggisbergs' *We Two in West Africa*, published before the First World War, will, I am sure, for ever remember the entertaining dialogue between the two clerks on the platform of Tarkwa railway station, who, on seeing the Guggisbergs, decided to repeat simple, nonsensical and unrelated copybook English sentences to each other, to the vast amusement of the Guggisbergs and to the profound admiration of the illiterate crowd. This attitude of snobbery persists and is indeed intensified by a feeling of self-preservation which has developed upon the realization that a clerk no longer belongs to the elite of society but rather occupies a very low place in the hierarchy of educated persons in the country. How often has one not been reminded by an affronted clerk that one might very well be a secondary school headmaster but that he, the clerk, is also an important person even if his sphere of influence does not extend beyond the ground covered by his desk?

Another likely explanation for the tyranny of the public master is an economic one. His salary is simply too low in relation to the responsibility he is expected to shoulder in the office. He runs out of money by the middle or last week of the month, and he has to survive. This, as everyone knows, is why our elderly traffic policemen, for example, brazenly present a helmet or a fez cap to collect voluntary contributions of money from lorry drivers. Similarly, the poorly paid clerk survives by accepting "gifts" from the public.

### An Urgent Problem

Be that as it may, there is no doubt that the problem of public masters needs careful study. It is an urgent problem and its consequences for the society's progress are clear. A patient dies needlessly because a nurse or nursing sister is inexcusably and shockingly indifferent; a great deal of precious time is wasted in the effort to persuade a public officer to give prompt attention to a visitor; the agricultural extension worker demands to be paid for the precious piece of advice he gives on cocoa cultivation and, of course, the cocoa farmer refuses to co-operate; etc. And so the whole country continues to suffer through what is usually referred to as the monumental inefficiency of our public servants.

# Letters

**The Devaluation and Economic Recovery**

SIR—When I first heard news on devaluation, I suspected that there must be something wrong; but as, unlike the former regime, experts are now free to have a say in matters relating to the economy, I decided to think some more. After reading your **Legon Observer** of 21 July, though I am still not satisfied with the course taken by the Government, it appears to me that your contributors are also relying rather more on theory than on practice.

In his press release published in your paper, Mr. Omaboe reiterated among other things, "donor countries are no doubt going to be impressed by the boldness with which we have approached these chronic economic problems". We may infer from this statement that the change was effected in consultation or approval of such "donor countries", and that they would be prepared to give all the necessary assistance, material and moral, whilst we perform our part internally, in order to achieve the aims of the government.

I am aware of the dangers of relying too much on foreign powers to reactivate our economy, but judging from the magnitude of the mess in our economy, there appears to be no other alternative.

I am still convinced that Mr. Omaboe and his team of experts are aware of the disastrous effects that would follow in the event that they fail once again to put the country on a sound economic footing. Nevertheless, this does not mean that precautionary measures should not be taken in the light of the development that has taken place since the announcement by Brigadier Afrifa. If the experts sincerely feel now that their decision has been premature, and that it is unlikely that neither the Government nor the masses would see the results which they had forecast, then they must withdraw these measures before it is too late. Having progressed steadily since February 1966, it will do nobody any good if we retreat to where we started or worse.

**PO. Box 2363, Shaw K. Zormelo**
**Accra.**

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SIR—One result of the devaluation of the cedi is price increases. The 5 per cent general increase in salaries and the raising of the minimum daily wage to 70 NP is expected to compensate for the difficulties that would be facing the poor consumer. But now we are made to understand that the slight increase in salaries affects only the Civil Servants.

We are yet to be convinced that the rise in the cost of living, however temporary, will be felt only by civil servants.

**University Bookshop, Ato Croffie**
**Legon.**

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**Kontopiaat and the Judicial Service**

SIR—I refer to a letter written by a certain Kontopiaat and published in the **Legon Observer,** Vol. 2 No. 12 at pages 22 and 23. I am not, of course, in a position to assess the whole of the material there; but the part dealing with the Accra New Town Court seems to be rather poor from the point of view of both accuracy and good taste. I do think that the rather scurrilous remarks made about that Court should not have been published by a Journal of your standing, since you are for obvious reasons credited with a good sense of selection.

