

**The Leadership/Education Nexus in the Development of Manya Krobo in Ghana 1939-1989. The Case of Oklemekuku Azzu Mate Kole**

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**Abstract**

The kind of governance and administration introduced in British West Africa in the 19<sup>th</sup> century was dubbed 'indirect rule'. It entailed the direct link of the colonial administration in London and the seat of government of a colony with the traditional rulers of the native states within the colony. Each native state was virtually self-supporting; it organized its own administration, collected revenue and initiated its own development plan. This was the system inherited by Oklemekuku Azzu Mate Kole when he became the paramount chief and *Konor* of the Manya Krobo state in the Gold Coast (Ghana) in June 1939.

In this paper we propose to demonstrate how the paramount chief's upbringing and education molded him into a charismatic, transformational leader who used both formal and informal education to develop a hitherto rural state into a progressive one which became a model for other native states in the Gold Coast to emulate.

Unfortunately the shift of political orientation and management by the new national government in 1951 led to the collapse of the vibrant and progressive rural economy. Meanwhile Oklemekuku Azzu Mate Kole's continued performance at the Legislative Assembly till 1954 and his service on relevant boards between 1966 and 1972 helped in attaining re-direction in various national issues to the benefit of all.

**Keywords:** Azzu Mate Kole; *Konor*; Manya Krobo; Education, Development; Transformational leadership; Environmental Management.

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### **Résumé**

Le type de gouvernance et d'administration introduit au 19<sup>ème</sup> siècle en Afrique occidentale britannique a été surnommé «administration indirecte». Il supposait un appui de l'administration coloniale à Londres et le siège du gouvernement d'une colonie aux chefs traditionnels des États indigènes au sein de la colonie. Chaque État indigène était pratiquement autonome : il organisait sa propre administration, récupérait des recettes et élaborait sa propre stratégie de développement. Ce fut le système hérité par Oklemekuku Azzu Mate Kole quand il est devenu le chef suprême et par Konor de l'État Manya Krobo dans la «Côte d'Or» en juin 1939. Dans cet article, nous proposons de démontrer comment l'éducation et la manière dont le chef suprême a été élevé ont fait de lui un dirigeant charismatique et porteur de changement qui s'est servi à la fois de son éducation formelle et informelle pour développer un état jusque-là rural en un État progressif qui est devenu un modèle à imiter pour d'autres États indigènes. Malheureusement, le changement de perspective politique et de gestion mené par le nouveau gouvernement national en 1951 a conduit à l'effondrement du caractère progressiste et dynamique de l'économie rurale. Entre-temps, le rendement continu d'Oklemekuku Azzu Mate Kole à l'Assemblée législative jusqu'à 1954 et son service au sein d'importants comités entre 1966 et 1972 ont contribué à la réorientation et restructuration de diverses questions nationales pour le bénéfice de tous.

### **Introduction**

The traditional state of Manya Krobo today bears close resemblance to the Manya Krobo state in the 1930s. Today, this state has been divided into separate political units made up of Upper Manya District and lower Manya Municipal Area (Fig1 &2) but both political units are under the leadership of a single paramount chief as in the twentieth century.

Oklemekuku Azzu Mate Kole (until 1989 was known as Nene\_Azzu Mate Kole) and his twin sister Mrs Florence Kudjiku were born in January, 1910, to

Sir Emmanuel Mate Kole, *Konor* of Manya Krobo and the wife, Madam Helena Kumasiyo. He was christened Fredrick Lawer Mate Kole.

He attended the Basel Mission Primary School at Odumase Krobo but moved in 1924 to the Scottish Mission Senior School at Ada under the tutelage of his brother-in-law, Mr. R.P. Djobanor. He finished his elementary school education successfully in 1927 and entered St. Nicholas Grammar school at Cape Coast (now Adisadel School) in 1928. With the establishment of the Prince of Wales College (now Achimota School) in 1927 and the request of Governor Sir Gordon Guggisberg to the eminent chiefs to send their wards to Achimota, young Fred was moved from Cape Coast to Achimota in 1929. At Achimota he met the children of Nana Sir Ofori Atta I<sup>1</sup> and other royals from Ashanti as well as K.A Gbedemah,<sup>2</sup> Edward Akuffo Addo,<sup>3</sup> and Kwame Nkrumah.

