At first sight, this candidate's essay did not suggest that it would be quite good enough for a prize. On further examination, it revealed many qualities which were often lacking in some other essays: the writer was obviously expressing the results of her own reading and her own reactions to it, and she made a persistent effort throughout to draw serious comparisons and contrasts.

The essay was so obviously "her own" was opposed to a reproduction of undigested pamphlets, and her determination to do what the question asked was refreshing.

She is therefore recommended for a prize and placed 5th in my final assessment.
"Compare and contrast the political, social and economic development since 1945 of any two Commonwealth countries."

This essay deals with Ghana and Pakistan.

Name: Phillida Burgess
Date of Birth: [redacted]
School: Cheltenham Ladies' College

A list of headings to summarise the essay:

1. A summary of the political development of both countries since 1945.
2. The natural resources of both Ghana and Pakistan.
3. The Volta River Project in Ghana.
4. The Ghanaian Industrial Development Corporation.
5. Harbour development in Ghana.
6. The Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation.
7. Broadcasting services in both countries.
8. Ghanaian Five Year Plans.
9. Pakistan's Five Year Plans.
10. The importance of trade and methods of encouraging exports.
11. The social background of both Ghana and Pakistan.
12. Recent political events in Ghana.
13. The original statement of Pakistan's foreign policy.
Both Ghana and Pakistan are members of the British Commonwealth of Nations, and both have recently achieved independence, the former in 1952, and the latter in 1947. When Pakistan gained independence it was a 'new-fangled' but by 1962 it was becoming quite common. Pakistan tried to work a parliamentary, i.e. Government and Opposition, system of Government, but the major party, the Muslim League, broke up, and Parliament degenerated into a series of cliques, all struggling for office. It resembled the French parliament rather than the British, and there was the same instability of Government, leading to administrative deterioration and a failure to improve the economy. Like Pakistan, Ghana tried to run on a parliamentary system, but the difference is that the major party (Convention Peoples Party, led by Dr. Nkrumah) did not break up, and in fact grew stronger, as the Congress Party did in India. Ghana therefore has a much greater stability than Pakistan, where the failure to keep a stable Government was such that in 1958 the President, Sikander Mirza, proclaimed martial law and suspended the constitution. A little later the Army removed Sikander, and now runs Pakistan under its old Commander-in-Chief, Ayub Khan. This contrasts with Ghana, which, although transformed into a republic last year, has been effectively run by one man for the last eight years, and looks like continuing to be so in the absence of an effective opposition. Since 1957 there has been a tremendous concentration of authority in the hands of the central Government. Penal laws of treason and sedition, power for police to investigate crimes against the state, reduced powers of regional assemblies, preventive detention without trial, and suspension of chiefs have all been brought in to enforce this.

Ghana reached independence three years before any other West African state—
but this is not the only thing that has been happening in the country. It has been going through a rapid economic revolution, and for most people, both of these seem to be identified with the state, the state with the Government, and the Government with Dr. Nkrumah. This unity is not felt throughout Pakistan, since the interests of Pakistan East might well diverge from the general Pakistani line towards India, and Afghanistan is definitely interested in Pathan separation.

Both Ghana and Pakistan are primary producers, and all primary producers want to industrialise. Pakistan exports jute, cotton and hides, but Ghana produces mainly cocoa. The difference is that Ghana embarked on independence with considerable accumulated balances, which Pakistan did not. Pakistan has a great difficulty in the vast overpopulation of the Eastern block. According to the most recent census there are eighty million people living in Pakistan, compared with six million in Ghana. Apart from a little oil in the West the mineral resources are non-existent, and the only significant products are cotton, sugar, cement, woolens and light consumer goods. Whereas Ghana is relatively wealthy, Pakistan is always on the edge of disaster, with very limited resources available for investment. The only scope in this country is in water power, but Ghana is rich in natural resources and is well balanced between agriculture (cocoa) and minerals (especially gold). Each ounce of gold provides 75 dollars towards closing the gap, and in 1958 Ghana produced 8,42113 ounces. Gold is not the only mining asset in Ghana. Manganese is vital in the manufacture of alloys, especially in the steel industry, and Ghana is one of the largest producers of Manganese in the Commonwealth, with an export figure of 540,000 tons in 1958. Even more valuable is the export of industrial diamonds. These are
Production of cocoa.

New seedlings will bear cocoa in three years.

Insect-borne diseases are checked by spraying.

The cocoa pods are split to obtain the beans.
The beans are fermented under banana leaves.

They are then packed for export.

*Graph showing world production of cocoa beans in millions of pounds.*
The forests, rich in mahogany and other valuable hardwoods, provide one of Ghana's main sources of revenue.