2. My wish to state that we in the Judicial Service welcome criticism. We do in fact appreciate it, not only when criticism is constructive but even when it merely exposes some defect without suggesting how to remedy it. But we insist that all criticism should be responsible, that is, it should at least be based on accurate information and a fair assessment of that information. So that when anything patently founded on unascertained "facts" is published then the bounds of legitimate criticism have been transcended. Even a casual inspection of the records of the Accra New Town Court or a discussion with the lawyers who practise there would have shown to Kontopiaat that the allegations made in your Journal were quite unfounded. The rather half-hearted manner in which the working of the Magistrate concerned is described is most unfortunate. None of the things said in that issue is true of that Magistrate—if, indeed, there is any Magistrate of whom they can be said to be true.

3. We are all very keen in guarding the freedom of the press which has recently begun to flower in our country. But no institution is a better guardian of this freedom than the Courts (apart of course from the Press themselves). Thus unless the dignity of the Courts is respected this organ too will never be really effective, and much will be lost through flippant disregard. One ought to re-emphasize that if criticism of the Courts there must be then sane advice recommends that it should be in good faith and based on ascertained facts. To this end I wish to remind everyone concerned that the Courts have ample powers to deal with abuses of the kind under consideration here. So if such abuses continue then these powers will be invoked in full against those who thus threaten the freedom of the press.

4. I do regret your publication. Kontopiaat may comment on the working of our Courts. But he must always check on his facts, if not from the Courts he is publishing about, at least from me. He will be well-advised to remember this: if he cannot concern himself with the propriety of what he publishes, he cannot always be excused from having to prove its accuracy.

**Law Courts Building E. S. Aidoo**
**P.O. Box 119 Judicial Secretary**
**Accra**

**[Published unedited—Ed.]**

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**Ghanaian Doctors overseas**

SIR—Marri-lyrre Ganaway's letter which appeared in the Vol. II No. 14 of the **Legon Observer** and which apparently supported the refusal of Ghanaian doctors abroad to return home, seems very unfortunate.

Whilst conceding that the conditions in the Ministry of Health, as in other Ministries and Departments, need much improvement, one wonders whether Ghanaian doctors and other personnel abroad are justified in shirking their moral obligation to serve their country.

The fact cannot be gainsaid that the prosperity of Ghana depends principally on her own citizens, especially those who have had the benefit of higher education. Thus one expects qualified Ghanaians abroad to be patriotic enough to return home to help raise the standard of living of their countrymen. This is

even more imperative in the case of people who have been trained with Ghanaian funds.

Ganaway's letter seems to encourage qualified Ghanaians to seek employment in other countries where they will "enjoy being expatriates".

What an advice to the intellectuals of a developing country.

Department of Entomology Yeboa A. Dodoo
Utah State University,
Logan, Utah 84321, U.S.A.

### Kotoka, Freedom & Justice

SIR—The Kumasi Doctors' Wives Club, wanting to do their bit for the Kotoka Trust Fund, decided to have a dance in aid of it on July 29. Tickets had been got from the Tax Office; Posters and invitations had been printed; a band had been engaged and the City Hotel booked for the evening. About two weeks before the dance we received a letter from the Regional Committee of the Trust Fund stating that they had heard that we were planning to hold a dance on July 29; they too were planning a dance on that same night and everyone else in Kumasi had been ordered not to hold a dance on that date. (No public announcement was made to this effect, they passed this "order" by letter and by securing the cooperation of the Police whom they instructed to issue no dance permits for that night).

We met and decided to send a small delegation comprising the Secretary and two committee members to explain to them that we had gone quite far with the preparations for our dance and couldn't think of postponing it then. Of course, we continued selling our tickets. A few days later, our Secretary was summoned to the Asantehene who had earlier agreed to be patron of our dance. The Regional Committee had appealed to him in another effort to stop us. Four of us later met the Committee that day and after a lot of senseless talk they gave us two alternatives: (1) either we join our Dance with theirs! or (2) we postpone ours to Sunday 30th.

Neither of these was acceptable to us. We told them that we had to consult the other members of the Club. Next, they called in the Manager of the City Hotel who deserves some credit for the firm stand he had taken all along. They managed to convince him that we had decided to call off our dance and insisted that he should not hold us to the agreement which we signed.

I felt very strongly that we should go ahead with our dance, but many of our Ghanaian members advised against it. They thought that it was quite possible for the Regional Committee to get the Army or Police to stop our dance while it was in progress, thereby embarassing our guests. We were forced to call it off.

Ironically enough, the crest on their letterhead says "Freedom and Justice". Doesn't much look like it, does it?

c/o Dr. T. Agble Yalande M. Agble
Central Hospital, Kumasi.

