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IN THIS ISSUE

WORKERS AND THE ECONOMY

EDITORIAL ... 1

When are Strikes Legal?

THE ECONOMY ... 2

Incentives and the Stimulation of

Ghana's Economy

A. N. Hakam

AFRICA ... 4

South Africa—Background to Recent

Political Trends

"Kitosh"

South Africa's Apartheid— An

Invitation to a Bloodbath

J. Oppong-Agyare

INTERNATIONAL ... 10

The Dilemma of Israel

A Political Correspondent

A Note on Japan, Africa, and

Apartheid

Afum Karikari

OBSERVER NOTEBOOK ... 14

Ghana's Financial Woes

Our Contributors and Correspondents

This Prestige Consciousness

The Edinburgh Games

LETTERS ... 16

Austerity Patterns:

Somalia and Ghana

Stop Preaching Tribalism

Developing the North

Public Telephone Booths

Pick-pocket Extraordinary

Making the Observer "Lively"

EDITORIAL

WHEN ARE STRIKES LEGAL?

WHEN WORKERS decide to withdraw their labour in the course of industrial disputes, they do so for a number of reasons. They may have genuinely experienced that the returns which accrue to their labour do not adequately compensate for their efforts. Or, they may have discovered that the profits which their productivity yields to their management are high enough for the workers to be entitled to a just share. Or, again, strikes may be the result of the workers increasingly finding difficulty to make ends meet. Whatever the reasons, strikes tend to be resorted to when all other avenues for redressing grievances have been explored. This is the ideal.

In Ghana the foregoing reasons cannot be dismissed lightly by any serious student of the vagaries of cost of living in the country. Nor, indeed, should one ignore the fact that the right to withdraw one's labour is inalienable in meaningful democracies. But this right becomes even more meaningful only when there is a sensible collective bargaining system on the labour market.

As is well known, the productivity of the average Ghanaian worker is anything but enviable, although this is for a number of reasons some of which are extraneous to the workers. What is equally unenviable is the image—as well as the observable sense of serious concern—of those who have taken upon themselves the task of leading the workers in their struggle for fair conditions of service. Since 1958 when the Industrial Relations Act was passed, trade unionism in this country has become virtually moribund and ineffectual. Immediately after this Act, the T.U.C. came to be seen as the industrial wing of the then ruling Convention Peoples' Party, and its leaders (some of whom became Ministers Plenipotentiary and Ambassadors Extraordinary, while the workers had become silenced) lived in such luxury that their self-styled claim as champions of workers became a mere joke. Strikes, of course, became illegal, and preventive detention became the governmental response.

This Industrial Relations Act is still in force, and has undergone very little alteration since then. Strikes are still illegal, in a way which workers regard as more oppressive than meaningful. And the image of a trade union, as an instrument which must be aligned with the government of the day, still remains.

This has given rise to mistrust in the T.U.C. leadership; and the leaders probably now find themselves in a dilemma. At what time, for instance, can they officially lead their workers when there is an industrial dispute?

And what effective, responsible leadership can they offer when they cannot lead their followers towards militant action (for fear of their being locked up) or towards sober collective bargaining when the economy has very little room for the immediate improvement of working conditions at the moment? When, in other words, is a strike legal? Some of the reasons for strikes led by self-appointed "spokesmen" must be found in these factors.

The **Observer** believes that trade unionism has a confused, misplaced orientation in this country. A workers' organization should obviously be concerned not only with increase in the pay packet, but also with increase in productivity. There is a need for change in our image of workers as a mere category of irresponsible, ungrateful, and subversive people. Workers, too, are human! Equally, our assumption of management (and of government) as a structure which merely exploits the sweat of labour, should also be re-examined.

We are not saying thereby that the relations between workers and employers would be absolutely harmonious. One might as well expect pigs to fly. But what we are calling for is a radical change in our conception of the structure of industrial relations. Trade union leadership must be made up of people who are dedicated, honest, patriotic, and trustworthy; they must not be merely schooled in the art of demagogic oratory (which helps neither the workers nor the employers) but in the art of understanding the conditions and aspirations of the workers, and the economic problems facing the nation.

Thus the **Observer** will be following, with keen interest, the outcome of the forthcoming T.U.C. elections which take place at Winneba. It is hoped that a leadership would emerge that would be able to put concrete proposals to the government with regard to the conditions of workers in this country, as well as the need to revise those unworkable, outdated aspects of our industrial relations laws. And, of course, it is hoped that the next T.U.C. leadership would give a pledge that the solution to Ghana's economic problems is to be found not by the government alone, but by the entire nation—workers featuring prominently.

The Economy

INCENTIVES AND THE STIMULATION OF GHANA'S ECONOMY

By

A. N. Hakam

A DEVELOPING country facing productivity and growth problems could resort to incentives. Now incentives are nothing new, even to a lesser developed economy such as Ghana. Several industrial firms apply the incentives technique to their labour, and it is used in some agricultural production such as tobacco. However, the real test for a successful incentives system is the costlessness to the government as a result of the increased revenues that accrue from it, and the long term net social benefits to the economy.

Here are some of the useful applications that could solve some of Ghana's problems:

1. Agriculture: In agriculture in Ghana, one can recommend cash and goods prizes to be offered as quality and quantity incentive so as to stimulate greater production. The Ghanaian is highly responsive to physical rewards and in this case, radios, television sets, and other consumers' durables can be quite effective in improving productivity. A firm that has tried this method is Pioneer Tobacco, a firm that was enabled through incentives to develop tobacco growing in Ghana into a sizeable crop. Another method would be realistic "price support" to stimulate the production of key crops.

Of course, this is not to say that all of the agricultural problems are to be solved this way. In the long run, measures such as fertilizers, adequate transport, insecticides, seeds, water for irrigation, research and demonstration stations, co-operatives, agricultural marketing, storage, shows and fairs, rural education, rural electrification and provision of other amenities are needed.

2. Exports: Perhaps this is the most critical problem Ghana faces. She must expand exports to earn the foreign exchange needed for her expanded industrial programme. At this stage, growth of the economy is constricted by the inability to expand exports. Some incentive measures are needed here to make it possible for Ghanaians to expand exports. One method would be to let Ghanaian exporters earn a bonus from export proceeds. Another method would be to allow the industrialists who export Ghana manufactures to capture an import licence of a greater

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amount than that which has been exported. A yet useful method would be to allow an actual retention of the foreign exchange proceeds by the exporter, and to have these freed from most restrictions as to their use, including resale to government authorities at a premium.

A good aim would be to encourage the export of those commodities whose imported input to total value is relatively small. These include agricultural fruits and vegetables and their products (raw, canned or bottled), wood products (which are already good performers in the export picture), and as cotton industry grows, textiles, and garments, and possibly leather and shoes. There is every justification in applying initially export subsidies for these industries; once they are on their feet, they can establish a foothold on the foreign markets, so that subsidy would no longer be essential.

