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Schools and States in Nigeria

Announcing that the Federal government would assist the introduction of free primary education throughout the six northern states, Nigeria's Commissioner for Education, Chief Eke, said that it was "disheartening" that while 70 per cent of children of school age were in school in the Southern states, in the North the proportion was below ten. School fees in the North, where the new state governments have taken over voluntary agency schools, are subsidised by the governments, but they still amount to £1 a term, which can be a heavy burden for parents of big families. Chief Eke also said that his Ministry was planning a universal system of education with a uniform syllabus and system of teaching throughout the country, and would attempt to tackle the problem of falling standards everywhere.

This intervention of the Federal government is welcome. But the North-South gap in education has such a long history and is so wide that it will take many years to bridge it. Nor is it simply a North-South gap. Among the Northern states themselves there are huge discrepancies, for example between Kwara and North-East. Inside each state, too, there are great discrepancies, for example in the North-West state the number of children in school in the former Niger Province is some three times the proportion in the former Sokoto Province. Even



relatively highly educated Kwara has problems — it is said that in 1974, in spite of so many of its citizens finding work in other Northern States, it will have a surplus of highly qualified engineers, but a serious shortage of plumbers.

In general the proportion of children at school diminishes as one goes northwards. Kano, the richest of the northern states, is making great efforts to expand education and plans to spend over £8m during the present four-year plan period. Even so it is not expected that more than 15 per cent of children of school age will be in primary schools in 1975, although this will be more than double the number attending in 1969. It is notable that when the name Sokoto was synonymous with

political power in Nigeria, less than five per cent of children of school age in the provinces went to school. At the same time in what is now Lagos State, with its population less than a tenth that of the area now embraced by North-West, North-Central and Kano states, over 200,000 children were in primary school, far more than those in the schools of all three states.

Fortunately the Northern states appear to suffer no more than the Southern ones from the problem of "dropping-out", although in view of the small numbers at school any dropping-out in, say, North-East, is more serious than it would be in Lagos. There is however, a particular problem in some Northern states. The comparatively rapid expansion in primary education has meant that there are disproportionate numbers in the lower forms.

The low attendance at primary schools is reflected in the statistics for secondary education, teacher training, and university and professional education. Although enrolment at Ahmadu Bello, the university to whose finance the six Northern states contribute, compares favourably with enrolment in the four other universities, Ahmadu Bello is meant to serve more people than the other universities combined. It also enrolls far more people from the Southern states than the other universities enrol from the Northern states.

Obviously teacher-training is at the heart of the problem and the more backward Northern states concentrate on it. Kano, in particular, aims to increase the annual output of teachers from 200 a year in 1969 to 1,000 in 1974. In the meantime there are a very large number of non-Nigerian teachers in some of the Northern states, particularly in girls'

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schools. A disproportionately small number of girls in school is again a particular problem of the the most northerly states. The great disparity in the school attendance figures between say, Kwara and the North-West states, is partly accounted for by the proportionately higher number of girls at school in Kwara.

Looking ahead to civilian rule, some Nigerians have suggested that because of the disparity in standards of education between the states there should be some kind of quota system for the federal services, to prevent certain states feeling that they are excluded. The chairman of the Federal Public Service Commission, himself a northerner, has said that he opposes the idea. No doubt the device would be impossible to work and if it was tried it might operate against some states which find it difficult even to man their own services. Yet everybody agrees that one fundamental cause of envy and resentment between the former Northern Region and the southern regions was competition for official jobs. Northerners believed that southerners were monopolising certain jobs, while southerners believed that northerners were getting jobs not on merit, but for political reasons. These deep misunderstandings cannot be removed overnight, nor can the disparities in the levels of education which gave rise to them. But now that it can be seen the problem is not really a "North-South" one, many of the dangers should be removed. Above all, provided it is seen that the Federal Government itself is treating the standardisation of education as one of the keys to stability and unity in Nigeria, and is ready to spend Federal money to achieve it, resentment and envy should be much easier to control.

Nigeria Goes Right

Nigeria's changeover to right-hand driving on April 2 was heralded by ship sirens and church bells. The entire strength of the police force, assisted by the army, airforce and navy personnel and hundreds of specially trained traffic wardens, had been deployed for traffic duties. Practically every road junction in Lagos was manned by traffic officials and in many parts of the city coach-lined the streets shouting "Drive right" to passing traffic. The switch was reported to have gone very smoothly throughout the country.

As a precaution against possible road accidents the speed limit in towns has been restricted to 20 mph for two weeks. Mr. Femi Okunnu, Commissioner for Works and Housing, said that the change-over, apart from facilitating free movement would ensure more rapid economic integration of Africa.

A five-man delegation from Ghana led by Professor J. S. W. deGraft Johnstone, Director of the Road Research Institute, witnessed the changeover. Ghana is the only West African state with driving on the left.

Nigeria relaxes — and takes over

From a Lagos correspondent

Progress in the last financial year had been most encouraging, Gen Gowon said in his 1972/73 budget broadcast — and the outlook ahead was even brighter. The budget measures, although undramatic, reflect this optimism and have been welcomed with relief by most Nigerians.

Of the expected gross current revenue of £650m., about £180m. will be allocated to State Governments and £160m. will be set aside for the development fund. Almost all the estimated capital expenditure of £238m. will come from domestic sources. Gen Gowon warned, however, that in spite of the increased foreign exchange earnings from petroleum, which accounted for 70 per cent of Federal revenue last year, the economy "is not altogether out of the wood yet". Because of this, foreign exchange controls are being retained. And although the Government intends to authorise the remittance of all arrears of dividends and profits blocked from the war years up to 14 December 1970, dividends for the calendar year 1971 will not be transferable until the economic situation improves.

"Proceeding with caution" is the keynote of the section of the budget which deals directly with foreign exchange. The ban on the importation of stockfish, for instance, has been lifted — but only as a temporary measure to supplement the local supply of protein foods, the basic travel allowance has been increased to £100 the limit for visits to other African countries was previously £251, monthly home remittances for expatriates has been restored to 50 per cent.

During 1971 Nigeria met current import liabilities of more than £230m., and although the 90- and 180-day payment system will be continued, it is to be relaxed. Books, construction equipment required for emergency maintenance and "official imports" are to be payable "on sight", and buses and spare parts have been given greater priority, being transferred to the 90-day category. The inclusion of buses is symptomatic of the importance being given to transport, both because there is considerable public concern about its contribution to the rising cost of living (one of the budget's policy objectives is to increase the purchasing power of the pound through price and tax reductions) and because of its crucial role in economic development.

Gen. Gowon noted that work was in progress on the rehabilitation and reconstruction of about 2,000 miles of roads all over the Federation, at a cost of about £50m., and the budget has cut import duty on buses and coaches by 20 per cent, on commercial vehicles by 13 per cent, and on cars between 16½ and 25 per cent, depending on engine capacity. The budget statement also confirmed that Peugeot and Volkswagen have been selected to manufacture cars in Nigeria.

One plant is to be sited in Kaduna, the other in Lagos and both are to begin operations in the current financial year. The cars will be sold at "competitive and reasonable prices" and will be "comparable in quality and sturdiness with their international substitutes".

The Federal Government will have a 51 per cent interest in these two industries, and the budget speech referred to a Nigerian participation in two other important sectors, banking and oil.

Moves toward participation in oil have been mooted for some time, but Gen Gowon has now spelled out the position. "Negotiations will be resumed early in the financial year with the existing oil producing companies on the issue of participation by government in the existing oil companies and in their concessions". In addition, Decrees are to be issued soon for the establishment of the Petroleum Training Institute and a Petroleum Technology Development Fund. Attention will also be paid "to laying the plan for effective participation in transportation of petroleum products to overseas markets".

Banking was a less expected target, although a hint was given only two weeks earlier by Mr S. O. Asabia, deputy Governor of the Central Bank, who suggested in a lecture that increased participation in the economy by Nigerians was preferable to outright nationalisation "if only for reasons of maintaining management efficiency and the flow of investment funds". In a press conference three days after the budget speech, the Commissioner for Finance, Alhaji Shehu Shagari, reiterated that Nigeria would not go in for indiscriminate nationalisation. "Where any nationalisation is deemed necessary, adequate compensation arrangements will be made in accordance with internationally accepted norms of equity and fair play."

Equity shares of at least 40 per cent are to be sought in the foreign-owned commercial banks, Alhaji Shehu said that at present the maximum Nigerian participation was three per cent. Steps are also being taken to expand the activities of the Nigerian Industrial Development Bank to enable it to play a "more

dynamic role" in the promotion of Nigerian enterprises and the Federal Government is to establish its own industrial and commercial credit banks to facilitate the indigenisation policy. The Post Office Savings Bank is to be known as the Federal Savings Bank, and sav- will be encouraged by increasing interest from 2½ per cent to about 4 per cent.

Support for local industries has been given by reductions averaging about 5 per cent in excise duties payable on local manufactures as well as by reductions of between five and 10 per cent in the duties on imported raw materials used by local industries "whose products should now generally be cheaper than before". As a result of the fiscal concessions in the budget the Government anticipates a loss of about £50m. in revenue which it hopes will be compensated for by increased production from local industries. The super-tax introduced as a war-time measure has been abolished, the company profit tax remains at 40 per cent for profits up to £5,000 and a new super tax of 45 per cent is payable by companies making a profit of more than £5,000 a year. A capital gains tax has been introduced, payable on all sales of shares and trusts "where there is a suitable rise in value".

Most of the budget broadcast was concerned with general statements of intent rather than detailed measures, thus "government is determined, by means of a decree and price control measures if necessary" to ensure that the concessions granted are passed on to the consumer; "the wide dispersal of industries will be encouraged by giving new incentives, the details of which are being worked out". No mention is made of the iron and steel project, but negotiations for a super-phosphate fertiliser plant and salt refineries are "nearing completion". A National Mining Corporation is to be established during the year to engage in the mining of solid minerals.

On manpower, Gen Gowon pledged a continuation of the policy of promoting and protecting "the real interests of our working classes" but added "It is essential that there should be industrial peace in the country. No nation, and least of all a developing nation like ours, can afford constant disruptions of its services and industries." More police barracks are to be built and a third police college should soon be operating in Enugu. A salary review will be carried out for the Armed Forces and the Army's participation in non-military projects, such as road construction, will be widened to include participation in the construction and maintenance of barracks. It is noticeable that the problem of galloping Army expenditure, which a year ago was causing so much concern appears to have been brought under control. Recurrent expenditure by the Ministry of Defence between April 1 and September 30 last year totalled £21.2m. compared with £17.1m in the same period of 1970.

During the budget broadcast, Gen. Gowon announced that the second phase of the post-war reconstruction programme — the reactivation of economic activities and repairs to property — "has virtually been completed". The National Commission for Rehabilitation will therefore be wound up "in the next few months". What remains of reconstruction is being tackled as part of the nation's development efforts. Commented Gen. Gowon: "I would like to seize this opportunity to thank most sincerely once again all those who were involved in the gigantic work of rehabilitation".



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THE SEASON OF CRISIS

E. Y. Adamuah concludes the life-history of Dede and her friend Madam Altastes in Accra market, begun in *West Africa*, December 3, 1971 and continued in the last two issues. Devaluation of the cedi is the main topic for discussion.

It was half past one but the sun was not yet strong to dispel the wind that had blown through the night causing a parched feeling in nose and throat. An indifferent observer following the movement of these trades-women as they bent forward and turned round about their works, however, would have been more struck by their calmness than with any signs of sadness. It is true that one popular provisions store had closed down in the market, that some men who lost faith became confused and took to drinking *akpeteshie*, that some clerks to whom monies were advanced by the mummies could not settle. The mummies were sorry but on the whole there was still left their dignified calm and sociability.

At Christmas Dede and her friends attended church in cheerful dresses. The maids Afua and Mansa and the school-children arrived in their best starched and ironed, though not new, dresses.

The noise among the workmen was at its height when the schoolteacher was seen to change colour, and at length a timely remark from him being loudly commended, the workmen stopped their political quarrel and agreed that partisan politics be taken out of the public education campaign on devaluation. "Oh it is a sensible and proper thing indeed, what Master has said," someone was heard saying above the turmoil. "This is not a matter for propaganda but education."

Now the debate was dropped, the women could carry on their talk. They could exchange their views on religion, the weather and the upbringing of children. They could talk about the Council officials and the Trade Ministry. The next to give evidence was the man from the Sanitary office who wore long black boots. He recounted the experience he had undergone in buying a Key soap. He had to pass through many secret sources before getting the soap above the control price. People wanted to become rich of any new thing. Immediately devaluation was announced soap vanished from the stores. It was hoarded.