Fred Mate Kole displayed a great interest in reading. He developed immense interest in literature, language (Latin) and Drama. He idolized such classical writers as Homer and Virgil. Fred acted leading roles in many classical plays. It appeared that his destiny of rulership had begun to unfold. It was remarkable that, whenever Fred was chosen to take part in theatre performances, he was always given the kingly or Godly roles. For instance, he acted Pharaoh in the biblical story of Joseph and his brothers, Caesar in William Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* and Almighty God in William Casley's 'The Story of Creation'. It was more than mere coincidence that Rev. Fraser the then Headmaster of Achimota School, chose Fred Mate Kole to act these kingly roles. The reason lay in his personality. Apart from his tall well-built stature, Fred had a quiet and calm disposition but was far from shy. Thus he portrayed the royal attributes of a natural leader.

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<sup>1</sup> Nana Sir Ofori Atta I, KBE (1881–1943) ruled the Akyem Abuakwa state, one of the important Ghanaian states, from 1912 to 1943. One of his famous sons was William Ofori Atta.

<sup>2</sup> K. A. Gbedemah was an important minister in Kwame Nkrumah's CPP government. He formed the National Alliance of Liberals (a transformation of the CPP) which emerged in the 1969 elections as main opposition party.

<sup>3</sup> Chief Justice Edward Akuffo Addo was later to become ceremonial president of Ghana in the Second Republic.

Based on these attributes it was not surprising that he was the easy choice for the position of prefect of Guggisberg house in 1930. Fred was also very active in school debates and a member of the school debating team. (Obeng-Asamoah, 2015).

Fred could not have been sent to a better school. At Achimota he imbibed the well-blended mix of the best of Ghanaian culture and relevant aspects of western civilization. Fred passed out of Achimota School in 1932 obtaining distinction in the Cambridge School Certificate Examination.

On the instruction of his father, he enlisted in the Gold Coast Police Force in 1935 and rose to the rank of Assistant Superintendent in 1936 as a result of his brilliance and excellent performance. In the second week of June, 1939, he was 'captured' from his last station, Mampong-Akwapim, and enstooled Konor of Manya Krobo on 22<sup>nd</sup> June, the same year.<sup>4</sup>

Fred Lawer Mate Kole's good home upbringing coupled with the excellent formal education received particularly at Achimota and the training and practice in the Police Force thus equipped him handsomely for the task ahead (Obeng-Asamoah 2015, *ibid* p24). He therefore ascended the throne with commitment, courage, and confidence. His vision and mission could be summed up in one word, 'development'. His actions from this point portray all the qualities of a transformational leader, ie 'charismatic influence, individualized consideration, inspirational motivation, and intellectual stimulation'. (Bass and Avolio, 1995; Millissa F.Y. Cheung & Chi-Sum Wong, 2011)

### **Nene Azzu Mate Kole & Development of Manya Krobo**

Between 1918 and 1935 serious disagreements emerged between some Divisional Chiefs and the Paramountcy over the management of market resources. In each of these cases the position of the Paramountcy held sway. The

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<sup>4</sup> It is the Krobo custom to 'capture' or seize the prince selected for enstoolment, an act steeped in symbolism.

last of these feuds occurred in 1935 over Bisa (Addo, S.T., 1988). Thus Nene Azzu Mate Kole mounted the throne at a time of reasonable unity, peace and tranquility.

Nene Azzu Mate Kole's first priority after his enstoolment was to reorganize the administrative machinery of the state. His primary need was to establish the stool treasury with an efficient revenue collection system and effective accounting procedures. He contracted Giles Hunt and Co., a Chartered Accounting Firm in Accra, to carry out the modifications (Addo & Ofori, 1989) The results were spectacular. Revenue rose threefold in three years, from £3,000 in 1940 to £9,000 in 1943. This provided him with the initial capital to carry out his development agenda in the fields of education, agriculture, water and sanitation, roads and transport.

