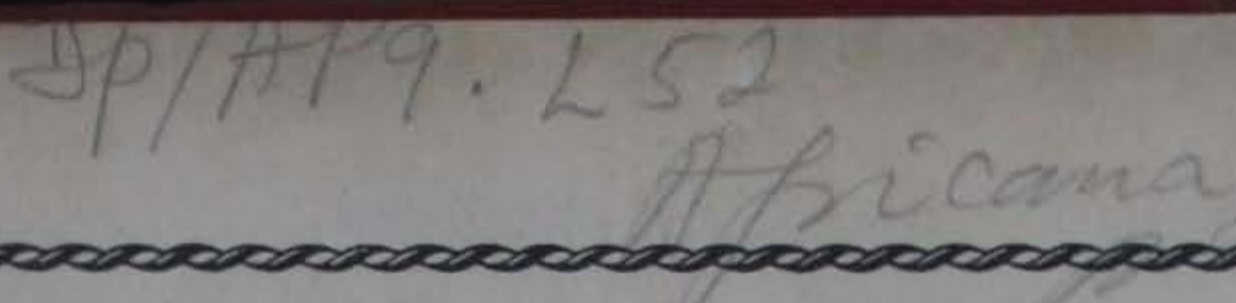




Fortnightly Organ of the Legion Society on National Affairs

Price: 15np

A Correspondent

Four Years Old

ANNIVERSARY MESSAGE

Four years of the Legon Observer

A YEAR AGO we began our Anniversary Message by admitting that "three years is a very short span of time indeed in the life of a newspaper". A year later, that is, today, the same opening would be apropos, for four years is still nothing much to make a lot of noise about. Nor do we intend to do so. It is only that, being so utterly unlike the real thing — real newspapers with money and men and material at their service — we have to keep encouraging ourselves by a reminder, at least once annually, concerning our survivability and of our duty so to survive.

We further said last year that life had not been easy for editors and assistants who, being part-timers, must write as they run, and dare not stop in either activity. In the ensuing twelve months since then the position has been exactly the same, though the person of the editor and his assistants has changed as before and must continue to change.

Basically, the absence of affluent means of support also continued to be the main feature of our existence. But in the process of our cultivation of the high art and science of survival we have learnt to cope with that condition too, indeed to overcome it. Today we are not rich, but have no fears remaining about the financial disasters that plagued our private dreams in the beginning, even though we did not narrate them to our best friends.

And our best friends continued to be those who in the beginning liked what they thought they saw in us and have supported us in all the essential ways ever since. Their number has never been great, unless of course you add to them our thousands of readers and subscribers in and out of Ghana. To these thousands we are grateful too, but their contribution to our continued existence and progress is a separate matter. We are really still referring here to the Proprietor of the Liberty Press, his General Manager and his other assistants; to all those machine men, typesetters and other workers at the Press who have helped to turn out the paper without fail every fortnight since the 8th of

July, 1966; and to Dr. I. B. Asafu-Adjaye, of Kumasi, who still continued to support us in his unique way. During the year just past, Dr. Asafu-Adjaye achieved the honour of being appointed to the Council of State, the highest such body set up under Ghana's second republican constitution.

As we have noted previously above, our editorial personnel continue to change periodically. On this anniversary we must pay tribute to last year's Editor, P. A. V. Ansah, successor to Yaw Twumasi and Obed Asamoah. Mr. Ansah's tenure of our editorial chair had to come to an end at the beginning of our fourth year, when he was awarded a fellowship for further studies in his specialism of French and French-African literature. We expect Mr. Ansah to return soon and continue rendering his excellent services to us.

During the period under review a tremendous, awe-inspiring lot of history has rolled past us into the records and the archives. In Ghana alone we have undergone the exhilarating experience of getting back to the normal habit of government by civil authority; this was from a military-police regime as unusual and benevolent as it could possibly be, but still acceptable only as long as it was absolutely necessary. That the change-over was effected on the best terms of mutuality and cooperation of all parties spoke volumes of praise on the Ghanaian people; it also engendered the hope that we may yet work out our own salvation, despite grievous indications of colossal difficulties in the way of these ambitions.

In the process of the recording of the history of contemporary man and contemporary Ghana during the last twelve months, the *Legon Observer* endeavoured to do its bit; we hope our friends will agree with this modest claim. We freely admit our inadequacies, but would not want to be understood as claiming to be more than our very basis of existence can allow. It is our hope that our supporters and well-wishers will stay with us, and grow in numbers, through to our Fifth Anniversary in July 1971.

EDITORIAL**DILEMMA OF THE UNITED NATIONS**

LAST week, in the Opera House in San Francisco, world statesmen gathered to celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the inauguration of the United Nations Organization.

A twenty-five-year life span is an indication of maturation in the experience of any institution and we deem it appropriate to look at some of the achievements and difficulties, the hopes and the disillusionments, that have beset this world body which is, as yet, perhaps mankind's best citadel for existence.

When, in June 1945, men gathered to affirm their determination "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war," the fate of the then moribund League of Nations must have been uppermost in their minds. Through the ravages of the first World War, it had become necessary in 1919 to set up an organization which would serve as a forum for discussion and for international understanding and co-operation. A human institution exists through faith rather than through preambles, and this was clearly evident in the ease with which the League's lofty ideals met early death.

Although the U.N. is the successor to the League of Nations, its ramifications are wider, and so also are its difficulties. It is now entrusted with the task of catering to human problems unprecedented in history. The U.N. is an opportunity par excellence for its over one hundred and twenty member countries to do talking, rather than warring. Especially with the decolonization era and the ascent to nationhood of several countries, many nations, some with populations which are less than a million, have become members of an organization which theoretically regards all such member countries as equally sovereign. That the countries are not equally powerful—economically, militarily, and otherwise—is at once the institution's best advantage and its worst disadvantage.

Within the U.N., smaller countries whose liability would have been difficult to ensure have had the chance to interact with giant nations for purposes of economic and cultural co-operation. It is in this respect that the smaller nations find more meaning in the U.N. through its various organs, such as the Economic and Social Council, the International Court of Justice, the Food and Agricultural Organization, the World Health Organization, and (recently) the U.N.C.T.A.D. The extent to which some countries have been able to enjoy their indepen-

dence, however fragilely, and the movement towards the raising of the status of womanhood: these and other achievements are well known.

This does not mean that the U.N., as a peace keeper, is not of interest to the helpless countries which are often grouped under the general category of the Third World. Obviously they can continue to exist only within the context of a world peace. But what is true is that, when it comes to the U.N. as an agency of peace, we realize, with an indescribably poignant helplessness, that peace in the world depends (for the moment) on only two countries: the United States and the Soviet Union. These two countries are, of course, the pivots of two ideological power blocs, and the desire to score ideological points abroad and to enhance national prestige at home has appeared to be more important to them than the universal cry for world peace. These two countries have the weapons which can, each, cause untold ravage to mankind. If the available military arsenal were to be used, the memory of Hiroshima and Nagasaki would be child's play.

It is in this respect that the difficulties of U Thant, the Secretary-General, become glaring. He is now the frustrated number one world civil servant and it may need a lot of persuasion to get him to accept a further term of office when his present term expires. U Thant knows, as we all do, that it is not the United Nations that has kept the peace in the universe since its inception. Take, for instance, the Middle East, where both sides of the combat have freely repudiated U.N. Security Council decisions on the ceasefire. Take, also, Indo-China, where peace depends, not so much on the Indo-Chinese people themselves as on the correct interpretations of ideologies by particular individuals living hundreds of miles away from the scene of the conflict. And, back in Africa, take the U.N. operations in the Congo, where the interests of the Congolese appeared to be less significant than the images of some outlying power structures.

The dilemma of the U.N. is that in circumstances such as the foregoing it can do no more than condemn. Despite world-wide condemnations through the world body, apartheid still continues, and South Africa still refuses to surrender the U.N. Trust Territory of South-West Africa; Rhodesia's economy is still such that the rebel regime has not crumbled; innocent women and children in peasant areas in Asia suffer untold massacre from wars which are decided from outside their own subcontinent; and Communist China, with about a fourth of the world

population, is still excluded from the U.N. for reasons which appeal more to emotion and ideology than to logic and rationality.

But U Thant need not despair; and the world need not despair either. Human faith in existence has so far apparently outweighed its destructive instincts during the past twenty five years. Thus, even if the less glamorous and less publicised achievements of the U.N. escape public attention, the U.N. can claim, as a credit, that, if nothing else, it has survived.

L.S.N.A. Communication

THE FIRST SESSION OF GHANA'S PARLIAMENT

THE Busia government's first legislative session, marking our return to civilian rule, came to an end last week; the next session will begin towards the end of July, and will feature the 1970/71 Budget. It is appropriate to consider at this point how the country fared during this first exercise under our new regime.

The Progress Party had promised the country three major improvements above all others, at least in our interpretation: (1) all-round development, with concentration on the rural sector; (2) agricultural progress; and (3) radical boosting of the Ghanaian participation in business, that is in the economy. Other undertakings included that of improving Ghana's foreign relations, particularly with its African neighbours, who are also its companions in economic and social distress of many kinds.

The most easily attainable of these aims was undoubtedly in the last named area, that of international and intra-African relations. We have already commented upon the Prime Minister's visit to the Ivory Coast and Mr. Victor Owusu's to East Africa (L.O. V/10). To this we must add mention of the Prime Minister's tour of the United States and Europe, where he was able to discuss Ghana's economic problems with the Americans, the British and the French. This was with a view to the amelioration of our hardships as a debtor-country whose misfortunes in that field are not the first to have been recorded in world history. The results of these efforts are still awaited by the Ghanaian people, but the results of the missions to the African countries were immediate, positive, and on the whole gratifying.