"If we hoard at all, what could we do otherwise in this wavering and unsettled state?" said the provisions seller.

"But they never go to the farm to control the prices and leave the farmer to sell things to us at whatever price they like." In the opinion of the mammy the remedy does not lie in controlling only the prices of the retailers but also of wholesalers, importers and manufacturers. The movements of goods must also be known. To express this belief Anti Dede had to bend herself almost double, start out her eyes like a drowned person and bring out her back like a hunch, all to show the posture she was reduced to by the bag of cassava she usually headloaded from the farm to the road.

There was something contagious in the laugh that accompanied the dramatic demonstration, for the cloth seller and her debtor stopped their quarrel and laughed. The gari and beans seller who before had been rebuking her child and brandishing a long cane with noisy intimidation also joined in the laugh, while the child's thought of hunger disappeared.

"Fill this to the brim," said the mason, pushing his calabash to the wine seller. "Master and Peter will join us. Hey, Peter, be cheerful like a man. You don't appear altogether in your spirits today, Peter."

"Or, perhaps he doesn't like the look of it - my dear," said the wine seller, observing that Peter had not even tasted the wine. "Come - try it, my dear. If you want quality palm wine, this is the time for it. Harmattan is here. See the foams."

Anti Dede who had chuckled but now observing the low spirits of Peter quickly grew serious and the men being respectively attentive again, she went on to express her fears that the world would never again be what it used to be. "In the last three or four years in this country the shortages of sugar, milk, soap which we had experienced in the previous years did not recur and everyone of us looked satisfaction. The happiness of being free from tyranny had never been so beautiful as then. Bread became comparatively cheap. There was no more queuing before buying anything and the newspapers dropped their slanders against us of hoarding, of being the cause of every economic ill. This is why I feel the strikes, for instance, were uncalled for. The strikes last year, you remember, made us to stop work for one or two days as the trams could not bring the cassava from the villages."

At this point a little red man raised an objection and said strikes were irrelevant to the topic of devaluation. But the schoolteacher cut in to say that nothing was irrelevant which showed mounting public loss and discontent.

"And I must add," the stout mammy went on with a fresh recollection of emphasis, "that we the market women suspect that those who are back today to indulge in the old trick of putting all the blame on hoarding by retailers do so as an excuse from real hard thinking. I hold no brief for hoarding. But, surely, those of you who come to my fire and say 'Mammy, extra, extra,' must know that I myself have been compelled to buy certain things at high prices." She heard the hooting of a horn and a long black car, smooth and glittering in the murky sun, hissed past. Then turning to the workmen, she went on: "They say money has fallen down everywhere. But the big men's money never falls down and they ride to the hotels."

The watchman's bell had just struck a hundred yards away in the workyard and as the workmen rose to their feet to go to



the work they had left the mummies made sure that they threw in their last quota. "But what is money after all," said Madam Altastes "The world has changed and I don't blame it. Young men don't want to save money slowly. I'm wondering when this stumbling, this falling may cease so that we walk upright."

"Walk upright? - You don't say it!" chimed in the gari and beans seller. "This disturbing times we live in."

Politicians who had risen before fall. Others previously unknown enter on the scene. Some said it must be war and war it was which caused traders all those speculations and deficiencies and small promptings, instead of far-sighted plans, and made leading figures live in the midst of fear and skirmishing bomb attacks.

Ghana had just started another reconstruction programme which would bring new changes. How did the illiterate citizen see this? She might not take part in politics, but she and the Cambridge Professor of Government could see in the same light. The "alienation," observed the Professor "whether from the Convention Peoples Party in 1966 or from Progress in 1972, may be no more than disenchantment and disillusionment with a party machine which failed to keep its early promise. And since no regime in Ghana is ever likely to do that, given the external restraints, the prospect is gloomy." And with the voice of the ordinary citizen, the gari and beans mammy observed that we must not build too much upon promises "Once bitten by a snake, we begin to fear the earthworm."

All the mummies then turned to watch the schoolteacher for his opinion. "Oh no, they'll settle things quite," said he, disposed to take a more cheerful view.

And observing the low spirits of the gari seller, the mammy from the Volta basin looked up towards the northern sky and added approvingly. "Yes, maybe things cannot continue like this. At this time of the year this dry wind can hardly last longer - perhaps it may rain tonight."

Another budget seemed likely and it was the prayer that social justice prevailed to keep the generosity from the higher income groups. As more people do petty trading their problems become real and attempts must be made to solve them.



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LETTER FROM PORT GENTIL

From a correspondent

This is generally described as the economic capital of Gabon, but it is not really the commercial capital. The focal point of Gabon remains the administrative capital, Libreville, which is at least connected by road to the rest of the country, even if Gabon's road network leaves much to be desired. Port Gentil, on Mandji island in the mouth of the Ogooué River, much as Eouyou is in the mouth of the Niger, is only accessible from the rest of Gabon by air and by water. There is not even a ferry to provide a slow road link, nor yet a plan for one, or alternatively a plan for a bridge.

Inhabitants of Port Gentil (are they called *Gentilportais*, or perhaps *Gentilportains*?) do not seem to mind, or at least are resigned to isolation. And there is, of course, the airport. This is Port-Gentil's main link with the rest of Gabon, so it is not surprising to discover that it is the third busiest airport in Francophone Africa, after Libreville and Dakar. The traffic is due in part to the number of internal flights of the Transgabon airline, but also to the numbers of private aircraft belonging to companies. Gabon has altogether over 100 airstrips of varying sizes.

The town is unspectacular built for function rather than style, with none of the tree-studded prettiness of Libreville. Parts of it are similar to Douala, and in Gabon it has the reputation of a Douala for its bohème and its nightlife, whereas Libreville is stuffy and "dead except on Saturdays". It also has had its own television station since 1966. But above all it is undeniably the economic heart of Gabon, principally because it is the centre for the country's two most important foreign exchange earning exports — timber and oil.

The magic okoume wood

Gabon's timber has been sought after in Europe since it provided the material for wainscoting in one of the palaces of Louis XIV, but it was only towards the end of the 19th century that it became feasible to transport it on a large scale. This was how Port Gentil was born, named after a French colonial administrator of the "Scramble for Africa" period. Its location, by Cap Lopez, at the mouth of the Ogooué, meant that it was an ideal depot for all the giant trunks which the *bouquets* of the river valley at such places as Lambarene and Ndjole were sending downstream. As officials here point out, there is no actual port, only a series of serviceable quays, but it was the place for taking on timber, the commodity which was far and away Gabon's principal export until after the Second World War, when oil was discover-

ed, also in the Port Gentil area. Even in 1960 timber accounted for three quarters of Gabon's export earnings.

What makes Port-Gentil a distinctively timber town, however, is the giant plywood factory of the compagnie Francaise de Gabon (CFG), which has been operating since 1948, and has the reputation of being the second largest plywood factory in the world (the first is in the USSR). Gabon is the world's only producer of the legendary *okoume* hardwood, which has the peculiar asset of combining lightness of weight with resilience, and is much sought after for plywood. Flying over Gabon you can see in the abundant virgin forests which still exist, in spite of the massive exploitation, the tall pinkish trunks of the *okoume*. The factory, which is entirely owned by French business interests, takes the logs wet from the Ogooué, and, under one cathedral-like roof, the wood is sawed, planed, shaped, glued and pressed. The final output, in neat packing cases, was in 1971 65,000 cubic metres. Of these 16,000 cubic metres are consumed in Africa, including 6,000 cu metres at home in Gabon, and another 6,000 in the other countries of the Central African Customs Union (UDEAC) of which Gabon is a member. Although other timbers are now being encouraged, the magic *okoume* still forms the bulk of the timber used.

Building the railway to Boué

Although for the last year or two Gabon's timber production has been static, the prospects are thought to be encouraging as new roads open up new areas. The building of the first section of the Transgabon railway, ultimately intended to take the iron ore known to exist in large quantities at Mekambo in eastern Gabon, will benefit the timber industry by opening up the *okoume*-rich Boué region. Although there is a growing Gabonese involvement in the industry, it is one sector where French interests are still very predominant, through the agency of the powerful Office de Bois which has the monopoly of unprocessed timber exports. It was precisely because these interests, above all, would benefit from building a railway to Boué, that the World Bank has been digging in its heels on the financing of the railway. I gather that the timber companies have now agreed to improve the terms they offer to the Gabonese, and the much delayed financing package for the \$250m. project is likely to be sewn up this year.

Another obstacle to expansion, say the factory management, is labour shortage, remarkable in Africa. It arises from a number of complex factors, including



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under-population, poor communications, as well as Gabonese chauvinism, which leads to suspicion of outsiders coming in to Gabon to work. Its practical results are the permanent large recruiting boardings outside the plywood factory, and a very high turnover of labour within. Very often, say the management, people come to work for a couple of months only and then return to their villages.

The Gabonese bandleader Hilarion Nguema Ndong has a song which satirises the *okoumé* workers.

Monsieur Guenot

A eu chanté

Les travailleurs

De l'okoumé

Où pas voulin

Travailleurs,

Ils ont voulu

Danser le cha-cha-cha

(Which means, roughly, "Monsieur Guenot — who was presumably a French employer — is having a hot time. The *okoumé* workers didn't want to work, they wanted to dance the cha-cha-cha).

But it is undesirable work, very hot and dusty, with some accident risk, and labour conditions are not very good. There is a union, but "not as you would understand it in Europe". Only now, it seems, is the management getting round to a special housing scheme for workers. However the target for production this year is 80,000 cubic metres, although over the last three years, production has slightly declined from 75,000 to 65,000 cubic metres.

Prospecting for oil has been going on in some form since 1928. It was only

since the setting up in 1949 of the Société des Pétroles d'Afrique Equatoriale (usually known as ELF-SPAFF) which also prospected in Congo-Brazzaville, that successful strikes were made, and the first well started production in 1956. A terminal was built at Cap Lopez, near Port-Gentil, and the first tanker was loaded in 1957, in which year Gabon produced a little under 200,000 tons of crude oil. Production of crude has expanded regularly, passing 1m. tons in 1964 until in 1969 is passed 5m. tons (about 36m barrels). Production in 1970 was over 5.4m. tons and in 1971 reached nearly 6m. That for 1972 is confidently expected to be increased again, and it is known that the two most important of the twelve wells in production, at Gamba and Anguille, have reserves of 20m. each. In 1959, to speed up exploitation, ELF-SPAFF brought in Shell and Mobil. Shell in particular discovered the Gamba well, which with that of Ivanga are producing 600,000 tons annually between them. Petroleum products now constitute more than one third of Gabon's export earnings. The new deal between producing countries and the companies brought an extra 800m. CFA to Gabon.

Two more UDEAC refineries

An increasing amount of Gabon's oil production goes to the other main industrial feature of Port Gentil, the UDEAC oil refinery, which started production in 1967. The share capital of 1,200m. CFA (a little under £2m) is divided on the basis of 25 per cent for the

UDEAC states (5 per cent each for Gabon, Cameroon, Chad, CAR and Congo-Brazza); 37.50 per cent for the promoters, the oil companies ELF and Total; and the remaining 37.50 per cent for the distributors Agip, BP, Mobil, Petrofina, Shell and Texaco who have monopoly for sales in all five UDEAC states (Chad is not now in fact a member of UDEAC, but was a signatory to the agreement setting up the refinery). Between 15 and 20 per cent of Gabon production is now piped to the refinery from the Cap Lopez terminal. The refinery's capacity is now over 900,000 tons, and it is expected to pass the million-ton mark in 1973. Initially one refinery was considered enough to handle all the UDEAC market, but demand has risen so rapidly that at the last summit of Central African heads of state it was formally agreed that there should be two new refineries, at Douala in Cameroon and at Pointe Noire in Congo-Brazza, to start operation in 1975. And it seems that ELF will be master-minding the running of these refineries as well.

The business of oil and timber alone make this a thriving town of 30-40,000 people. There are also a number of other industries — soap, oxygen-acetylene, as well as a project for a giant fertiliser factory using natural gas. But, in spite of the frequent flights and the arrival of ships, there remains a strange isolation from the rest of this immensely rich but undeveloped country. All the products from the refinery, for example, even for the Gabon internal market, have to leave by tanker to Libreville.