### **The Konor and infrastructural and agricultural development**

Using informal educational methods (Singh N.K., 2010 p50) the Konor held discussions with leaders at the lower levels of society, especially leaders of the '*Huzas*' (farming villages) and chief farmers (Dadematseme) explaining the ramifications of self-help and development. Fortunately the importance of these discussions was quickly understood and appreciated. The Konor was therefore able to garner massive communal labour to construct many feeder roads that linked the farmlands of the '*huza*' settlements with the two principal food market centres of Asesewa and Sekesua. (Fig. 1) (Addo and Ofori, 1989 *ibid*). The road building spirit became a spontaneous activity and the Konor solicited help from the Gold Coast government in Accra to build two bridges over the Akrum River in the northern part of his kingdom. The Field Engineers of the Ghana Army constructed the two bailey bridges at a cost of £ 9,500, paid for from the coffers of the Manya Krobo state treasury (Addo and Ofori, 1989 p13). One bridge was built at Abuachau to facilitate access to the Dominase-Yokpem section of the Dominase-Asesewa road; the other was built at Mlegedu to facilitate movement on the Sumue-Sesiamang-Asesewa road. (Fig.1). Unfortunately, the Mlegedu

Bailey Bridge was swallowed by the Volta Lake after being in use for only twelve years. The Abuachau one is still in existence and in use.

The improved motorized accessibility to the farmlands led to significant increase in farm sizes and consequent increase in tonnage of food crops assembled in the markets twice weekly for sale. A flat rate market toll of six pence was charged on every head load of 30 kilograms of food crop that entered the markets. There was a quantum jump in revenue gathered from the payments of market tolls, which rose to £50,000 in 1946 (Addo, 2015; Addo and Ofori, 1989 *ibid*). This £50,000 realized from market tolls after the construction of the feeder roads converts to 60,000 metric tons of food crops assembled at the markets that year. We can compare this with 10,800 metric tons which yielded £9,000 in 1943 before the building and use of the feeder roads by motor vehicles. Thus, food crops brought to the markets increased five and a half times.

A few trucks were procured to float a state transport service to improve vehicular movement and carting of goods and persons between the farmlands, market centres, and the seat of the Native Authority Administration at Odumase. An important aspect of the massive agricultural development project was the efficient environmental management schemes introduced by the Konor. Individual farmers had to obtain permits to fell palm trees of a particular height to lessen the burden of climbing to harvest ripe fruits. The permit normally allowed the farmer to fell not more than twenty-five trees at a time with a mandatory replacement of two seedlings for each tree felled within six weeks of the felling of the twenty-fifth tree. Heavy sanctions were imposed for failure to replace the felled trees with new seedlings.

The scheme ensured the regular supply of palm oil and other useful palm products to the market and provided welcomed income to replace money being lost through the ravages of the swollen shoot disease which was destroying the cocoa farms.

Water bodies, including rivers and streams, were carefully maintained to provide ecological equilibrium in the interest of the people. The land was covered with evergreen secondary forest for a greater part of the year, and food

was abundant. All over the country, Asesewa market became synonymous with local food items. No wonder traders came regularly every week from key points in the south of the country as well as Kumasi in Ashanti, and Tamale, and Bolgatanga in the northern parts of the country to purchase food items including palm oil and maize. The palm oil industry was so successful that Manya Krobo was able to supply the colonial army with thousands of gallons of palm oil and palm kernel oil on a weekly basis between 1942 and 1945 (Obeng-Asamoah 2015, Op Cit. p48 and p49).

The improvement in socioeconomic activity through the development of agriculture (Field, 1943) resulted in the holding of an Agricultural Show or Fair at Laasi-Odumase in 1947. It was attended by the governor of the Gold Coast, Sir Alan Burns, and his wife as well as Mr. James Moxon, then District Commissioner of Akuse and responsible for overseeing affairs of the Volta River District to which the state of Manya Krobo belonged. It is significant to note that the Volta River District comprised Manya and Yilo Krobo, Osudoku, Akwamu, Anum-Boso, and Peki; the district capital Akuse, at that time was and is still a Manya Krobo township, even though many people from other ethnic groups settled there due to the commercial activities which were partly promoted by its location as a 'river-port'. (Fig. 3).