As far as agriculture is concerned the problems are more complex and deeper than can be tackled in one session of anybody's parliament,

least of all in any developing country with agriculture as its backstay. Cocoa alone, for Ghana, with its domestic scourge of diseased trees and its external tormentor of world market price behaviour, is enough to keep our economic blood pressure jumping up and down for many years to come. We will always appreciate any Ghanaian government's strenuous efforts to bring some agricultural progress to this country, and to the present government we convey our hopes for their eventual success in this area. We cannot say that we believe they have already begun to achieve this success yet.

The Progress Party government, during the session under review and true to their promise, showed great concern for, and were noticeably active in, development planning and rural development. The new principle of administrative decentralisation and the drive towards the strengthening of local government were under activation, but it is too early yet to say how well or otherwise these efforts are beginning to yield positive results. The resistance to regional pressures for preferential treatment during the session was in the right direction, graduated revenue allocation, such as was done under the last budget for regional planning and reminded to the House by the ministry, being likewise in a more rational direction.

Protecting Ghanaian Business

It was in the matter of Ghanaian participation in the economy that the first session of the first parliament of our Second Republic made its most dramatic and most effective impact. Now protectionism has vicious negative elements within it. In trade it generates international tariff walls and customs barriers galore, with all that this means in trade wars and cut-throat deals and counter deals. That is the meaning of the gathering economic communities of the day, the common markets, and the rest. They are being set up to counteract some of the evil effects of unilateral protectionism. Secondly, in internal business relations, protectionism carries with it unfortunate overtones and undertones of discrimination and inhumanity; it also generates its own brand of international ill will, and can call forth reprisals against the nationals of the protecting country who may be doing business in countries affected by the said acts of discrimination or deprivation against the latter's own nationals. Above all, to repeat: protectionism in business, within the national borders, tends more often than not to be inhumane and unfriendly.

Unfortunately, black Africa, and perhaps

FANTA MIXERS



FANTA GINGER ALE
FANTA TONIC
FANTA SODA

Here to bring sparkle to your drinks - new life to your parties - world famous Fanta Mixers. Ginger Ale - Quinine Tonic-Soda. Available now - everywhere. Start today to mix with Fanta - and enjoy the finest drinks you've ever tasted!



Fanta here to bring sparkle to your drinks

Bottled by Ghana National Trading Corporation
Authorised bottler of "Fanta"

every other "Third World" continent and country, must sooner or later adopt this retrograde policy, through sheer economic and psychological necessity. A country like Ghana must feel it *has to do so*, particularly at the attainment of independence or soon thereafter; and the reasons are too clear to be "pretended" out of sight. In sum, previous colonial exploitation and rank callousness, together with particularly vicious brands of foreign economic domination, were the harbingers of this present bitter fruit of self-protective exclusion of foreign nationals from large sectors of our internal trade. The new governments of East, Central and West Africa are, in other words, acting to capture for their citizens what should with goodwill, honesty and enlightened self-interest have been developed for all, namely economic justice in a land of great material potential. This is the meaning of Busia's Ghanaian Business (Promotion) Bill, now passed into law by the first session of his parliament and greeted with great enthusiasm by the overwhelming majority of informed Ghanaians. Whether such drastic, almost Draconian, measures can always achieve the correctives they seek is yet to be demonstrated in every specific case.

Creditable Results

It can now be said of this schedule of promise and performance that in part the results are creditable and in part prospective at least; so that on balance the record is more positive than negative, for which the governing party and the National Assembly as a whole can be congratulated. Some non-legislative matters debated during the session were not, however, of this nature or in the best traditions of parliamentary light and leading. We comment on just two of such matters here.

First there was that old bogeyman again: tribalism. Perhaps the Leader of the Parliamentary Opposition was not too wise or too correct in basing his censure motion against the government so heavily on alleged tribalistic motivation as an element in the recent dismissals episode. Even so, the language of the response he received from the government benches, front and back, was so much more intemperate in condemnation of Dr. Agama's speech as even now, in retrospect, to continue to cause some dismay. In particular, the Foreign Minister, Mr. Victor Owusu, was verbally brutal in the extreme and quite uncharacteristic of himself, though all recognise him as sharp-witted and a dangerous

debating adversary.

Secondly, the "Sallah Affair" made its perhaps inevitable parliamentary appearance in the House during the session. Here again there was a startling attack, this time by the Attorney General on the Judiciary; it was in connection with the controversial role and activities of the judges of the Sallah Case. Mr. Adade said that because of the circumstances under which the judgment was given and which therefore affected the latter to a fatal degree, in the interpretation and view of the government, that judgment was "hopelessly valueless by any standard". And much else he said, in great heat.

Order in the House

Lastly, though the government has patted its own back, and that of the Assembly as a whole, on the manner in which business was transacted in general in the House, one must express a little anxiety at the trouble to which the Speaker was so often put in his attempts to keep "ORDER—Order!" during debate. The heckling, to which members, of course, have a right, seemed sometimes to be so continuous and so infectious as to seem uncontrollable, and to cause us to wonder how much more could be accomplished without some of this expression of high spirits. Without doubt the first session did a lot of work. We hope our Assemblymen will do even more for the country in the succeeding sessions ahead of them and of all of us.

Education

LITERACY AND DEVELOPMENT

By

Kodjo Kudiabor

PROFESSOR Ofosu-Appiah appears determined to maintain the momentum of his one-man revolution for social change in this country. This lone voice in the wilderness has been heard for a long time now: it is rather curious that none from the ranks of his own colleagues has so far ventured a comment for or against his ideas and provocative pronouncements.

In the past the Professor has been chiselling a lot of glittering debris off our academic institutions and now, according to an Accra daily, he has come out with the findings that the supporting members of the academic structure are just

dead wood. Very provocative!

Even here dissension, when it did emerge, came from an unexpected camp: from the community of younger intellectuals whom the Professor, in a sketch of his vision of the 70's has described as "the powerful instrument for social change."

One thing is striking here. The mood of one of the dissenters, will appear to many to be an outburst of turbulent undercurrents characteristic of the attitude of the younger intellectuals in our present Ghanaian society: one is surely getting no applause from them for saying things and saying them nicely; one has got to convince them. They are taking no spoon-feeding, not even from Professor Ofosu-Appiah who, one believes, is clearly on their side.

My intention is not to set ablaze the dead wood discussions anew. I just want to draw attention to the future a little beyond the 1970's.

With the present dynamism smouldering in the academic youth today Mr. Ofosu-Appiah's hope of a powerful instrument for social change in the 1970's might well come true. But beyond, I think the fate of the intellectual community, to which the torches will be passed on, is rather uncertain and somewhat bleak. This is a fairly safe and sober prediction based on our present education policy:

to limit the rate at which government will commit itself to further expenditure on education at the present time (NLC-Budget Statement for 1969-70)

Unexploited Brain-Power

The unhappy effect we can immediately expect from this policy is that still fewer talents are going to be utilised from our largely unexploited reservoir of brain-power in this country. And all that, in a fast changing world where knowledge (free for all) is rapidly accumulating, technical expertise becoming more sophisticated, human relation problems getting more complex and — what is immediately relevant to our present predicament — economic cut-throat competition growing even keener.

Beginning from the financial year 1969-70 there will be a growing percentage of children of school going age who will be equipped with cutlasses and hoes to start off in life. They will learn to use their heads to haul loads, while their Japanese and German counterparts and future competitors will be fast investing the precious time saved (by using more efficient tools) in learning to use their heads to understand the techniques of cy-

bernetics and the patterns of commodity consumption, say, in Ghana. And in the 1980s even better models of Toyota and Mercedes Benz cars will emerge on the Ghanaian market to meet the craving demand for them. Meanwhile, the limited community of intellectuals available will have to be supplemented by imported foreign experts.

With the present level of education (considered one of the highest in Africa) our achievements so far are such that we feel visitors to Ghana are just being nice and courteous when they pay us compliments; among ourselves we even go straight to the point, and say that we should not think ourselves "as possessing a very capable ruling class" (J. H. Mensah) but just "dead wood" (Ofosu-Appiah).

'Wonderful Machine-Pedlars'

Indeed we have economically succeeded to manoeuvre ourselves (and allowed ourselves unwittingly to be manoeuvred in our red-carpeted conference-rooms by wittier counterparts, "pedlars of wonderful machines") into bankruptcy up to the ears.

We have turned the foreign embassies in our capital into some sort of charitable institutions where we go, often (not cap in hand), with great solemnity in black suit, to collect donations: wheat from Canada, pharmaceuticals from Israel, books for our libraries from Britain and NC550 Vibraphone for the Police Band from the West German Government.

Within the short span of one generation we have created a government-subsidized affluent living for a small caste of "ebi-te-yies" in a society where onions are sold in halves to make the people afford them. There are "international" school children — Bonanza fans — on one side in this society and on the other the "khaki" school children: those half-frightened kids whose lot appears to be nobody's business, as they beg for a lift to shorten the journey between home and school. On the whole the impression we create is that our honours degrees in the history of the French and the Russian Revolution failed to carry the message to us: that history does not repeat itself, it is repeated by men!

The question is: what is the future performance going to be like with the reduced percentage of literacy: educationally, socially and economically?

Not very encouraging—would it?—unless we want to play deliberately optimistic, throw our lot into the hands of fate and hope that some mighty luck will come our way one day in the next decade: such as striking oil at sea.

There has been some public discussion of the controversial paragraph 55 of the 1969-70 Budget Statement. Very unfortunately it has also long disappeared into thin air with the puffs of cigarettes in the drinking bars.

One of the popular arguments in support of some restrictive measures on uncontrolled expansion of education is that middle and secondary school leavers, and even graduates, are pouring out year after year into the streets of the cities to compound the already existing redundancy problems.