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Books and Publications

Nigerian Pioneers

The development of Universities in Nigeria by *Ndika Okafor (Lungman's U 50, paperback)*

In Nigeria the only country where a controversy about higher education led to the establishment of a significant political party! For the meeting held in Lagos in 1934 to protest against the proposed Yaba Higher College was in effect, as Dr Okafor notes the first meeting of the Nigerian Youth Movement. And just as the NYM criticised the college for being "second-best", the rival NSDP supported the proposed college. Nor was this the last time that higher education entered national politics. The failure of the Council to re-appoint Dr Njoku as Vice-Chancellor of Lagos University was seen by many in the then Eastern Region as yet another example of tribal politics, and the dismissal of Professor Oyenuga at Ife, whether justified or not, was seen to reflect the Action-Group-Akintola dispute.

These are two of the three cases which Dr Okafor discusses in his chapter on "Academic Freedom, Autonomy and Politics in Nigerian Universities". The other case, which is very different is that of Professor J.K. Lindsay, who was dismissed from the University at Nsukka for criticising the conduct of affairs at the university, including the setting up of a department of fisheries in a place 250 miles from the sea. Dr Okafor hesitates to call the cases of the two Nigerian professors "breaches of academic freedom" although claiming that the award of damages by the court to members of the staff who resigned because of the Oyenuga case was "a landmark in the history of Nigerian academic freedom". In Professor Lindsay's case he considers that the criticisms were entirely inappropriate: the professor is not, as Dr Okafor says, an Irishman but a West Indian, not everybody would agree.

The greater part of the book is a straightforward account, summarising for example, the findings of the Asquith and Elliot Commissions which led to the establishment of the first universities in West Africa, and of the Ashby report which led to the vast expansion of higher education. There are a number of statistical tables, and the courses, degrees and certificates now offered by the Nigerian universities are described. There is a useful discussion of the place of "general" degrees and of courses in African studies.

Dr Okafor has an interesting description of the importance that university education occupied in the minds of the early nationalists, particularly Horton, Blyden and Casely Hayford. It was not

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merely because of the probable shortage of students that these pioneers, and the West African National Congress after them, always spoke of a "West African" university. Nor were they so much interested in the training of manpower as in the assertion of intellectual independence and equality. They were concerned that, however valuable education overseas might be, it could "denationalise" young Africans. Casely Hayford insisted that the site for his university should be far away from the coast. Dr. Okafor, himself a member of the staff of the university, considers that it is the fulfilment of Dr. Azikiwe's dream in the establishment of the University at Nsukka which most faithfully fulfils the ambition of the pioneers, although it is not altogether clear in what way the content of its education is more Nigerian than that at other universities in the country.

Indeed, throughout the book there are constant references to the need for the universities to have a "Nigerian character" although this character seems chiefly to consist in the teaching of African languages, history etc. instead of European. Indeed, Dr. Okafor himself clearly believes that the university is an institution of universal value and, for example, in an interesting discussion of the achievements and weaknesses of Ibadan, defends that university against the critics who thought that it should be partly "non-residential" in order to increase the intake. He also notes, in his account of efforts made in Lagos towards the end of the last century to raise money for the proposed training college which might blossom into a university, that local rich men were reluctant to produce the necessary money. He suggests that after all, in spite of lip service to the theory that higher education should be conducted at home then, as now, Nigerian parents, if they could possibly afford it, might prefer to send their children overseas. He also wonders whether, if the British government had not produced the money for launching Ibadan, Nigerians would still have ensured that it came into being, as the Ghanaians ensured the foundation of Legon. Because the British government was in favour of a single university in West Africa, with headquarters in Nigeria, the then Gold Coast government decided to go it alone.

Dr. Okafor's manuscript has had an unhappy experience. It was completed in 1967 but the crisis delayed publication. The result is that there is, for example, no discussion of the problem of financing Ahmadu Bello University now that it is the responsibility of the six northern states rather than of the former Northern Region. Of the university which is coming into being in the Mid-West we are told only of the establishment of a committee to examine the possibility. On the other hand the proposed university at Port Harcourt is spoken of as though it was in operation, and we learn nothing of the difficult relations between the three states formed out of the Eastern Region and Nsukka University.

Ethiopian Values

The Konso of Ethiopia, by C. R. Hallpike (Oxford, 1971).

In the far south-west of Ethiopia live the Konso, some 60,000 of them, "hudd on the ground" as Dr. Hallpike puts it, and concentrated into a number of ancient towns in the mountains. They have a long-standing tradition of loyalty in each town and suspicion of outsiders. Their fields they own individually, they are industrious, sea-like, ingenious with their hands, and quick to assert their rights. "They live close to famine if the rains fail, and a prey to all the miseries of sickness, locusts, war and violent death..." The object of Dr. Hallpike's study is to "examine how the social institutions of the Konso and their religious rituals are given coherence by their values."

These values, Dr. Hallpike summarises as follows: "They believe that rainfall, the fertility of women, animals, and crops, and success in war and hunting, depend on the maintenance of social harmony and peace; and so life in all its various manifestations, and peace are two of their most dominant values. Consistently with their high evaluation of peace, they admire sociability, co-operation, discussion, and a just subordination according to age and seniority, as sanctioned by ancestral tradition. They reject the idea of being governed by one man, and of arbitrary personal authority in general, but there are recognised outlets for individual enterprise, and they place a high value on the worth of the person, one of the worst crimes in their eyes being to put a price on someone's head, by blood money, or by selling one's children."

Life is manifested for the Konso "in the fertility of women, animals, and crops; the *pugetta* or priest is pre-eminently the bringer of life, in his role as sacrificer. The grave is the symbol of death, and there is a symbolic opposition between it and the priest, who ideally should kill no living thing, except when sacrificing."

One of the chief concerns of the Konso is masculinity, especially as expressed in warfare, hunting, and work in the fields. "The phallus is the focus of this esteem for manhood, and it appears in symbolic form throughout their culture. Women are seen as the weakeners of men, whose vitality is drained by sexual intercourse, and for this reason married men as well as bachelors often spend the night in special men's houses, to preserve their virility. Women are also regarded as socially unstable, leaving their lineage and natal towns at marriage to form unions with outsiders. A number of myths suggest that they are regarded as consequence as in some ways anti-social."

Dr. Hallpike dismisses the functionalist view of society, maintaining that societies are "systems of ideas as well as systems of action." The consistency and coherence of societies are not the result of

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mechanistic principle, but derive from man's needs for some general body of rules to order his life. Nor does the Konso view of god and the earth, their cosmology, merely "reflect" the society's total experience. It is itself creative."

With this theoretical guide-line Dr. Hallpike has produced a vivid picture of a people who have been little touched even by the culture of Ethiopia's Amharic rulers, although society has been affected by the establishment of law and order. Today there is a Norwegian Lutheran school and church, although Dr. Hallpike concludes that in religious matters the Konso have been almost unaffected by outsiders.

There are some attractive photographs and a number of diagrams. This also claims to be the first book in British social anthropology for which a computer has been used for analysis - in this case of the Konso generation grading system.

Tourist attraction?

Crocodiles by C. A. B. Guggisberg (*Daniel and Charles*, £2.75).

Few people in West Africa would regard crocodiles as a tourist attraction; but Mr. Guggisberg, as part of his plea for saving the crocodilian family from extinction, points out that the Nile crocodile, in particular, has become very scarce in areas where it used to be common. The human craze for using crocodile skin for handbags and shoes threatens the survival of a species that has been in existence for something like 140 million years.

West Africa's own species, the "long-nouted" and the "broad-fronted" crocodile are not in as much danger as the saurians are in some parts of the world. In some parts of West Africa the Nile crocodile is generally referred to as an "alligator". The "broad-fronted" crocodile is also sometimes referred to as the "dwarf crocodile".

Although Mr. Guggisberg's main interest is scientific, he does not ignore the extensive folklore that surrounds these reptiles. He discusses, for example, theories about the pebbles which are so often found in the stomachs of crocodiles: are they swallowed in the interest of digestion, or do the stones serve as "ballast", assisting their host to submerge or swim by "lowering the centre of gravity"? He also questions the "man-eating" myth, without denying the dangers to which people often expose themselves. In West Africa the dangers, he maintains, are not great, the dwarf and the long-nosed crocodile being harmless.

Crocodile cults are familiar in West Africa. There has been a powerful one in Ashanti and in parts of Northern Ghana, and a dangerous one in Sierra Leone. Even today the crocodiles which live in the lake at Paga, on Ghana's border with Upper Volta, and which respond in such friendly fashion to the call announcing

that their food is ready, are treated with great respect and are feared by nobody.

Mr. Guggisberg does not discuss the trade in crocodile skins, although deploring the savage massacre to which it gives rise. Crocodiles, like those in the lower reaches of the Gambia River, which live in salt water are not in great danger since, I have been told, the salt makes their skins unattractive - another detail on which one would have liked confirmation from Mr. Guggisberg.

A.M.

Books and Publications received:

Hofmeyr by Alan Paton. *Abridged edition of Oxford Paperbacks from South Africa* (Oxford University Press, £1.80)

Abridgement for American readers by Dudley C. Lunt of Paton's powerful biography of J. H. Hofmeyr, South African politician who was acting Prime Minister for long periods during Smuts' tours of Europe and America and whose liberal convictions kept him under sustained attack from nationalist afrikanerdom.

From Slavery to Public Service: Robert Smalls, 1939-1915 by Okon Edet Uyo (Oxford University Press, £2.70, paperback 90p)

The life of one of the most controversial characters of the American Reconstruction era, basically a revision of the author's doctoral thesis examining the validity of generalisations about the muddled era of the transition of American negroes from slavery to freedom.

A Historical Geography of Ghana by Kwamina B. Dickson (Cambridge University Press, £2.20/\$7.50)

A paperback edition of a book first published in 1969 describing the people of Ghana and their social organisations, migrations, agriculture, artifacts, manufactures and history from the earliest times to the present day.

East African History for the Certificate Year by Mary Hodges (George Allen & Unwin, 50p paperback)

The note form in which this book is written makes it useful for revision before examinations.

A Visual History of Nigeria by J. D. Clarke (Evans Brothers Ltd, 29p)

Child's introduction to pre-independent Nigeria. Reprint of a book first published in 1958.

Africa Through the Ages by Margaret Sherman (Evans Brothers Ltd, 39p)

Child's tour of Africa from earliest times to the nineteen hundreds. Reprint of a book first published in 1964.

Education in the Developing Countries of the Commonwealth: Research Register 1970-71 (The Commonwealth Secretariat, 50p)

A biennial register of current research programmes into education in the developing countries of the Commonwealth.

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Hainrich Barth
With a new introduction by A. H. M. Kirk-Greene
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Cusumary Law of the Haya Tribe, Tanganyika Territory

H. Cory and M. Hartnoll
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MATCHET'S DIARY

Ghana's military rulers have not had much success in associating prominent civilians with the regime. But now two very well-known politicians have agreed to act as the regime's roving ambassadors abroad. Mr. Komla Gbedemah, now aged 59, was the man chiefly responsible for organising the CPP's first election victory, in 1950. He was a very able Minister of Finance and his departure into voluntary exile in 1962 was a blow for the Nkrumah regime. His efforts from abroad, however, did the regime little damage. When he returned to Ghana after Dr. Nkrumah's downfall it was clear that he still had political ambitions and when the General Election came in 1969 many expected his National Association of Liberals to beat Dr. Busia's Progress party. It didn't, and Mr. Gbedemah himself was prevented even from taking his own seat by a court action in which it was ruled that, under the Constitution, he was disqualified because of certain references to him in the report of a Commission of Enquiry. Many regretted his loss to Ghana public life but he himself took it in good part, and returned to his extensive business interests. It was always thought that he played a major part in swinging American support behind the Volta project and it is not surprising that the United States is now to be part of his parish.

The other politician, Mr. Joe Appiah, was also a former lieutenant of Dr. Nkrumah having been his personal representative in London in the early days of the CPP. But he defected much earlier than Mr. Gbedemah having gone over to the NLM opposition in 1954. So any idea that these appointments show a swing to the "Nkrumahism" is obviously baseless. Mr. Appiah fought the 1969 general election at the head of a small party but was not even elected himself. He later joined the opposition coalition, now called the Justice Party, of which he became chairman. His wife, Peggy, is also a public figure in Ghana. It is, presumably, because of Mr. Appiah's British connections, that he has been appointed roving ambassador for Europe. It is interesting, though incidental, that Mr. Gbedemah is an Ewe and Mr. Appiah an Ashanti.

