



Rhetorical Resistance in Nana Akufo Addo's Speech

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Abstract

The yoke of suppression upon the Africans by the European countries has left a permanent scar in the minds of African people for ages. The Europeans have not only invaded the African continent physically but also intruded upon its emotional space by creating the division of colonies for nearly hundred years across the vast land. The African continent abounds; massive resources which, from time to time, have perpetually been exploited by the colonizers from the Europe; not for the sake of the continent people but for fulfillment of the colonizers. This has had a knock-on-effect in every stratum of the African societies-be it cultural, social, economic or political. Ghana, the first country to set free in the sub-Saharan region of Africa against the European colonialism now shows its resistance to the foreign aid. Against this backdrop, this paper examines the resistance of the Ghanaian people rhetorically as the political exhortation to its best, in the speech delivered by Ghanaian President, Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo on Nov. 30, 2017, with the unexpected response to the French President, Emmanuel Macron, subverting the notion of colonial mentality that adheres to the hidden agenda of exploitation in a newer version in the name of financial aid. The president wants the youngsters of the continent to change their perspectives and mindsets of dependency only to use their sweat and toil to turn the African continent itself into a paradise. While analyzing this speech, the researcher employs Aristotelian rhetorical devices: Ethos, Logos and Pathos, and explores the underlying linguistic patterns which contribute to making Nana's verdict so persuasive and moving to his audience. To the author, the President keeps all balance to bring out his thesis throughout the speech by virtue of both verbal and non-verbal sensitivity of his language and becomes one of the most followed leaders of the world.

Keywords: *European aid, independence, rhetorical devices, resistance, political exhortation*

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Introduction

Ghana is the first country to disenthral itself from colonialism in the sub-Saharan region of African continent. It is the highest producer of gold in the continent and the second largest producer of cocoa in the world. It stands alone as the fourth most peaceful country in Africa. (Ten Things You Didn't Know About Ghana, 2:08-8:00)

The speech by the Ghana's President Akufo Addo has had a sensational impact on its global audience by evoking their emotions drawing upon the facts and figures of what had happened with French colonies in the African countries. The speech, conceived and directed against the French aid, not only left the audience in the state of awe, but also shocked the President of France, Emmanuel Macron with a blatant response while they shared the same platform. Nevertheless, this is not the first-time resistance.

Resistance refers to the conditions that led African people to defy colonial rule, and it often emerged from longstanding grievances against colonial labor exploitation, taxation, racist and paternalist practices, arbitrary violence, and political illegitimacy. The traces can be seen in the form of boycotts, strikes, marches, demonstrations, protests and showing utter disaffiliation with the mainstream ideology. Abbink et al. (2003) argue that "Resistance [. . .] must be defined not so much by various forms of concrete acts, as by the intent of those performing those acts, aimed usually at the defense of pre-existing and cherished socio-political arrangements, upholding other civilizational ideals, or just defending existing power structures, elite or otherwise." The historian, Boahen (1987) says that the Africans resisted a lot and therefore led to the country's independence. Independence as such was not given by the silver platter to the Africans, but won by blood and this is the thorough understanding of the continent people of Africa.

The Ghanaian president qualifies himself as a political leader with the credentials of his education, skills, experience and above all the visionary leadership. A bold and dauntless leader throughout his speech, he reminds the Ghanaians as well as the continent dwellers to realize the plight of Ghana that even after 60 years of independence, they are struggling with health and education issue for the sake of its people. It could not stop the migration of youngsters. The perspectives and mindsets are not changed. The natural resources and energies are exploited to best suit the European advantages. Boahen (1987, p. 102) states, "Africans were encouraged to produce what they didn't consume and to consume what they didn't produce." The French have not only occupied the physical space and exploited their natural resources

but also have intruded upon their emotional space by cajoling them into accepting the donation as an instrument to subordinate Ghana and leave the state impoverished in the long run. They have staged different strategies over the decades and have eventually weaponized the surest economic aid in the continent only to coax into accepting them whatever the way they deal with nation and its citizens. According to Gramsci (1971, as cited in Hoare and Nowell Smith, 1971), hegemony comes through culture establishing the ruling class ideology known as “World View.” This common sense is accepted as inevitable as truth. When the working class have class consciousness, through working class intelligentsia to counter the ruling class ideology, the “War of Position” shifts to “War of Maneuver” in Gramscian approach only to default the policy of ruling class. Nana is exactly in the position of the War of Maneuver as he debunked the idea of the economic aid of the French to impose it upon Ghana. Nana knows that it is a surest form of hegemony with a hidden agenda that counters the nation’s development. The famous historian Boahen (1987) adds, “The Africans devised three main strategies during the period under the review. These were submission, alliance and confrontation. Confrontation is again of two varieties; peaceful confrontation or diplomacy and violent or armed confrontation” (p.39). The president tactfully adopts the confrontation strategy to avoid the aid of the Europeans and he chooses peaceful way, to make people believe what he says, over the violent one.