This argument is strange: the corrective effect of low and decreasing literacy on the unemployment problems implied in that sounds a strange new theory and Ghana would be the first to experiment with it if indeed it was so intended in the Budget Statement.

Others believe, however, that it is comparatively more difficult to find jobs for the literate youth since anything below the rank of a messenger is considered in our society as menial job good only for illiterates.

Even here, the device of limiting educational opportunities aimed at changing attitudes towards work and influencing job preferences does not make sense to everybody. A more relevant and natural approach to such a problem would be to re-structure and re-orientate the system of education, which has hitherto produced middle school leavers equipped only for the messenger's job.

This sort of problem can hardly be solved by reducing literacy from, say, 10% to 9.5%.

The Budget Statement itself presents the purpose of the policy thus:

In the meantime, the institutions of higher education have entered upon a period of consolidation — a period when the high standards already achieved will be pushed towards new levels of excellence, and the pressure of student numbers will be reduced, while the staff achieve more in the field of research.

This argument is more difficult to assail since the emphasis is not on quantity but quality—and quality requires an agreed yardstick to assess.

In any case it can be equally argued that, with zero percent literacy, educational standards will be at their lowest level; and, by the law of probability, individual geniuses who carry mediocre standards to peaks of excellence can only emerge in some proportion to growing literacy in a given society.

My appeal is: We shouldn't let 90% (if this is the illiteracy figure in Ghana) of the brain resources of 8 millions lie fallow. In a developing country, we can least afford that.

The Law

LAW AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

By

Modibo T. Ocran

THE ATTAINMENT of formal political independence by most African countries in the 'fifties and 'sixties was regarded by several political leaders and other citizens as merely the first of a "triple revolution" on the continent. The second aspect of the revolution was to consolidate the new political entities into nations, to make the fact of their sovereignty felt in the international arena, and to make efforts at some form of economic and political union on the continent. The third revolution was to pursue economic development, in order, basically, to give economic content to an otherwise hollow independence, and, as far as the left-wing leadership was concerned, to seek forms of economic organisations that would make the common man a thorough participant in the wealth to be created.

There have been interesting experiments and successes, as well as significant starts and failures with the two substantive aspects of the triple revolution. As far as the failures are concerned, the lion's share may appropriately be assigned to the politicians, since it is they who, in the final analysis, decide which specific policies to pursue out of the universe of potential alter-

AGENTS WANTED

The Legon Observer requires reliable agents to distribute the journal.

Very generous commission

For further particulars write to the:

Administrative Officer,
The Legon Observer,
P.O. Box 11,
Legon.



Have you ever considered the possibility that your house which took 6 months to build, 10 - 15 years to pay for and 5 years to furnish could be destroyed by fire within minutes?

Insure your house and property with State Insurance Corporation NOW and be assured of prompt replacement in event of fire catastrophe.

**STATE INSURANCE
CORPORATION**

P. O. BOX 2363, ACCRA. TEL: 64619 & 21833.



KUMASI • TAKORADI • TAMALE • TEMA • KOFORIDUA • HO

natives, and what technical advice to accept from economists, sociologists, lawyers, administrators, and other professionals involved in the process. But it would be propagandistic to lay the blame solely at the door of the political leadership, whatever psychic gratification we may derive as professionals from this "buck-passing" exercise. How is it that in countries where the political leadership is more susceptible to accept advice from bureaucrats and academics, we still find significant failures in certain sectors of the economy that cannot be attributed to an "act of God"?

It may well be that the technical advice we give as professionals is vitiated, among other things, by inadequate "homework" preparation, by wrong inarticulate premises on which it is built, and by irrelevant research pursuits. For example, in Tanzania and Zambia (to mention only two African countries), some private corporations which have been nationalised seem to have retained the same legal form as they had when they were in private hands. Obviously the assumption is that the same legal form is appropriate both for a public and private corporation. Is this assumption borne out by facts?

Does economic development (particularly centrally planned economic development) in Africa require new and different legal devices, or can it manage with the inherited colonial juristic legacy? Is there any relationship at all between law and economic development, or is development planning the concern of only economists, statisticians, and other social scientists? What do lawyers have to say about law and economic development?

Static Functions Only?

It is not apparent to many people that legal institutions have an important place in social change in general, and in the rate of economic development in particular. One reason for this lack of perception is that social scientists, with remarkable exceptions such as Arnold Rose, stress only the static functions of law as a mechanism for social control or conflict-resolution. Law is said to be concerned with the maintenance of order.

There is no question that law is a regulative mechanism and a specialised tension-management system. But there are other functions of law apart from these; and it is not clear at all that these aforementioned functions are in some sense better than others. Even when law appears

formally as a regulative mechanism, it may in fact be only a warning system — a trip-wire designed to prevent rather than to punish transgressions and resulting conflicts.

Of much more interest is the role of law as a conveyer of new values, and therefore a tool of education and reform. In this way, law also provides a climate for social change, even when the actors who "cause" the change are not thinking of sanctions or subsidies.

Law communicates to the public, or a segment of it, a sense of problem and purpose. Law is an instrument for dispensing social justice, and can also provide a shield for protecting innovators. It may thus be used to accelerate social and economic change. Law and order are desired not as an end in themselves, but as conditions for the pursuit of positive life goals. Of greater significance is the positive role of law in the achievement of social priorities.

Legal Philosophy

That law is not readily seen as an instrument of social change is also due in part to certain attitudes among Anglo-American trained lawyers which Adam Podgorecki of the University of Warsaw calls "the prospective-accidental predisposition". This is the predisposition to *ad hoc* approaches to the transformation of society which, whatever its merits, certainly furnishes little systematic mode of thinking or reliable guide to decision-making.

A little extension of this attitude leads to the thought, often expressed by many practising lawyers, that law does not involve any philosophy of law. It is, of course, quite possible to be a brilliant practising lawyer or judge without bothering about legal philosophy. But the naive pragmatism that views law as if it existed outside a social context is itself a philosophical position of sorts.

Another possible theoretical position that can obscure the relationship between law and development is that legal systems can be adapted to any level and type of social development. A legal system, it may be argued, embodies certain values; but these values, reduced to essentials, are timeless. For example, for a thousand years, the common law maintained some sort of continuity, while absorbing and responding to the most fundamental kinds of social change—industrial revolution and all. Since legal institutions can accommodate themselves to social change, no special efforts need be made concerning the question of economic

development.

It is true, of course, that two of the greatest historical families of law — the Common Law and the Civil Law — have been able to support different levels of economy. But this fact does not take us very far. It merely means that, over a long enough time period, legal institutions can accommodate themselves to a variety of social arrangements. On this view, law is no more than a register or codification of norms, values and habits already operative in society. This, incidentally, is supposed to be the classical sociological position, usually attributed to William Graham Sumner. This position, however, requires us to define the role of legal institutions rather narrowly, as it in effect enjoins law to follow social change always, like a prince consort.

One of the important tasks of legal academics in an African country engulfed in economic development is to free law of those limited functions, and to view it as a conscious instrument of *social engineering*.

Planning for Social Change

Social engineering is basically the notion of "engineering" or planning social life in a rational way. Largely due to the works of Roscoe Pound, the concept of social engineering through law has become popular in the jurisprudence, sociology of law, and political science of Western countries. With the socialist countries of Europe and Asia, this is seen as an integral part of the political philosophy itself. The "withering away" of the state and law does not come — if it comes at all — until law and other instruments of social control have been used affirmatively to usher in the age of abundance.

The function of law as social engineering concerns experimental ways of using law as a tool in planning and realising social change. It is the conscious and purposeful use of law to affect the behaviour of individuals and groups towards the desired social goals, whatever these goals are, and however one determines what these are. The emphasis is on the attributes, this conception of the function of law also becomes a potential instrument of *rapid* social change.

Social engineering through law is not simply of philosophical interest. Since what a society can accomplish is also a function of the entire range of constraints imposed on that society, what the law ought to do is a question which

cannot be answered on philosophical grounds alone. Hence social engineering through law also implies a research for those conditions under which laws would be most efficacious. It involves, in other words, *the science of legislation*: predictions of the effects of proposed rules on the activity of role-occupants (public officials or ordinary citizens).

It is on these aspects of law that legal academics in Africa should focus their research. In Ghana, too much importance is still placed on providing purely descriptive and analytic information about traditional branches of law. Too much research effort is still directed to the law relating to family relations, inheritance, the ownership and alienation of land, and the structure and operations of corporations. I do not mean to deprecate works in these areas. Some of them are well-written, and are the product of manifestly brilliant minds. Besides, one has to know what the law is before one can postulate what the law ought to be. But what seems so obvious to me is that we do not need to duplicate research in these fields. The area of law and economic development is a relatively uncharted area to which intellectual explorers may do better to turn their attention increasingly.

How much research has been done in Ghana to know the effect of legislations dealing with agricultural co-operatives, marketing boards, and state farms? How many legal researchers in Ghana have gone beyond the question of describing the land law of Ghana, into the more interesting (if more difficult) task of evaluating these legal norms from the viewpoint of its impact on the economy? How many have studied the relationship between land tenure and economic size of farms? Do we know enough about public corporations — about legal forms that will make them function as *public* corporations, and not as private companies playing possum? Have we begun to direct our attention to planning commissions, in order to demonstrate that economic planning is a multidisciplinary process whose output may well be increased if lawyers and other professionals were consulted more frequently?

Legal academics need to remind themselves constantly of the fact that there is a relationship between legal institutions and the socio-economic structure of a given society. Unless this fact is constantly borne in mind, we are bound to fritter away already scarce resources and badly needed intellectual energy in misguided projects of law reform and low-priority research schemes.