Shakespeare and Africa

With Umabatha, the Zulu entertainment based on *Macbeth*, following the Black *Macbeth* on the London stage, and every body talking about African enthusiasm for Shakespeare, I have gone back to the two books by Professor Eldred Jones of Fourah Bay which better than anything yet written sum up the attitudes of Shakespeare and the Elizabethan to Africans. In his first book, published in 1965, *Othello's Countrymen* Dr. Jones tells us that it was the publication of the

English version of Leo Africanus' *History and Description of Africa* in 1600 that was "the major landmark in the spread of knowledge of Africa in England". He traces the development of the mixture of legend, fantasy and travellers' tales, which, together with some direct knowledge and the presence of a surprising number of Africans in London, produced the attitudes to Africa of the dramatists. By the time that Shakespeare's *Othello* appeared on the London stage, in 1604, African characters of varying colours, Dr. Jones writes, had become "a familiar part of the London stage tradition". They were generally called "Moors", and were of two broad types. The first "whose blackness was generally emphasised in the text" was the villainous Moor, Aaron in *Titus Andronicus* is an example. The other type was the Moor "whose blackness was not emphasised in the text", or who was referred to as "white Moor" or a "lawny Moor". He was usually a dignified oriental ruler. Popular notions of Africans were also circulating, in books of all kinds. Stories Dr. Jones says, "ranged from tales about the harems of the north African rulers and descriptions of the courts of West African negro kings down to accounts of trade transactions and slave raids."

Out of a passing fashion, "Shakespeare uniquely created something abiding in *Othello*". Some other African characters on the contemporary stage, he notes, were "bad because they were black", although in Ben Jonson's *The Masque of Blackness* the "twelve nymphs, Negroes and the daughters of Niger" seem to be forerunners of the "Black is Beautiful" theme.

He returns, too, to Leo Africanus. The English translation appeared in 1600, but the work would have been known to many much earlier since it had been published in Italy in 1550, and was referred to in several English works. Professor Jones discusses the possibility that the extraordinary career of this "Moor" may have had some bearing on Shakespeare's account of *Othello's* career, and as a Sierra Leonean notes that Leo's account of his own country is "recognisable today". It is a "sobering thought", he adds, "that the discriminating Elizabethan reader knew more through this one book about the interior of Africa than many reputable scholars since then until about a quarter of a century ago."

Dr. Jones' perceptive assessment of *Othello* is particularly welcome. "Shakespeare's complete humanization of a type character" he writes "who for most of his contemporaries has only decorative or a crude moral significance is only one more mark of his stature. He transformed the Moor with all his unfavourable associations into the hero of one of his most moving tragedies". In Dr. Jones' other book, *The Elizabethan Image of Africa*, which came out last year, he returns to *Othello*.

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JAWARA WINS AGAIN

Voting took place on March 28 and 29 in the first general elections which took place under the new 1970 Republican constitution in The Gambia. The results gave a sweeping majority of 28 seats to the ruling Peoples, Progressive Party in the 32-member House of Representatives (thus automatically re-electing Sir Dauda Jawara as President. Three members of The Opposition United Party were re-elected including former Chief Minister P.S. N'jie in Bathurst North. One independent was elected: Mr. Batapu Drammeh in Sandu constituency in the Basic Administrative District. The PPP also had 28 seats in the previous parliament.

The United Party's choice as presidential candidate was its chairman, Percy Hollingworth Coker, whose candidature must be viewed primarily as a gesture to show Gambians and the wider world that the United Party is still alive and that Sir Dauda does not enjoy the unwelcome confidence of his fellow-countrymen.

The PPP was naturally the main contender as the only party contesting all 32 seats. 7 of these already nominated PPP candidates unopposed. The President and his Cabinet were very active from January onwards in conducting promotional tours on behalf of the party and its candidates and senior ministers were responsible for coordinating campaigning on a district-by-district basis. In addition to its own resources the party was able to use government landrovers for touring villages, badly served with roads. The PPP emphasised its role as the party of National Unity which led the people out of colonial bondage and in the case of the Mandingo people freed them from subservience to the Bathurst Jollifs and which gave them ten years of stable government and modest economic progress. It made a strong appeal to the older voter and to the old-guard of the party and perhaps unusually left chief and headmen (Kabalofa) actively support it in this.

In comparison the UP campaign was in much lower key. Although the party leader, P.S. N'jie made a national tour the party only contested 14 seats and its national headquarters seemed to lack the drive and resources of the PPP. It's low key strategy, which led to it being much slower off the mark, was designed to catch the enemy off-guard by quietly infiltrating the constituencies and avoiding head-on clashes with PPP militants. Even so at least one such clash took place leading to the wounding of the two main candidates involved. Although reduced to 3 seats in the Bathurst area in the last parliament the UP had some success in reclaiming old localities among the ethnically mixed population of McCarty Island and Upper River Divisions which in 1960 boasted its parliamentary strength to 8 members. UP candidates, like Independent contestants, placed more stress on exposing the broken promises of the PPP government than in advocating novel policies of their own (indeed there was a noticeable absence of polemical literature of the present campaign).

The independents

The Independents were perhaps the most interesting group to be found contesting the elections. This time there were 19 of them contesting 16 seats (in 1966 there were only 5) and they were to be found from Bathurst to Kantora. They varied considerably in experience and background though on the whole they are more educated and youthful than their opponents. There was also a sizeable group from the PP's traditional stronghold in the Mandingo areas of the lower reaches of the Gambia river and several of them are former PPP. Because of this they were thought to be a serious challenge to the government and in one or two areas to the UP. Attempts at some form of joint action with the UP do not appear to

have been very successful. While the Independents lacked a common identity and a national organisation they made up for these in other ways. Most had strong constituency ties and capitalised on their local contacts and on the large 'protest' votes being accumulated against the PPP. The success of Maja Sonko, the only Independent in the last House, in resisting the PPP juggernaut last year has given courage to others and Sonko, together with other North Bank Independents has been striving to create some common ground between the Independents and a rally was even held to this end at Farafenni near the Trans-Gambia Ferry. Independents seemed to be doing well among young voters, though they are not neglecting older political influentials such as prominent businessmen and religious leaders and the important clan, family and village heads, each of which can muster several hundred votes.

The main issues of the election seemed to concern themselves more with the non-implementation of the faulty implementation of government policies than with the policies themselves. This was understandable bearing in mind the serious geographical and economic constraints facing the country and the sensible if unexciting policies being followed by the PPP in its attempts to diversify the economy and provide a slow improvement in social services. The exposure of radical policies are not likely to make much impression on rural voters who are mainly looking for a mediator to obtain more benefits for their village or constituency.

Only in the Bathurst area could a more manifest ideology be discerned and this was largely explained by the presence of a large number of unemployed and underemployed youths with some education and 'Fanoist' political aspirations. Thus most opposition candidates singled out the poor constituency record of their PPP rivals and promised to speed-up the flow of amenities to the deprived rural areas. The PPP's decision to field once again all save 3 of its representatives in the last parliament was a widespread source of complaint (7 of its candidates have been in the House since 1960 when the provinces were first enfranchised and 2 of the 3 dropped parliamentarians - Sheriff Siyay and Yusupha Samba - were being punished for their separatist excursion in the People's Progressive Alliance during 1968-70 rather than because of widespread constituency discontent with their public record) among younger PPP hopefuls. Among younger and better educated voters a growing concern was felt at the 'drift' towards presidential rule following the constitutional changes of 1970. Recollections of similar tendencies in other African states led some to believe that this was the last opportunity to reverse these trends. Finally accusations of corruption against members of parliament were widespread and the abuses in the distribution of free food from the United States was a common complaint among up-country voters.

Arnold Hughes

Centre of West African Studies
University of Birmingham

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People

Bekebourne Buildings, a block of 50 flats run by the Commonwealth Students' Children Society in London's East End, may soon be renamed Kotoko House. The Society's founder and general secretary, **B. B. Boateng**, has applied to the Greater London Council for permission to use the new name, which symbolises Ashanti determination. "The persistence" explains Mr. Boateng, "which with my Christian inspiration encouraged me to struggle on single-handed for seven years."

The change follows a promise made by the Ashanti House of Chiefs during Mr. Boateng's recent tour of West Africa to raise 5,000 pounds for the establishment of a day nursery in the block — one of the conditions for the student tenants at Bekebourne Buildings is that they do not foster out their children. Another £1,000 has been donated by the Nigerian Government. The High Commission in London originally donated £100, which Mr. Boateng returned, with the comment that the sum, although appreciated was not generous, "because 50 per cent of the problems we have had to tackle over the years concern Nigerian families, they have given us the greatest headaches and have often been uncooperative." He mentioned this in a radio broadcast in Lagos, and by the time he had returned from his month-long tour the new donation was waiting in the Society's offices. The launching of the Nigerian branch of the organisation was particularly successful because **Dr Ojedokun**, the acting director of the Institute of International Affairs, was able to speak in very personal terms



Mr. Boateng shakes hands with the Oba of Lagos during the launching of the Commonwealth Students' Children Society of Nigeria. Oba Oyeekan II said he had personal experience of the problems dealt with by the Society because his own children had been victims of such problems, but for the presence of their grandmother in Britain at the material time, he added, the story would have been different.

about the work of the Society, pointing out that his own twins had been fostered out when he was studying at the London School of Economics in the late 1960s. A branch was also launched in Freetown, with the Mayor, **Chr. Betts**, as President and with Canon **Harry Sawyer** as Patron. The arrival in Sierra Leone of Mr. Boateng and Mrs. **Pat Stapleton**, the Society's social worker, was well-timed, because it followed the return of the Minister of Education from a European tour in which he had looked at student problems and the wastage of manpower which they caused.

Difficulties were experienced in Ghana because, says Mr. Boateng, the Minister of Social Welfare in the Busia Government had been uncooperative. Then, when an understanding was finally reached, the coup occurred and it was decided to postpone the launching of the Society for six months. An impressive committee has been appointed, however, with Mrs. **Mary Ofori-Atta** as chairman and **Lt. Col. Dr. R. O. Addae** as the vice-chairman. And as well as obtaining the support of the Ashanti House of Chiefs and the Ashanti-ahene himself (another former London student), Mr. Boateng succeeded in negotiating the return of three children who were abandoned in London in 1963. "I took up the case because I felt there was no future for them as black Englishmen. I got the family together in Kumasi, talked to them and they finally agreed to accept the children." He stresses that his work in such cases is based on using the extended family. "Some criticise it but I think it is a very good system".

Back in London after a month's tour of European Common Market countries is **Luis Rotini**, who works for UAC in Nigeria. He was one of 18 men and one woman, "young Commonwealth executives", who were selected to participate in a study tour organised by the Royal Commonwealth Society. After discussions with a cross-section of people in the EEC member states, he reported finding "goodwill and good intentions towards the Commonwealth and nothing more". There was little knowledge of the deep ties which existed between Britain and the Commonwealth countries. He warned of the "grave implications" for the Commonwealth if Europe continued its protectionist policies and pointed out that the basis of the Community's trade with developing countries — selling industrial goods and buying agricultural products — was harmful to the developing countries' development prospects. Rounding up his views during a press conference in London, he remarked that the language barrier had proved a hindrance to the group. "We in the Commonwealth will have to do a little more about foreign languages." For the record, a show of hands by the participants showed 17 in favour of Britain's entry, two against.

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Letters to the Editor

Who is fighting in Angola?

SIR—One is glad to have Mr. Sitte's further information about his Angolan journey. (*West Africa*, March '72) It reinforces some earlier visitors' evidence that the presence of UNITA, inside the country, is along a narrow belt of territory in northern Mexico as far as eastern Bié. This new evidence is helpful in enabling one to reach a confirmed judgment on the value of UNITA claims to have units in most of eastern Angola, and to be controlling about a million Angolans. Such claims, one sees again, are quite without foundation.

For the points in my article to which Mr. Sitte objects, he should address his corrections not to me but to the *Zambian* newspapers from which I quoted him, and which, so far as I know, he has not corrected. Yet he seems not always to remember very well what he has written himself. For example, he says now that one should differentiate (as certainly one should) between claims and observed facts, as though this is what he has himself done. A glance at his articles shows that he has done nothing of the kind.