The question then is what kind of subsidies would make such industries competitive abroad? One can start with the foreign exchange rebates just mentioned, but these industries deserve an extra push. Here what is needed is subsidized research at home to improve and standardize products and sales promotion agents abroad to publicize and create and recognize market opportunities. Resident marketing representatives attached to Ghana embassies in the main foreign markets could do a lot to stimulate exports.

3. City Improvement: Accra and the other major cities abound with deteriorating buildings. Sidewalks are virtually non-existent. This not only adds to the insanitary conditions but also to congestion (in the case of sidewalks, as it forces pedestrians, hawkers, etc. to the streets). What can be done to alleviate this problem by way of incentives? One could introduce a property tax that would penalize property holders who do not maintain a minimum standard of property improvement and a minimum size of sidewalk adjacent to that property. In other words the property holder who does not have a minimum standard is to pay a higher rate of tax than the one who does. A clear definition of the type of sidewalk and building maintenance is to be made.

Furthermore, Property taxes are relatively low in this country, and their increase, though not palatable to many, can lead to increase in funds available to maintain adequate sanitation and road maintenance by agents such as Accra City Council. For instance, in the United States Property taxes pay the bulk of the cost of public school systems. Of course the built-in incentive to pay less taxes through property improvement

will contribute to make the cities more beautiful and reduce the burden of city authorities in maintaining sidewalks.

The same measures could be applied to large multi-storey apartment and office buildings, where now there would be an incentive to build large pedestrian piazzas, fountains, parking facilities etc. The government would not feel the burden of the added incentives, since this is coming from new added taxes and the tax-payer will eventually think that he is getting something worthwhile; for, value added to his property will additionally be rewarded by his having to pay less taxes.

Eliminating Eyesores

Similarly depressed and hastily built sections of major cities can be made attractive by a negative property tax that tends to allocate taxes inversely proportional to the level of development including aesthetics of the property. This would discourage idle land (and would also tend to discourage land speculation) and temporary sub-standard structures that do not conform to the zoning codes of the area. (It would then be interesting to see whether Accra, for instance, would develop all that land adjacent to the sea. Most European and some French African cities adjacent to a sea, lake or river tend to have their most beautiful boulevards facing the waterfronts and this adds immeasurably to the beauty of such cities. Accra, on the other hand, gives the impression of being the opposite in that the sea lies in the back of the city and not on its front).

That does not necessarily mean that tax incentives could automatically eliminate "eyesores" and slums from Ghana's cities. These could begin to disappear if the tax measures are coupled with other measures, such as activating the building industry by providing soft loans for low cost housing projects. This, however, will depend on the long run problem of reducing the import content of the building industry. In the building industry, it must be remembered, is to be found a nucleus for stimulating economic activity in a depressed economy; for, this industry is highly interdependent with other industries (that is it depends on local cement, woods, stones, glass, furniture and fixtures, aluminium, steel rods, electrical products, tiles, sanitary ware, pipes and paint) and most important in the case of Ghana, this industry can be highly labour intensive. In the end a stimulated building industry cannot only alleviate the housing shortage for the lower income groups, but ultimately lead to slum clearance and the physical improvement of the

cities.

Property taxes with the relative complexity outlined above may be criticised in a developing country, where simplicity and ease of collecting of taxes is the objective of tax authorities. But then it should also be pointed out that a differentiated tax system already exists in the manufacturing industries, where similar methods exist in the tax allowances given to those industrialists who undertake capital expenditures on their plant and equipment. Another fear would be that any property tax levied on landlords may translate in higher rents for the urban workers and the lower income groups. However, a progressive property tax would vary geometrically with the revenue derived from a property. If that does not assure a fair rent to workers, then rent control methods would have to be supplemented to the tax measures.

4. **Rural—Urban Drift:** The rural urban drift which characterises Ghana cannot be eliminated by simple formula. However a lot can be done to solve the imbalance of incomes that prevail between urban and rural populations. Agricultural price supports is one method of stimulating higher incomes among the farming population. The exemption from taxes of industries located in rural areas is a good method of inducing certain industries in locating away from the big cities. (This is to be weighed against external economic advantages of location in big industrial centres). The offer of wage and salary bonuses for government workers, such as teachers, doctors, nurses, and agriculturists that work in the remote areas so as to attract some of these well educated and trained men and women away from the main urban centres must be tried. Easier loan policies for the educated to start farming is already being attempted.

However, much more must be done to get a bootstrap operation that involves "everybody" in development. What is needed is more self help projects and community projects with the minimum of "foreign" cost of personnel and capital. The operations would essentially depend on men and women who are already educated and who are willing to teach the less educated rural population some useful art that leads to greater output. Now the National Service Corps has such an aim, but the N.S.C. would have relatively little effect in stimulating the rural areas if the bulk of its men and women are composed of nothing but middle school certificate holders.

Some countries, notably Iran, have attempted schemes which can be applied to Ghana. How

does one get the educated university graduate into the rural areas? Introduce a compulsory military selective service for certain able bodied men and women of one year duration (make it really selective, i.e. to be deferred for those who are still continuing their full-time education and to exempt those who are doing farming). The University graduate would thus be faced with having to serve in the armed forces for one year. Here the government can make him feel useful by giving him the alternative of serving in a rural job corp, donating a year of his post graduate years in service as a teacher, agricultural extension worker, medical aide, administrator, etc. in lieu of serving in the armed services, at a rate of pay slightly better than that received by the armed services. Here the graduates would feel they are getting a "good deal" since now they would not have to serve in the armed services but instead a worthwhile cause in developing the backward areas of their country, assuming that a good size of the graduates would be working and serving as the "brains" in community development projects. The government moreover should not feel hesitant in demanding the service of one year of those men and women whose education it has been subsidizing throughout.

Africa

SOUTH AFRICA—BACKGROUND TO RECENT POLITICAL TRENDS

By

"Kitosh"

It seems as if Prime Minister Vorster has not only succeeded in cramping the style of Dr. Albert Hertzog's extremist *verkrampies*—"the cramped ones"—but has virtually liquidated any forlorn hopes the Herstigte Nasionale Party might have cherished before their resounding defeat in the general elections of 22nd April. But maybe we ought to give kudos to the recalcitrant Dr. Hertzog for being bad enough to have goaded Balthazar Johannes Vorster out of his cool to come down parading in his toughest jack-boot image—rather mildly reminiscent of his old Nazi self—just to show the world how really "verkramp" he could be!