### Ghana and the Nigerian Crisis

SIR—I wish to make a few comments about the Nigerian situation and the attitude of Ghanaians as seen from afar. Over here we seem to hear very little about how the Ghanaian public feels about this problem which in view of our long association with that country should be expected to be quite well informed. Thus Ghanaian public opinion visibly demonstrated will go a long way towards shaping the views of most foreign countries. Unless I have lost touch with current affairs in the country I have not heard of any protests, demonstrations etc., from any section of the community, be it University students, their staff, trade unions or other organisations about this war. The Ghana government has the distinction among African governments of almost succeeding in helping to solve this problem by bringing the leaders to the table at Aburi; therefore, Ghanaian public opinion, loudly expressed, would encourage other leaders to take a bold stand, and stop hiding behind such excuses as the problem being an internal one which should be left to the Nigerians themselves.

The strife simply cannot be described as an internal issue because the Federal government is not representative of Nigeria as a whole. Colonel Gowon who has recently appointed himself a Major General cannot pretend to speak for the rest of Nigeria even with his enlarged executive composed of men who have every reason to be grateful to him The circumstances of his assumption of office cannot be forgotten by the Biafrans. Didn't he get there because he was acceptable to the rebel Northern troops since he was neither the next senior officer after General Ironsi nor the third? To say that the dispute is an internal one does not rule out the duty of other African countries to call for a stop to this fighting. The rest of the world is watching African countries to show their maturity in this situation. Are we waiting for our European 'masters' to take the initiative again?

Can we sit idle and allow the massacre of over seven million Ibos? Have we forgotten about the contributions to the life of West Africa by renowned Ibos like Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, Chinua Achebe, Cyprian Ekwensi, Professors Njoku and Dike to name only a few? Would the rest of Nigeria be fighting Biafra now if no oil had been discovered there? Nigeria has failed miserably as a federation and no amount of force can bring a people together who have no common feeling of unity. How more serious can tribalism get when even University professors and Vice Chancellors do not find it safe to work outside their regions of origin?

With the recent unhappy massacre of Ibos in the North, which Northern leaders haven't found it necessary to condemn or punish, there is absolutely no moral right for the federal government, which essentially is a Northern one helped by the same mutinous Northern troops, to fight the Biafrans. Gowon and his group have no right to decide for the Ibos; only a referendum can decide the fate of the non-Ibos in Biafra, who are being led to believe that they will benefit more from their oil in Nigeria than in Biafra. This is a very complex situation which could have been solved if the present leader, whose simple-mindedness appeared in its full glow on BBC television two months ago, had given way to one of the many more able men this great country has produced. Over to you Ghanaians, show where you stand.

34, Canalview Road, T. B. Mensah
Manchester 4,
U.K.

**"Another Electronics Industry?"**

SIR—I have read with interest a letter headed "Another Electronic Industry for Ghana?" written by one Peter Weiden and published in your issue of 23 June–6 July, 1967.

The main argument of the writer seems to be that because of the existence of two organisations producing TV sets, transistor radios, and record players, it will not be in the best interest of the country to expend further foreign exchange on another such industry.

I would like to point out that this new industry will be its own foreign exchange earner because the prices of its goods will be so low that export trade will quickly develop with other African territories thus replenishing the foreign exchange that may be expended on its behalf. At the moment, the prices of electronic products in this country are so high that it is difficult to compete in other African markets.

Besides, the establishment of another such industry will foster competition and therefore help to improve standards and lower prices generally. Moreover, the two existing industries are state-owned and partly state-owned. The new one will be a private company with considerable Ghanaian participation, so that individual Ghanaians will benefit.

The industry will also provide employment openings for Ghanaians. The Management will be mainly Ghanaian and there will be a scheme for the training of Ghanaians here and abroad to take over eventually the technical as well as the administrative aspects of the organisation.

This is a case in which too many cooks do not spoil the broth.

**Princess Electronic Services Ltd., Takoradi.** **Anis Moubarak Managing Director**



# Matters Arising

## THE MINERALS INDUSTRY IN GHANA

By

John E. Cudjoe

(Director, Ghana Geological Survey Dept.)

MY ATTENTION has been drawn by several people to the article which appeared on pages 8 to 11, of 12 to 25 May issue of the **Legon Observer** in which Mr. L. A. K. Quashie, a lecturer in Geology at Legon, makes several incorrect statements about the Geological Survey Department and attacks the head of the department personally.