International

EDWARD HEATH AND AFRICA

By

Max Assimeng

THERE ARE several significant aspects of the Conservative victory in the June 18 British General Election. As in the case of the Harry Truman victory in the 1948 presidential elections in the United States, the sephologists are now under suspicion as to the type of results which emerge from their opinion polls. (On lines with the psychologists' analyses of intelligence quotients, one begins to wonder what opinion polls actually elicit). It is usual that the general public remembers moments of failure than of success; but one believes that there is a need for a more serious appraisal of the approaches at political forecasting of voting patterns.

Apart from the fact that prediction is miles different from prophesying, watchers of political barometers may do well to realise that an opinion poll elicits what people say their intentions are; it is never a foolproof assurance of what voters would actually do when they take their ballot papers and make up their minds at the polling booths.

Economic Achievements

As for Mr. Harold Wilson, generally regarded as a very shrewd politician of an empirical temper, the defeat of Labour may appear as a personal tragedy. He had done his best, with the mind and heart of an economics superman to uplift the economy of his country unto a level of some buoyancy, albeit through unpopular mechanisms. Labourites had throughout their campaign concentrated on reminding the voters about Labour's economic achievements so far, and had warned Britain against a return to what the Socialists used to scornfully call "the thirteen wasted years" of Conservative rule (1951-1964). Were those "thirteen years" actually wasted, or were they not? The British public was the only accurate witness to this, but it appeared, to the uninterested observer, that in debates over such issues, the Labourites tended to score more points over the Conservatives.

Then what happened? There is an intriguing parallelism between the result of the British General Election, just held, and that of Ghana about a year ago. In both cases, what one dis-

covered was that man lives, not by bread alone but by a whole network of complex factors, including sentiments. In Britain, as in Ghana, the elections were won or lost in terms (mostly) of personalities, because manifestoes did not appear to differ much.

The British are, of course, unimaginably conservative by centuries-old custom and tradition, and one believes that this election victory at least was just in tune with this mood and temperament. And, of course, the British people know best what is good for them. Here one can only admire the smoothness and maturity with which they have indicated, with a freedom of expression rare in the modern world, their choice of who should govern them. There is no question here of a disappointed rejectee — not even in the case of veterans such as George Brown and Jeannie Lee — furiously invoking dubiously relevant excuses to account for election failure.

Interesting Dimensions

The recent British elections raise many issues for students of voting behaviour. For the first time, the voting age was reduced to 18, and one would have thought that, in the age of mod, pop, and the hippy, the votes of the younger electors would have drifted unto a radical, pro-Labour ambit. But youthfulness is not necessarily correlated with socialism, and it seems as if the younger generation's anti-authority syndrome was directed against the Socialists as well. In any case, it would be interesting to know how many under-21's actually voted — and for whom. Another interesting dimension which would be useful to explore, although not in this very short essay, would be the changing distribution of labour in the industrial areas of Britain.

The foregoing preliminaries are, however, asides from the main issues raised in this paper. For, as Africans, as well as members of the Afro-Asian group of the British Commonwealth of Nations, the outcome of the elections should be of interest to us. And it is here that one should see the foreign relations implications of British politics. And it is in this connection, too, that Mr. Enoch Powell's relevance becomes strikingly evident.

Although Powell once belonged to the upper ranks of the Conservative Party, his teaching on immigration — that coloured immigrants should be repatriated to their home countries,

and that a complete halt should be made on their further immigration into Britain — transcended party boundaries. When he first articulated his teaching, expressing fears of a future Britain flowing with the blood of racial strife, it was the working-class folk, not traditionally identified with the Conservative Party, though with *conservatism*, who openly rallied to his corner, with open demonstrations in his favour. It must be granted, though, that Powell was repudiated officially by the Conservative Party, expelled from the shadow cabinet then, and has since been condemned by some bishops and clergymen.

Race, then, was certainly an issue in the General Election, official protestations to the contrary notwithstanding. And it would be hypocritical to deny Powell's post-election statement that his teaching did a lot to ensure the victory of the Conservative Party. But one would want to qualify this statement by saying that it ensured the victory of conservatism — with small letter c.

How, then, will the coloured immigrants in Britain fare under the new order? Already, since the enunciation of Powellism, race relations in

Britain have considerably deteriorated. Visitors to Britain now give evidence that even places which were originally well noted for racial harmony have fallen to Powell. The new Home Secretary (Interior Minister), Mr. Reginald Maudling, is urbane, liberal (by Conservative standards) and moderate, and it is expected that he may be able to resist the "Keep Britain white" extreme gossellers. But, clearly, the Conservative Party policy on immigration differs very little in tone (although not exactly in its mechanics) from what the Powellite persuasion stands for. A further reduction in immigration quotas is to be predictably expected in the few years ahead, a situation which will undoubtedly in turn affect the image and position of Britain and the British in Afro-Asian-Caribbean countries.

On South Africa, Sir Alec Douglas-Home — the new Foreign Secretary — and his colleagues have been all along unambiguous and less hypocritical in their attitude. They are not avowed admirers of the Pretoria regime for what it stands for, it is true. But they believe, with a logic which may not readily appeal to the uninitiated, that it is possible to dislike a regime's socio-political structure, and at the same time

Choose...



use apex
ball point pen

sell arms to that regime. The apparent assertion, here, is clearly that political taste (or distaste) should be distinguished from economic trade.

Although the Conservatives' flirtations with apartheid South Africa would be keenly watched, it would be on their attitude to Rhodesia that Africans would immediately watch all the more. Officially, while in Opposition, the Conservatives — or a majority of them — supported Harold Wilson's Rhodesia policy, especially on NIBMAR (no independence before majority rule). Rhodesia has travelled a long way since then on her infamous journey to rebellion. The rebellion is now almost five years old. Furthermore, since the early part of this year, she has become a republic, and has repudiated whatever links there were with the British crown.

More Meaningful Negotiations

Even to such adamant "we-sent-civilisation-to-Africa" Britons as Lord Salisbury, Rhodesia's new republican status has not been welcomed with much enthusiasm. Rhodesia's leaders had repeatedly stated that negotiations with Conservatives would be much easier, and more meaningful, than with Labour. And, although negotiations on Rhodesia antedated the Labour government, Mr. Ian Smith has deliberately avoided insulting the Conservatives in the open.

The misfortune here is that Mr. Edward Heath appears to know very little about Africans and their conditions. None of his previous portfolios in government has been concerned specifically with the handling of African problems. But Heath has Ian MacLeod, Reginald Maulding, and, of course, Sir Alec in his team. These three men are capable of counselling their leader on the realities of apartheid (of which Rhodesia has just decided to join), and of minority rule. And his men in the United Nations headquarters should be able to brief him on the mood of the Afro-Asian bloc there.

Will Heath relax — or even lift — the sanctions against a country in which 230,000 whites are ruling over four million Africans? Will he now enter into negotiations with the rebels, so that the present rebellion later acquires a *de jure* status? Will he allow the rebellion to drag on, in the name of a philosophy of "what we have we hold", while many Africans are denied freedom, liberty, and humane citizenship? Or will Heath and his colleagues at the Downing Street now appreciate that, contrary to the odd effusions of one or two African political quislings,

only a military intervention can quickly put an end to the dangerous racist and minority nonsense in Rhodesia?

It is true that Mr. Heath was in the Opposition when Britain intervened militarily in Anguilla. It is also true that he is paramourly Europe-oriented, that his first duty is naturally to the people whose government he is now heading. The problems of the coloured races are now apparently no longer a "white man's burden". But surely if the Commonwealth and the United Nations still have any meaning and significance it is imperative that Heath and his new government make immediate pronouncements on the way they intend to deal with their colonial legacies of South Africa and (especially) of Rhodesia.

African leaders have consistently warned of possible future racial strife in southern Africa. These warnings may appear feeble, ineffectual and unorganized at the moment. But inevitable historical occurrences can stand considerable long delays. Thus, what the Conservatives intend to do on these issues would be a test of the relationship between Mr. Edward Heath and the people of black Africa. If he finds difficulty in convincing the "kith and kin" philosophers in his company, he deserves every good luck!

THE PLIGHT OF THE PALESTINIANS — THREE YEARS AFTER THE SIX DAY WAR

By

A Political Correspondent

LAST MONTH was the third anniversary of the 1967 Arab-Israeli war. That resounding defeat of Arab arms caused many to postulate that peace would have to come to the Middle East — that "realities" would have to be recognised. Yet there is no peace. A *modus vivendi* between those semetic cousins, the Arabs and the Jews, has yet to be found. And the problem is of concern to Africa. This is not just because Egypt, an African nation, is involved; nor is it just because the two super powers stand threateningly on opposite sides — but because the resultant jockeying for alliance and support cannot but affect the politics of much of northern and eastern Africa and even further afield, and cannot but impede the ultimate aim of unity for this continent.

Perhaps the time has come to re-examine the

problems of the **Middle East** and such re-examination could well begin by discarding that very term. The vexed and troubled area of North-East Africa and South-West Asia is only middle to those who would have us see other parts of the world as **far**. It is essential that our thinking be not a copy of theirs — but that is more easily said than done, for the mass communications media of the world—books, journals and articles, films and television coverage—emanate in the main from committed parties. It is pertinent to enquire whether on this third sad anniversary we are fed by facts or clichés, by objective reporting or by clever but partisan persuasion.

Historical Continuity

After these three years, let us first pose the question — what have the Israelis achieved by their military prowess and subsequent exploits? Certainly, they have maintained the survival of the Zionist State which three years ago seemed in such mortal peril — that is a fact. But the frequent implication that it has thousands of years of historical continuity is but a claim to be examined.