This paper argues how the state head, Nana Akufo Addo, shows his resistance to the French aid, representing his people and country, rhetorically, revisiting the history of Ghana and making them realize that no nation can develop without the sweat and toil of its own people. He denies that French or any European aid has ever worked in the history of sixty years of independence of Ghana. Nor would it work in the future. The proposition sounds simple and straight forward, yet the manner of how the president has delivered it rhetorically as political exhortation is a subject of critical discourse analysis. This paper weighs more on the side of rhetorical devices required for the analysis of the speech than on the post-colonial discourse.

The Speech

The speech takes place at the Presidential Palace of Ghana on the occasion of a joint press conference hosted by the Ghanaian President held on November 30, 2017 in Accra, the capital city while the French President, Emmanuel Macron was on a tour to the French colonies in Africa. It was the first time ever in the history of Ghana to have the French President visit (Macron, 2017). Unlike many French colonies

across the vast continent, Ghana was the former British colony and had nothing to do with Francophone colonies. For the author, the President of Ghana seems to have the intention of addressing the relations between Ghana and France to be characterized by an increase in trade and investment cooperation, not aid because “Ghana beyond aid” is the catchphrase ever since Nana Akufo Addo became President there. Nevertheless, Nana delivers his thesis rejecting the French aid loud and clearly in his response to a journalist’s question about whether France would provide financial support beyond its former colonies.

Analysis

This paper employs the classical Aristotelian rhetorical tools (as cited by Robert et al. 1954) on *Rhetoric*- Ethos (Credibility of the speaker, Logos (Logic of the argument) and Pathos (Emotions) so as to analyze the speech. The researcher not only transcribes the speech of Ghanaian President (See Annex-1) and analyzes the text critically from the classical tools but also buys in to the ideas from the book- *Motives for Writing* by Miller and Webb (1991) to analyze further on the rhetorical patterns-comparison, emphasis and structure.

Ethos

Aristotle refers to ethos as persuasion through character so as to make the speaker worthy and credence. The four main characteristics of ethos are trustworthiness and respect, authority, similarity to the audience and expertise and reputation or history. Ethos, in rhetoric, the character or emotions of a speaker or writer that are expressed in the attempt to persuade an audience. It is distinguished from pathos, which is the emotion the speaker or writer hopes to induce in the audience and logos, the logic of the argument.

The speaker, Nana Akufo Addo and president qualifies himself with deserving testimonials- a long standing history of political background, excellent education, experience and patriotism- which clearly manifest the quintessential qualities of the visionary leader.

Although Nana was born and raised in a political family at Accra, he sought his education from London and graduated in Economics. He was not only deputed in an Attorney General, but also became a Foreign Minister in 2007. After becoming the president in 2016, Nana held signatory campaigns and advocated for factory establishment in each district, a free senior secondary education and an anti- corruption campaign. This has made Nana, a reputed brand of patriotic leader. Ghana’s economy

has grown under his tenure even if it got affected by the pandemic. An expert of Economics, Nana knows exactly what to deliver and how to administer his logics building a rapport between the speaker and listeners. Eloquently, Nana would well orchestrate his thesis and would plan methodologically the succeeding details.

In response to a question by a local journalist whether France was going to strengthen its support for other African countries aside its former colonies where the majority of French aid is spent, the speaker begins his speech with a remark of defensive statement: *I hope that the comments I am about to make will not offend the questioner too much and some people around here. I think there is a fundamental misstatement of the issue in the question.* He claims that the question is flawed because he would sense that it contrasted with his “Anti-aid” campaign. Representing as the head of the nation, he is careful to check the environment before he speaks to both the questioner and listeners around there. The speaker seems to have been determined to speak something powerful and this can be easily predicted and there is every reason for his audience to listen to him. In a way, he was building a rapport with those utterances. He is setting the context with the complex nature of the sentence. He advertently uses ‘too much’ because he knows that it of course would offend some people in some amount. The tactful structure, in which the tentativeness contrasts with politeness, employed by the president is to avoid causing offence or distress in the mind of listeners and a way to begin the discourse. The pre-dominance of the falling tone used in his speech indicates the fall the hegemony of the European charity in the African continent. It seems that this coherence is readied from his age-old experience living in Ghana accumulating the strong credentials with him. The stance of the speaker becomes a clear stunt in the public speech which eventually spreads far and wide.