History has never justified the logic of events, for the simple reason that the logic of events is not history. But history does repeat itself—and

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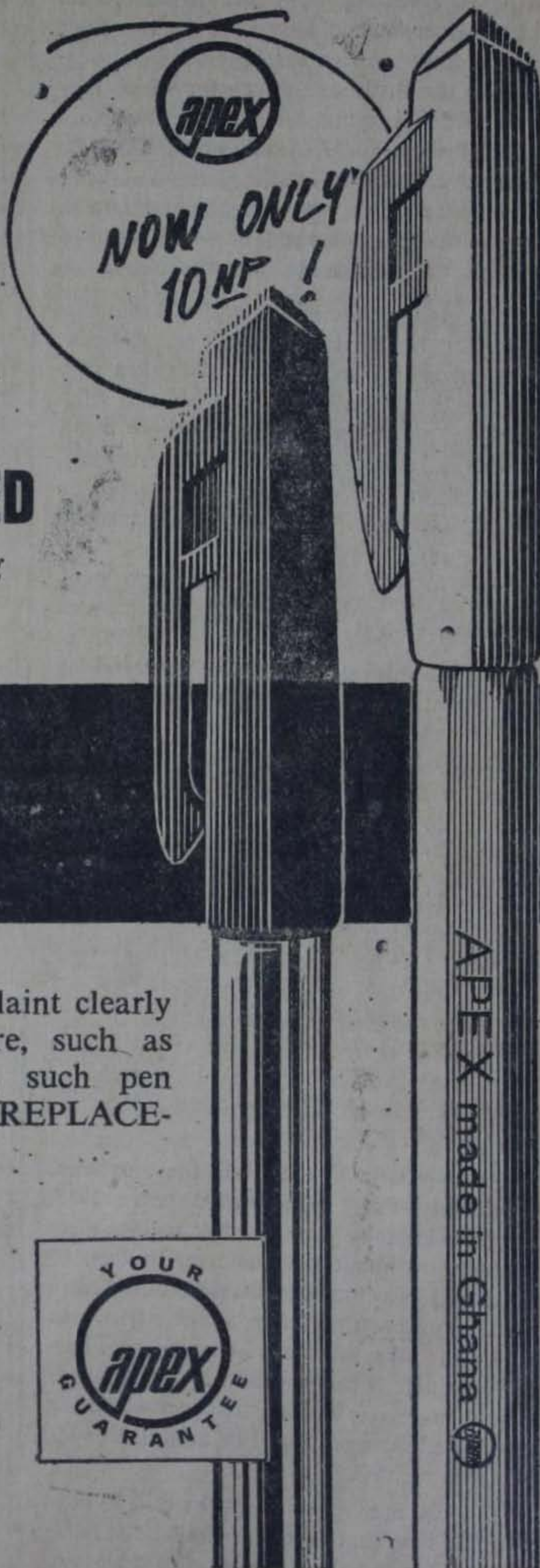
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it has been repeating itself in Afrikanerdom.

After the Boer War in May 1902 the two Boer republics in South Africa surrendered their independence to the British, in return for which they were promised full responsible government before the issue of votes for Africans was settled. As before, and afterwards in the Act of Union, Britain only saw her own immediate interests, not those of the Africans whose cause she flaunted periodically, as propaganda gains required.

After the night of the generals, the Nationalist Party (formed by the last of the Boer generals, J.B.M. Hertzog, for recalcitrant Afrikaners who opposed the reconciliation of English and Afrikaans-speaking whites under the former two), after a series of mergers and fusion governments, was returned to power on the hitherto unique platform of apartheid. This victory for apartheid engendered a spate of racist laws. There was, for instance, prohibition of miscegenation when one of the parties is white; also the enforcement of housing and labour segregation, aimed at suppressing the African while securely entrenching the Nationalist Party in power and ingratiating it with the security-conscious white electorate, some 60% of which is Afrikaan.

Confusion and Insecurity

These people are very much aware that the key to white domination in South Africa is Afrikaner unity. The idea that the English-speakers are more liberal—in the context of apartheid—and the fact that they were defeated by the British in the Boer war have become part of Afrikaner folklore, like a venomous canker, and have contributed to the subsequent rise of a monolithic Afrikanerdom to power.

The April general election was the fifth since the Nationalist Party came to power in 1948, and for once in many years of static politics there was uncertainty about the outcome. In fact, so confused and insecure was the situation before the election proper that white South Africa was showing signs of a total loss of confidence. Perhaps this attitude is best depicted by the situation on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange, where the values of listed shares dropped by more than 40% in the last 10 months.

The financial damage done can be said to have been greater than that experienced after the Sharpeville shooting and the declaration of a state of emergency 10 years ago. Of course, this did not then and does not now mean that white South Africa is about to collapse in ruins; but it does

mean that white South Africa is undergoing an acute attack of nerves.

In the 1948 general election the Nationalist-Afrikaner Party coalition, though polling 140,000 votes fewer than its opponents, won 79 seats in the House of Assembly, as against 74 for the combined opposition. Since then, the Nationalist Party has increased its majority at each election.

The result of the 1966 election, in which only the white voters of South Africa and South-West Africa were involved, was: Nationalist Party, 126 seats; United Party, 39; Progressive Party, one seat. The Nationalist Party won 58.6% of the total number of votes cast, the highest figure it has ever attained. Thus the overwhelming parliamentary strength of the Nationalist Party has been based on a comparatively small electoral majority.

Token Representation Ended

This may in part explain the continuous sense of insecurity from which the Nationalist Party has suffered. Pressures on that party have intensified during the last decade and ultimately proved too great for the leadership to cope with. The breakaway of the Herstigte Nasionale Party last October has brought greater fluidity to the parliamentary scene than at any time since 1948.

The new parliament consists of a total of 166 seats, representing the white electorate of South Africa and South West Africa only. The Republic's estimated population in mid-1969 totalled 19,618,000, made up of 13,340,000 Africans, 3,728,000 whites, 1,959,000 Coloureds and 591,000 Asiatics. Out of these, Asians have never been represented in the South African parliament, and the token African representation by three whites ended by the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act of 1969; the token Coloured representation by four whites likewise came to an end with the passage of the Separate Representation of Voters Amendment Act of 1968. Thus the new Assembly was elected by and is responsible to whites only.

So that for the first time since the union, the non-white majority have absolutely no say of any kind in the central legislature of their native land.

Nomination day for the election was 13th March. Eleven candidates were returned unopposed, six United Party and five Nationalist Party. A record of 407 candidates contested the remaining 155 seats, including seven women; they represented eight political parties and five independents.

The parties were: the ruling Nationalist Party, with 145 candidates; the opposition United Party,

49; the Herstigte Nasionale Party of Dr. Hertzog, 30; the Progressive Party (which favours integration), 19; the National Alliance Party (English speaking supporters of the Nationalist Party led by ex-Nationalist Member of Parliament Mr. Blyth Thompson) four; and three small right wing breakaway Nationalist groups: Democratic N.P., two; Independent N.R., two; and the Front confined to Natal), one candidate.