The pirate-patch of General Moshe Dayan and more particularly his military brilliance and ruthlessness have led to his becoming a folk hero of Israel and indeed of New York City, and much of the United States of America. Mrs. Golda Meir, who was thought at first to be an interim Prime Minister, has also established herself as a strong figure in world politics and in the growing mythology of the Zionist State. She continues in firm control of her government and her "hard-line" against the Arabs is at once popular to her own electorate and to Israel's friends abroad, chiefly in the United States and Western Europe — but also in Africa.

From what does Zionist sympathy stem in Africa? Is it perhaps because of the thorough background in the Old Testament given to so many by Christian missionaries? That can only be part of the truth, especially in countries with so many Muslim citizens. We cannot so easily dismiss cultural bombardment by foreign information media. What is the accuracy of the media from which we in Africa have had to draw our information? Three years ago it was confidently prophesied by most members of the Western press that the President of the United Arab Republic could not long withstand the failure of his Armies in that year's debacle. But Nasser survives, and clashes across the Suez

Canal continue.

The new series of raids conducted by Israel against Egyptian military and industrial targets and even villages, which began in 1969, have been sensational in their daring character. It is claimed that they are an attempt "to bring home the message of the war to the common people" of the United Arab Republic. These raids, which have included horrendous tragedies, such as the bombing of Egyptian school children, have been most terrible: equally horrible was the blowing up of a school bus by the Arabs. The sadness of human losses is doubtless very real, but meantime most visitors report that Cairo continues on its way and, except for sandbags and the blackening of windows, seems on the surface oblivious or at least resigned to the war. But history can teach us that Egypt has long existed and that the Egyptians have absorbed the shocks of many invasions. Although Israel's armies are stronger, and her borders straighter than ever, she is sustaining losses in military personnel larger in proportion to her population than American losses in South-East Asia. The annexation of Jerusalem, the annexation of Gaza, the establishment of fortified **Kibbutz** in occupied Jordan and on the Golan Heights are no nearer acceptance by the Arabs — educated and uneducated alike. Among them are not a few who dearly hope for peace. Theirs are not the headlines. Yet today they must wonder just what options for peace remain.

Military Incursions

It is strange that when the Algerians took up arms against the **colons** and legionnaires of France they were described here in Africa as "resistance fighters" — not "terrorists" or even "guerillas". A recent **Time Magazine** describes the guerillas as "ultra-militant" and speaks of 'hotbeds of nationalism'. Earlier this week the B.B.C. announced that current Israeli military incursions into Syria were "to counter escalation" and prevent the Syrians from "over-reaching themselves". There is great danger in our being numbed by such phrases. But the moral issue of Zionism apart, the existence of Israel is synonymous with the displacement of almost an entire people — the Palestinian Arabs. This has parallels in colonial history. What therefore is being said when we reiterate that the Arabs must "face reality"? Has the wind of change so blown out that we in Africa do not pause with an open mind to enquire into the **background** which has bred such determination in those who

seek to challenge such great odds? If similar enquiry appears not to be found in the Western press, then is it because of the cultural affinity of Zionism with Europe and America?

The facts are indisputable that tough men are committed to another ideal — that of a secular non-Zionist (and hence non-Israeli) state in Palestine, in which religion and state would be constitutionally dissociated. This cannot be just brushed aside. **Al Fatah** has become a new power dimension in the already complicated power structure of the several states immediately concerned with this problem. Quite apart from Jordan, currently in the news, concessions have even been won from the Lebanon, sections of whose government have heretofore assiduously endeavoured to ignore the conflict as much as possible. Recent Israeli raiders — dignified by the description "commandos", a term with as clear and as opposite a propaganda connotation as "terrorist" or "guerilla" — foraging into Lebanon will probably only force that country to adopt a stronger military position vis-a-vis Israel.

Development of Nationalism

Behind the propaganda certain other facts emerge. Just as the 1967 war devastated the existing armament of the Arab states, so it prepared, to a degree foreseen by no one, the further development of Palestinian nationalism. Today the Palestinians have established and recognised groups fighting for what they would say was their very right to exist in their own country. The existence and achievements of these nationalists is undoubtedly a factor in the new political alignments of Sudan and Libya. They may be seen walking uniformed and respected, on the streets of Khartoum, Tripoli and Benghazi today. Because of them, President Nasser, whatever his inclinations, must commit himself more and more to Palestinian goals.

Behind the propaganda also lie the facts which need to be examined if the goals of those who have taken up arms are to be seriously weighed. That there is any such historical justification for this Palestinian patriotism is hardly obvious from the current spate of articles and reports on the Arab-Israeli conflict. Indeed Jerusalem is invariably portrayed today as a Zionist city. The role of Jerusalem in Christian tradition is well known, but there are other facts of relevance.

The Roman Emperor Hadrian—who (significantly) is presently known in Ghana more for

his wall built against the Scottish than his other actions—obliterated Jewish influence from the old city of Jerusalem in the Second Century A.D. The city was destroyed and its site ploughed over. When the Romans rebuilt it, pagan gods were worshipped there. St. Matthew and St. Luke, making quotations from the lost document Q, suggest that Christ remarked in this context that "not one stone would be left upon another". Later, when certain Emperors and Empresses were converted to the Christian faith, many churches and the shrines of saints were established.

'Hems of Heaven'

Roman antipathy to the Jews decreased, and some few survivors lived on in Palestine, particularly in the Galilee region. However, in the Seventh Century they chose to aid and abet Persian invaders who sacked Jerusalem, but whose rule did not last. Heraclius recovered the city and most surviving Jews were put to the sword. Such was the historical situation at the time when the city acquired vital importance with the rise of Islam. Significantly it was in the direction of Jerusalem that the faithful bowed, before they were re-orientated towards Mecca.

It was from Jerusalem that the prophet is said to have ascended to visit the seventh heaven. Muhammad is said to have climbed a ladder from the rock—now the Dome of the rock—a continually significant symbolism, for even a poor poet of London saw the "hems of heaven" and a ladder "pitched betwixt heaven and Charing Cross."

It was a Christian, not a Jewish, Jerusalem that Patriarch Sophronius surrendered to the Caliph 'Umar after the Byzantine defeat. The safety of the Christians, their Churches and their crosses, was guaranteed and 'Umar, accompanied by several of the Prophets contemporaries and servants, immediately sought out the rock. The city's Roman name dropped into disuse. Jerusalem was known just as Bait al-Muquddas—the holy house—and then by variants on that theme, just as Mecca was known as the Sacred House. Muslim scholarship blossomed in Jerusalem and it took its place as the third holy city of the Islamic religion.

Of course very little work has been done in differentiating the religious philosophies of those times. They were not, as now, consolidated in firm definitive religious brackets. To some, for a time, Islam appeared almost as a Christian heresy,

3 aids to a brighter home



GHANAKOTE:

the supergloss enamel paint that's easy to keep clean and protects woodwork. Available in a range of dazzling colours.



TEMATEX:

the emulsion paint that makes your home come alive. Made to last in hot climates and available in a range of exciting colours.



BEESHAM CEMENT PAINT:

protects your home in all weathers. Specially made to give added strength and is known for its durability qualities.



Available from leading hardware stores or direct from the factory.

PAINT DIVISION GHANA INDUSTRIAL HOLDING CORPORATION

P.O. BOX 144, TEMA • PHONE 2628

and early Christianity in the region was itself fret with divisions. Nevertheless the Muslims recognised three places of equal merit for the faithful in terms of prayer and pilgrimage—Mecca, Madina and Jerusalem.

The Umayyad and the Abbasid caliphs were no less concerned with Jerusalem, and several visited the city in those early days. Muslim mystics and scholars travelled from mosque to mosque, and one suspects from mosque to monastery and monastery to mosque, much as students use youth hostels in the world today. It was sometime before holy war, 'Jihad' or 'Crusade', bedevilled human relations between the followers of the one God—the same one God whom the Jews had worshipped for so many centuries.

Religious Tolerance

The Tenth Century Arab businessman and travelling scholar, Ibn Hauqual, wrote of the Jerusalem mosque in superlative terms. Al Muqaddasi wrote that Mecca and Madina had superiority by reason only of the Kaba (the sacred rock) and the Prophet, and he added, "in truth, on the judgment day both cities will come to Jerusalem and the excellencies of all will be united." A fifteenth century writer refers to 20,000 pilgrims in Jerusalem or al Quds—the Holy City. Within the last 600 years some, but by no means all, sources mention a synagogue as well as churches—but those references are far from clear.

It was in 1099 that Jerusalem was captured by the crusaders. Recent work on these crusades has been realized for a long time by progressive scholars—the savage inhumanity of the crusaders and the greed with which they plundered and looted the rich material culture of Islam and took it back to Europe. Muslim and Jew alike suffered under the sword of those who fought beneath the banner of Christ. Poems were written, as they have always been, and the heshima (pride) of the followers of Islam was only assuaged in 1187 when Saladin re-took the city. There is little evidence in contemporary writing of large Jewish communities in Jerusalem at that time, but Saladin as a ruler is known to have displayed universal religious tolerance. The Dome of the Rock and the great Aqsa mosque were ritually cleansed—since Saladin's liberation of the city was on the very date that the Prophet was said to have ascended to heaven from there. Saladin and most rulers who followed after him

raised in Jerusalem several monuments and buildings sacred to the Muslim faith.

It was about this time that the trickle of Jewish refugees from Christian Europe and south-west Asia began. In those times it was Christians rather than Muslims who persecuted Jews. Saladin and his descendants; the Mamluks and the Turkish sultans; all these groups extended refuge to Jews who fled from persecution elsewhere. What we know about Jerusalem at that time is drawn from Islamic and Christian writers—not Jews who perhaps saw little to describe—but there are some references to small Jewish communities in Jerusalem. Under the Mamluk sultans more schools, hospitals and government buildings and mosques were built. These Islamic rulers defeated the Mongols in the north of Palestine and drove the colonial crusaders from Europe from the country. They, like the Ottoman sultans who succeed them, took the title "servants and guardians of the holy places of Mecca, Madina and Jerusalem". Much of present day Jerusalem was built by Salaiman the Magnificent.