Logos

At the very outset, the president emphasizes his intention of the rejection of the European aid in formulating its policy of Ghana; be it France or EU that give to them. This is the major proposition of Nana. He is clear with his vision that the tempting aid in future will cajole them into accepting their ideologies and yet yield the suppression again in the new form. He supports his argument with his evidence that Ghana is still struggling for the basic needs of health and education even after sixty years of the independence of Ghana which they should have been able to manage by themselves then. The speaker is in the know of the matter that Africa holds still thirty percent of the most important minerals of the world but the tragedy is that they haven’t brought about any changes in the perspectives which should largely rely on themselves for the development of the nation not what the French tax payers would do to them.

He asserts that they have the youngest as well as most resilient population of any continent of the world. They have energies that he wanted to have them hold back in the nation. Not that did they want to go across the Mediterranean for work willingly but that it was a serious obligation for them. Because migration is a natural phenomenon and an inexorable process, it is nothing new for Nana. However, he urges everyone to call back the history of the Italian and the Irish migration when waves upon waves, the immigration occurred in the nineteenth century. Nana vehemently believes that nations fail when the people are not working with their correct mindsets in their own country. Again he argues that countries like Korea, Malaysia and Singapore have done it on their own with the correct mindsets and now it's Ghana's turn and it will definitely succeed as nation to prosper in the next sixty years taking it as a transition period. Therefore, he reiterates on getting away from the mindset of dependence. He deductively concludes that, because no nation in the world is developed relying on others and it is a proven fact in the history, never will Ghana develop without its own efforts for its sake. It is exactly where he wants to draw an attention of the continent people to realize that they have so much to give to others from the continent instead.

Using logic: Inductive and deductive reasoning

Simply put, logic refers to reasoning conducted or assessed according to strict principles of validity (Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary, 1995). Hence logic is a proper way of thinking about something. It is also a science that deals with the rules and processes used in sound thinking and reasoning. Classical (Aristotelian) rhetoric teaches two types of logic- inductive and deductive reasoning. The former is associated with what seems to be true or probably true but the latter, is related to the logic of a syllogism in which a true major and a minor premise lead to a conclusion that is inevitably true. They both have an art of persuading the audience to support the proposal or undertake an action. However, the shades of difference largely rely on the major premise. Reading the text of Nana's speech, we can see his major propositions that are really persuasive in nature.

Inductive Reasoning:

Major premise: *The African continent abounds natural resources and young energies.*

Minor premise: *Ghana is an African country.*

Conclusion: *Ghana has the massive (highest) natural resources and young energies.*

To reason inductively means presenting evidences or examples to figure out what seems to be true (Miller & Webb, 1991). During induction, we take an inductive leap and jump to the conclusion. Though the logic is persuasive in the above-mentioned reasoning, the flaw lies in the conclusion that Ghana may not necessarily be rich in natural resources and young resilient energies because it is the generalization of the African continent and Ghana is only a part of it.

Deductive Reasoning:

Major premise: *The foreign aid has not improved Ghana its condition for sixty years.*

Minor premise: *Ghana still relies on the issues of education and health on foreign aid.*

Conclusion: *The foreign aid can't develop Ghana its education and health anymore.*

Reasoning deductively means to identify propositions that are already believed to be true and to discover an additional truth that follows from these propositions (Miller & Webb, 1991). In this reasoning, the major premise is already agreed upon the fact followed by the minor one some experiences of Ghana after 60 years of independence that it has not witnessed any development with the agency of the foreign aid. Thus, both major and minor premise are valid and thereby comes the conclusion logically that Ghana cannot be developed by the sheer generosity of any European aid.

The speech begins with a diplomatic comment on journalists and audience in a defensive way only to have the speaker's spotlight on political exhortation at its best. He proves this by employing the inductive and deductive reasoning; staging his logical arguments with sufficient details of facts and figures of Africa in general and Ghana in particular. Thus, Nana's speech appeals to both universal and specific audiences. The supra-segmental features especially intonation and stress while articulating the speech make it vivid along with non-verbal sensitivity of communication. Nana tenderly ends the speech with a view to seeking comments if he has really upset his audience. Holding the center of an Anti-aid campaign belief, he reinforces on making Ghana capable of standing on its own feet and building its own life. Nevertheless, the crux of his message lies in liberating vast African continent from the European aids. Hence the composite whole of ethos, logos and pathos persuade his audience to believe on the agenda of boycotting the foreign aid.