**Mineral Prospecting and Geological Mapping**

2. No one is prevented from expressing his opinion as to how to exploit the nation's mineral resources to the maximum benefit of the country. It is, however, important that what one says is based on facts. Mr. Quashie gets muddled up even in the early part of his article by confusing straight-forward geological mapping and mineral prospecting, two widely different exercises which employ different techniques and, therefore, involve different expenditures.

3. The Geological Survey's prime responsibility is to carry out systematic geological mapping of the country and in so doing produce geological maps which show the occurrences of rock formations and mineral deposits on the surface. Mineral prospecting on the other hand, which involves pitting, trenching and drilling, following geophysical and geochemical surveys, are generally expensive and with the limited resources that it often has, the Geological Survey does not normally carry out such investigations unless it is Government's intention to exploit a particular deposit after it has been prospected. The department is, however, perfectly capable of carrying out prospecting and mineral evaluation, given the resources.

**The Achievements of the Geological Survey for the Past Six Years**

4. Thus between 1962 and 1966, the Geological Survey has had to carry out several prospecting programmes side by side with straight-forward geological mapping, in order to obtain accurate information on reserves and quality of certain mineral deposists for the industries proposed under the Seven-Year Programme. The Geological Survey has completed the evaluation of the Kibi bauxite deposists, for the feasibility report of an alumina plant, Columbite deposit in the Oda area, **Spodumene-felspar** and **Mica pegmatites** in Mankwadzi, near Winneba, Kaolin deposits in Kibi, Saltpond by-pass, and Abandzi for a Ceramics factory, Limestone deposits in

Nauli, Esutware and Oterkpolu for cement and ime manufacture, as well as for building materials, glass-sands at Abosso, Petepong and Kuantin for the glass factory at Abosso, and 25 kilometers of promising alluvial gold in the Offin river and its tributaries in the Mpatuom area west of Kumasi (figures of reserves cannot be given here, since most of them are still confidential).

During the period, the Soviet Geological Survey Team, working under the Geological Survey, completed 80 per cent of the Shiene iron prospecting, in which the team discovered two new deposits which increased the reserves nearly threefold. It will be noted in passing, that Mr. Quashie maintains that the iron deposits in Shieni are not worth mentioning for iron and steel smelting. This department has had several studies made on these northern deposits, and it is known that if the Shieni ore were situated somewhere in America or Europe it would be exploited. In fact some Canadian iron and steel manufacturers have been using ores of similar grade and composition, which occur on the eastern part of that country, for many years. Thus it is the distance from the coast and the fact that better grade ores exist in Liberia, Sierra Leone, Mauritania and Gabon, that disqualify Shieni for the time being, but not the grade or the reserves. After all, the recent studies showed that Ghana needs only 150,000 to 200,000 tons of steel per year for all her industrial requirements for the next decade or so, and Shieni could easily supply the ore if power and fuel were readily available in the north.

5. The fact that an alumina plant has not yet been built at Kibi, or a ceramics factory established at Saltpond, or a cement factory erected at Nauli, does not mean that the Geological Survey has not done its job. In the Government machinery set up for the development of such industries, several factors are taken into consideration, and the evaluation of a deposit is only one of them.

6. With the examples given above, it is surprising that Mr. Quashie should have made the statement that the "record of the Geological Survey has been discouraging".

**Targets in the Seven Years Programme**

7. Regarding the increases for gold, manganese, bauxite and diamonds predicted in the Seven-Year Plan, Mr. Quashie states that "most of the figures . . . could be described as fictitious, for, even in 1967 the Geological Survey would find it very difficult to produce reliable figures to support their claims of 1962".

8. It should be made clear that the figures of the increases of 16.4 per cent for gold, 50.9 per cent for manganese, 50.9 per cent for bauxite and 50.3 per cent for diamonds which Mr. Quashie quotes from the Seven-Year Plan were **not** submitted by the Geological Survey Department as Mr. Quashie imputes. The Planning Commission itself arrived at these figures, based on (a) assurances given by the producers of these minerals, and (b) the potentialities of projects such as the Birim Dredging Project for diamonds, and a ferro-manganese project for manganese. A careful study of the facts given under chapter 13 of the Plan and the figures given in chapter 3 which Mr. Quashie has quoted seem to suggest an interpretation of data which were supplied to the Planning Commission but not necessarily by the Geological Survey.