In his report on Holden's group in northern Angola (*Schweizerische Allgemeine*, June 13 1970) he merely stated, as though it were a fact he had checked himself and could repeat with full assurance of its accuracy, that "Roberto Holden and his Government control today more than 2,100,000 Angolans inside the country", and went on to give supporting details. In another article (*Allé Welt*, Nov-Dec 1970) he repeated, again without the least qualification, that "over two million Angolans live in this 'Angolan Republic' (of Holden's) outside Portuguese influence". Absolutely no effort to differentiate, here, between claims and observed facts, and his report on UNITA followed the same pattern. Reporting of this kind has no claim to objectivity. It can only confuse, not clarify.

BASIL DAVIDSON

London SW13

Africa's Diesel Engines

SIR—In *West Africa*, October 22, 1971 I read "In 1954, Ghana ordered the first diesel engines ever to be put into public service in West Africa". Unless you mean only Ghana, Nigeria, Sierra Leone and Gambia (which might be the case) this statement is grossly inaccurate.

Diesel engines were put into service in Senegal in 1947, when six Alsthon BB 100 were delivered to the Dakar-Niger

railway. This was the first bunch of 15 of which 9 are still in service, a good performance both for the engines and those who operate them. As early as 1956, all track (1,000 miles) in the Dakar-Niger railway was operated with diesel engines, and steam engines were used only for shunting operations.

I have no information on diesel engines in Cameroon, Congo, Ivory Coast, etc. but I suppose that State Railway Corporations in these countries had their first diesel engines at the same time as the Dakar-Niger. Incidentally, Malagasy Railways had diesel railcars in 1938 and their first diesel engines in 1943. An article on the subject, which I did not have the opportunity to read, was published in No. 125 of "La vie du rail métro-mer" (38, rue La Bruyère, Paris, 9^e), in 1966 under the significant title "30 Years of Diesel Hauling in Overseas Railway".

As seen from the above, not only Ghanaian Railways were not ahead of other African railways, but they were conspicuously late in adopting diesel engines.

J. GROSCHOFF DE MATOONS (D.C. Washington)

Ghana's debts

SIR—In your report in the March 17 issue under the heading "Advantages of trade with China", you quote a commentator on Accra Radio as saying "The loans we get from private and even official sources in the West carry fantastic rates of commercial interest".

I think it ought to be made clear that the commentator could not have been referring to official British Government development loans to Ghana. Over the last three years Britain has disbursed £12m. of such loans all free of interest, repayable over 25 years, and with an initial five-year grace period when no payments at all need be made. The only other official loan payment made by Britain to Ghana in the same period is £2,500,000 for debt refinancing. This too is on very soft terms: 2 per cent interest, 25 years pay-back and 7 years grace period.

J. W. I. COOPER

Deputy Head of Information

Overseas Development Administration
London

Nigeria drives right

SIR—I refer to the comments (*West Africa*, March 3) by the Nigerian District Commissioner of Works and Housing that "recent statistics show that the better the road the higher the accidents". If we are to accept this theory, then there would be no need to have good roads but to content ourselves with "bushpaths".

Such comments call to question the hurried fashion about changing to right drive. Is the change to the right to benefit us more than having our own steel industry to produce some of the low-wheeled cars instead of making Nigeria the unlimited market for the countries who can produce such cars?

London

J. S. FAPOHUNDA

The Nigerian Sociology debate

SIR—For those sociologists who, like myself, were unable to attend the First Annual General Meeting of the Nigerian Anthropological and Sociological Association at Ahmadu Bello University, Peter Waterman's lucid account (*West Africa*, we February 18) was an invaluable substitute. The immediate impression was that here something new and exciting was being attempted even if it was within the framework of an institution which cannot be rivalled by many others in Nigeria for its close approximation to the parent (i.e. colonial) body. If anyone wants to join a real ivory tower, forget about Oxbridge. ABU (for all intents south) is the place for you.

But, on reflection, one really had read or heard it all before. I (or one heard it when the stirring aim of the Association to "mobilize and orientate sociologists and anthropologists towards the liberation of Africa and other third world peoples" came up at a pre-AGM meeting) subsequently heard so many tributes to the birth of this liberating body that I could have been back in the Yoruba town where I lived and attended many far more enjoyable naming ceremonies. Some of the sentiments were certainly admirable, but there did seem to be an awful lot of wind about perhaps it was the harmattan.

If I appear unduly cynical, I also admit to being in the same position as the rest. But it is disturbing to find that sociologists in Nigeria have discovered a new division within the social fabric which assumes primacy over the old one. The division between those who have Marx and Fanon in their baggage and those who do not may be a more agreeable field of antagonists within the walls of the university if it is of no importance to the division which exists outside them, and the sooner we accept the fact the better.

All in all, Mr Waterman's concluding comment sums the defects up very neatly, even if in an unintended fashion: "... an effectively radical intelligentsia requires a relationship with the masses that does not yet exist. Perhaps this question will be dealt with in Dr Onogwe's journal. It is to be entitled 'Theory and Practice'". Splendid! Let us only hope that the masses read it and we will all be home and dry. At the moment the equation is highly incomplete. The relationship is omitted. The radical intelligentsia is present in the opinion of some. The masses are undoubtedly present, and most important of all, they know it.

ADRIAN J PEACE

School of African and Asian Studies,
University of Sussex.

WEST AFRICAN SHIPPING NEWS

FLEET DEMIPSTER LINES

SOUTHBOUND - From Liverpool: FOURAH BAY due Apapa Apr 11. FIAN due Lome Apr 15. FBANI due Freetown Apr 15. KUMBA due Apapa Apr 20.
From London: FULANI due Tema Apr 16. FREETOWN due Lohito Apr 15. FALABA-SL London Apr 20. EBOK-SL London Apr 13. From South Wales/Glasgow: KADUNA-SL Glasgow Apr 14.
From Continent: DARU due Cotonou Apr 14. LAERTIS due Abidjan Apr 15. DUMURRA-SL Rotterdam Apr 14.
NORTHBOUND - To Liverpool: DUMBAIA due Avonmouth Apr 13. DUNKWA due Liverpool Apr 14.
To London: IGONI due Abidjan Apr 13.
To Southampton: AURGOI-SL Las Palmas Apr 12.
To Poole: CLEARWAY due April 13.
To North Continent: FORCODAS due Hamburg Apr 20. DIXCOVI due Continent Apr 17.

BARBER LINES

OUTWARDS - FERNGATI due Monrovia Apr 25, thence Abidjan, Tema, Lagos/Apapa, Warri and Douala. A VESSEI-SL, New York May 3 for Monrovia, Abidjan, Tema, Lagos/Apapa and Douala.
HOMEWARDS - FERNI AND due Jacksonville Apr 21, thence Savannah, Baltimore, Philadelphia and New York. FERNGATE due load Lagos (S. Bound) about May 1, Ghana 2nd week May, Abidjan/Monrovia mid/3rd week May for US North Atlantic.

WESTBOUND - From Japan via Hong Kong to Port Harcourt, Lagos, Tema, Abidjan, Freetown etc: TENNISSEI-MARU slg Japan Mar 20 Lagos Apr 14.

EASTBOUND - From Lagos, Tema, Abidjan, Freetown, etc. via Hong Kong: TENNISSEI-MARU slg Lagos Apr 21, Tema Apr 23, Freetown Apr 28 due Japan June 8.

WORMANN LINE

CAI WANDA slg Rotterdam Apr 19 due Las Palmas Apr 25. Freetown Apr 28, Monrovia Apr 30. WALVIS BAY slg Rotterdam Apr 21 due Dakar Apr 30, Lome May 6.

DAFRA LINE

EASTBOUND - DAFRA 'N' due Warri May 2, Niassa Apr 2.

WESTBOUND - BELGLEN due Takoradi Apr 19. Abidjan Apr 21.

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WESTBOUND - ISDEK due Singapore Apr 20.

EASTBOUND - NOGAH Singapore May 7, Mow May 19.

BLACK STAR LINE/USNH/WEST AFRICA - WESTBOUND - BIA RIVER slg Ghana Apr 1 due New York Apr 13. Philadelphia Apr 17.

BLACK STAR LINE/UK-CONTINENT/EAST AFRICA

SOUTHBOUND - NAKWA RIVER slg Hamburg Apr 11. Bremen Apr 12. Rotterdam Apr 18. Dunkirk Apr 20.

NORTHBOUND - NAKWA RIVER due Rotterdam Apr 2, Amsterdam Apr 6. AFRAM RIVER due London Apr 6. Avonmouth Apr 13.

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DII LA PARAGAY slg Dakar Apr 25. Freetown Apr 29, Monrovia May 1. DII RIO due Takoradi Apr 29, Tema Apr 30.

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From London: LUGOS PALM due Tema May 14.

From Continent: HESHA PALM due Dakar May 10.
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INWARDS - From Japan via Hong Kong: Matadi, Lagos, Tema, Monrovia, Freetown, Bathurst, Abidjan; SUSAN MAERSK slg. KO Apr 5 due Luanda May 2.
OUTWARDS - From Matadi, Lagos, Tema, Monrovia, Freetown, Bathurst, Abidjan, Takoradi: MAREN MAERSK slg. Freetown Mar. 25, due Bathurst Mar. 26.

FARRELL LINES

HOMEWARDS - AFRICAN CRESCENT slg. Luanda Apr 2 for Abidjan, Monrovia, Uports; AFRICAN STAR slg. Lagos/Apapa Apr 10 for Douala, Abidjan, Monrovia, US ports.

OUTWARDS - AFRICAN LIGHTNING due Monrovia Apr 9 for Abidjan, Tema Apr 15. Matadi, Lohito, Luanda. AFRICAN MOON due Dakar Apr 23 for Freetown/Monrovia Apr 27. Abidjan, Takoradi, Tema May 5, Lagos/Apapa May 7, Douala.

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NORTHBOUND - RIVER ETHIOPE due Liverpool Apr 14.

SCANDINAVIAN WEST AFRICA LINE

SOUTHBOUND - HOEGH MELLING slg. Scan. early May for discharge WA end May/Jun. AMST HOFK slg. Scan. May for discharge WA end May/Jun.

NORTHBOUND - INDIANA lge. WA May for discharge Scan. Jun. HOEGH HERON lge. WA end May; Jun for discharge Scan. mid Jun.

HOEGH LINES

BANJA slg. Hamburg Apr 21, Antwerp Apr 24. HOEGH MELLING slg. May 8, Bordeaux May 12.

ROYAL INTERCOASTAL LINE

INWARDS - STRAIT FREETOWN from Japan slg. Feb. 17 due Freetown Mar 23. Abidjan Mar. 26, Tema Mar. 27, Port Harcourt Mar. 30, Lagos/Apapa Apr 1. Takoradi Apr 7.

Abidjan Apr 9; STRAIT TOWA from Hong Kong slg. Feb. 2 due Tema Mar. 19, Abidjan Mar. 21, opt., Monrovia Mar. 25, Freetown Mar. 27, Dakar Mar. 31, Conakry Apr. 3, Takoradi Apr 14.

OUTWARDS - STRAIT FREETOWN from Nigeria/Ghana to Singapore opt., Hong Kong and Japan early April. STRAIT TOWA from Nigeria/Ghana to Singapore opt., Hong Kong, Japan and Shanghai Mar./Apr.

EAL EUROPE - AFRIKA LINE GMBH

AGUIA due Lome Apr 9, Douala Apr. 12, Cuvillville Apr 14, Port Gentil Apr. 16.

NOPAL LINES

NOPAL LUNA due Luanda Apr. 23. Abidjan Apr 30, Monrovia May 1; **NOPAL WEGA** due Luanda May 6, Abidjan May 13, Monrovia May 15.

WESTWIND AFRICA LINE

WESTWIND due Tema Apr. 30. Lagos May 5, Luanda May 8, SOUTHWIND due Tema Mar. 2, Lagos May 7. Freetown May 11.

Commercial News

Cocoa pact talks

STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES AGREED

A statement of agreed principles was approved by cocoa producing and consuming nations at the end of the discussions in Geneva on the negotiation of an international cocoa pact. The chairman of the talks, Mr. Gamani Corea of Ceylon, said that the chances of achieving an agreement were better than they had been for 10 years. Reports from Switzerland, however, indicated that most delegates did not share this optimism; some participants apparently felt that the statement of principles was simply a face-saving operation.

No date for a resumption of talks has been set, although UNCTAD officials had been pressing for a commitment for June, and it is considered unlikely that they will be held until September. Informal discussions will certainly take place during the UNCTAD III conference in Santiago and pressure in favour of a pact will be applied by UNCTAD Secretary General, Sr. Perez-Guerrero who is keen to be able to report concrete results by the end of the Chile conference.

