

## BUCHBESPRECHUNGEN

STEPHEN CLISSOLD

**Latin America. New World, Third World**

London, Pall Mall Press 1972, 394 S., 5,— £

Es wäre töricht, eine umfassende und erschöpfende Darstellung aller historischen, politischen, sozialen Dimensionen Lateinamerikas zu erwarten. Einen solchen „Gegenstand“ eines Buches von knapp 400 Seiten gibt es nicht. Clissold ist zu intelligent und belesen, um einen solchen falschen Anspruch zu erheben. Sein Buch ist eine im Ziel bescheidenere Einführung in die Probleme Lateinamerikas, die dem Studenten oder Nichtkenner empfohlen sei. — Der erste Teil des Buches ist historisch konzipiert und skizziert die altamerikanischen Kulturen und die iberischen Eroberungen und Überlagerungen bis zur Erlangung der staatlichen Unabhängigkeit. Der 2. Teil beschreibt (jeweils auf 4—15 Seiten) die 20 lateinamerikanischen Republiken. Der letzte Teil schließlich sucht die „lateinamerikanische Szene“ unter systematischen Aspekten von soziologischen und politologischen Ansätzen her zu erfassen. Clissold behandelt in traditionellem Stile die Sozialstruktur (Eliten, Mittelsektor, städtische Arbeiterschaft, verschiedene ethnische Gruppen), Institutionen (Hacienda-System, Kirche, Militär, Universitäten, Gewerkschaften), Wirtschaftsprobleme, politische Kräfte (Verfassungen, Caudillos, Präsidenten, Regierungen, Parlamente, Parteien verschiedener Richtungen), „patterns of thought and culture“, sowie interamerikanische und internationale Beziehungen. Mehr als eine wenn auch intelligente und faktenreiche Einführung kann damit nicht erreicht werden. Außer einer Bibliographie und Zeittafel ist noch ein Glossarium gängiger Begriffe aus dem Spanischen, Portugiesischen und Quechua als nützliches Hilfsmittel zu erwähnen.

Knud Krakau

DIETRICH GOLDMANN

**Ghana — Staatsverwaltung und Stammesstruktur. Eine Analyse des ghanesischen Verwaltungsaufbaus seit 1874.**

Carl Heymanns Verlag, Köln, 1971. Pp. 260 S.

Dr. Goldmann's book, which was originally presented in 1971 as a doctoral thesis at the University of Hamburg, is mainly concerned with the development of the system of administration in Ghana since 1874 when the British laid down its bases. The author examines the precolonial system, distinguishing between peoples without central authority and those with centrally organized power structures. Among the various systems he examines is that of Ashanti where the King ruled in a fairly democratic manner despite his great authority over the subordinate chiefs. At any rate, he could not be described as an autocrat since he consulted all the other chiefs before taking important decisions. He maintained diplomatic relations with outside powers, for example, with Sokoto and he usually had his representatives on the coast of Ghana to negotiate with the Danish, Dutch and British authorities. A certain amount of specialization of administrative functions was already in existence in Ashanti as well as other parts of the country and indeed signs of bureaucratization could be discerned.

British colonial rule created, to a large extent, an African intelligentsia but refused to offer them the chance of exercising any influence within the system. They could occupy subaltern posts in the administration but the higher posts were reserved for Europeans, who due to the climatic conditions were not available in any great number. But the few who were there formed exclusive social clubs to which no Africans were admitted. Traditional authority was subordinated to the colonial system and under the principle of indirect rule, made famous by Lord Lugard, matters of minor importance were left in the hands of the chiefs to enable colonial officials to concentrate on matters deemed vital for the maintenance of British domination. Territorial and administrative boundaries were arbitrarily drawn, paying no regard to national boundaries of the various peoples. Indeed, the boundaries quite often cut across ethnic groups and villages, leaving to independent Ghana points of irritation and quarrels with her neighbours, Ivory Coast, Togo, and Upper Volta.