What these figures mean, for instance in the case of manganese, is that, had the ferro-manganese project been implemented, the **output** (in tonnage) of manganese would not necessarily have been increased, but the **revenue** derived from the processing of manganese to produce the ferro-manganese in this country would have been about 50 per cent greater than that derived from exporting the unprocessed manganese. On the other hand, had the Birim Diamond Dredging Project been implemented, the **output** of diamonds would have increased by 50 per cent, and so on. I think it is a pity that nothing has been done about the ferro-manganese project, and that little or no progress has been made on the Birim Dredging Scheme. Personally, I do not find anything wrong or fictitious about these projects.

**Certain misleading statements**

9. Mr. Quashie states that "five years ago, the Ashanti Goldfields Corporation asked permission to prospect for certain minerals in the Winneba district". This proposal, Mr. Quashie claims, "was turned down because at that time it was felt that the State Mining Corporation would be able to conduct this mineral exploration". This is incorrect. The fact is that the Ashanti Goldfields did prospect before 1962, for such minerals as molybdenum, tin, lead and beryl, which occur in the Winneba area, but did not find these in economic quantities; so the project was abandoned. Within the same area, however, the Geological Survey has completed the evaluation of the spodumene-bearing pegmatites which may now be of economic importance.

10. Matters such as the "renegotiation of consessions by the Ashanti Goldfields", when the company has almost twenty years to go; "African Manganese Company's few areas of proven reserves and deposits of large manganese carbonate for smelting", and the "development of alumina in view of the aluminium smelting by Valco at Tema", may all be interesting to the reading public, though Government officials and the companies directly involved may find them rather amusing, because of over-simplification and the apparent lack of depth in which these matters were dealt with in the article. Unfortunately, the Director of Geological Survey cannot discuss them publicly because of their confidential aspects. It can only be said that these matters have been dealt with thoroughly by the Government.

11. Mr. Quarshie has stated that "the turn-over of professional men in the department has been very alarming and that an investigation should be conducted to find out the reasons of this appalling situation". What are the facts? The number of Ghanaian geologists in 1962 just before the present Director took over was 5. The present number of Ghanaian geologists in the department is 14, and the number of geologists who have left the department since 1962 is 4, including Mr. Quashie himself. It is absurd for anyone to state that this is "very alarming'. With several good jobs outside the Geological Survey Department which are not as exacting as service with the Department, it is gratifying to know that so many Ghanaian Geologists have chosen to remain with the Geological Survey Department.

**Resignation of Expatriate Geologists**

12. As far as expatriate geologists are concerned the general complaint for the past years since 1962 had been the conditions of service. For instance, when Government decided to reduce mileage allowance from 7d to 3d in 1963, all the field geologists protested strongly against this and as a result eight expatriates left at the end of their respective tours. Many people are aware of the various difficulties placed in the way of expatriates working in this country, particularly in the Civil Service (from 1962 up to February, 1966), which included restrictions on family remittances, transfer of savings and gratuities, lack of essential foods and equipment for work, etc. These were some of the reasons that made these expatriates leave. It should be borne in mind that this happened in all Government departments which employed expatriate officers. The Geological Survey was no exception.

13. The Geological Survey Department has regularly sought foreign awards for young Ghanaian Geologists for further studies, with the view to obtaining the B.Sc. honours degree or the Master of Science degree. Since the present Director took over as head of the Geological Survey Department, more than 7 awards have been granted for overseas training, and this year alone another three awards are pending approval.

14. It should be noted that the Geological Survey Department is part of the Civil Service and it is just not possible for Government to give the department separate conditions of service for geologists. Nevertheless, since 1962, the salary of geologists in the department has been raised from NC1,400 to NC1,840 at the point of entry. Government has been made aware of the special difficulties facing the department, particularly the shortage of geologists and the difficult conditions under which geologists work in the field. Some significant improvement has been made as a result of these representations. For instance, the department now has 15 caravans which are used, instead of tents, by field geologists who are compelled to work long periods in the bush. With the exception of Accra, geologists can easily find accommodation in Government rest houses and bungalows wherever they happen to be stationed in the country. However, it is necessary to reconcile this with the fact that in geology field work cannot be avoided and the young geologist must be prepared to leave Accra, the headquarters, where only laboratory and administrative jobs are carried out, and periodically rough it out in the "bush".

15. Mr. Quashie's final statement that geologists "leave the Department because they are very dissatisfied with the way the present Director is running the affairs of the Department" is a personal attack. I shall resist the temptation of commenting on it except to state that it would have been more constructive on Mr. Quashie's part if, in the light of his short experience in the Department, he offered considered suggestions as to how the administration of the Department could be improved.