### **The Konor and educational development**

The state treasury financed the building of the Akro schools to spread formal education in the kingdom and scholarships were awarded to deserving students. Recipients of scholarships after completion of their Secondary and Teacher Training education had to return to teach at the Akro schools for a minimum of two years before proceeding to further education in their chosen fields of study. The importance the Konor attached to education in general and the growth and development of the Akro schools was aided by his membership of the Central government's Education Reform Committee, a sub-committee of the Central Advisory Committee on Education. The transformation of the Akro schools from pure grammar schools to academic and vocational institutions derived from

the recommendations of the Educational Reforms Committee. The implementation of this innovation was entrusted to Mr. R. P. Djabanor (a retired eminent educationist) whom the Konor appointed General Manager of schools. These schools were located at Odumase, Asesewa and at 15 other '*huza*' settlements, that is, the farm villages in the forest belt such as Prekumase, Bisa, Ademsu and Asedja.

Meanwhile, the Konor established cordial relationships with the religious denominations which were not only propagating the gospel but also building elementary and secondary schools and Teacher Training Colleges. He showed keen interest in their activities and readily offered them land for their projects when needed. A good example is the Mount Mary College of Education. Before then, his late father, Sir Emmanuel Mate Kole, had given lands to the Presbyterian Missionaries, who built the famous Krobo Girls Boarding School and Presbyterian Women's Training College at Odumase Krobo, as well as Bana Hill Middle Boys Boarding School located within the Krobo section of the Akwapim Ridge and about a kilometer north of Manyakpogunor, a suburb of Odumase Krobo. The Presbyterians built primary schools at virtually all the places where they established mission stations. The Anglicans, Catholics and Methodists who entered Manya Krobo after the Presbyterians followed their practice.

The Konor's efforts were not limited to the needs of his kingdom. He offered land to the University of Ghana, Legon, for the establishment of the Kpong Agricultural Research Station. Through his relentless efforts at the Legislative Assembly the perennial water problem that afflicted the piedmont settlements, especially the schools, like Presbyterian Boys Secondary School, and nearby states, the Kpong Water Works was constructed, and by 1954 pipe borne water became available at Odumase and its suburbs as well as at Somanya and its divisions. In addition, wells were sunk at carefully selected locations outside the piedmont settlements for the benefit of the people.

The Konor had hoped that supply of clean water to the schools and communities around the clock had eliminated a major factor being used by the



Ga Presbytery to remove the Presbyterian Boys Secondary School (PRESEC) from Odumase. But the Presbyterian Church, with a Krobo at the helm of affairs, ignored all the efforts made by the Konor to retain the school at Odumase and in July, 1968 moved the school to Legon, near Accra.

Nene Azzu Mate Kole was shattered. He took it as a stab in the back and became a practicing Catholic from that day till he died in 1990. The top echelon of the professional wing of the Ministry of Education assuaged the Konor and his subjects by immediately replacing PRESEC with Manya Krobo Secondary School which is in its permanent buildings at Nuaso. The Deputy Chief Education Officer at the time, Mr. J. L. Anang, a former teacher of geography at PRESEC and the composer of the PRESEC school anthem, was instrumental in providing the replacement. This was due to his admiration of the Konor in particular, and the Krobo people in general. Manya Krobo Secondary School (MAKROSEC) has blossomed: for example, Professor of Meat Science and Technology and the current Vice Chancellor of the University for Development Studies, Professor Gabriel Ayum Teye, the first Krobo academic to occupy this highest management position in a public university in Ghana was a student at MAKROSEC between 1979 and 1984.

It must be noted that the two Akro schools at Odumase and Asesewa have developed into Senior High Secondary Schools.

### **The Konor and social affairs**

In the socio-cultural sphere the Konor identified with his people. He sang and danced gracefully to the tunes of '*Klama*', '*Obonu*' and '*Nadu*'.<sup>5</sup> As Commander-in-Chief of the able-bodied men of the Krobo state he recognized '*Nadu*' purely as military music which expelled fear from his fighters and energized them to fight and defeat the enemy.