Protecting the People

Muslim leaders everywhere continued to pay great attention to Jerusalem throughout this time and on into the 19th century. With the exception of monks and those whose specific job was to guard holy places, foreigners were not normally permitted to live in Jerusalem and had not been since the days of the Crusades. Pilgrims, of course, were permitted for certain limited periods. But Jewish refugees from Europe were exempted from these rules and at some time hereabouts they began to gather to pray near the western wall, which Zionist propaganda now claims as an ancient right.

The Egyptians who occupied the region in 1831 were also by no means intolerant towards either the Christians or the Jews. From this time also, British diplomatic pressure began to be brought to bear on the authorities on behalf of the several Jewish communities some of whom originated from western Europe, and others largely from the east. Many sought to take advantage of the British Consulate although they were not British. That was an era when Britain was prepared to "protect" many people in the world! Under this "protection" the Jews in Jerusalem came into the possession of many more goods and properties—attempts were even made to physically restore, and thus establish a claim to the wailing place near the wall.

In 1874 the British Consulate estimated the number of Jews in Jerusalem at a mere 3,000, including many destitute, many aged and many on pilgrimage.

Great changes followed close upon the emergence of Zionism towards the end of the 19th century and only then did the issue of Jewish settlement really become political. Many refugees arrived, fleeing from persecution in Imperial Russia. The Muslims continued to treat the Jews with great hospitality and tolerance—an attitude particularly typical of the world at that time but they were nevertheless increasingly conscious of the many attempts to change the status of the wailing place. By the outbreak of the First World War the number of Jews in Palestine generally and in Jerusalem particularly had risen substantially.

Britain and the Jews

The story of how the Zionists obtained British promises during that war is well known. The Balfour declaration of 1917 promised the Zionists "a national home in Palestine" in return for their support. But 'perfidious Albion' also promised the Arabs independence in return for alliance against the dying Ottoman empire which was allied with Imperial Germany. When the British army finally occupied Jerusalem, Arab suspicions of the aims and intentions of the Zionists grew. Unrest mounted further when Jewish soldiers ignored a British ban on their entering Jerusalem and particularly the wailing place. Then alarm grew almost to despair when, after the League of Nations allotted Britain a mandate over Palestine, the British saw fit to nominate the Zionist Sir Herbert Samuel as its first High Commissioner. The wall was central to most of the disputes which ensued. The small minority of Jews in Jerusalem started to seek complete control. It is now known that the Zionists publicly denied aims that they were at the same time representing in secret to the British Government. Struggles continued throughout the 1920s. Demonstrations were mounted by both parties. Violence often ensued. Arab Jews were greatly stimulated when Jewish immigration increased rapidly in the 1920s, because of the rise to power of Nazi racialists in Germany. The Arabs felt they might be colonised and submerged by waves of immigrants—like the natives of Australia and America had been before them — and they rose in revolt.

Disorders continued for three years. Meantime international Zionism grew stronger and Britain was superseded by the United States as the power

behind the Jewish demands. Plans for the partitioning of Palestine were developed in America and were pushed by her through the United Nations in 1947. Again bitter fighting resulted. Neither side asked for, or gave, any quarter. Like Vietnam today, Jewish immigration into Palestine became an American election issue and the interests of the people living there became almost marginal. Soon the terminology, especially in the western press, began to change — the Jewish immigrants were described as "defending" Jerusalem from the "tyranny of infamous and impious Arabs". Once the British mandate ended in 1948, the Jews attacked the city of Jerusalem, which action led to the intervention of King Abdullah of Trans-Jordan. When the fighting subsided the old city remained in the Jordanian sector but the ambitions of Zionists to expand their territories further remained.

The Israeli 'frontier' was pushed forward on the 5th of June, 1967, when Israel attacked the U.A.R., Jordan and Syria. The United Nations called for a ceasefire—meantime Israel announced the annexation of Jerusalem. The United Nations resolved by a large majority that Israel should withdraw from this claim and has since repeated its requests to no avail. Today, in the propaganda of Zionism, possession of the Western Wall is central to the propaganda of Israel's expansion. Israel owes its legal existence to the United Nations yet no country has been condemned more often by the Security Council and no country has ignored so many United Nations Resolutions. These are the brutal facts. Refugees from what the Arabs regard as twentieth century colonialism remain a major world problem.

We now know that technical breaks-through in knowledge have been made in many different parts of the world. They are not the permanent monopoly of any creed, race or peoples. We know however that one of the main reasons for the success of the Israelis in the recent war was technical superiority. However, neither history nor social development is static and it could be that the Arab nationalists are now demanding of **history** — and not just of the West and not just of Israel — the right to re-occupy a place they feel is theirs. Whether or not we in Africa would agree with that claim, we should endeavour to ensure that at least we hear it. For it may well be three years after the war, that Israeli expansion has already, or is about to over-extend itself in terms of territory and people overrun. And one lesson of colonial history is that that has been done before.

Observer Notebook

Labour Relations in Ghana

It is gratifying to note that the strike of the Obuasi miners has now been called off, and that most of the workers have resumed duty. Ghana's present economic mess is such that this is hardly a propitious occasion for labour strife.

We should, however, do well to remember that industrial lock-outs often occur with reasons which are more deep-seated and it is the responsibility of our leaders to look to some of these problems. Although the strike at Obuasi was said to have been sparked off by the delay in the publication of the Atta-Bedu report on the previous disturbances there, it is possible that the reasons for the strike are more than meet the eye. It is obviously impetuous for individuals to dictate the pace at which probe reports are issued by the government and by this the strikers did, whatever cause they had, a lot of damage.

Workers at the Obuasi mines do not appear to have felt happy since the Lonrho deal. There was the case of the severance pay, for instance. May it be then, that the Atta-Bedu report when published would offer the workers a millennium?

The Obuasi strike is an issue which deserves a more detailed analysis within the wider context of industrial relations in Ghana, and of the type of trade unionism we have in the country as a whole.

We caution the workers in Ghana to be sympathetic with the problems of the nation; and we ask those responsible for the publication of the Atta-Bedu report, as of other reports, to be more forward looking in their attitude to time and to work.

The *Observer* has advised before, and wishes to advise again: threats have never been a successful weapon in the conduct of industrial relations. And this is irrespective of the quarters from where the threats come.

The O.A.U. and the Freedom Fighters

THE Organisation of African Unity was seven years old in May. In his review message on the occasion, Emperor Haile Selassie (of Ethiopia, where the headquarters of the O.A.U. is located) had the usual words of self-comfort and self-

congratulation to send out. He also expressed for all the members the Organisation's distress at its continuing inability to make a direct and decisive impact on the struggles of oppressed Africans of black skin against their oppressors in South Africa, Rhodesia and the Portuguese-held territories of the continent. All black Africans share the O.A.U.'s distress.

The logistics of operation alone are formidable. Even if the O.A.U. had the means to equip and man all the strategic points of attack, the fight would still be uneven: witness the armed might of the opposition, their mobility, their reconnaissance capabilities, their interlocking alliance in forces and aims, their support by their great white allies. Doubly unfortunately, however, the O.A.U. cannot even supply the freedom guerillas with the basics, or not in sufficient quantities or at the necessary intervals.

Yet without the material support of black African governments and peoples the freedom fighters would be doomed, and their respective countries and peoples with them. From the security of our own relatively comfortable situations, we who are not South African or Rhodesian or Angolan blacks cannot presume to dictate impertinent instructions to those at the front line of fire and death and torture. We can only urge all member-states of the O.A.U. to falter not nor fail in paying their contributions to the general funds of the Organisation; for this is the starting point of all O.A.U. abilities.

Secondly, we suggest the working out of a scheme of collections and contributions in cash or kind which the ordinary people of black Africa can make their own, in support of our brave fighters out there facing the terrors of racial oppression and brutality. It will be complicated and extremely difficult to organise such a scheme, but it should not be impossible. All conscious black Africans, whether comfortable or not, should be eager to help save our brothers and sisters caught in the traps of inhuman creatures describing themselves as "civilized" and "Christian".

In fact this suggestion is seasonable in any case, having regard to the extremely interesting news announced from Rome this week. The Freedom fighters have taken the quite unexpected and revolutionary step of going to the very heartland of western democracy to make a bold bid for moral support from the Western powers, according to the sources. This is on the basic grounds that the western democracies on their

...evidence are against anti-democratic policies of oppression, and that it is to the interest of these powers to support movements for freedom from the fascism of Vorster, Ian Smith and the Portuguese. The alternative, the leaders of the liberation movements threaten, could well be a turning to Russia for assistance.

Other details on the agenda of the Rome conference were being kept under wraps, but they were supposed to include the enormous problems of legality in the handling and transportation of the concrete facts of assistance: men, weapons, grenades, food, and the rest. Other forms of assistance sought appear to be very likely of the kind suggested above. All in all, some progress in freedom fighting in southern Africa is desperately needed.

Now Labour, Now Conservative

MOST everyone in the Tory camp, especially the noble establishment the conservative press in Britain, is going to pretend to have forgotten that Britain's situation was like for Labour when they took over in 1964 from 13 years of Conservative government. The economy was not on the rocks but slipping off them into the abyss below; industrial and labour-government relations were absolutely chaotic, if not dangerous; social morality and manners among the ruling class were under a heavy cloud; and Britain's standing among her western contemporaries had altogether reached what the Americans call "a new low".