## Book Review

**GUGGISBERG**
**(R. E. Wraith, O.U.P., 1967**
Price 47/- or NC 4.70)
Reviewed by
**K. A. B. Jones-Quartey**

RONALD Wraith's book on Guggisberg came out during the 40th year since the death of J. E. Kwegyir Aggrey, the exact anniversary* of which has just been observed in Accra. The book thus intensified recently reawakened memories of "The Triumvirate", a team of men and a combination of talents which Wraith describes as having been unique; a team of such compelling attraction as to be a constant whet to the appetite of students of modern colonial history.

The Triumvirate are of course Guggisberg, Fraser, and Aggrey—the "Three Horsemen" of Achimota—who, with the publication of Wraith's book, are now "fully"chronicled. Aggrey's biography was published in the same decade as his death (**Aggrey of Africa,** by Edwin Smith, 1929), and **Fraser of Trinity and Achimota,** by W. E. F. Ward, came out in 1965—a whole generation later, however. The chronicle is not really full, and will not be so until after 1980, when the official records on Guggisberg are thrown open to the public after the 50 years prescribed under English Law. Thus Wraith's biography, as he warns us himself, is only satisfying for general purposes, not for those of **political** study and analysis. However, as a general biography **Guggisberg** is satisfying indeed.

Here and there in the book many a Ghanaian will smart with pain as Wraith unblinkingly pulls out first one prop and then another from under the pedestal, causing the idol to lean this way and that; here and there a Ghanaian reader may even get angry with the author and say "Oh, go to hell! 'Gojjie' was this and wasn't that; he wasn't quite the man we thought he was... So what! He was our man. We loved him..." For even Wraith, who gives what he considers to be full value to the feelings of surviving Ghanaians for Gordon Guggisberg, cannot really even begin to plumb the depths of those feelings.

If the truth must be estimated, it would very likely be found to be that most Ghanaians who lived in Guggisberg's day and still think along these lines at all would consider the late Governor as perhaps their only excuse for remembering colonialism with any kind or degree of charity. If for no other reason, this would be because, to them, it was only under men like Guggisberg that any African progress was possible in colonial times, **beyond purely utilitarian ends.** More than that: In seeking those marginal-plus-x results for his colonial wards, Guggisberg somehow made the later feel as if he was doing this out of genuine love and not mere charity. The qualifications and modifications which Ronald Wraith heard here and there in the Ghana of 1964 were expressions straight out of the book of Nkrumaist anti-imperialism, which was a special brand of that commodity. In post-February 1966 Wraith must have realised this, and must be wishing it had been posible for him to have redressed the balance back in Guggisberg's favour.

Yet Guggisberg **was** a dyed-in-the-wool conservative, a true "imperialist", as Wraith amply shows. He was, moreover, massively inferior to his brilliant predecessor in the Gold Coast Governorship, in intellect, administrative experience, grasp, and personal stature. In addition, Hugh Clifford, the man in question, had bequeathed much to Guggisberg which the latter, to make matters worse, did not fairly acknowledge but upon which he nevertheless built the super-structure of his own reputation and image. Plans for educational improvement which under Guggisberg resulted in the dazzling edifice of Achimota Secondary School, medical service ideas which he turned into Korle-Bu Hospital, and communication projects which quickly materialised into Takoradi Harbour, roads, and railway installations under Guggisbergs engineering skill and enthusiasm—all these had been blueprinted in somebody else's mind or on parchment paper long before Guggisberg came to the Gold Coast. He was only the lucky, even if also the gifted and determined, executor of ancient plans. Yet again, what of it? Says Wraith (page 73):

> Guggisberg has been overpraised as an originator. His virtues lay rather in a fantastic capacity for work, an orderly and systematic approach to his problems, and a drive and determination which could impress itself upon the stolid bureaucracies of the Colonial Office and the Secretariat. His most original qualities, **worth all the rest,** were an obsessional belief in the potentialities of the people whom he governed, coupled with a flair for putting himself across and appearing to them as the embodiment of their own aspirations. He gave

* The correct date of the anniversary is July 30 (1927). The commemorative Symposium staged in Accra was on Monday, July 31, but only because of the inconvenience of Sunday.

his governorship glamour, and this enabled him to achieve more than many abler men. It was more valuable in the Gold Coast of his time than a university training in the intellectual disciplines, or a deep experience of 'political administration' (emphasis mine).

which of course Hugh Clifford had and he (Guggisberg) didn't. Guggisberg was limited in precisely the ways in which Clifford was outstanding. Besides that he was, as Wraith convinces us, extremely self-willed, overbearing and schoolmasterish, theatrical, and not a little vain—especially with his advantage of dark and disturbing good looks. All this is proved by the record: Of Achimota School, for instance, he decreed:

> . . . the internal administration and economy will be entirely in the hands of a carefully selected headmaster, who will be directly responsible to the Governor.