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<sup>5</sup> These are traditional Krobo ensembles.

He understood the '*Klama*' lyrics and danced gracefully to its tunes on special occasions. The tall '*Obonu*' drums were lifted anytime he stepped out to dance to the '*Obonu*' or '*Fontonfrom*' beat. Nobody danced after him.

He accepted '*dipo*' (see Hugo Huber, 1993 pp. 115-191; Marijke Steegstra, 2005 the whole book) as 'a rite of passage' for young Krobo maidens who attained the stage of fecundity, and did not interfere with its performance.

He established the Royal Mausoleum as the resting place for Krobo State Royals and other distinguished members of the Krobo state. Some Christians have treated it with disdain and we wonder whether the same persons will turn down an invitation to visit Arlington Cemetery in the United States of America.<sup>6</sup> Again some church leaders boycotted (and continue to do so today) the annual '*Ngmayem*' Festival Durbar because the symbolic distribution of millet was done by the earth priests — '*Djemeli*', who were and are still looked upon as 'fetish priests' who must be avoided in every circumstance and on every occasion.

The Konor established an excellent traditional judicial system which was replicated at lower levels of the hierarchy of chiefs. Cases were adjudicated as transparently as possible.

### **The Konor's statesmanship and contribution to National development**

While the developments outlined in the first part of this paper took place in his state, the Konor was summoned time and again to serve the national cause. These ranged from his membership of the Legislative Assembly (1947-1954), membership of all the constitution drafting and approving bodies between 1949 and 1973, and service on important national boards and committees. The latter included the Management Board of the West African Cocoa Research Institute; Beaton's committee on swollen shoot disease and rehabilitation of cocoa; the West African Institute of Science and Industries (1942-45); the Central Advisory

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<sup>6</sup> While Americans recognize Arlington Cemetery as a national monument some Krobo Christians see the mausoleum as a pagan creation.

Committee on Education (1946-56); Council of the University College of Ghana (1958-60); as well as Achimota School Board for several years, and as the Board chairman on three different occasions (Addo and Ofori, 1989 Op-Cit; Obeng-Asamoah, 2015, *ibid*)

The Konor chaired a committee set up by the Joint Provincial Council of Chiefs to examine issues affecting the cocoa industry and made recommendations to improve performance of the industry. Members of the committee included Dr. J. B. Danquah, Nana Frimpong Manso II of Oda, Mr. William Ofori-Atta, and Mr. E. A. Haziel. The colonial government accepted what became known as the Mate Kole Report and passed the first cocoa marketing board ordinance in 1947 paving way for the establishment of the Cocoa Marketing Board which became the management authority of the cocoa industry.

The Konor vigorously argued against making the Volta River Project a private enterprise. He did this as an Ex-Officio Consultant and Adviser to the Preparatory Commission headed by Sir Robert Jackson. He carried his cogent arguments to the Legislative Council which accepted his views and made the project a public one. He was subsequently appointed by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah as a member of the Board of Trustees. He served on this board for ten years.

Though he had only been enstooled in 1939 and was only 38 years old, the Konor was appointed to join other eminent dignitaries in the Gold Coast delegation to the Lancaster House Conference in 1948. The conference was convened by the Secretary of State for the Colonies to assess the demands of the colonies for autonomy and self-rule. The delegation included Dr. J. B. Danquah, Nana Sir Tsibu Darko, Sir Charles Techie-Menson as well as Nii Amaa Ollenu and Mr. Ribeiro Ayer, the then clerk of council. It was led by the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Robert Scott.

It was a representative gathering of the British Colonial Empire in London deliberating over the political future of the so called colonies. It was heartwarming to note that the Konor's brilliance in articulating his well thought

out views on sensitive and important issues wherever he found himself must have been noticed by both British and African Leaders of the country.