Pathos

The locus of pathos (emotional appeals) lies in the realization of the audience, according to Aristotle, by accepting the beliefs through the credibility and logics of the speaker. Nana does not merely hold the slogan of Anti-aid policy in his nation but recalls the overwhelming stories of the past only to move his audience so as to realize the fact that it is their own fault that the leaders of the nation have not taken any significant step in the right direction to make the government more accountable. It is this juncture exactly what resonates the signature campaigns- factories, free education and anti-corruption- carried out by Nana as soon as he became president. This engages largely the audiences to move. Similarly, his ideas of reiteration on the change of perspectives and mind sets in the twenty first century draws serious attention while Ghana has not been able to fulfill the basic needs-health and education. He motivates how the energies are drifting away involuntarily:

It has the energy and dynamism we have seen them; these young men who are showing so much resilience and, and ingenuity in crossing the Sahara; finding ways to go across the rickety boats, across the Mediterranean; those energies we want to have those energies working inside our country. We are going to have those energies working in our country. If we begin to build systems that tell the young people of our country that their hopes, their opportunity are right here with us (2;03 - 5:04).

In his speech, Nana captures the pain of young resilient energies, the foundation of the nation, drawing upon miserable images of drain on “rickety boats,” and across “Mediterranean” that make the African people to “beg money with a cap in hand” while 30% of the world’s most important minerals lies in Africa and the world’s youngest population. As a leader, Nana also gives the alternative solution of building systems in the country to hold back those draining dynamisms. Together with these moving pictures of pathetic images and what they had endured in the past during the colonial impact made his audience heart wrenching. The hopes and beliefs are very like what Martin Luther King Jr.’s speech- “I Have a Dream.” According to Burke (1969) the dramatic pentad is made up of five elements that guide the interpretation of an event: act (the description of what took place), scene (the background of the event), agent (the person committing the act), agency (how the act is committed), and purpose (the end the person was trying to achieve). Nana’s speech can be analyzed with the elements of pentad to evoke emotions in his speech.

Nana wisely transforms his audience to look the world the way he looks through and urges all to develop a sense of “can do personality” and with the correct mindset of self-dependency to transform the consciousness of the whole African continent to show case with a new “African personality” as Boahen referred. The massive natural resources they harbor and the true stories of comparison of Ghana with the countries like Korea, Malaysia, Singapore and even in the Western World-Italy which were very akin to Ghana at one time enlighten the Ghanaian people to develop a critical lens on the one hand but, on the other hand, to strongly accept the ideals of their role model president. Nana adds rather the foreign effect in the generosity of the aid has become delirious and lethal that has eventually left the nation impoverished until the present time. His facts and figures about developing nation are far more moving his audience than merely persuasive. The implications vicariously lie in the history that Africans resisted and led the country independence, such independence was not given on a silver platter but won by blood.

Rhetorical Devices: Comparison, Emphasis & Parallelism

According to Miller and Webb (1992, p.149), comparison, emphasis and structure play a dominant role while articulating the speech though they are not meant to be a rubric for every political exhortation. The sounds, purpose, style and other rhetorical devices play a role for the composite whole. While analyzing it, Nana’s speech sounds well orchestrated with the above-mentioned rhetorical devices and methodologically planned though it is impromptu in reality.

Nana’s speech is well orchestrated with rhetorical devices such as comparisons, emphasis and structures. Nana uses the strong metaphor- “a gift in the horse’s mouth” meaning that they are not looking for how old the horse is, maybe they even would not. Diplomatically it makes a mild effect on the mind of the French President and of course he has no grudge against whatever the support given by the French. Similarly, he brings one item in terms of another i.e. metaphorically, which makes it an interesting way to add emphasis as in “a cap in hand begging for aid”. These have engaged the listeners’ imaginations connecting dots to past, present and future. King Jr. uses analogy by comparing justice with flowing waters. In his speech “I Have a Dream,” he says, “We will not be satisfied until justice rolls down like waters and righteousness like a mighty stream.” Similarly, in Nana’s speech, the comparison of young and resilient energies of Africa stands out with the rest of the world matchlessly. The resources he claims about one third of the minerals that dwells in Africa is another logical comparison with the

rest of the world. Above all, Ghana's comparison with the developed countries- Korea, Malaysia and Singapore-which were very like Ghana has convinced his audience to accept his beliefs and by the same fashion Italy and Ireland in the issue of migration both rhetorically and logically.