That even an agreement on principles was reached was largely due to the Anglo-Ghanaian compromise formula for a minimum price range of US\$1 to 24 cents per lb. As prices rise quotas would be increased but would be suspended altogether if a level six cents above the minimum should be reached. Butter stock sales would begin at eight cents above the minimum and would become mandatory at the nine cents level. The bean equivalent of cocoa exports were set at 1.33 for cocoa butter, 1.18 for cocoa cake and powder and 1.25 for cocoa paste and nibs. But as a result of pressure from the Netherlands, the largest manufacturers and exporter of cocoa butter, it was agreed that a new set of conversion factors would be applied in the event of the discovery of a new process which altered the existing conversion factor of 42 tons of cocoa butter from 100 tons of beans.

• Cocoa prices rose £20 per ton to £235 for May quotation on the London market, and commodity traders Wilson, Smithett and Cope attributed this in part to the continued reserved selling policies of West African producer countries, the expectation of appreciably better grindings for the first quarter of 1972, and reports from Brazil that the 1972 temporary crop will be a late one and smaller than the last.

• Nigerian purchases from all regions for the 1971/72 season up to March 16 amounted to 233,000 tons compared with 282,000 for the same period last year. Sales are believed to be about 145,000 tons.

• Main crop purchases in Ghana after 24 weeks totalled 415,125 tons compared with 373,345 tons for the whole of last season.

• A meeting of coffee producing nations was due to be completed in Geneva last week after discussions on a formula for a joint strategy on prices.

Oil producers' unity

Members of the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries, including Nigeria, have threatened to take collective action against oil companies which refuse to implement any measure adopted by a member state. The decision was reached on March 11 but the text of the agreement was not released until last week. A statement said that the resolution "is in implementation of OPEC's basic objectives of applying the best methods of protecting the interests of the member states individually or collectively."

• Active investigations continued last year into the prospects for shipping Nigerian liquefied natural gas to the United States east coast, says the Shell Transport and Trading Company's annual report. On oil, the report says that several additional discoveries were made on land in Nigeria both in new fields and in extensions to the numerous existing fields, and production climbed steeply to some 40 per cent above the 1970 level. Big increases in acreage were achieved by the acquisition of new interests in Gabon, Mauritania, Senegal, Dahomey, Niger and Chad. Overall, the volume of oil product sales by the company fell by 2.9 per cent in the second half of the year — the first time in 13 years that volumes have fallen below those for the corresponding period of the previous year.

• Alcan Aluminium is reportedly looking into a site in Europe for a new alumina plant to utilise the bulk of the company's share of production from the Boko bauxite project in Guinea, in which Alcan has a 27 per cent interest.

AKIN TAYLOR HITS BACK

Akin Taylor and Company has taken out a full-page advertisement to rebut a newspaper report that part of the Elm Iketa Airport terminal extension had sunk beneath the weight of a loading machine. Denying the allegation completely, the company stated that the extension had been in use every day for three months without any defect and that publication of the item "is the result of organised conspiracy to discredit indigenous contracting companies or bodies... The publication is not much of a surprise because since the indigenous firm of Akin Taylor won the contract there have been concerted efforts to frustrate the project. In fact, in June 1971 after about 50 per cent of the project had been completed by us, fresh tenders were called for as a result of certain high-powered moves to terminate the contract. All the firms invited to tender refused with the exception of one expatriate firm which tendered for over £1m for the job which at that stage required only £1m to be completed by us." The statement concluded, "As an indigenous engineering contracting company successfully striving hard to sustain the established confidence of its clientele in spite of many obstacles put in the way of indigenous concerns in this country, we feel highly disappointed that such a false and damaging report could be published without any attempt to check up on its facts." The advertisement was signed by Mr. G. Akin Taylor, its managing director.

• Mr. Gabriel Fagbure, Western State Commissioner of Trade and Industry in Nigeria's Western State, has told the London Chamber of Commerce that "the mood is changing, not only in Nigeria but in other developing states. We welcome British investment, but we must insist on your participation with local people and local capital." The Federal State Commissioner for Trade and Industry, Mr. E. Flecht, told 60 businessmen that the State particularly welcomed investors willing to go into partnership with Nigerians. The Commission's responsible for trade from the Benue Plateau and North Western States who were also on a visit to England, echoed the message.

• Power sales by the Nigerian Electricity Supply Corporation amounted to £575,674 in 1971 compared to £584,900 in 1970. The profit after depreciation and taxation was £98,796 (£108,925 the previous year) and the units sold fell from 82m to 78m. A company statement issued in London said, "The necessary cash for the payment of the dividend declared in respect of the year ended 28 February, 1969, has, to date, not been released. This and other matters will be pursued with the respective authorities by the Chairman during his forthcoming visit to Nigeria." The company's main customers are the tin mines in Benue Plateau State.

New aid review machinery soon

A new piece of machinery for examining the development assistance performance of donor countries is to be introduced shortly, Britain's Minister for Overseas Development, Mr. Richard Wood, announced during a lecture to the Royal Society of Arts in London. The Economic and Social Council of the UN will shortly be preparing a system of examining every two years how far member nations have gone towards the objectives laid down by the strategy for the Second Development Decade. Mr. Wood said he believed that the existence of international machinery to examine individual aid and development performances undoubtedly stimulated the donors.

Explaining his Government's refusal to commit itself to meeting the target of providing 0.7 per cent of gross national product in official assistance, Mr. Wood said it was because the Government believed that both private and official investment were of great importance and considered that the 0.7 per cent target was nowhere near as important as the overall 1 per cent target for all development flows.

The object of aid, he noted, was to promote the economic growth of poorer countries, "but it is now becoming more and more widely recognised that economic growth is not an end in itself but a means towards the development of more just societies."

Shortage of food was no longer the

key problem. Population growth and unemployment now appeared to be more crucial. To help create jobs a labour-intensive technology was needed. "It may mean that 'technical assistance', so long a key part of our aid programme, takes on a new and literal meaning which it has not had before. Instead of merely supplying experts and teachers, we may be asked for greater co-operation in the evolution of these new technologies".

A new social measurement was therefore required. "We have been concentrating on economic indicators; it is now time to look for a way to measure the social dimensions in economic change".

- The French and West German Ministers responsible for aid policies, M. Yvon Bouiges and Herr Erhard Eppler, have agreed in Paris that the enlargement of the European Economic Community should in no way detract from the benefits gained so far by the original signatories of the Yaounde convention.

- Ghana is to be dropped from a British mission's trip to West Africa because of the extent of construction opportunities in Nigeria, the National Federation of Building Trades Employers has announced. The visit will take place in July.

- The Soviet Union is giving economic and technical assistance to 40 African and Asian countries this year.

Duncan Sandys becomes Lonrho chairman

A former Conservative Cabinet Secretary and Secretary for the Colonies, Mr. Duncan Sandys, has been appointed chairman of Lonrho. He was already a director of Ashanti Goldfields, purchased by Lonrho in 1968. Mr. Alan Ball, formerly chairman, becomes executive deputy chairman. Another Conservative MP, Mr. Edward du Cann, and the former chairman of Cunliffe shipping group, Sir Basil Smallpiece, have also joined the board. Mr. du Cann is chairman of Keyser Ullmann, which is to act as merchant banker to Lonrho.

- In their review of the year ending September 1971, Mr. Alan Ball and Mr. "Tiny" Rowland, joint managing directors, report that too much of Lonrho's overall funding is represented by short-term borrowing.

Mr. Rowland has agreed to lend the company up to £1m. cash in an agreement dating from December 31 1971 and the realisation of overseas assets since September 30 have increased net current assets by some £2.5m. The sales consist of Rogers and Co., Chibuku Holdings, Lesotho Diamonds, Anglo-Mauritius Assurance and Consolidated Motors and Freight Lines. The deputy managing director, Mr. G. Percy, has reported good progress in the company's attempt to raise £10m. in order to reduce its London

bank overdraft by September and said that it seemed unlikely that Lonrho would be forced to sell one of its major assets.

Group pre-tax profits for the year are stated as £15m. compared with £14m. the previous year. In the three months to the end of December pre-tax profits (unaudited) totalled £4.08m. compared with £3.94m. in the corresponding three months of 1970.

- During a visit to Ghana as part of a seven-nation African tour, Mr. Mohammed Yunus, special secretary of India's Ministry of Trade, urged developing countries to establish direct relations instead of trading through developed countries, which minimised profits. He said India was prepared to offer Ghanaians three-month courses in agricultural techniques.

- GIHOC, the Ghana Industrial Holding Corporation is planning to expand and rehabilitate its brick and tile factory, the Aboso Glass factory and the Tema Steel Works. In addition, consultations have started between the National Investment Bank, the Agricultural Development Bank and GIHOC to work out plans to reactivate the meat factory at Bolgatanga, which is currently lying idle.

CHINA PARTICIPAT IN UNCTAD

China is one of the 26 vice-presidents of UNCTAD III, which opened in C on April 13. The Peking government stated its general support for the L Declaration drawn up by the Group of 77 as their basic working document.

An editorial comment in the *London Times* said that it was unlikely either the conference would be productive than earlier conferences or that there would be much negotiation of substance. "Indeed with some 2,500 delegates attending representing about 40 countries and international agencies, the scope of negotiation is limited". The linking of Special Drawing Rights to development and the concept of special treatment for the least developed of the developing countries "represents the only area which could prove in any way fruitful during the five-week conference". "Many other issues that the developing countries will raise - aid terms, commodity price support, the transfer of technology, wider access to richer markets, debt alleviation, greater control of freight rates - stand little chance of making any headway".

- It was reported as we went to press that the only major concession likely to be advanced by the industrialised nations in Santiago was a plan for special assistance for the least developed of the developing countries, under which technical assistance schemes would be established and some form of budgetary support given.

- Ghana, Gabon, Ivory Coast, Nigeria, Senegal, Zaïre, Algeria and Egypt represented the African bloc at a pre-UNCTAD III meeting in Venezuela at which an attempt was made to thrash out a joint front on monetary policy for the 96 developing countries who are participating in the conference. The developing countries will almost certainly press for a bigger share of special drawing rights (SDRs).

The Santiago conference is being held in a 22-storey centre, specially constructed to withstand earth tremors, which was handed over to the UN by the Chilean Government last week. After the conference the building will be used as a cultural centre.

IDA credit for Liberia

Liberia has been granted a credit of \$7.2m. by the International Development Association for a \$9.6m. project for the improvement and expansion of the education system, including its reorientation towards practical technical and agricultural training.

The IDA has also made a \$17.3m. loan to Nigeria for a \$27m. project to rehabilitate, expand and consolidate war-damaged schools and teacher training colleges; strengthen science training; and reform secondary school curricula. The loan is for 25 years, with a 10-year grace period.

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GHANA

Acheampong reassures investors

Foreign investors in Ghana have been assured of full support and protection by the government, Col. Acheampong said when addressing staff of the Capital Investment Board. His government was determined to stick to the past policy of giving assistance and encouragement to the private sector, especially in agriculture and industry. "But in return, we expect the private sector to play fair with us."

A close examination of the Capital Investments Act (which prescribes investment incentives) would leave no doubt as to the government's intention towards private capital. Certain business concerns had abused their concession by "indulging in a number of unbecoming practices" and the government would deal promptly with them when allegations were proved. Public demand for a self-reliant economic policy did not preclude foreign investment, he added.

Col. Acheampong announced that he had authorised the drafting of a new decree for reincorporating the Board with greater autonomy. An inter-ministerial committee had been set up to consider applications for new industrial projects, but he asked the Board to intensify inspection of approved projects to ensure that the terms of agreement were strictly followed.

The NRC will not hesitate to take corrective measures to stop the tendency of journalists to embarrass the government with false stories or to inflame undue distress on individuals or organisations, the Commissioner for Information, Maj. Anthony Selormey, told Ghanaian and foreign press representatives. He warned that although the government would not interfere with the work of the press, as a military regime "we would allow the freedom of the press as far as it is consistent with a military government". While the NRC would try not to harass newsmen and editors, whether state- or privately-employed, all newsmen should know that "a military regime is not a regular nor normal state of affairs" and that there was need for caution and circumspection. Journalists of the state-owned press who published libellous material would be personally liable for the consequences of legal suits. The coup, he said, was not to be used for persecution or victimisation. "Unfortunately our state-owned papers have, by their type of seditious reporting,

stricken undue terror and distress into innocent individuals". Maj. Selormey asked editors to check stories affecting the government with the Public Relations Secretariat before publishing. "We cannot allow our news media to misinform the public or distort government policies and programmes."