Of all the political parties, it is significant that even represent one form or another of racial segregation and white domination. Only the tiny Progressive Party stands for a non-racial franchise, but with income and educational qualifications which are under revision due to a fall in value of the rand. Even here power would still effectively be in the hands of the whites.

Economic Policies

Campaigning at Waterkloof, Pretoria, for votes, Albert Hertzog, verkrampt son of the former Prime Minister of that ilk (who was ousted from power for supporting the German invasion of Poland, to die an abandoned, bitter and forgotten man in 1942), expressed his desire to make Afrikaans the only official language, and attacked Vorster for turning soft. He also ominously emphasised that Vorster's verligte economic policies threatened the lily-white way of life of the electorate.

In short, Vorster was going soft on economic links with neighbouring African States and economic integration within, which would make South Africa anything but whiter than white. But this demonstration of obsession with, and this strength of, colour prejudice is, ironically, its greatest weakness, for the fear of defeat comes out of the deep recognition of the easiness of that defeat. Anyway, it is apparent that Dr. Hertzog, now 70 and an old hand at politics who had been M.P. for 21 years (since 1948 and until he was outmanoeuvred from the party last September), was playing with an unknown quantity.

Girding up his loins, Balthazar Johannes Vorster, the "unknown quantity" who was ejected from the exclusive Afrikaner OSSEWABRANDWAG for his ultra-Afrikaner views—he was the man who gave the police force such efficiency, and such torture devices, as to make Verwoerd embarrassed—decided to upset Hertzog's applecart. (The OX-WAGON GUARD was formed in 1938 to perpetuate the belief that the Boer trekkers had to take cover within the circle of their covered wagons in the face of British and native attacks). Vorster charged the purist leader

for saying that the Bureau of State Security (B.O.S.S.) his—Vorster's—own brain-child and sole responsibility, would cost £50 million and not the estimated R4 million, and that it was a spy-system against political opponents.

Still jackbooting to the right, he issued a decree prohibiting blacks from holding a wide range of semi-skilled jobs, as of last May, which date was postponed indefinitely upon protest; he barred black tennis star Arthur Ashe from playing in South Africa, and on election announced specific measures of discrimination against the giant conglomerate empire, Anglo-America Corp, for practising economic integration. Incidentally, the Chairman of Anglo-American is Harry Oppenheimer, whose "more-than-adequate" fortune succours the non-racialist Progressive Party. (To be concluded).

SOUTH AFRICA'S APARTHEID: AN INVITATION TO A BLOODBATH

By

J. Oppong-Agyare

I RECENTLY took part in a symposium on South Africa's apartheid policy. And my mind has undergone some drastic changes since. I have been spending a great deal of my waking hours musing over South Africa. An idle exercise? Maybe. But not altogether useless. At any rate it has set me thinking seriously for the first time on the problem of apartheid.

For some time now some of us have been behaving like the proverbial ostrich. We have been hiding from the reality of apartheid, thinking that that would give us comfort. Our defence has been that any reflection on the intolerable situation in South Africa, Rhodesia, Angola or Mozambique tends to give us bad sensations in the stomach, with even a threat of palpitation of the heart; and life is precious.... Selfishness at its worst? Maybe. And it affects lots of us.

That indeed is the crux of the matter. We have not bothered at all. Whenever we are forced to, by a report of spasmodic eruptions of violence in any of these places, we show a brief interest, blame the white man in our hearts and secretly also blame the black man for his docility and weakness. But what right have we to assume such superior airs in order to salve our conscience?

Some of us in post-coup Ghana often refer to the Nkrumah era as the nightmare of our

existence. Our main reason for saying so is that we were denied our fundamental freedoms, that the number of security men was such that Ghana stood the real danger of becoming a police state. This vision took such hold of us that we became almost insensitive to everything else.

If we suffered mental and spiritual agonies under Nkrumah, let us multiply that a million times and we shall then have a faint idea of what it is for a black man to live in South Africa, Rhodesia, Mozambique or Angola. Whereas under Nkrumah we were at least free to move about, no African in South Africa is permitted by law to move a few steps from "home" without carrying his pass — that symbol of white supremacy and black shame and degradation.

What Must be Done?

If nobody lives unto himself, it is particularly so with the African. No African should live unto himself, thinking he is free and happy, while millions of black men elsewhere are treated like mere playthings — nonentities — whose only justification for existence is to slave to death to make all white men happy and comfortable.

I feel strongly that the situation in South Africa and Rhodesia calls for a new appraisal. It should be tackled by all African states that call themselves independent. And the best way to tackle the problem is for each African state to try to answer the question that formed the topic of a recent symposium at Ahmadiyya Secondary School, Kumasi: "If sanctions, condemnatory resolutions and a policy of international isolation have all proved futile in stopping the practice of apartheid in South Africa, WHAT MUST BE DONE NOW?"

I argued that there are only two ways of answering the question: by saying simply, having regard to all the insurmountable difficulties before us, that nothing can be done; or by maintaining, in the face of all the formidable odds, that Africa must take on South Africa militarily. It may not be entirely correct, as I said, that anybody who says that nothing can be done is a weak-kneed pessimist. He may be a realist for all that. He certainly does not shut his eyes to the main problems facing Africa, as some advocates of immediate military solution blissfully and flippantly suggest.

There is certainly some truth in the contention that the whole of black Africa can ultimate-

ly take on South Africa militarily. It is to doubt this that can render anybody liable to the charge of being a weak-kneed pessimist. For I firmly believe that one day Africa will be in a position to do something to end the white man's insolence and callousness in Africa.

What the present generation of Africans should do is to keep this image of gross effrontery and injustice permanently aglow in their hearts, and work purposively against that day when there may be a bloodbath in Africa.

Obviously, then, it is urged on all African governments to keep the problem of white domination in clear perspective every day. Doing this will certainly help us see ourselves as others see us — a potentially powerful people, endowed with every good thing, every mineral wealth and material resource that can with advantage be exploited to make us economically independent and powerful; but who, nevertheless, remain poor and weak because of petty jealousies and internecine suspicions and divisions.

It may not be the fault of present African leaders that Africa is still so much divided on tribal, cultural, ideological and linguistic grounds. But no African leader should escape blame who is not working ardently to remove these unfortunate causes of our divisions, in the main source of our weakness.

A New Orientation

In this respect, one does not have to be an Nkrumaist to realise that our salvation lies in only one thing, **unity**. Africa must unite. This must not be seen as a mere slogan. If we suspected Nkrumah of some ulterior motives, at least he is not now on the scene, and there is no earthly reason why we cannot work relentlessly for African Unity now. It is only unity that will break down the custom barriers and promote the much needed inter-African trade on which, ultimately, our hope for economic power depends. And economic power will not be a far cry from political and military power.