The great sawmill at Samrobi is a busy example of the country's timber industry, largely developed since the war. A million cubic feet of logs are exported every month, a large quantity to the United States.
found in the eastern and western regions, being worked by both mining companies and by African producers.

Molten gold being poured into ingots, which, after cocoa, form the country’s most valuable export.

The lack of Pakistani natural resources has not encouraged foreign investment, and she has therefore sought to strengthen her position by securing economic assistance from the U.S.A. against grants of facilities for use of air bases in Pakistan. Ghana has attracted a great deal of foreign interest with her Volta River Scheme for using hydroelectric power to produce aluminium from bauxite. Briefly, the plan involves building a dam and hydroelectric power station at Awe on the Volta. This would provide electricity for a large scale aluminium industry and other purposes. Local bauxite from a vast deposit two hundred miles away is to be used to feed an aluminium smelter which aims at an eventual annual output of 210,000 tons. At the same time, the huge lake – over three thousand square miles – which will be formed will open up
new possibilities for fisheries and inland water transport, and could provide water for irrigation in the Accra plains. Apart from this £G 100 million project there is a £G 150 million industrial development programme. The Industrial Development Plan is being carried out by the Government Industrial Development Corporation (I.D.C.) which was established in 1947. This at first functioned virtually as a loans board, but since 1953 it has placed increasing emphasis on the development of large scale industries. Until March 1968 the I.D.C. had spent almost £G 1 million on promoting new industries, one of the most successful of which is the cigarette factory at Takoradi, producing fifty million cigarettes monthly. Other local productions are beer, soft drinks, wire nails, cigars, and edible oils.

The harvesting of coconuts and production of copra is one of the oldest industries along the coast.
The Volta River Project.

A model of the projected dam and power station for the Volta River Project, which if carried out will eventually produce 210,000 tons of aluminium a year, bringing Ghana a new income equivalent to all its exports, other than cocoa, put together.
There is also a thriving pottery industry, which has been in operation since 1951, and is being expanded.

The potter’s wheel is a recent introduction.

Women in Kpandu make perfectly circular pots by hand.
The expansion of the main road system has been given priority among the development projects during the last eight years. The completion in 1956 of the bridge over the Volta at Accro, one of the largest bridges in Africa, was a major step forward not only in linking two parts of the country previously served by ferries, but also in the construction of the new Eastern trunk route from Accra in the south to Bawku in the north.

The road-building programme is the biggest single item of expenditure in the 1951-1957 Development Plan.

By 1957 the country had three thousand miles of secondary roads, plus 1,360 miles of tarred roads. This includes the Accra-Kumasi-Tamale-Bolgatanga route - the main artery of the 92,000 sq. mile territory. Pakistan at the same time had 63,390 miles of road in its 364,740 sq. miles of territory.
The 805-foot Volta bridge at Adomi has greatly improved communications between Accra and Togoland.
All timber exports are handled at Takoradi Harbour, built in 1928, and recently extended.

The power station at the newly developing port of Tema is the latest addition to the country's electricity resources.
Unlike Pakistan, which is served by Karachi, Chittagong and Chalna, Ghana has no natural harbour. The only harbour facilities are at Takoradi, where there is a deep water harbour within artificially constructed breakwaters, and, to a lesser extent, at Accra, where a small breakwater provides shelter for seagoing and lighters. The need for a new port to serve the Eastern side of the country has long been recognised, and after careful investigation Tema, seventeen miles east of Accra, was chosen in 1952. Work was begun in 1954, and it is planned to enclose about five hundred acres of deep water between two breakwaters, and to include a gringer quay for your ocean-going ships. A fishing harbour and ancillary works are also under construction.

Like Ghana, Pakistan has set up an organisation known as the Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation, with the same functions as its counterpart in Ghana. It had, however, a much more difficult job, since when independence came to Pakistan in 1947 she inherited a purely agrarian economy, and there was practically no industry existing in the country. The Corporation was set up by the Government on January 12th, 1952, in order to carry out a programme of industrialisation by promoting new industries based on the available raw materials. It was entrusted with the development of jute, paper, heavy engineering, ship-building, heavy chemicals, sugar, cement, textiles, and power from the natural gas. By the beginning of 1960 the Corporation had completed, either alone or in association with private capital, about forty-six industrial projects.
These include fourteen jute mills, three paper board mills, two shipyards, a dockyard, a caustic soda plant, two D.D.T. plants, two cement factories, a sulphuric acid plant, a super phosphate plant, the Makewal coal mines, five sugar mills, four ginning factories, three wooden mills, the 654 mile Sui-Karachi and Sui-Multan natural gas pipeline, and a resin and turpentine factory.