Dr. Goldmann examines in detail the position of the Governor, the Legislative Council, and the various reforms made since 1946 to prepare Ghana for self-government and independence. Much of the friction between civil servants and politicians may be attributed to the British policy which sought to keep public officials above politics, i. e. confine them to the tasks of administration and to isolate them from the movement for self-government. Many would agree with Goldmann when he states: "Nicht nur die Beamtenschaft besaß Vorbehalte gegenüber den Politikern: die Politiker mißtrauten auch der Beamtenschaft, was über die Unabhängigkeit hinaus fortwirkte." (p. 148). Apart from such lack of trust between civil servants and politicians, Ghana inherited from the colonial regime other characteristics such as corruption and excessive centralization. British officials were not personally involved in corrupt practices but on the lower levels of administration, corruption was normal and had become a way of life. This is not surprising, considering the subversive and corrupting influence of European ideas and practices on the traditional African culture.

Goldmann's book is a mine of information about Ghanaian administrative problems and it is not possible in a short review to do full justice to his diligence. We would however like to make a few comments on his discussion of the term "tribe" and on the language problem in Ghana.

The author discusses the term "tribe" fully aware that it evokes different images in different minds but surprisingly declares that his usage of the term is functional and "wertfrei". One may doubt whether such terms which have acquired unpleasant associations can ever be value-free. They form part of the vocabulary of persons who are conscious of its connotations and its historical significance. Goldmann stresses the importance of tribal feeling and consciousness and states that the separatist movements in Ghana were of tribal origin. We would like to suggest that these movements, led by politicians who had their own ambitions, used the existence of different nationalities in the country to further their own ends. It seems very easy for many authors to overlook the fact that the C. P. P. had large numbers of Ashantis in its ranks, even though the main opposition to Nkrumah was centred in Ashanti. The author's conception and use of the term "tribe" ("Stamm") is sometimes disturbing. He declares that the existence of tribal consciousness in Ghana cannot be doubted and goes on to support this by citing the dispute concerning the chieftaincy in Yendi in 1969: "Zu den letzten Stammesunruhen wegen eines Streites um die Nachfolge eines Stammesoberhauptes

kam es im September 1969 im Gebiet von Yendi, wobei 27 Menschen getötet und über 40 verletzt worden sein sollen.” (p. 11, note 2). The impression created here is that persons of different nationalities or tribes are involved in a minor war concerning chieftaincy. The obvious contradiction here seems to have escaped the author. Chieftaincy belongs to one nation or tribe and when there is any dispute concerning succession, it does not involve, directly, persons of other nations but fractions within the same nation. What the author has done here would be like describing struggles concerning the chancellorship in Germany as evidence of nationalism.

It is a pity that Goldmann ends his book on a topic which deserves more than the cursory treatment he offers, namely the language question in Ghana. As he correctly states, English remains the language of administration even after independence. Indeed, during the struggle for independence no voices were heard demanding the replacement of this foreign language by an African language. Here the author could have asked a few questions. Besides serving as an integrating factor, English serves as a tool for the domination of the masses by the elite. This explains to a great extent why nobody speaks against the use of a foreign language which is understood only by a tiny minority in the country. It is plain that the elite in Ghana, as in many other African countries, owe their position and prestige to their mastery of the English language and their acquisition or assimilation of English culture. Ability to use English can be used as a criterion for determining the class allegiance of many Ghanaians. Those who have imbibed English culture, with all its contempt for other languages, are hardly in a position to advocate its replacement by an African language. Indeed the idea has seldom occurred to the ruling elite.

Goldmann who is concerned with public administration could have asked himself how administrative policies made in English, and generally not translated into Ghanaian languages, are effectively implemented and at what cost. That injustice necessarily forms part of such a system needs hardly to be mentioned. How will a poor peasant with no idea of English be able to insist on his rights, and get justice from administrators who are generally contemptuous of him because of his background and inability to speak English? Mastery of English is the privilege of those selected few who have the chance to attend English-speaking schools in Ghana. An examination of the background of the civil servants (and incidentally of the lawyers, doctors, professors, etc.) would demonstrate beyond doubt the relationship of class and language in Ghana. When one considers that through the acquisition and use of a language certain definite world-views are transmitted, then the mutual re-inforcement of language, class, and ideology becomes obvious. But these are more the problems for the Ghanaian elite than for Dr. Goldmann whose detailed study offers outsiders an insight into problems of public administration in Ghana.

Kwame Opoku

MELVIN GURTOV

**China and Southeast Asia — The Politics of Survival**

D. C. Heath and Co., Lexington, Mass., Toronto, London, 1971, xiii, 234 Seiten

Entsprechend der Analyse der Innenpolitik Chinas gibt es eine Art Wellentheorie der chinesischen Außenpolitik. Demzufolge folgte Peking nach der Machtkonsoli-