### **The Konor's activities in the post native administrative era**

Rather than join hands with the Konor to push through the development goals of Manya Krobo in Ghana, the new political leadership in the state after the attainment of internal self-government in 1951, led by Mr. Mate Johnson, a member of the Legislative Assembly and subsequently of Parliament, decided to vilify the Konor and destroy the structures put in place to promote growth and development. The misinterpretation of 'freedom' by the local leadership of the Convention People's Party (CPP) as an unlimited right to do whatever one liked resulted in the destruction of the environment, especially the hitherto vibrant oil palm industry and rivers and other water bodies. Misguided young men and women rebelled against traditional wisdom and authority and chose the path of self-destruction. Parental control was weakened and the influence of the clergy and teachers dimmed. Discipline was undermined and the bad situation was made worse by the enactment of the Preventive Detention Act in 1958, barely a year after attainment of political independence in 1957. The fact that persons could be locked up in prison without knowing offences committed restrained people from querying wrongdoing. The CPP leadership, particularly in Krobo, sought to ridicule and if possible annihilate chieftaincy and its traditions. They organized massive political rallies to coincide with the annual '*Ngmayem*' Festival Durbars to lure people away from participating in the festival celebrations.

The attempts to cripple chieftaincy failed and in 1964, the Konor and other notable chiefs, like the Dormahene, Nana Agyeman Badu, fought for the establishment of the Chieftaincy Secretariat.

After the overthrow of Nkrumah's government in 1966, the National Liberation Council, which took over the government, appointed the Konor to serve on their Political Committee. He was made Deputy Chairman of the

Chieftaincy Secretariat in 1966 and Chairman of the National Advisory Committee in 1968.

The National Constitution of the Second Republic was drafted under the chairmanship of the renowned jurist Mr. Edward Akuffo Addo. Its report became the subject of discussion at the Blay Constituent Assembly in 1969 where Nene Azzu Mate Kole was elected the Deputy Speaker. From that position he pushed for the establishment of the National House of Chiefs. His attempt to push for the creation of a South-Eastern Ghana Region which would have comprised the whole of present day Greater Accra (but with a clearly demarcated capital district), Akwapim, Yilo and Manya Krobo, Akwamu and Anum Bosso, stalled because of unnecessary acrimony generated during the debate. The Konor withdrew the Private Members Bill which formed the basis for the debate and the matter was left to rest. It is instructive that the Gas<sup>7</sup> who vehemently opposed the call for the creation of the South-Eastern Region turned around to appeal to the PNDC Regime to create the present day Greater Accra Region with the promulgation of PNDC Law 26 in July 1982 after the overthrow of the Hilla Limann government in December 1981.<sup>8</sup> Attempts by the Ga political leadership to woo the Konors of the two Krobo states (Manya and Yilo) to join them in Greater Accra failed. The reason may simply be the fact that Krobos have always looked to the forest and not the sea for sustenance.

### **The Konor and Awards**

We have tried in this paper to present our ICON (Plate 1) as he was and show how he became a great King and a statesman. In recognition of his achievements, he received the following awards: The Kings Medal for Chiefs (KMC) in 1942; Distinguished Order of the British Empire (OBE) conferred on him in 1948;

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<sup>7</sup> The Ga are the indigenes of Accra; together with the Krobos and other Dangme peoples have come to be known collectively known as the Ga-Dangme.

<sup>8</sup> The Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) was a military government under the chairmanship of Flight Lt John Rawlings. It came into power after the overthrow of the civilian government of Hilla Limann's People's National Party.

Member of the Order of the Volta (MOV) in 1969; Doctor of Laws LLD (Honoris Causa) conferred on him by the University of Ghana in 1975 and finally, the title OKLEMEKUKU conferred on him by the leaders and citizens of Manya Krobo on 22<sup>nd</sup> June, 1989.<sup>9</sup>

### **In retrospect**

The kind of leadership that promotes freedom and development derives from sound and well-grounded purposeful education, vision, courage and commitment. These are the attributes that enabled Oklemekuku Azzu Mate Kole to initiate and push through the development that took place in his Kingdom between 1939 and 1951. His efforts were so successful that the quality of life of his subjects improved tremendously and parents were able to send their wards to school.