The Corporation has also under execution eighteen more projects involving a capital outlay of one thousand million rupees. These projects include two natural gas fertilizer factories, one penicillin factory, the development of the Gulakhel-Mallakhel coal mines, and the extension of "Maplebeat" and "ZealPark" cement factories.
<table>
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<th>Crop</th>
<th>Area 000 Acres</th>
<th>Yield 000 Tons</th>
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<tr>
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<td>303</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>TOBACCO</td>
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</table>
Both Ghana and Pakistan have good broadcasting services, in English as well as several local languages. That of Pakistan has developed from three low-powered medium wave transmitters in 1947 to seventeen high-powered short and medium wave transmitters in 1958, and from twenty-seven hours of daily broadcasts to one hundred and thirty-five hours.

Since the last war Ghana has had two Five-year Development plans, financed primarily by contributions from the revenues of cocoa. The first post-war plan was revised in 1951 and £50.9 million were spent on development between 1951-1955. The agricultural service was reequipped to a nationwide standard. A large part of the main road network was brought up to contemporary standard, and new feeder roads brought many areas into the national economy for the first time. The railway system was in process of modernization and the new port at Tema was under construction. Power and water supplies were brought up to urban demands and were soon to be available for industrial development. By 1955 the education system had almost achieved its aim of universal, free primary education, and had established a large part of the new national system of secondary and higher education.
In the rural areas, innumerable villages had had their conditions of life transformed by the activities of medical field units or local government committees.

Medical field units operate in remote areas, examining and treating endemic diseases such as yaws and sleeping sickness.

With the establishment of local and district councils, and regional development committees, a permanent system for rural development had been created.
The University College at Legon, near Accra, is still expanding, but has already established standards equivalent to those at London University.

The £2,000,000 hospital at Kumasi, the most modern in the country, incorporates a nurses’ training school.
Community development, encouraged by the chiefs, plays an important part in the improvement of village life.

Apart from the building of roads and other amenities, there are classes on housewifery, nutrition and child care.
The second plan was started on July 1st, 1959, with the slogan “Self-help develops the people.” This plan includes campaigns to improve farming, water supplies, communications, animal husbandry, and mass education. Dr. Nkrumah said “In embarking on a development plan of this magnitude we are very much aware of the part other countries have played, in the provision of technical skill and capital investment, to bring our economy to its present sound position...... We therefore look to the future with confidence, in the belief that we can retain the trust that foreign investors have reposed in Ghana...... the foreign investor will be assured that his business is built on a sure foundation and in an atmosphere of economic tranquility.” This statement has, however, been subject to recent scepticism, since some foreign businesses, for example Barclays Bank, have been given notice that they must terminate their business in the country during the next few years. With the growth of nationalism and rise in world prices industrialisation is boosted by the Ghanaian desire to improve standards of living, to set the population to work, to acquire prestige, and, above all, to avoid economic dependence.

“The encouragement of private enterprise in all sectors is the firm policy of the Pakistan Government”, said the Minister for Industries, inaugurating the first Annual General Meeting of the Federation of Pakistan Chambers of Commerce and Industry at Karachi on August 16th, 1960. This is apparently true, since an organized effort is being made to encourage the undertaking of social welfare work by the people, and to instil in them a sense of responsibility and self-help. With the advent of the Revolutionary Government social welfare and national reconstruction have received added impetus.
Like Ghana, Pakistan has Five-Year plans, 1955–1960 and 1960–1965. Whereas in Ghana the emphasis lies on development in education in Pakistan the emphasis was put on development in agriculture. The agrarian character of the economy is underlined by the fact that, despite the doubling of income from mining and manufacturing since 1950, agriculture still accounts for 57% of the total national income. The vulnerability inherent in dependence on an agricultural economy has, however, been reduced to some extent since independence, and a greater balance imparted to the economy through industrial development.

\[\text{Washing jute in East Pakistan}\]
By the first plan Rs. 10,500 million were to be spent, of which Rs. 1,505 million were to be on forestry and fisheries, animal husbandry, colonization and rural development. Irrigation, reclamation and drainage facilities were to be provided for nearly eight million acres of land, and installed power capacity increased by 570,000 KWs. Among the major schemes, besides the multi-purpose projects, were those for the natural gas power station at Multan, Sidhpur, and Sukkur thermal plants, Karachi Electric Supply, West Pakistan High Tension Grid, and transmission and distribution of electric supply in East Pakistan. Since water and power development is basic both to agriculture and industry Rs. 2,700 million were set aside for this purpose. The plan also recommended the establishment of a statutory public agency in each wing with comprehensive powers to deal with all water and power development problems, in consequence of which both provinces have established Water and Power Development Authorities.
In other fields emphasis is laid on transport and communications, housing and settlements, education and training, health, and social welfare.