Let us forget, these are facts, abundantly documented in the whole of the established current literature of those days. So much so that other than Harold Wilson himself, then in opposition, said of the then Tory government: "All that is clear is that every month they are going to office without a mandate. To continue governing weakens the authority of the country". (see *Harold Wilson*, by G. E. Noel, p.9.) A week or so before the election which has now installed the Tories, it was possible for Mr. Heath to get back at Mr. Wilson and turn a joke of the Labour leader against the joker himself and to promise *him* a very long political holiday instead! Luckily for Mr. Heath he has been able to make his own laugh the last this time. Such is the party game.

We who have adopted all the forms and ceremonies of the British parliamentary system should be emulating its clear virtues (instead of

What makes **Signal** so different from other toothpastes?



IT'S THE POWERFUL HEXACHLOROPHENE IN THE RED STRIPES!

This Vital Element Gives You
Strong Healthy Clean White Teeth
Pure Fresh Breath
Healthy Gums
A Germ-free Mouth



ludicrously affecting some of its more culturally characteristic trappings). One of these clear virtues is the give-and-take of government party versus opposition. It is a political game which we must learn to play properly, if we are to stick to this modern version of the principle of majority rule. Otherwise we should scrap it. But if we do, about the only other practical alternative left to try is one-party government, and we have had our fill of that one.

Letters

The Games Politics Play

SIR — Even superficial reflection on the recent British General Election should lead one to become more suspicious than normally about generalisations and wise dicta on human behaviour, especially political behaviour. Consider the outstanding example of what has happened to Mr. Harold Wilson and Mr. Edward Heath.

Practically throughout the election campaign Mr. Heath was compared unfavourably with Mr Wilson as to their public images. Newspaper comment after comment, editorial and otherwise, said Mr. Heath's T.V. and platform appearances were feeble gestures bordering on sadness and looking prematurely gray! On the other hand, Mr. Wilson was always his jaunty, confident self, tossing off contemptuous dismissals on Mr. Heath and his Conservative fellow-strugglers. So the newspapermen and pundits painted it.

Even worse. Since the polls said Mr. Wilson was winning anyway, therefore his performance on the political issues before the electorate, which were of course the heart of the matter, seemed to win approval, or at least to amuse the critics in a sort of indulgent, superior way. Mr. Heath, on the other hand, was given lukewarm soup for comfort by Wilson's supporters and admirers, in and out of the newspapers.

Came eventually the general election, the exposure and disgrace of the opinion pollsters, the defeat of Mr. Wilson and the victory of Mr. Heath. Now, lo and behold, all the previous weaknesses of the new Prime Minister became his strengths: "great personal triumph", "his courage and confidence", his correct interpretations, the "faith" he had to the last that he was winning, or was going to win — many other credits now given Heath, in equal measure with the previous cynicism, the damnation by faint praise. As for Wilson, they promptly turned his own tables on him. They now remembered his "overweening self-confidence"; the fact that he had been "smug"; that he had never, you know, really dealt with any political issues nor answered any questions on those raised by Mr. Heath; that he had been contemptuous without caution, and reckless without thought. Etcetera, etcetera.

This wonderful game of "hindsight prescience", by which we comfort ourselves with the claim of greatness, is common enough and pathetic enough; we all have to do something like that for sheer ego-survival. What really kills me about the Heath-Wilson case, however,

is the additional thought that, had the opinion polls been proved right and Wilson come out victorious over Heath, the same commentators would have pranced up and down showing their under-feathers and crowing that the two men had only confirmed "what was so obvious to us all the time": that Harold Wilson was always the cool, unruffled master-politician, and Edward Heath the pale rider on a pale horse!

Legon

K. A. B. Jones-Quarrey

The Beaver Aircraft Accident

SIR — My attention has been called to Mr. Owusu Yaw's letter on the above topic which appeared in the *Legon Observer* (V/12). But for the inaccuracies in that letter we would have declined to comment.

The real facts are that

- (a) the plane crash took place on Sunday afternoon 24 May 1970;
- (b) a torn wing of the crashed plane was located, hanging halfway down a tree, from the air, on Tuesday, 26 May 1970 — two days after the crash. It must be emphasized that weather conditions then prevailing were such that flying had to be cut to the minimum;
- (c) ground troops, airmen and police of the search and rescue team started their trekking through the thick impenetrable forest reserve on the afternoon of Tuesday, 26 May 1970, and reached the wreckage — in the deep forest — on Thursday 28 May — two days later!, with the help of Forest rangers who had in fact never been in that forest before;
- (d) troops of the Engineer Regiment and 2nd Battalion then took approximately six hours to move their heavy equipment to the area, and built a helicopter landing pad in the thick forest, within four hours!! This was to enable the bodies to be moved to Takoradi for burial; and finally
- (e) the autopsy had to be carried out on the spot in view of the state of the bodies, and the military pathologist had to be taken to the crash scene.

We would like to point out that there is in existence, by International requirement, a Search and Rescue Organisation which automatically goes into action within minutes as soon as an air accident occurs. This organisation is equipped with the necessary rescue equipment: radios, chain saws, axes, and all the necessary implements for quick rescue work. We do also have a standing arrangement whereby a military medical team could parachute into an area of a crash to tend to the wounded. This is quite apart from the fact that every Air Force plane has a survival kit on board.

In conclusion I would wish to invite Mr. Owusu Yaw, the publishers of your journal, and any other interested persons, to come with us to the crash scene. We would be only too pleased to let them see and travel through the terrain we are talking about.

F. F. Addae

Lieutenant-Colonel

Director of Public Relations

Ministry of Defence

Accra

Archaeology And African History

SIR—I cannot make out what Professor Posnansky means by his remark that he has been quoted by me without acknowledgement (L.O. V/12).

All extracts or quotations in the article in question (L.O. V/10), including Professor Posnansky's were either directly attributed to their authors or placed in inverted commas. This was done to avoid cluttering the obviously limited space of the *Legon Observer* with elaborate footnotes.

As for being quoted out of context, I think Professor Posnansky is entitled to his opinion, but it seems to me that he misunderstood the import of what he describes as my "main complaint" with regard to his view that "the study of Tropical Africa during the first millennium AD" belongs to "pre-history" and should therefore not be given "historical status".

At page six of his Inaugural Address he complained about a "tendency for historians, particularly in the University of London, to regard the study of tropical Africa during the first millennium AD as African history rather than pre-history". He further stated (same page, same paragraph) that "there is probably more evidence" for the same period in Britain and American histories, and yet neither in American nor British histories are those periods accorded "historical status". Whatever the nature of the historical evidence which exists for American and British histories of "the first millennium AD" and just how they become "probably more" than what could be found in Africa for the same period, are matters which I left without comment. What I found curious however was the use of the words "Tropical Africa" as well, or rather in spite of Professor Posnansky's "plea for treating the human past as a single unit rather than segmenting it amongst different disciplines".

"Africa South of the Sahara" is, in the present context, the same as "Tropical Africa". It is also sometimes called "Sub-Saharan Africa". Thus there is the inference that

there is an immense difference between the history of "Africa South of the Sahara" and "Tropical Africa" and that one such "immense difference" is that Africa North has a history and "Africa South" or "Tropical Africa" has until recent times (presumably until the colonial era) been outside the main stream of human history, i.e. it had no history.

The question which I asked was whether Professor Posnansky's "Tropical Africa" is not the same as say Kingsnorth's "Africa South of the Sahara" and whether both are not the same as Professor Roper's "Africa". This was the sense in which I connected Professor Posnansky with the Trevor Roper School.

For I did not know how a plea for unity of the human past could be made in the same breath as a demand to "segment" the African past into "Tropical and other Africans". I happen also to be of the view that the above demarcation and classification of Africa and Africans are as arbitrary as the political partitioning of Africa which was a reflection of imperial whims and needs, and therefore did not necessarily correspond to the actual realities.

P.O. Box 7854
Accra

Akua Asaaba Ayid

Accusations of Tribalism

SIR—The Minister of External Affairs is a member of government for whom I had the greatest respect until the recent debate on the dismissal of the 568 public officers. His attack on the Ewe ethnic group was quite vituperative and did seem to have personal overtones.

One of the redeeming features of ex-President Nkrumah's regime was that tribalism as it exists now was practically unheard of. No doubt this was a big contribution to his appeal to the people. If this government is to be a better one then it must strive to transcend all tribal animosities, and must be seen to be doing so. The first step towards doing this would be to publish a list of the 568 persons dismissed, with a brief explanation as to the reasons for their dismissal, e.g.:

Mr. A inefficient, corrupt
Mr. B inefficient
Mr. C not forward looking; etc.

Surely this would be worth doing, if for no other reason than that it would eliminate from people's minds the perhaps erroneous idea that one or two ethnic groups had been victimised.

It is indeed ironical that an ethnic group, one of whose members played no small part in creating the free atmosphere of a parliament today, should be accused of being "inward-looking".

P.O. Box 1934
Kumasi

Merilyn Charles

Ghana's Unemployment Problems

SIR — I have read Mr. Gyinayeh's letter (L.O. V/12), and, while not pretending to know the cure for unemployment in Ghana, I wish to comment as follows.

Nobody would disagree with Mr. Gyinayeh that we can solve our unemployment problem through "the creation of more job opportunities" in the country. This is clearly self-evident. But one finds it hard to accept that the "immediate" solution to the problem is the encouragement of foreign investment. Presumably this would be followed by the encouragement of domestic investment as the final or long-run solution.

Mr. Gyinayeh's argument appears to be as follows: We can create more jobs by establishing more factories. This we cannot do ourselves; only foreign investors can establish more factories in Ghana. Therefore, let us encourage foreign investment. Also let us reduce the retirement age so as to create still more jobs!

This latter suggestion is hardly a solution. All it means is that the percentage of young people in our total employment should be raised. I find it difficult to see how such a measure can be considered as an "immediate solution" to our unemployment problem. If it is a long-run solution, then it has to be shown that young people in our work-force are more productive than the old.