Amplification adds an emphasis to his theme and renders his speech so persuasive and moving. He amplifies stressing on the country, region and then to the continent, yet it can be analyzed as country comes first for Nana that qualifies him as patriotic leader. Here he seems to address and move from specific to the universal audience of the African continent. Again he amplifies the energies of the young population and says, "...those energies, we want to have those energies working inside our country. We are going to have those energies working in our countries." In course of his speech, he amplifies more on energies and mindsets the of young Africans only to help them realize that nation building possible only by themselves. Again when he says, "I believe that that mindset; that mind set of dependence." He seems to have spotted the issue that the aid is nothing but a different form of hidden agenda for colonial mentality. It is a subject of everlasting trauma for the African people and it is a trap for the president. He understands that fueling the hegemony of the Europeans in the form of aids, donation and charity is the continuation of the scar of colonialism in the African minds. Therefore, he asserts that that wouldn't work anymore in the same way, as King Jr., who deliberately uses the phrase "I have a dream" eight times as an anaphoric expression only to amplify his message of his strong beliefs.

The parallelism employed in the structure- *It will not work. It has not worked. It will not work*- not only maintains a feeling of balance and cohesion but also add smoothness and unity in his message. Within the same structure, the element of antithesis is well sensed. The long-standing African experience with aids has failed to work in the past, nor does work at present and again nor in future. The repetition, often called anaphora, of the same words while aligning the management of the words further make speech impressive. King Jr. is rich in using parallel structure. He says, "Every valley shall be exalted...shall be made low...will be made plain...will be made straight...shall be revealed...all flesh shall see it together." The use of *shall be* and *will be* not only rhyme to make his speech a rally song but also appeals to all senses of his audience to accept his message.

Critically viewing, Nana's speech rhetorically resists the European funding to be imposed inadvertently in the African countries. The non-verbal gestures of Nana, ignoring Macron until what he has to say and even paying his deaf ear to Macron's

remarks by engaging with someone else on the stage valorizes his attitude of rejecting the fund over the French generosity. After jokingly tossing the question between each other, Macron replied with fairly standard mundane rhetoric initially and looks very fidgety throughout the speech. The non-verbal sensitivity worn on his face during Nana's speech justifies what Lesikar says, "You cannot not just communicate." Nana has the knack of handling the situation well and concludes his speech asking his partner for his food and hospitality which is quite interesting in the end. Sadly, what Mr Macron speaks in between in the French is not a part of anyone's concern there.

Conclusion

The underlying motif of Ghana's president's speech is to make people realize the plight of imperial impact of French colonies upon African countries and to show resistance to the foreign aid simply because the development framework of the nation is no longer going to work by the sheer generosity of foreign taxpayers. This speech therefore resists and evokes people to act strongly by means of accepting the logics and beliefs shared by Nana Akufo Addo. Often the hidden agenda of ruling mentality lies against the background of economic support. Thus, the president is worried about the hitherto existing perspectives and mindsets that are taught by the French models. Nana urges everyone to realize the facts and figures of continent's massive resources, young energies and correct minds of the people which can only turn their country as well as continent into a paradise with an "African personality." From the aesthetic dimension of speech art, the president has been able to capture the specificity of the plight that the Africans have endured sixty years even after gaining the independence of Ghana. He not only transfers the specificity of the colonial pain but also evokes the special effects and leaves his audiences in the state of an awe. This is often called "a shock to thought or encounter sign" by Deleuze. This narrative annihilation by psychic numbing transforms the listeners in to the world where it opens the spot for the audience to critically examine the realistic issues which have been left unheard and unrealized for a long time. The classical rhetorical devices-ethos, logos and pathos including the rhetorical devices contribute the speech to make it very persuasive and make this art a political exhortation to the backbone.

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ANNEX-1

President of Ghana, H.E. Nana Akufo-Addo's unexpected response shocks French President H.E. Emmanuel Macron at a joint press conference in Accra on November 30, 2017.

I hope that the comments I am about to make will not offend the questioner too much and some people around here.

We can no longer continue to make policy for ourselves, in our country, in our region, in our continent on the basis of whatever support that the western world or France, or the European Union can give us. It will not work. It has not worked and it will not work.