The realisation of this aim will surely call for a new political and economic orientation. For instance, Africa must begin to take greater pride in inter-African political and economic groupings than is the case at the moment. This means that the position of the African states in the Commonwealth should for the first time be subjected to a thorough analysis and examination. And the O.C.A.M. too, or the desire to

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enter the European Economic Community.

Some Africans are misled by the activities of white liberals into thinking that when the day of reckoning comes, there will be some white people to fight on the side of Africa against apartheid. I wish I could share in this optimism. I doubt it, and my doubt is based on the truism that blood is thicker than water. If Britain did not crush the Rhodesian rebellion, there is no logical reason to believe that she will raise a finger against apartheid when Africans take on South Africa.

Is it the enormity of the problem that has lured many African leaders into a policy of introspection and near isolation? If it is, I welcome it. African states must set their houses in order. There must be the drive to increase productivity and inculcate the idea of self-reliance in the people. Exercises to improve our self-respect must be assiduously pursued.

The aim of all such measures should be obvious—a physical confrontation with South Africa. In the meantime, Africans in these parts should learn the rudiments of self-defence and guerrilla tactics. They must, at the least opportunity, deal all possible blows at the oppressive system. South Africa's policies, like those of her racist neighbours, are invitations to a bloodbath, which, though unfortunate and beastly, must be accepted by us.

International

THE DILEMMA OF ISRAEL

By

A Political Correspondent

THE dilemma that Israel faces is unenviable. How can this tiny state continue to enjoy the goodwill of its friends the world over while it continues to be portrayed as a conqueror nation and an occupier of conquered territory? On the other hand, Arabs have exploited this situation to the fullest, portraying themselves as "third world" underdogs fighting for their "national liberation against a colonizing stooge of Western imperialism". The sympathy that the Israelis have been enjoying as long oppressed and persecuted people fighting for their survival is being threatened by the new image that the Arabs are preaching about Israel. Is this portrayal fair? Let us look at some of the facts and fictions of the case.

Firstly why have the Israelis occupied the

new territories? If we go back to May 1967, we shall discover that Israel's very survival was then being threatened. Nasser amassed 200,000 heavily armed troops in Sinai close to Israel's border. Egypt and Jordan coordinated their armies under one command. Syria was accelerating the shelling of Israeli border settlements. The blockade of Israel was begun by the closing, to Israeli shipping, of the entrance to the Gulf after the U.N. observer forces at Sharm Al Sheikh had been ordered to leave by Nasser. Furthermore, Arab radio stations, newspapers and Arab heads of state all pointed out that the hour of Arab destiny had arrived and that they were about to engage Israel in the final battle to destroy her. By any international law definition any of these Arab measures constitutes "aggression", whereas the armed blockade of Israel could be nothing less than an "act of war". So, rather than being strangled, Israel struck in "self defence" against tremendous odds (a nation of 2.3 million inhabitants, confined to a small geographical area, with difficulty in defending her borders, surrounded by Arab countries having altogether over sixty million people and with armies and weapons several times more numerous than that possessed by Israel). To the surprise of all, the routing of the Arabs was so rapid (six days) and so decisive, that it enabled tiny Israel to push to the Suez Canal on the Egyptian front, to complete the conquest of the remaining portion of "Mandate" Palestine that was then occupied by Jordan, and to occupy on the Syrian front the relatively small but highly strategic territory that was known as the Golan Heights from where Syrian long range artillery was formerly bombarding Israeli settlements. It is now three years since the 1967 war. The Israelis still hold on to the territories they captured during that war.

The conflict is reaching a point of intensity which may draw the Great Powers into a collision in that the Americans will attempt to thwart the Russians from establishing a hegemony over Eastern Mediterranean. The Israelis, while holding on to the Arab territories, want to negotiate these territories for permanent peace in the area. They had so far insisted on direct negotiation, but recently they seem more flexible on this point. The Egyptians, while claiming to abide by the November resolution of the Security Council (i.e. Israeli withdrawals from all territories conquered during the six-day war, recognition of all States in the area, and freedom of navigation in the international

terways of the area) have been inconsistent. While paying lip service to the resolution, which incidentally they interpret as total Israeli withdrawal first before recognition of the State of Israel, the Egyptians have also pledged total support for the guerillas. The guerillas backed by Syria, Iraq and the financial help of Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, want nothing less than the total destruction of Israel as a state. In sum, the Arab side has not so far come with a formula that will allow Israel to exist. The closest thing to Israel's existence would be, according to Fatah, a non-Israeli state and they are very vague as to the proportion of Arabs and Jews living within it.

Understandably, any solution to the Israeli-Arab conflict must include a solution of its central issue of conflict, that is, the solution of the Arab refugee problem. Israel has recently called for an international conference that would include the Great powers, the Arab States, Israel and the Palestinians to tackle this issue. Israeli and international financial and technical assistance would be provided to help resettle those refugees who are not already integrated. This brought no reply from the Arab side. The Arabs have been using the refugees as a political issue, ever since the first Israeli-Arab war of 1948.

Resettling the Refugees

It must be remembered that the Arab governments of the time were partly responsible in creating the refugee problem by calling on them at the beginning of that war to move out of Jewish occupied areas of Palestine and to come back later to their lands when Israel was conquered. Well, that time never came. They fought Israel in three wars and were defeated three times and the refugees are still there. Now other countries with refugee problems have been able to resettle such refugees and to integrate them into their economies. Pakistan, India, Formosa, Western Germany are a few of the countries that within the post-World War II era absorbed literally millions of refugees.

On the other hand Arab governments had placed the refugees in camps and quite often their movements were restricted. For instance, the refugees that were encamped in the Gaza strip, which was under Egyptian administration, were forbidden to travel to Egypt proper. It was estimated that the total number of refugees was about one million. Now Arabs have between them an area of land stretching from the Persian Gulf to the Atlantic Ocean, and income from

petroleum (in billions of dollars) unrivalled by any other portion of the globe. Now surely with all that land and all that wealth many times that number of refugees could have been resettled? In the past twenty three years several international attempts to settle the refugee issue were fruitless because of Arab refusal to co-operate. One attempt during U.S. President Eisenhower's term of office envisaged massive expenditure to irrigate and develop the areas on both sides of the Jordan River and, in the process, provide enough agricultural land to resettle the bulk of the refugees. This plan, though approved by the Arab experts, was later rejected by the Arab politicians. Israel herself absorbed more than half a million Jewish-Arab refugees who because of the Israeli-Arab conflict had been forced to leave their countries. The refugee problem can thus be viewed as a sort of an exchange of Jewish and non-Jewish population in the area.

Israel's Options

Viewed from the Israeli side, what are the options open for Israel to settle the conflict once and for all?