Unfortunately, the anti-chieftaincy mind-set of the Convention People's Party and enormous claims peddled to the people that their destiny was in their own hands led the Krobo people to virtually throw away the baby with the bath water. Thus, the efficient structures that promoted the vibrant palm oil industry and provided good income to the people were derailed. The oil palm trees were uprooted willy-nilly to produce palm-wine to be distilled into gin which provided quick money, but as the numbers of matured palm trees declined rapidly, income from this source decreased.

It was therefore strange that Mr. Mate Johnson, a Deputy Minister, and member of Parliament, managed to persuade the CPP government to establish a palm oil processing plant at Asewewa in 1964/65 when the Krobo people could hardly harvest enough ripe palm fruits for their domestic needs. The project, of course, became a 'White-elephant' and the machinery was dismantled and carried away after the military coup in 1966 which removed Kwame Nkrumah and the CPP government from power.

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<sup>9</sup> This is a traditional Krobo royal title and appellation.

With a major source of regular income destroyed, the people turned their attention to the regular cultivation of maize which soon depleted soil fertility because of large acreages and shorter fallow periods. The hitherto evergreen secondary forest was soon reduced to savannah woodland and crops like cocoyam and some types of yams began to disappear from the agricultural landscape (Amanor, 1994). Poverty levels began to rise and many children started dropping out of school. This is how the CPP underdeveloped Manya Krobo. Unfortunately the situation is yet to be reversed significantly.

It is personalities like Oklemekuku Azzu Mate Kole who are needed today to transform our politically created districts into well planned and well developed entities. But they are an endangered species, be they traditional rulers or otherwise. None of Oklemekuku Azzu's type, if found and put in charge of a district, can succeed unless the national government replaces the rhetoric with reality and gives them space and resources to operate.

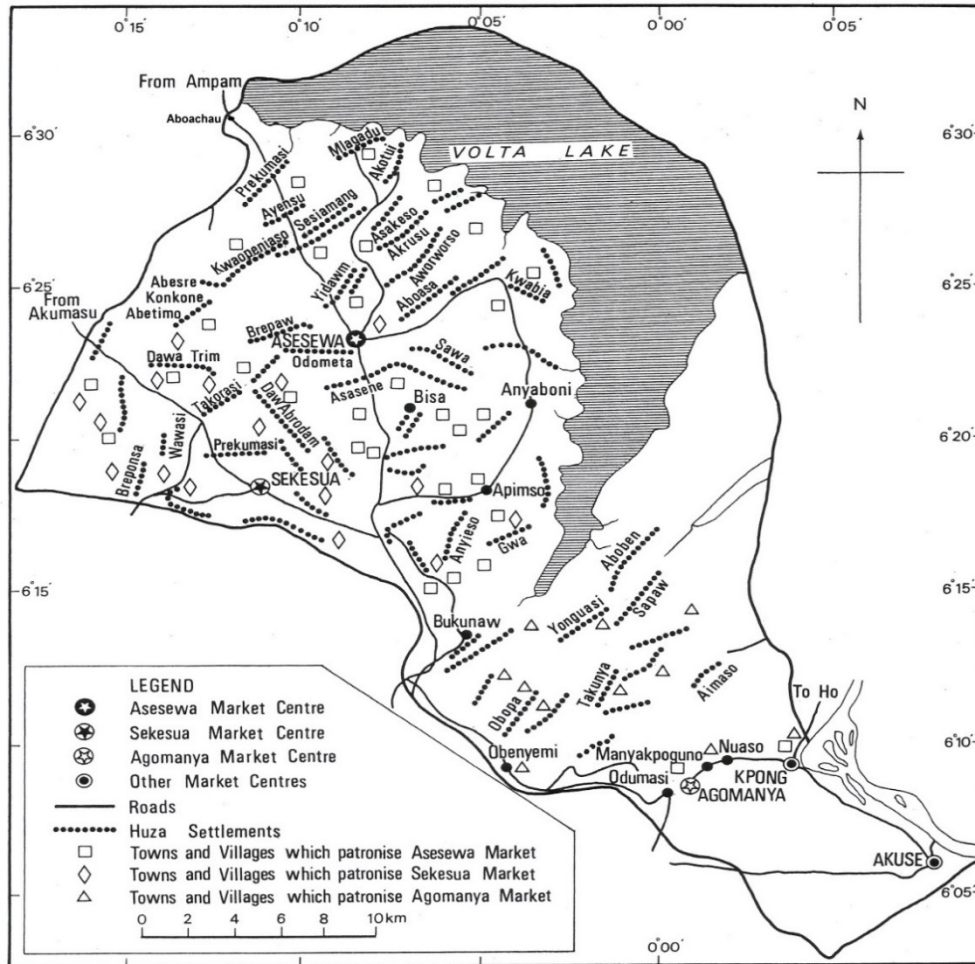
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FIG.1 MANYA KROBO (1939 – 1970)