City, municipal, urban and local council management committees are to be reconstituted and traditional rulers adequately represented on them. Col. Acheampong told the Asantehene, Otumfuo Opoku Ware II, when he called on members of the NRC. With divisional chiefs and the Ashanti Regional Commissioner, Lt. Col. Baidoo, he paid his first visit to Accra since the coup. Col. Acheampong emphasised that the government could not succeed unless all divisive forces were eliminated. In the NRC's campaign for national unity the chiefs were in a unique position to help its efforts. On the Operation Feed Yourself campaign he appealed to chiefs to make more land available for farming. The government would take practical measures to guarantee fair prices for farmers, and ready markets.

The NRC would not tolerate demonstrations or strikes by workers to get their grievances redressed. Commissioner for Labour, Mr. Kwame Asante, has warned. But it did expect managements to appreciate the efforts of employees and meet their genuine demands. The Commissioner advised workers to observe a 20 year industrial truce and work harder to make Ghana economically independent.



Col. Acheampong (right) greets President Hubert Maada Mbock of Dahomey when he made a brief stopover for talks on his way to Paris recently. He is the first head of state to have visited Ghana since the military coup. On the left is Maj. Gen. Akwei, Commissioner for foreign affairs.

Managements of state enterprises which fail to attain an agreed target will not be allowed to continue in office according to a new "Policy Memorandum on Management Performance Evaluation and Making Workers Joint Owners of State Enterprises". It called on boards of directors to "set out clear achievable targets of return on development" as part of their budgetary control and a means of ensuring that regular contributions from profits are made to the national revenue. The memorandum expressed Col. Acheampong's determination to assist state industries to deal drastically with employees who "exhibit disruptive tendencies".

The military government has dissolved the National Service Corps established under Dr. Busia to recruit volunteers for rural development projects. Col. Acheampong recently announced that the corps would be merged with the Department of Rural Development. The decree announcing the dissolution said that the government would give such directions as it thought fit for the disposal of its assets and property.

A seven-man commission chaired by Supreme Court Judge Mr. Justice Patrick Annin has been appointed to enquire into the award of government contracts and the allocation of import licences during the Busia government. It will also enquire into the operations of the Office of Business Promotion and the Small Loans Scheme.

The joint commission for demarcating the Upper Volta - Ghana border has ended a four day session in Ouagadougou after agreeing on principles of general guidance. Because of the "complexity of the frontier problems" the commission decided to hold a second meeting in Ghana to discuss ways of carrying out the demarcation.

Five political party clubs have been closed down by the NRC and their assets and bank accounts frozen. The clubs are the student wings of the Progress Party and Justice Party, both dissolved after the coup. They are: Justice Party club at Legon University, Progress and Justice Party clubs at Kumasi University and Cape Coast University. The decree dissolving the clubs made it an offence to attend any of their meetings. Penalties on conviction are either a fine of up to 1,000 cedis or three years imprisonment or both. At the same time the assets of the Railway and Harbour Workers' Union were frozen.

The Ministry of Defence has demoted Col. Acheampong from himself to the rank of C-in-C of the Armed Forces. A statement from the Ministry said that his appointment was a constitutional one and normally performed by a Head of State. He still held the rank of Colonel which he had before the coup. His recent appointment derived its authority from the provisions of the NRC establishment proclamation of 1972.

SIERRA LEONE

The President and one-party state

During the President's visit to the Kono district, representatives of local people told him that a one-party system would assist Sierra Leone's development. The President was also asked to release more land for the local people from Dimenco, which has taken over the Selection Trust leases.

On medical advice the President has been taking a complete rest from public duties after completion of this provincial tour.

A correspondent writes: Regular references have been made on various occasions in recent years to the desirability of a one-party state in Sierra Leone. The suggestion always comes from supporters of the present governing party, the APC. Some of its leaders are thought to favour a one-party state, although they are opposed to any forcible action against opposition parties. The President has said that he would prefer to wait until the results of the 1973 general election were known before he could say whether Sierra Leone wanted an official opposition.

Mr. George Burne, General Manager of the Diamond Corporation, West Africa, has left at the end of his four years of duty. He has been in Sierra Leone for four years. His successor is Mr. Robin Walker. Mr. Burne is taking up an appointment with the Central Selling Organisation in London. Mr. S. L. Matharu, who joined the board of the Diamond Corporation, West Africa, in 1971, is to become Resident Director in succession to the late Mr. H. E. B. John. He will also be one of the two company representatives on the board of the Government Diamond Office.

According to the *Dias Review*, the GDO has purchased diamonds worth over Le110m, in the four years to the end of 1971. The *Review* says that it looks as though the world diamond recession is over, and activity in alluvial mining is increasing. Up to the middle of March this year GDO has already bought over 1,600 worth of diamonds.

In his report on the accounts of Makeni Town Council for the three years up to June 1971, the acting Auditor-General notes "astonishingly grave short-falls" in the collection of rates. In 1969-70 only six rate-payers in the entire township paid up, while 500 properties had not been assessed at all and there had been no re-assessment of others. The result was that in 1969-70 out of an estimated rate collection of Le15,000 only Le30 was actually collected, while in the other two years collection was only some 20 per cent of the estimate. The acting Auditor-General finds all the accounts to be "extremely unsatisfactory". Mr. Buck suggests that the post of Town Clerk and Treasurer should be amalgamated and filled by a "competent person".

Mr. J. P. Van den Bergh has retired as Deputy Chairman of William Baird and Company but remains a member of the board. Mr. R. D. Dale has been appointed Deputy Chairman and will continue as Chief Executive of William Baird Mining. The company is the parent company of the Sierra Leone Development Company, and Mr. Dale has frequently visited Sierra Leone.

Some 4,000 tons of wheat have arrived under an agreement between the governments of Sierra Leone and the U.S. Proceeds from the sale of the wheat will be used to finance local development in agriculture.

The new ferry which has arrived from West Germany to operate between Freetown and Lagn Point, on the way to Lung Airport, has been formally launched.

Hearings continue in the court martial of Major Abu Nugh and five others on charges arising out of the events of March last year.

Agreements have been signed between the Italian Consortium, Salmi, COMSTOCK, LECOSULT and the government covering preliminary investigations into the project for producing hydro-electricity at Bumbuna falls, in the Southern Provinces.

LIBERIA

The General Committee of the All-African Conference of Churches (AACC) has decided at its Monrovia meeting to give support to Africa liberation movements and to work for their unity. The committee adopted a resolution on the subject at the end of a seven-day conference attended by representatives and observers from more than 25 countries, including Rhodesia and South Africa. The AACC decided to call on churches to toll their bells and hold services in memory of what it called the Zimbabwe martyrs, Africans who died during rioting in Rhodesia last January over the settlement proposals.

It also called on African states to fly their flags at half-mast on the day the Peace Commission submits its report to the British Parliament. Canon Burgess Carr, the Liberian churchman who is general secretary of the AACC, said that Bishop Muzorewa, chairman of the Rhodesia African National Council, which opposes the settlement proposals, has accepted election as President of the council.

CHAD Libya and the Rebellion

President Tombalbaye, addressing the opening session of the Chad National Assembly said that his government was prepared to ignore the past and lay the foundations of a new relationship with Libya. He also said that Chad had not broken diplomatic relations last August because of suspected Libyan involvement in an attempted coup against President Tombalbaye. "Did this decision necessarily imply the participation of that sister republic in the attempted coup of which we had just been the victim?", he asked. "Certainly not, and we affirm that no statement by official circles in Fort Lamy can attest it".

M. Tombalbaye went on: "In truth our complaints against Libya were elsewhere. In fact, immediately after our decision the Libyan government officially recognised the so-called National Liberation Front, linked with anti-national circles. For us at the time it was not so much a question of breaking with Libya as of cutting the bridges between the plotters and their confederates".

Former Minister of Development Planning, Georges Diguimbaye, has been placed under house arrest, and will face trial on corruption charges. In a broadcast President Tombalbaye said that M. Diguimbaye, who was sacked in the "reconciliation reshuffle" of May 1971, would be tried at the end of an inquiry into "the origins of his riches, accumulated in record time". M. Tombalbaye said that he had decided to get to the bottom of the affair after a number of "serious false accusations" against himself. M. Diguimbaye's brother-in-law, a top civil



Photograph shows the Minister of Finance, Mr. Kamara Taylor, signing on behalf of the Sierra Leone government and Mr. Mario Melline, signing on behalf of the consortium. Mr. Gandi-Captio, Minister for Development, is in the centre.

servant in the Foreign Ministry, would also be tried on the same charges. M. Diguimbaye had been a minister and member of the Political Bureau of the ruling PPT until 1971. Then he was made head of the Chad Development Bank from which post he has now been dismissed.

• A Chad delegation is reported to have arrived in Namey for discussions with a Libyan delegation about the differences between Chad and Libya. (Chad broke off relations with Libya after an abortive coup in August, accusing the Libyans of interfering in Chad's internal affairs. President Diouf of Niger has been attempting mediation between the two countries.)

About 100 Chad students expelled from Libya have arrived in Fort Lamy.

THE GAMBIA

Following his re-election as President (see page 453), Sir Dauda Jawara told a news conference that the policy of his PPP was to consolidate the political education of the people of The Gambia. Sir Dauda said he had no intention to pass any legislation banning any existing political groupings. When asked if it was his intention to introduce a one-party system in The Gambia he said: "this would be contrary to our constitution because freedom of expression and meeting is enshrined in The Gambia's constitution". Sir Dauda also referred to the current three-year development programme, in which agriculture, education, road infrastructure and tourism were given priority. He also mentioned that a Gambian mission was in London studying possible association with the EC. The President told newsmen he regarded his next state visit to Taiwan as a mark of the continued good relations between The Gambia and Nationalist China. "The expulsion of Taiwan from the UN does not preclude any state having bilateral relations with Taiwan". Regarding possible relations with the Chinese Peoples Republic, he said, "we keep an open mind as to what our relations with China could be. One has to wait and see."

SENEGAL

Recovering from the drought

In an independence day message, President Senghor said that the Senegalese economy was recovering from the effects of the 1970 drought. The trade balance in 1971 showed a deficit of 26,000m CFA francs (about £39m) compared with 11,500m CFA (about £17.7m) in 1970 and 19,400m (about £29m) in 1969. President Senghor attributed this to the drought and to the increased prices of imports. The groundnut crop had fallen from 790,000 tons in 1970 to 583,000 tons in 1971, sorghum from 632,000 tons to 400,000 tons and paddy-rice from 155,000 tons to 90,000 tons. Farm income had been down more than 24 per cent on the previous year.

This year's groundnut season, ending this month, is expected to yield 900,000 tons — up 57.8 per cent on the last season, said the President. Sorghum output had increased by nearly 46 per cent to nearly 600,000 tons, and cotton nearly 100 per cent to 21,162 tons. On the basis of these results the President predicted that the Gross National Product would rise again after decreasing 7.87 per cent last year.

To mark National Day, President Senghor reduced the sentences of several political prisoners, including former Premier, Mamadou Dia. The latter, convicted of threatening state security in 1963, had his life sentence cut to 20 years. The life sentence passed on Mustapha Drame in June 1967 for planning an assassination attempt was also reduced to 20 years hard labour, and five people sentenced with him were released. M. Drame was a member of the personal staff of former Interior Minister Valdo Diodio Ndiaye, jailed at the same time as Dia.

PORTUGUESE GUINEA

The day after Lisbon called home its ambassador to Denmark following the announcement that the Danish government would provide £360,000 for African liberation movements, Norway announced that it had pledged nearly £70,000 to PAIGC. The Danish government had also disclosed that it would actively support moves to remove Portugal from NATO and suspend export credit guarantees to Portugal. Dutch "liberation" committees have announced a major drive to raise funds for guerrilla groups fighting the Portuguese. Members of a PAIGC delegation which had received the Norwegian pledge in Oslo visited Denmark to ask for a prefabricated hospital and protein-rich food.