In the Legislative Council, Guggisberg always gave exhaustive and exhausting reviews of the achievements—his achievements, that is—of the past year, with longer reviews of longer periods interspersed between the hardy annuals. He was more often in full-dress uniform than any Governor before him, or since; and his "theatricality" was perhaps never more in evidence (although the author does not choose this as his example) than the picture of him resting his right hand on the left shoulder of Aggrey, who was standing one step below Guggisberg at the picture-taking ceremony following the formal opening of Achimota. (The Governor's unconverted countrymen must silently have consigned him to perdition at this unnatural and tasteless display of overt paternalism—even if this were no more than paternalism.)

But, when all this has been said—to which add Guggisberg's limitations in his social attitudes towards his "wards rather than [his] friends" ("Equal citizenship can be obtained without the social equality which the extremists say is essential to a full and free life . . .")—when all this has been said, it would still remain true that in spite of his faults and shortcomings Gordon Guggisberg achieved more for the Gold Coast of his day than perhaps any other colonial governor in any other colony in modern times. At any rate in the short time in which he did it.

It was not just that he conceived and built Achimota, fructified Takoradi from long-standing plans (1895), created Korle-Bu, Africa's finest "native" hospital in its own generation and the next, and built roads and railways that were better than most in black Africa; it was not just that he pursued African education with passionate zeal, brought elective representation here for the first time, in 1925/26 (though Clifford had anticipated him years before in Nigeria: 1920), and that he promoted "Africanization", even if in the primitive form which it was bound to take in those days; . . .it was also that he had achieved all this in defiance of chronic Colonial Office conservatism of the pernicious kind, and in face of disapproval, exasperation, opposition, and official despair, as well as of local indifference and apathy on the part of his own countrymen. It was, finally, that if Hugh Clifford for instance, could be said to have been in advance of his time in ideas and intentions, Gordon Guggisberg was for his part a veritable revolutionary in practical achievements.

Earlier in his career—1919 – 1922—Guggisberg had been pushed into a display of the kind of traditionalism and conservatism of which he too was undoubtedly seized. He played a leading part with Sir Hugh Clifford (then in Nigeria) and with the Gold Coast's own Nana Ofori Atta, in the act of rejection of Casely Hayford's West African Congress movement. But whereas Clifford acted from spite and contempt, and Ofori Atta from anger and alarm at the threat to the chiefly class, Guggisberg's reactions were more those of disappointment and hurt: ". . . in his general benevolence towards the Gold Coast people he might have accepted the position more in sorrow than in anger had it not been for the activities of Ofori Atta, who certainly viewed it more in anger than in sorrow." (**Guggisberg,** p. 170).

But Guggisberg would not have given way to Ofori Atta—indeed **he did not give way to Ofori Atta**—if it were not for the fact that he was himself a convinced royalist and would have understood the then incipient struggle between the old traditional elite and the new political intelligentsia only in royalist, **imperial** terms. This was both the nature and the basis of Guggisberg's conservatism and "imperialism". It was the **imperial** half of it that enthralled him, not the "ism". And it was the grandeur and protective possibilities of **imperium,** rather than of 19th and early-20th century imperialism, that made real African progress a realistic programme for this one white man.

How utterly ironic and contemptible of fate, therefore, that Guggisberg should have died in disgraceful poverty in an obscure corner of England, the victim of callous rule-books and Whitehall "calm and orderliness"! He was in other ways a tragic figure, especially in the ways of two disastrous marriages which his own complex personality and difficult nature did not help to sweeten. The first was with a 17-year-old child, the second to a stage actress and woman of the world. Both extremes lived up to their fatalistic potentialities, with the husband the common denominator and common precipitant to disaster.

And how satisfying it was that the "discoverer" of Aggrey and therefore—on that basis alone—the Bringer of Good Tidings to the Gold Coast, should have been rescued from the obscurity of an unmarked grave by Aggrey's countrymen, "acting" through one of "Gojjie's" old friends and one-time political stablemate, the First Ofori Atta! It was through Nana Ofori Atta's initiative that a decent tombstone was later erected at the grave.