1. Withdrawal from all conquered territories in the June War of 1967. Here withdrawal of Israeli troops without a peace settlement would be suicidal for Israel in that the pre-1967 war borders of Israel are hardly defensible against modern Russian rocketry and long range guns. The previous border, it should be remembered, was strategically very favourable to the Arabs. Withdrawal would now expose Israeli cities such as Jerusalem and Tel Aviv to Arab artillery. In any case a unilateral Israeli withdrawal will not assure the acceptance of Israel as a state. The Arab guerillas, and Syria and Iraq, for instance, never accepted the November 1967 Security Council resolution that relates the recognition of Israel's right to exist with the withdrawal from conquered territories.

The implementation of the Security Council's resolution which is rather vague on many points, and is interpreted in different ways by the Israelis and the Egyptians will be very difficult. That is why some kind of negotiation is needed. The Israelis have been calling for direct negotiation in the belief that the conflict of the area has to be resolved by the belligerents themselves. The Arabs have so far refused to sit together with Israelis for purposes of negotiation or on any other matter. In recent times even the worst of enemies still resorted to negotiations. The Ame-

ricans and the North Koreans, the Indians and Pakistanis in Samark and U.S.S.R., and more recently the Americans and North Vietnamese in Paris. Even the Communist Chinese and Americans have been meeting in Warsaw to discuss the issues that confront them.

2. Another option would be to maintain the existing illusory status quo. That is, Israel would continue to hold on through her air superiority against the policy of attrition practised by the Arabs. This is becoming more difficult for Israel to do, since a new element has been introduced into the Middle East conflict. This is the direct Russian military presence and involvement in the area. Aside from having poured two billion dollars worth of the most sophisticated weapons into Arab lands (principally Egypt), the Russians are estimated to have some eight thousand military men and technicians in Egypt alone.

Balance of Power

The Russians are manning themselves the missile sites and flying many of the planes they have supplied to Egypt. Previously Israel used to bomb Egypt mainly to destroy the network of aerial defenses that makes it possible for Egypt to launch an invasion against Israeli occupied territory. Increasingly such bombing is becoming more difficult and is confined to a narrow strip across the Suez Canal. With Russian air cover to back them, the Egyptians have become increasingly emboldened in carrying out their attrition policy. Thus, the balance of power has shifted in Egypt's favour. In contrast Israel has been finding it extremely difficult to get the weapons she needs. France, her principal weapon supplier before the 1967 war, is now backing the Arabs. The U.S., at the time of writing this article, has yet to promise the supply of twenty five Phantoms which Israel has requested several months ago.

3. The third option would be to accept the Arab demand and cease to exist as a Jewish state. This is so ridiculous from the Israeli view that it can never be considered as an option. Israel would have to be so thoroughly defeated, with much of its population annihilated, before such an alternative could be imposed on her. Israel is a legal entity, her creation backed by the United Nations, recognized by some eighty five countries, including Russia, and *de facto* by some Islamic countries, such as Iran and

Turkey. She has been independent for twenty three years and has fought three wars to preserve her independence. Should she now surrender and give up her sovereignty!

To the Israelis, this is now their only land. They have no other country to go to. Emotionally, spiritually and physically they have been tied to this land for the past four thousand years. Admittedly, when they started to migrate again to this land after 1,500 years of diaspora, (characterised by massacres, inquisitions, rejections and persecutions almost everywhere they went), the Arabs were there. The land was then under Turkish rule, very thinly settled, and not very popular with the Arabs. It was only after Jewish settlers had created new opportunities in the area that the wave of new Arab immigrants moved in there.

At the time of the partition of Palestine by the United Nations into Jewish and Arab states, the Arabs still outnumbered the Jews in all of Palestine by a considerable margin, but that is because while the Arabs were not restricted in their movements into the area, the Jews found it extremely difficult to migrate there during the British mandate period. Now, even if all the Palestinian refugees are counted the Jews would still outnumber the Arabs. Therefore, the situation cannot be compared to Algeria or some other colonial situation which the Arabs like to compare, the Jews are not a minority trying to rule over a majority by force, but rather a majority trying to live peacefully with a minority.

Theoretically, an independent Palestinian Arab state could exist on the the west bank of the Jordan, living peacefully and economically very fruitfully with its neighbour Israel, but at present this looks like a dream. A solution could come about when the Arabs begin to accept the reality of Israel's existence. This reality is that she is there to stay.

A NOTE ON JAPAN, AFRICA AND APARTHEID

By

Afum Karikari

JAPAN has risen from the wreckage of the second World War to become one of the richest and most highly industrialised countries in the second half of the 20th century. This is the reward of hard work, sacrifice, tenacity and sensible

economic planning, an example which must give the developing world inspiration and optimism. Japan has a large population but limited resources for economic growth; it must import great quantities of raw materials to feed its industries. It has therefore established trade relations with many countries the world over.

Last year alone it needed about 48 tons of gold for industrial use. Domestic production is some 18 tons, so the government had to supplement this by purchasing additional gold from Britain and elsewhere. As in many countries the importation of gold by individuals is prohibited, but the great demand for the "king metals" has engendered a flourishing black market where the price of gold is almost twice the international price for successful smugglers.

In spite of Japan's large imports the balance of trade is in its favour. Its chemical industry ranks third in the world, in the production of basic chemical raw materials for use in modern industry.

Its exports are mostly consumed by Asian countries and by the United States; the U.S. alone takes about one-third of the total. In Ghana, on almost every major road is now to be seen the swift Datsun cars, solely distributed by Japan Motors (Ghana) Ltd., which has an assembly plant at Tema. By 1964 Japan had led the world for eight consecutive years, since 1956, by launching 4,205,000 tons in shipbuilding.

Partnership in Africa

Japan's affluence is shown by the rising wage rate of ten per-cent a year since 1960. Average income per person was 690 dollars and 830 dollars in 1965 and 1968 respectively. Since 1955 the Gross National Product has risen at an average rate of 10% yearly (141,900 dollars in 1968). Now its G.N.P. ranks third, only after the U.S. and Russia.

The Japanese government has in recent times realised the need to utilise part of the nation's wealth as aid to Africa. In 1961 the African Society of Japan was established to promote mutual understanding between African people and Japan "by promoting and assisting economic and business partnerships in Africa".

As part of the aid, some African countries, including Ethiopia, Kenya and Ghana, are being helped to develop their textile industries. (In Ghana they are helping at Akosombo Textile

Manufacturing Ltd., Ghana Textile Ltd., and the Tema Textile Training Centre.) In 1965 the Sanyo Electrical Corporation was set up in Ghana by an amalgamation of Japanese firms in partnership with the Ghana government.