CAMEROON

A report in *Le Monde* from Yaounde says that President Ahidjo would like to revise all the cooperation agreements made with France in 1960, and which, "twelve years after independence, seem to be, in varying degrees, out of date". The report mentions particularly the monetary agreement, pointing out that the states belonging to the Equatorial African Central Bank (BCEAEC) have, in any case, a system notably less liberal than that enjoyed by the states of the West African Central Bank (BCEAO). One of the missions of the current Chairman of UDEAC, President Nguabi, in Paris, was to plea for monetary reform, but it is already learnt in Yaounde that Presidents Senghor and Houphouët-Boigny are envisaging something more extreme.

• Cameroon is establishing diplomatic relations with North Korea, having already relations with South Korea. The aim is "to make a contribution as part of its non-alignment policy towards the reunification of the Korean people."

SPANISH SAHARA

The summit meeting in Rabat between Heads of State of Algeria, Morocco and Mauritania to discuss the Spanish Sahara has been postponed from the end of March to a later date. An announcement said that the postponement, to a date yet to be fixed, was on the agreement of all three leaders rather than at the request of one. The summit meeting to discuss the decolonisation of the Spanish colony had been announced after talks between the three countries' foreign ministers in January.

The Pan-African Youth Movement, based on Algiers, has condemned what it called "the shameful repression and massacre" carried out by authorities in the Spanish colony. It released a press statement saying that 10 people had been killed there since March — an apparent reference to Moroccan press reports which Madrid has denied. The Moroccan reports claimed that violent demonstrations had taken place in El-Ayun, but the Spanish Foreign Ministry said that the commander of the Canarias military region had received an "excellent reception" when he visited the town the day after the riots were alleged to have taken place.

CONGO-BRAZZAVILLE

President Nguabi said on his return from Paris that his trip had put Franco-Congolese co-operation on a firmer footing. "I have told French investors that they are welcome but there is no place here for people who conduct themselves like Hitlers". He had discussed UDEAC (of which he is current Chairman) with President Pompidou, who understood his wish that the Congolese people should benefit as much as possible from its advantages.

During a stopover in Central African Republic President Nguabi said that solutions had been found in Paris for all the problems he raised on behalf of UDEAC members, which were believed to include questions concerning the union's central bank, and money-issuing centre in Paris. Speaking of February's attempted coup in Brazzaville he said that it was unique in black Africa because it was the first time that members of the ruling party had staged a coup.

MALI

Bamako's sewer network and the water supplies of several other towns in Mali are to be improved under an agreement with the UNDP. Cost of the programme is estimated at £323,000.

• M. Mamadou Sory Ouane, head of the Departmental Staff at the Ministry of Justice has been arrested and accused of taking a bribe from a Bamako firm.

• Mali has recognised the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam, and diplomatic relations have been established.

NIGERIA

£15½m for the Universities

The National Universities Commission received the highest allocation (£15.5m) in the current Federal Estimates for 1972-73. It was closely followed by the Ministry of Works and Housing (£14m). There were substantial increases in the amounts provided for the Ministries of Internal Affairs, External Affairs, Information, Agriculture and Natural Resources, Labour, Health and Education, compared with the amounts they received last year. In addition the Federal Government is repaying immediately the £5.5m loan given by the regional marketing boards to the former central government in 1964. It is hoped that the early repayment will help the marketing boards and state governments to stabilise their finances and pay higher producer prices.

The National Sports Commission has been granted £1m for the development of sports. It is said the government, up in the Commission to give the necessary leadership for positive results in sporting activities at home and abroad. (For Budget details see page 439)

Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation is to spend £2.2m on its services during the new financial year. "Although the budget reflects restricted spending it is planned to continue to ensure a high standard of programme presentation. News coverage will be expanded to serve all parts of the country and new staff have been provided for all NBC stations. Programmes as a whole will be geared to reflecting all aspects of Nigerian life as well as to promote national unity."

Conversion of the Posts and Telecommunications Department into a statutory corporation, scheduled for April 1, has been postponed until the Ministry of Communications has had full consultations with the various unions.

Equatorial Guinea is to recruit 7,500 workers from the three eastern states for jobs in the former Spanish colony, under a six-month permit issued under the Labour Code Act.

A group of Russian students has arrived on a two-week tour of Nigeria under the National Union of Students exchange programme. Nigerian students are expected to make a return visit to the Soviet Union later in the year.

The first indigenous North Eastern State newspaper, *The Guardian*, has been launched in Maiduguri by the Jalingo News Agency.

A marketing board has been set up in Benue Plateau State with an initial working capital of £200,000.

A Swedish Trade mission has arrived in Nigeria on a two-week business promotion drive.

Technicians in the Ministry of Telecommunications staged a work-to-rule in support of the demand by the Union of Federated Posts and Telecommunications Workers for better conditions and publication of the Gill Report. The Federal Communications Commissioner, Mr Joseph Tarka, described the action as "rash, unpatriotic and uncalled for. We have been talking to them and they gave the indication that they were satisfied with the talks". The Director of the P and T, Mr E.O. Akidele, commented, "We are going to be firm and see to it that the government is not held to ransom under any circumstances."

Cargo ships are to be diverted to Port Harcourt to remove the perennial port congestion in Lagos, Commissioner for Transport, Dr. Diko, said on his return from a visit to the Rivers State. Sufficient cargo handling facilities were now available there, and he would soon initiate talks with members of the shipping industry on the need to divert some of their cargo to Port Harcourt.

The chairman of the East Central State Public Service Commission has urged industries, banks and commercial houses to assist in reducing the State's soaring unemployment figures. Their offers of employment, he said, would help solve the problem. The Commission recently concluded a recruitment exercise for school leavers at six centres in the state.

Nigeria has protested to the United States over the import of chronic from Rhodesia in defiance of the United Nations Embargo.



Nigeria's deputy High Commissioner in London, Mr. J. A. Akadir, opened the exhibition and sale of contemporary Nigerian art at the Africa Centre. With him is Mr. Rah Johnson, who organized the exhibition in cooperation with the centre, on the left is Miss Margaret Feeny of the Africa Centre. They are looking at a wool collage, "Hunting is our Business", by Bisi Fabunmi. All five artists represented belong to the Oshogbo School. Of the 60 exhibits only a small proportion have so far been sold and others are still available to the public.

The Nigerian National Theatre has been launched in Lagos. Its aim is to promote Nigerian culture and create the necessary platform for developing the performing arts. It was opened by a play put on at Dodan Barracks. The play written by a Ghanaian, was staged by a cast from the East Central State before Gen. Gowon, senior military officers government officials, Dr Azikiwe and Chief Awolowo.

The £17m World Bank loan to Nigeria will be used for war-damaged schools and teacher training colleges in the three eastern states. It will be used in the reconstruction and expansion of 23 secondary schools and seven primary teachers training colleges and will also help achieve increased efficiency in educational institutions and ensure a flow of trained graduates on to the labour market. Before the loan was announced East Central State Commissioner for Education, Dr Magnus Adiele, said that it would cost about £17m to bring all education institutions in the area back to their pre-war condition.

Two loans — for the reconstruction of Enugu Airport and the expansion programme of the Nigerian Sugar Company at Bacita, Kwara State — have been signed between the Federal Military Government and the African Development Bank.

£5m has been set aside for re-organisation of the Prisons Department. Centres will be established to train prisoners in crafts and trades "to make them useful citizens on discharge."

About 30 children are dying daily from measles in the Galadiman Kogo District of the North Western State, according to a report in the *Daily Times*.

ZIK WARNS ON NATIONALISATION

Former President Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe has warned against indiscriminate nationalisation. Speaking at the quarterly luncheon of the Nigerian Guild of Editors he said that in Nigeria nationalised industries had not fared better than their UK counterparts. The spate of adverse comments by tribunals of enquiry was an indication of woeful inexperience, culpable incompetence, gross inefficiency and unwarranted ministerial interference. He criticised the indigenisation policy as a phase of nationalisation and would like to see statutory corporations and ancillary concerns run by management agencies on a commercial basis. "If we nationalise indiscriminately we shall be obliged to experience disappointments as other nations who were pressured into nationalising their enterprises by doctrinaire ideologists and armchair eggheads."

● The Federal Government intends to give proper attention to the issue of the creation of states after the 1973 census. Maj. Gen. Adebayo, Commandant of the Nigerian Defence Academy, said in a lecture to local government students he said that the Army was looking forward to 1976 when it would hand over power to a popularly-elected civilian regime and go back to the barracks to resume its traditional role of defending the territorial integrity of the nation.

● Commissioner for Labour and Information, Chief Anthony Enahoro, is currently visiting Britain and France in connection with the 1974 World Negro Arts Festival to be held in Nigeria. He is accompanied by the Senegalese Secretary General of the Festival, M. Aloune Diop.

● The Nigerian Embassy in Bonn has protested to the West German newspaper, *Die Welt*, over its reporting of the publication of the indigenisation decree. The report was headed "Africanisation decree also in Nigeria - Lagos offends foreign investors - protects endangered". The embassy said that the report "sought to create unnecessary bad blood" and was mischievous.

● The Irish Foreign Minister, Dr. Patrick Hillery, and his wife have made an eight-day official visit to Nigeria. Dr. Hillery was scheduled to visit three of the twelve states and hold official talks with Dr. Okor Arikpo, External Affairs Commissioner.

● Dr. Okezie, the Federal Commissioner for Agriculture, has criticised the delegation of certain powers by the Federal Public Service Commission to permanent secretaries. "This delegation of power could be abused", he said, "particularly as most Nigerians are tribalistic". He also complained that of the £7m given to state governments for agriculture in the past two years less than £3m. had been spent.

● The joint consultative commission set up by Nigeria and Cameroon is to meet in Yaounde early in May to consider the report of the sub-committee which examined the technical aspects of the delimitation survey on the maritime boundary of the two countries. The commission will also consider drafts of trade agreements and extradition treaties between Nigeria and Cameroon. This was announced in the communique issued after President Abidjo's visit to Lagos. The Heads of State also initialled agreements on cooperation in police and judicial matters and in cultural, social and technical matters. They agreed on fishing privileges in each others' territorial waters until a formal agreement is negotiated.

● Addressing the annual general conference of the Nigerian Tobacco General Workers Union in Port Harcourt, the chairman of the Nigerian Tobacco Company, Mr. Hugh McDonald, said that the cigarette market grew at only 2½ per cent last year compared with 8½ per cent in 1970 and 39 per cent in 1969. While there had been no substantial growth in the market, and therefore no substantial growth in revenue, the cost of materials, wages and salaries had risen substantially.

The army's duty to the Ibos

The formal transfer of the 1st Infantry Division from Enugu to Kaduna has taken place with the arrival in Kaduna of the Commanding Officer, Brig Bisila. In his farewell at Enugu he said "Whatever little we have done, whatever my men and I have contributed to the cause of peace ... we did in the belief that it was our duty to help re-establish the Ibo into the Nigerian community".

● Seventy-two new indigenous companies, with a total share capital of £3m, have been established in Kano State since the publication of the Nigerian Enterprises Proclamation Decree.

● Col. Abba Kyari, North Central State Governor, has said that some television programmes in Lagos were not in keeping with Nigeria's foreign policy and national aspirations.

● Mr. E. O. Oluwu, formerly deputy permanent secretary in the Federal Ministry of Transport, has been appointed chairman of Nigeria Airways.

● The East Central State has announced that about 700 of its damaged schools have been rebuilt with assistance from UNICEF.

● The newly created State Development and Property Corporation has taken over responsibility for the £2.3m housing scheme in Ikera.

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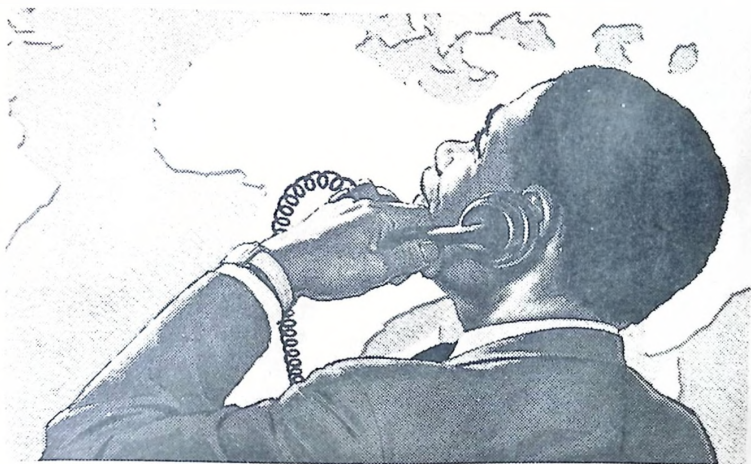
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