Our responsibility is to charter a path which is about how we can develop our nation ourselves. It is not right for a country like Ghana sixty years after independence to still have its health and education budget being financed on the basis of the generosity and charity of European tax payers. By now we should be able to finance our basic needs ourselves and if we are going to look at the next 60 years as a period of transition, a period where we can stand on our own feet.

Our perspective has not to be what the French taxpayer decides to do with whatever surpluses they have in France; they are welcome; they are appreciated with whatever interventions of the French taxpayers through their governments make to us are appreciated. We are not going to make a gift horse in the mouth. But this continent and with that all that has happened, it is still today the repository of the at least 30 % of the most important minerals of the world. It is the continent of vast arable and fertile lands. It has the youngest population of any continent in the world so it has the energy in the world. It has the energy and dynamism we have seen them; these young men who are showing so much resilience and, and ingenuity in crossing the Sahara; finding ways to go across the rickety boats, across the Mediterranean; those energies we want to have those energies working inside our country. We are going to have those energies working in our country. If we begin to build systems that tell the young people of our country that their hopes, their opportunity are right here with us.

Migration and the movement of people is being presented in a manner which suggests that somehow it is a new phenomenon. There is nothing new about it. This is as old as man and the movement of people and it has always been linked to the same thing. The failure of where you are to provide you with an opportunity, so you move somewhere else. Those of you are familiar with Nineteen Century European history would know that the biggest wave of immigration in nineteen century Europe the latter part of it came from Ireland and from Italy. Waves upon waves generations of the Italians and the Irish people left their countries to seek the American paradise largely because Ireland was not working; Italy was not working. Today you don't hear it Italian young people are in Italy, Irish young people are in Ireland. We want young African to stay in Africa and how are they? (Claps)

And it means that we have to get away from this mindset of dependence. This mindset about 'What can France do for us?' France will do whatever it wants to do for its own sake, and when those coincide with

ours, 'tant mieux' [so much better] as the French people say but Our main responsibility as leaders and citizens is what we need to do to grow to our own countries. What are the institutions that work; that will allow us to have good governance to have accountable governments to make sure that the monies that our place of this disposable leaders are used for the interests of the state and not for those of the leaders to have systems that allow for accountability; that allow for diversity that allow for people to be able to express themselves and contribute to fashioning the public weal (will) and the public interest.

Our concern should be with what we need to do in this 21st century to move Africa away from being cap in hand and begging for aid, for charity, for handouts. The African continent when you look at its resources, should be giving monies to other places. We have huge wealth on this continent. In our own country of Ghana and we need to have a mindset that says we can do it; others have done it; we can also do it. And once we have that mindset we will see the liberating factor for ourselves. We keep talking about how it was that Koreans, Malaysians, Singaporeans who got their independence of this at the same time as ours. We were told of that at the time of Ghanaian Independence; per capita Ghanaian income was higher than that of Korea. Today Korea's part of the first world, so is Malaysia, so is Singapore. What happened? Why did they make that transition? And 60 years after the independence, we are where we are. Those are the matters that should concern all of us as Africans as Ghanaians.

And not when I say so with the greatest respect of the French President, I think that the cooperation of France is something that I have been, you know, strong friend of France, Franco feeling! (so I don't have any difficulty over that) but I am talking about our own propulsion. What we need to do to get our countries to work so that we can create the conditions that will allow our young people to forego this hazardous efforts to get to Europe; they are not going there because they want to; they are going there because they don't believe they have any opportunities in our countries, so that should be our focus and I believe that with that that mindset that mindset of dependence that mindset which is contingent on aid and charity, we would see that in the decades ahead of us the full flowering of the African people would take place and that new African personality that was talked about the time of independence will become real and eminent in our times.

That's what I am saying. I hope I am not upsetting the questioner and even some of my friends who are here but these are my strongly held beliefs and there is a reason why I have adopted as the slogan of my presidency of my period and the supreme office of Ghana that we want to build a Ghana beyond aid; a Ghana which is independent; which is self-sufficient that is capable of standing on its own feet and building its own life. We can do it if we have the correct mindset to do so, Mr President! These are my contributions. (French President speaks with his accusing finger against the speaker while Ghanaian president seems to have ignored him and engaged with the lady over a minute talk)

So no, will be here forever, will be here forever; he has a lot of ideas, a lot of positive things to say and as you can see I have my own things contributes as well so let's bring to an end. We are going to see one left a bizarre after hectic morning; doesn't have anything to eat; he at least has to have that side of the Ghanaian hospitality. So we are going to be thank you very much. (shakes hand and then shows the way to the French President while the French President keep his arm around his waist)