Dargai Stream, with Power House of the Hydro-Electric Project in the background. West Pakistan.
Jabban Hydro-Electric Project - West Pakistan
A view of the Warsak Project when under construction, West Pakistan.
The Second Plan, which came into operation on July 1st, 1960, aimed at an increase of twenty per cent in the national income, besides achieving self-sufficiency in food, by the end of 1965. Foreign trade has acquired decisive importance in the context of the ever-growing need for foreign exchange to implement the plan, which calls for an overall expenditure of Rs. 19,000 million, of which Rs. 6,500 million have to be found in the form of foreign exchange. The Revolutionary Government has therefore launched a massive export promotion drive, providing several incentives for greater exports. A large number of raw materials have been placed on automatic import licenses in order to enable manufacturers to work to capacity and cut costs. An export bonus scheme has been introduced with the three-fold objective of increasing the profits of producers and traders, enabling the products to compete better with foreign products, and providing the industries with foreign exchange with which to purchase machinery. There is also an Import Duty Rebate System, under which exporters of manufactured goods can claim a refund on import duty of raw materials entering into products destined for export. This drive has produced a rise of 39% between July 1959 and June 1960 on the total value of exports for the previous year. With the money obtained from this export drive it is planned to maximise industrial production through the fullest utilisation of the installed industrial capacity. Extension of irrigation and power facilities, complete rehabilitation of railways, strengthening of other transport services, extension of educational facilities, particularly technical and vocational, and improvement of health and medical services figure prominently in the Plan. In a nutshell, the Second Five Year Plan is endeavouring to turn Pakistan into a welfare state.
Flowing through countryside that would otherwise have been arid, this canal on the Upper Indus River in West Pakistan is part of the world's largest irrigation system, feeding the plains of the Indus River Valley.

A United Nations team drilling a well near Quetta.
Basically, it may be said that Africa is new, whereas Asia is old. Pakistan looks back to the Mogul culture, which outshone that of Britain in the sixteenth century, and to the Indian Empire. Ghana looks back to a comparatively short civilisation at the Gold Coast – 'the white man's grave'. Pakistan also has a national religion, Islam, which the Muslims think is an improvement on Christianity. Consequently, they do not follow Western ideas completely. Africa is only recently emerging from tribalism by 'Europeanising' itself. Ghana is therefore an imitation of Western society in a way that Pakistan is not. Although Pakistan does not have the unity on the go-ahead drive of Ghana it is more of a nation.

One point of social comparison is found in the status of women in the two countries. The Islam religion requires that a woman be subject to her husband, and this prevents Pakistani women from taking any prominent role. In Ghana women have equal rights with men and can own money and property in their own name. They constitute a very wealthy part of the community and in Accra they have recently built a modern Roman Catholic church. They also form the backbone of the Convention People's Party in support of Nkrumah, who advocates a United Africa for the Africans and an African Military High Command. Supporting this policy came the announcement on November 28th, 1960, of a single Parliament for Ghana and the Mali Federation, and a long-term loan for Mali from Ghana. Whether this will provide an adequate replacement for the Ghana-Guinea union remains to be seen, but Ghana has certainly been spending her accumulations too quickly, and will need more austerity in future.
Nkrumah is determined to assert Ghanaian influence in world affairs, as well as African affairs, and the breaking off of diplomatic relations with Belgium on December 5th, 1960, typifies this policy. He is a leader in the Afro-Asian bloc so prominent in the United Nations.

Pakistan believes in collective security, and in 1954 joined with the U.S.A. in a Mutual Defence Assistance Agreement. The same year she made a pact with Turkey providing for closer collaboration in political, cultural and economic spheres. In 1955 Pakistan became a member of the Baghdad Pact (now called the Central Treaty Organization). She is a signatory of the Manila Treaty, bringing S.E.A.T.O. into existence, and of the Colombo Plan.

Quaid-i-Azam (Great Leader) Muhammad Ali Jinnah, founder of Pakistan, outlined Pakistani foreign policy in the following words: "We believe in principles of honesty and fair play in national and international dealings, and are prepared to make our utmost contribution to the promotion of peace and prosperity among the nations of the world. Pakistan will never be found lacking in extending its material and moral support to the oppressed and suppressed peoples of the world, and in upholding the principles of the United Nations Charter."

2,989 words
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