To The Everlasting Memory of
GOVERNOR SIR GORDON GUGGISBERG,
who died in 1930 at Bexhill.
This Memorial was Erected By The
Paramount Chiefs And People of
The Gold Coast and Ashanti.

## Tribute

### TRIBUTE TO ALBERT JOHN LUTHULI: 1898—1967

*By*

*J. A. Peasah*

ALBERT JOHN LUTHULI, according to his own calculation, was born in 1898 in Rhodesia of Zulu Christian parentage. His Zulu name was Mvumbi meaning "continuous rain", an appropriate name for one who was later to give "water" to the thirsty and the suffering.

Luthuli's father was John Bunyan, the second son of Chief Ntaba Luthuli of Groutville, a town named after the American, Aldin Grout, leader of American Congregational Missionaries. John Bunyan (as the name speaks for itself) was a devout christian of the Seventh Day Adventist persuasion, who had gone to Rhodesia initially to serve with the Rhodesian forces in the Matabele wars but later turned an evangelist and interpreter. Albert John Luthuli was, therefore, born into a christian and royal family, though not by any means a rich and pretentious one.

The early death of his father was to make his humble life far from comfortable. Through the combined efforts of his uncle, Chief Martin Luthuli, and his mother, Mtonya Gumede, Albert got the little formal education that he had at Edendale Institute and then at Adams College, where he trained as a teacher. Despite a bursary award, the poverty of his family prevented him from entering the College of Fort Hare where he could have read for a degree. Such was the formal educational background of the man, who was to be the first African ever to be awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.

What drew Luthuli into politics and world fame was not the desire for power or wealth but a profound concern for his fellow men. It took two years to persuade him accept his election as Umtovi in 1936, thus leaving behind the work he loved—teaching at Adams College.

Could Luthuli have avoided involvement in politics? His uncle, Martin Luthuli, had founded the Natal Native Congress in 1901; Dr. John Dube, his own teacher was the first President-General of the South African Native National Congress, while he himself had been Secretary of the Natal African Teachers' Association and had founded the Zulu Language and Cultural Society in order to help preserve Zulu and African culture. It was no surprise that in 1945, he joined the Natal African National Congress in order to save the Congress from collapse as a result of the weak health of Dr. John Dube. As a recognition of his sterling qualities, in 1946 he was made a member of the Native Representative Council, which he aptly described as a "toy telephone". In fact, membership of the Native Representative Council was to him a curtain-raiser. For, as a member of the council and as a chief, he was enabled to have a very clear insight into the plight of the African in South Africa.

When, therefore, he became President of the Natal African National Congress in 1951 and President-General of the African National Congress of South Africa in 1952 (a post the acceptance of which made the South African Government dismiss him from his position as a chief), he knew more than most people what the South African scene involved. By 1952, therefore, in his own words, he had resolved thus:

> "Laws and conditions that tend to debase human personality—a God-given force—be they brought about by the State or other individuals, must be relentlessly opposed . . . As for myself, with a full sense of responsibility and a clear conviction, I decided to remain in the struggle for extending democratic rights and responsibilities to all sections of the South African Community. . ."

He had already described the 1910 Act of Union as "an act of piracy in which the lives and strength of ten million Africans are part of the loot." The Bantustans, to him, were "destitute reservoirs of cheap labour" and the chiefs were puppets of the apartheid regime.

Luthuli's ambition was to create a community of all peoples in South Africa, while extricating the African from bondage. In the pursuance of this ambition, he unflinchingly led the Defiance Campaign of 1952; he had to face a treason trial in 1956; he was, though not by any means a Communist, banished under the heinous and nefarious "suppression of Communism Act" in 1959 when his qualities and rational methods drew together thousands of peoples of every colour and creed, and his reputation in South Africa was at its peak. In recognition of his peaceful and persistent pursuit of justice in the face of unspeakable hardship and victimisation, he was fittingly awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for 1960, and made Rector of Glasgow University in 1964.

On 21st. July 1967, the man, who, according to a keen observer of the South African scene, would, in a democratic environment, have been Prime Minister of South Africa, died, struck by a train driver, struck by his shameless arch enemies. His body is no more. But, an "immortal" mortal, Albert John Luthuli's spirit lives on to haunt the wicked and encourage the just. May He Rest in Peace.