In February, 1970, a Japanese government economic and trade delegation toured some African countries (visiting Ghana between the 20th and 25th of that month) to "explore the possibilities of strengthening international trade between Japan and Ghana—and other African States". Ghana and other states responded well and participated in "Expo '70", the superscale international trade fair still on in Osaka. And Ethiopia's Emperor Haile Selassie, in a speech to mark Ethiopia's National Day at the Fair, invited Japanese "participation in large scale agricultural enterprises, in the building of dams for irrigation and for generation of electricity, and in the expansion of mining and industry in Ethiopia". Japanese fishermen are found in the seas of West Africa, as well as in East Africa (where the Tanzanian government, however, recently deplored their activities, since they were alleged to have been the main "culprits of overfishing").

Growing Investments

Japan's investments in Africa are growing fast. Recently a Japanese consortium of about twenty firms, the Overseas Uranium Resources Development Corporation, signed an agreement with the government of Niger and the French Atomic Energy Commission to develop Uranium deposits in the Republic.

Japan is rich and looks like one of the few nations whose economic aid to developing countries has few (or not any) strings attached to it. It also seems to be less involved in international feuds that hamper progressive international trade. But there is one major problem about the country that threatens its peaceful trade with Africa in the future. This is Japan's economic relations with racist South Africa and Rhodesia.

Like many developed countries, it professes abhorrence of South Africa's and Rhodesia's racist policies. And it has rightly been asserted that only by economic sanctions and boycotts can some sense be knocked into the heads of these arch-racists. But Japan's trade with the recalcitrant countries is an encouragement of the oppression practised by the non-Europeans in those parts of Africa.

The Japanese must know that what they obtain from the two places are the results of

the strength and sweat of the non-Europeans, who virtually have no share in the profits of their labour. If the Japanese want to maintain understanding with Africans they have to help them to solve some of their major problems — and the race problem is the heartache of Black Africa.

For economic reasons the government of Japan will wink at South Africa's apartheid policy, unless it is pestered at all international gatherings. It becomes imperative, therefore, that African governments and their officials, their various information media, and others, use their services to persuade the Japanese, with relentless effort, to stop flirting with Africa's oppressors. Britain, the U.S. and France, for their part have made it known that they **will never** cease to support oppression in Southern Africa. Japan must not join these and the other oppressors of the Black race, for as Richard Novey has said, "The wealth of nations is men, not silk, cotton and gold".

Observer Notebook

Ghana's Financial Woes

THE long-awaited meeting between Ghana and her foreign creditor nations has apparently produced no agreement.

We shall comment at a later stage on the meeting, after the Minister of Finance and Economic Planning has made a full report to the government which, one hopes, will be made public. Even a provisional evaluation of the London meeting is difficult at the moment, because of the variety of considerations bearing on it; what is quite clear is that we do have many troubles.

The somewhat vexing question is how we ought to view the outcome of the talks, a question to which we ought to give some thought even before seeing the official report. The reported unsatisfactory outcome of the meeting arouses our interest once more in the matter of our external debts in a most provocative way, by propounding a theory or policy that we are unlikely to accept. This is essentially that the debts have purely commercial implications and therefore ought to be solved as such. This myopic view ignores the adverse effects of debt payments on Ghana's long-term development efforts.

There seem to be two approaches to take. In the first place, we can hasten to praise or blame the debt talks in proportion as the outcome agrees with our preconceptions. But this natural response is an unattractive one, in that it dismisses Ghana's

stand as if it were unimportant. The other course is to wait until the government comes out with a statement about the failure of the meeting. It seems to us that this is what we ought to do. It leaves us temporarily in an awkward position, the blame for which we must put upon the government's blanket acceptance of very dubious debts.

Our Contributors and Correspondents

IN our 4th Anniversary issue (L.O. V/14) we completely omitted to pay tribute to the nearly 2,000 writers and correspondents who in the four years of our existence have been our editorial mainstay. Without these readers who also write to and for us we could not have survived through four issues, let alone four months, four years, or the next 40. Even if we had a very large editorial staff and were full-timers, we could not by ourselves write everything; and if we could, our readers, as much as ourselves, would be bored to tears by a vice of style called monotony.

So we offer today to those who write the articles and the letters for our columns the heartfelt gratitude of the Legon Society on National Affairs and the Editorial Committee of the *Observer*. We are perfectly aware of the fact that our "prices" are not competitive, for in fact we have no price to put on any articles, though we know some of them are worth their weight in journalistic gold. Theirs as well as ours are no more and no less than a labour of love, which we are certain no financial competition will be powerful enough to kill.

However, since we are also aware that man cannot live by love alone we have every intention of doing the right thing by our contributors, financially, as soon as ever it becomes possible for us to do so. Again our thanks and appreciation.

This Prestige Consciousness

STUDENTS of group phenomena are surely reaping a rich harvest in the urban communities of Ghana. Apparently, the tribal associations have not been enough to satisfy the search for status in the rapidly changing set-up of the society.

But what appears to be novel in these associations is the new phenomenon of status-seeking by derivation. Thus we now have such exclusive and elitist groups as Lawyers' Wives' Association, Doctors' Wives' Association, and very soon (we hope!) Drivers' Wives' Association.

There are significant problems about which the student will have difficulty in unravelling. Supposing the wife of a doctor is herself a lawyer who belongs to the Bar Association, on which of these two Associations shall she place more emphasis? And

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supposing one had a counter organization such as Doctors' Husbands Association, who would then be pulling whom to such associational gatherings?

Ghanaian women are outstripping their male-folk in this search for eminence and position. Presumably women, more than men, conform better to the supposition that human beings possess instincts which tend at once towards gregariousness and exclusiveness! What do our women say?

The Edinburgh Games

THE Commonwealth Games were due to open on Thursday, 16th July, according to schedule, as we were going to press with this issue. This year's event, saved from disaster at the nick of time by the 11th-hour cancellation of the then scheduled South African cricket tour of England, will certainly be the biggest and fanciest of the whole nine in the series; it is hoped it will also be the greatest so far. The Mexico-68 Olympic Games and the World Cup soccer tournament at the same venue both came off with that kind of reputation, and there is no reason why the Edinburgh affair should not chalk up the same history. After all, like Tokyo ('66) and Mexico, the City Fathers of Edinburgh have set up the best-ever Games complex for this event in the series.

Ghana's chances of making and leaving an indelible mark on this occasion are probably bright, but only on a minor sort of scale. We are a small country not yet developed fully in any particular area or direction; to put ourselves permanently on the world map in any field of endeavour will demand far greater effort, concentration, devotion, and material means than we have ever been able to find or expend. Yet the potential is there and has often showed flashes of itself. Which is not too surprising. After all, Kenya and Jamaica are small countries too—and New Zealand and Sweden and Norway. Yet they have produced and will keep producing, even if with breaks in between, great athletes of world renown and great players in team and individual sports like tennis and cricket, like football, golf and rugby.