With respect to the first solution (i.e. foreign investment), Mr. Gyinayeh was quick to add that we should be aware that there are certain attendant dangers. He nevertheless prefers it to private (and public) Ghanaian investment — for unstated reasons. Whatever those reasons may be, it seems to me that it is necessary for

us to know that foreign investors are not fundamentally different from indigenous Ghanaian investors. Are they both not motivated by profits?

Perhaps the view that the social and economic development of a country depends upon the efforts of its own people can still be repeated here for the benefit of Mr. Gynayeh and me.

8206 14th Avenue
Hyattsville
Maryland 20783, USA

Yaw Owusu Adomako

On Teachers' Uniforms

SIR—Mr. J. E. Opoku deserves the congratulations of all progressive Ghanaians for his mature and thought provoking article on the above in the *Legon Observer* (V/12).

As he rightly pointed out, the teachers' uniform is not an educational problem as appears to have been suggested by the action of the authorities of the Ministry of Education, the national press and those Ghanaians who deem it fitting and proper to shut up whenever teachers' salaries are delayed but who turn up later to condemn these poor teachers who rightly feel uniforms are unnecessary for their work.

May I ask these Ghanaians to think rather of the country's many educational problems enumerated in Mr. Opoku's article and help find solutions to them rather than waste their time and energy fussing over the overworked, underpaid and neglected Ghanaian teachers and their refusal to wear uniforms arbitrarily imposed on them.

Catholic Convent
Middle Girls' School
Post Office Box 20
Keta

J. H. Kodzo Fiafor

Sports

THE GIFT OF BRAZILIAN FOOTBALL

By

A Correspondent

FOUR years ago, in 1966, Pele and his Brazilian teammates were probably better than they were four years later in 1970, if only because four years ago Pele was that much younger and stronger. At any rate he himself has said, when referring more and more frequently to the need for his retirement, that he finds it progressively difficult to keep in condition. In spite of this disclaimer, Pele's form in the World Cup tournament just ended in triumph for Brazil gave regretted indications of what he must have had to offer in England in 1966. It was to the loss of the pleasure of countless millions of soccer enthusiasts around the world that Brazil was never allowed to display their dazzling wealth of talent in the 1966 tournament.

For even until as recently as that, football, international or domestic, has been played in many parts of the world with extreme savagery, and nowhere else and on no other occasions with more savagery than in the World Cup competition itself. Thus until 1966

the aim of many aspirants to world championship was to get it by any means, fair or foul—foul, if they thought it necessary for success and if they could get away with it. Very often they did just that, too. Certainly in Liverpool in 1966 Bulgaria and then Portugal deliberately, brutally, in front of the whole world, jumped on Pele and stamped him out of the competition; in 1962 also Pele got the same treatment. And with his incapacitation, plus injuries to one or two others of his team-mates, went the whole of the Brazilian morale. They were out of the competition at the end of the first round.

The '66 tournament proceeded, of course, and eventually England won. The later rounds generated a lot of excitement, because of course there was a lot of good football played; but only after Mexico-1970 has the soccer world come to realize that soccer magic had been absent from the 1966 show, for the simple reason that Brazil was absent from it also, very early. That world had learnt its lesson, though, and had taken a firm oath "never again . . .". The result was the relatively chaste conduct of the 9th World Cup Competition, Mexico-1970, and the final demonstration that in the Brazilians and in the person of their national idol, Pele, the world's most popular spectator sport had attained its loveliest flowering.

Artistry and High Skills

"Method versus Magic", "artistic", "genius", "filigree patterns", "incomparable", "the Master", "the King", are some of the superlatives used to describe the play of the Brazilians, as a team and as individuals, by the various newspapers and sportswriters of the world press. In some of the more distinguished papers, even serious essays have appeared on the subject; they have praised, not merely the quality of the Brazilian—and to an extent the whole South American—game, with its artistry and its high skills, but even more the spirit of joy and adventure which backs up that quality.

Again and again the commentators described as overwhelming the creativity, the fresh inventiveness of that golden forwardline of Pele, Tostao and Jairzinho, backed by the commanding generalship of Gerson, the cool authority of Captain Alberto, and the bursting energy of Rivelino, equalled only by that of Jair on the forwardline. Again and again they said this was sheer magic, even if that level was not consistently sustained throughout the final match. In the end even Italy, beaten helplessly by four goals to one in that last game, counted themselves proud and honoured to have come second to such standards. In Brazil itself, of course,

joy has been unconfined,
since youth and artistry met in Mexico
to chase the bouncing ball with flying feet!
(Apologies to the Poet's successors and publishers).

And where does Africa stand in the midst of all this glory, created mostly by people of our own blood? This year, for the first time, the continent was represented by one country, Morocco. These North Africans—more Arab than African of course—did not exactly disgrace themselves, but they were quickly eliminated. With Israel and El Salvador they were not only the weakest of the 16 finalists but also hardly in the same

THE LEGON OBSERVER

SUBSCRIPTION ORDER

To: THE LEGON OBSERVER,
P.O. Box 11,
Legon, Accra, Ghana.

Please mail me, from Vol.....No..... THE LEGON OBSERVER,
for.....Years*.....Months*.

Name
(IN BLOCK LETTERS)

Address

I/We enclose payment by Money Order/Postal Order/International Money
Order/Banker's Draft/Other* for NC.....£.....U.S.\$.....Other.....*

* Cross out items not necessary.

All Cheques, Money Orders and Postal Orders should be made payable to THE LEGON OBSERVER and crossed.

For Office use only

Receipt No.....Date.....Cash Book Fol.....

SUBSCRIPTION RATES

	SURFACE		AIR	
	6 Months	1 Year	6 Months	1 Year
Ghana	NC2.40	NC5.00		
Africa	30/-	55/-	38/-	70/-
U.K.	30/-	55/-	64/-	120/-
Europe	30/-	60/-	84/-	160/-
U.S.A.	\$4.30	\$8.60	\$12.00	\$23.00
Canada	\$4.30	\$8.60	\$12.00	\$23.00

class with the other 13. The reasons are not far to seek: newness to the whole thing, resulting in lack of experience; lack of facilities even now, which is in turn due, for most African countries, to economic incapacity.

Ghana, in spite of these real handicaps, was coming along very nicely in soccer some years ago; even at this moment we are not lacking in native talent, or hopeless as potential future world competitors. But alas, the handling of our entire sports organization has been a huge joke for the last six to seven years. This was long before the Nkrumah-Ohene Djan era came to its inglorious end—the same regime which had, admittedly, seen us through and on our way to the top, in Africa at least.

In addition to our own ineptitude in management at home, there are quarrels between the African soccer countries and the world authorities of the International Football Federation. The Africans feel discriminated against in the allocation, or in availability to them, of facilities leading to qualification and placement in the World competition. They may have a case, and probably do. But it would seem to this one enthusiastic observer, at least, that the footballing African countries have a lot of homework to do before they can justify their right to fight for a place in the World Cup sun. . .

Hard Luck for England

The case of England, the overthrown champions, is one of sheer hard luck. They may not have the flair of the South Americans, for only the South Americans have flair in abundance; except perhaps the Italians, of the Latin temperament, at their best; and the French, somewhat of similar mental cut, especially when re-inforced by players from France d'Outre Mer. But England had won a most natural and logical victory in 1966 at home, and it was held to have been a very good thing for football that they did win the World championship. Throughout the four years following the 8th Tournament the England squad were accepted everywhere as strong candidates for the retention of their supremacy. It would have been the crowning satisfaction of Sir Alf Ramsey's career as the man who did most for English soccer in the last 10 years.

Alas, they were edged out of their position by narrow wins over them by Brazil and then West Germany. They had put up a fighting show right to their last ditch, but were unfortunate to be beaten so marginally by two of the other three frontliners of the competition. Thus they fell, and thus they also set the stage in an intriguing manner for 1974 in Munich. In that year there will be at least four World teams with closely matching potentialities: the present champions, Brazil; the rejuvenated runners-up, Italy; the ex-champions, England; and West Germany, which is always near the winning post.

Sir Alf Ramsey deserves sympathy for narrowly missing a crown of glory. He has a chance to restore England's prestige and grip the next time, but the struggle is going to be tough for him. With victory hot in their nostrils and enthusiasm for the demonstration effects of superiority in their blood, the present champions are going to take some beating in future competitions. Meanwhile, all praise to Peerless Pele and the wonderful footballers of Brazil.

THE
“LEGON
OBSERVER”
wishes to
thank all
friends,
readers and
advertisers
on the event
of its
Fourth
Anniversary

INSIST ON SANTEX

Beware of imitations



- * **SUPER SOFT**
- * **WET STRONG**
- * **PERFORATED**
- * **ANTISEPTIC**

- * **100% WOOD FREE**
- * **100% NON-ABRASIVE**
- * **100% MAXIMUM COMFORT**
- * **100% CHEMICALLY FREE FROM LIME**

AVAILABLE FROM ALL LEADING STORES

Sanitary Paper Products Ltd.

P. O. BOX 5728 FACTORY MILE 6, NSAWAM ROAD ACCRA.

HERE'S THE NEW **NCR** ELECTRONIC CALCULATOR

This is the calculator you have been waiting for - The new NCR Electronic calculator Model 18. It is capable of adding, subtracting, dividing, multiplying, rounding off, raising to a power, extraction of square root and combinations of these functions - and it operates in a fraction of a second with quiet accuracy. The easy to read display shows up to 14 digits. Call the NCR Representative to give you a comprehensive demonstration.



NCR

The National Cash Register Co.(Ghana)Ltd.,
P.O. Box 1010, Kojo Thompson Road, Accra.
Phone: 64563/4. Branches in Kumasi, Takoradi and Tema.