**FIG. 2 UPPER AND LOWER MANYA ADMINISTRATIVE AREAS**



FIG. 3 The Volta River District

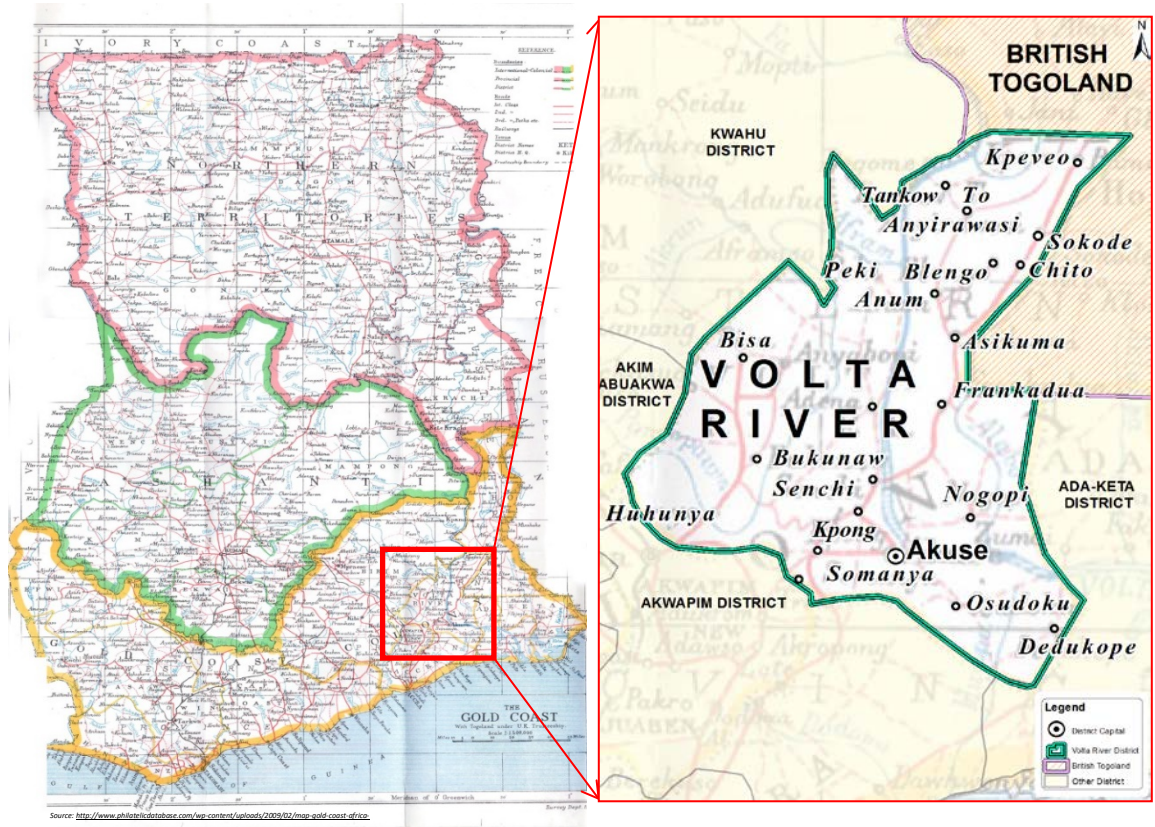


PLATE 1: OKLEMEKUKU AZZU MATE KOLE