It is true that our Mike Aheys and S.K. Alloteys are no longer performing, at their previous peak standards; that we are no longer the undisputed Commonwealth boxing champion country or Africa-wide soccer kings. We are also anxious about the inclusion of individuals like the boxer Adonis Ray in the Ghana team for Edinburgh, and about how long our boxing coach, the otherwise able Roy Ankrah, can continue without competent, fresh replacement. However, after we have done with all these speculations of doubt

and fear, we can still remain hopeful in a few bright spots. Like in Alice Anum; and in Smith, still improving in the high jump, though still quite far away from international standards. And in Daniels, and the relay team which still includes Mike Ahey; and in Bugri and Frempong.

Well, we wish them and Ghana great good luck.

Letters

Austerity Patterns: Somalia and Ghana

SIR - Somalia celebrated the tenth anniversary of her independence with austerity — there were no invitations to foreign diplomats, and there was no military parade. Which country needs to emulate this national self-denial of luxuries more than Ghana? — a country saddled with external debts and heavily burdened with unemployment.

There is no doubt that Ghana can save a lot in all aspects of economic life if our state functions could be handled with less pomp, and if our state dinners were suspended. What will foreign nations think of us if we incessantly cry for a breathing space in the payment of our debts and yet within our borders we lead a life of a country with a viable economy? They will surely not take us serious.

Surely we owe no obligation to any country to entertain her head of state or her diplomats with expensive dishes?

It is my humble suggestion that for at least the next five years the example from Somalia should be our guiding principle.

Kwame Frimpong

Commonwealth Hall

Legon

Stop Preaching Tribalism

SIR - During the four-day debate in the General Assembly last month, in which the Opposition lost the motion on the 568 workers dismissed, the P.P. Member for the Nkwanta Constituency is reported to have said that if the N.A.L. members in the Volta Region really felt (bad) for the unemployed they should establish enterprises for them in the region.

My opinion about this M.P. is that he does not feel for others and consequently he does not know why he is in the National Assembly. I wish to bring to his attention the fact that a member of Parliament is not expected to speak in favour of either his region or his constituency only, but for the betterment of the nation as a whole.

If such speeches continue to be made in our National Assembly then I would not be wrong to say that those M.P.s who make them are singing the song of tribalism, which some people are endeavouring to eradicate from the minds of the youth of our country. This can also be bad politics. That the M.P. I have referred to said this in the National Assembly would suggest that he supports what the Leader of the Opposition had charged: that the dismissal of the 568 was done tribalistically.

I should like to suggest to members of Parliament not

such unworthy remarks and speeches, else those who make them would lead others to insist that the P.P. Government in fact does things on the basis of tribal feelings.
New Town M. A. S. Wormenor

Developing the North

Our Editorial: "National Development and Regional Development" (L.O. V/13) made interesting reading not so much for the logic in your argument but for the way in which you sought to rescue the government out of the predicament into which the language of Jones Ofori-Atta had placed the government's attitude towards Ibrahim Mahama's motion calling upon the government to draw up a special accelerated programme to develop the North in line with the others of the country's regions.

Clearly, Mr. Mahama's motion had a harmless intention, and Mr. Madjitey's amendment should even have been readily acceptable. But strangely enough the northern parliamentarians in the Progress Party government, who should have inspired the government to accept Mahama's motion, did not do so.

It is a pity that men who have earned so much respect for their ability and mature attitude towards national issues should today exhibit such tendencies during the first parliament of the Second Republic.

I am not myself interested in personalities. My only interest is to remind the new government that the more they exhibit such strange personal feelings the more they make it difficult to defend themselves tomorrow, and the more they lose the sympathy of those who, in spite of any valid fears about them, still felt that they are the only men who could be counted upon to rule more wisely.

I think that Dr. Busia and his colleagues would wish to have the opportunity to do a radical self-examination of their conscience and open a new chapter in the next parliament. That would do them a lot of good. Yours faithfully,

S. M. Sibidow

A. (Accra Branch)
Box 1660,

Public Telephone Booths

One of the most glaring defective aspects of our communication system is the complete lack of public telephone booths in our cities, towns and villages. By any modest estimate there are no more than five or six public booths around the Accra-Tema municipality. Nearly all of them are located in the main post offices and are frequently out of order. Where a booth is in working condition the caller has to exhaust lots of patience before the sleeping attendant grudgingly answers "hello". This is a deplorable situation in a country where house telephone is considered not only a necessity but a prestigious asset.

In a country where tourism is being encouraged this inadequacy is disastrous. Even in the developed countries where house telephone is a necessity, public telephone booths are located in every nook and cranny of cities and towns. This should be the case even more here where less than 15% of the population can lay hands on

telephones in an emergency. It should not be a luxury to have public booths in our markets, big shops, airports, lorry and railway stations, banks and top hotels etc.

There is not a single public booth in the whole of Labadi, and other suburbs in and around the city are no exception. The situation calls for immediate action.

King Osafo.

P.O. Box 80
Accra.

Pickpocket Extraordinary

SIR—I wish to inform the authorities, or the person who invited Mr. Bob Arno, the world widely known pickpocket, that his visit to Ghana was not necessary at all. At present, there are a lot of gangsters around who are doing bad enough things to the innocent public, and the police are doing their best to prevent these evil doings.

Now, if we are trying to outlaw criminal acts from our beloved country, why should we at the same time invite such a character to visit us and demonstrate his evil skills to us? I care little about the points he raised in the *Daily Graphic*, because these were going to be read by both good and bad people.

I am sure some films are prohibited from being shown in our cinema halls because the spectators do not gain anything from them except evil thoughts. If this is the case, why should the Bob Arnos come here to worsen things? We must all bear in mind that by his demonstrations our "guys" may learn even worse things.

P.O. Box 5712
Accra

Wofa Yaw Twum

Making the Observer "Lively"

SIR—I read, with profound interest, of your fourth anniversary in your last issue; this is very remarkable. Your style of writing and the way you compile articles is also commendable. Pats on your elbows. I have copies of all your issues, which I am keeping as "keepsake".

I would also like to suggest that you "bring in" colour photographs to make your articles "more lively."

Ampadu-Mari.

P.O. Box 567
Accra.

Editor's Note: The suggestion in the last paragraph is noted with thanks!

Legon, July 15

Course For MPs on National Budget

A one-week course for Members of the National Assembly was today opened at Mensah Sarbah Hall, University of Ghana, Legon. The course which is being organised by the Institute of Adult Education in conjunction with the office of the Minister of State for Parliamentary Affairs and the office of the Clerk of the National Assembly will be expected to discuss among other things, Parliamentary procedures and the National Budget.

It is expected that the Prime Minister and the leader of the opposition would address the closing session of the seminar.

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