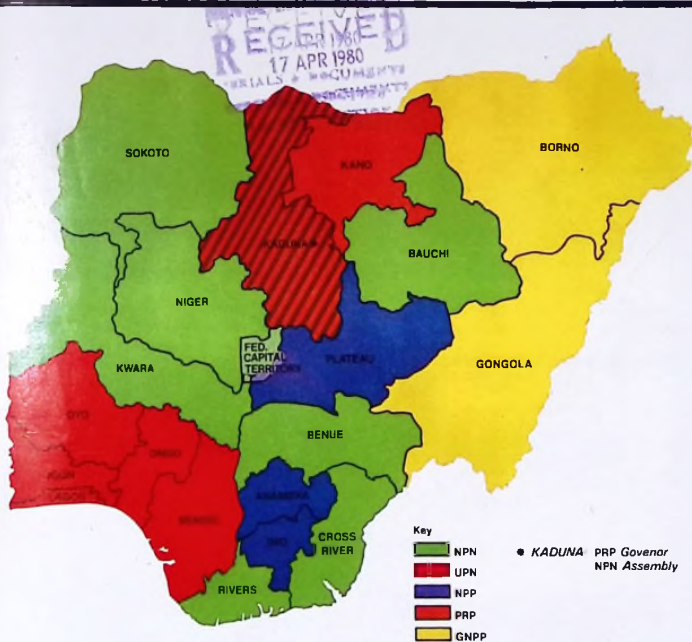


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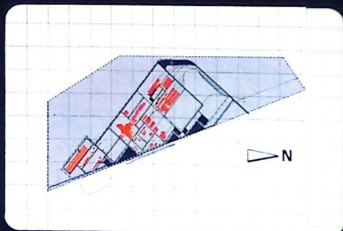
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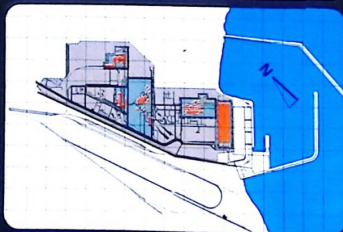
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# The power of the market

THE NEWS from Ghana is that Makola Number One Market in the centre of Accra, which was bulldozed to the ground during the revolutionary regime of Flight-Lieutenant J. J. Rawlings, is now once again the scene of brisk marketing activities, with stalls being set up and crowds spilling out and blocking the nearby streets. This is of more than local significance for two reasons: it demonstrates the resilience of the market women's position in West African society and, more profoundly, it illustrates the power of market forces in a free society.

On the first point, the market women have an almost mystical reputation, based more on folk myth than fact: it is said that Kwame Nkrumah set himself against the market women shortly before his fall in 1966; the conversion of President Sékou Touré from a doctrinaire despot to an outward-looking democrat is said to date from the march of market women through Conakry in August, 1977 (the demonstration was caused by a vain attempt to reorganise Guinea's retail trade from the marketplace into co-operative stores); General Acheampong also repeatedly tried to by-pass the women behind the market stalls, feeling that shortages and excessive prices could thus be eliminated, and he repeatedly failed to improve things; under the AFRC the market women were shamefully mistreated, being publicly beaten on suspicion of hoarding and selling at excessive prices. The harshness did nothing to solve the shortages and high prices; it in fact accentuated them by increasing demand and drying up supplies and outlets.

All markets (to come to the larger point) operate on the principle or ethic that it is right to buy as cheaply as one can and sell as dearly. This tends to override other points of morality. A well-known British financier, Lord Keswick, once said (and has since been continually quoted in left-wing tracts) that selling currency in Singapore was "bad for sterling and unpatriotic — but on the whole it makes sense".

The imperatives of the market place also tend to make nonsense of all but the most subtle plans of governments. General Acheampong found, as so many have found before him, that official price controls at a time of severe shortages and high demand do a number of things, but they do not control prices. In the end, like water finding its level as it flows into a bowl, demand and supply will even up on a price. In some cases an attempt at control will force prices up even higher because officials have to be bribed to look the other way.

What is true of Makola Market is also basically true of

the larger international markets. With cocoa (as was said last week) Nkrumah in 1964 withdrew from the market for 15 weeks and even symbolically burnt a quantity of beans but was unable to influence the prices as he wanted to; the Ivory Coast might well be running into the same brick wall now. Nigeria remembers with some pain that two years ago she found that her pricing put her in conflict with the larger market forces and the Nigerian oil revenues fell with disastrous effects.

The lesson to be drawn from all this is not that governments are powerless and must surrender to the market women; there are other options. On the one hand it is possible to manage so that the market forces are working on the same side as government policy. This requires the most subtle budgetary techniques and also at times the foregoing of certain objectives. It requires accepting the fundamental mores of the market leaders: on the world scene it means that the developing world will go along with the basic assumptions of the developed world. The IMF will be obeyed. To take a concrete example, it might be thought that Kwame Nkrumah was accepting the imperatives of the market place by deciding that there was no way of ensuring that the Volta Dam was built except by allowing highly favourable terms to an American-based international company; the series of articles published by *West Africa* over the past four weeks has argued with a most erudite quoting of chapter and verse that this decision contained within it serious disadvantages for Ghana in the long term.

A second option is to reject the entire marketplace morality and substitute something else. This requires not only the commonplace left-wing recipes for nationalising the commanding heights of the economy; it also requires the substitution of a basic motivation. In the marketplace the main driving force is greed. This is depressing for idealists, but it works. Man works hard because he wants to do well for himself and his family. Marx suggested that it should be enough to say: "From each according to his ability; to each according to his needs." But in fact the experience of almost the whole of the socialist world (China might perhaps be an exception) is that this formula does not provide enough steam to drive a modern economy. Again and again, in Russia, Yugoslavia, Tanzania or Cuba, an element of competitiveness — an appeal to greed, to put it bluntly — has had to be introduced to ensure that people worked as hard as they are capable. This question of whether man can be adequately motivated solely by a desire to serve his fellowman is one of the simple but huge problems of political philosophy that will have to be settled in the next century.

In the meantime, there is a third option as far as international finance goes: that is that one organises one's own marketplace with its own rules. This is behind the debate on a new world economic order — a debate which will dominate the special economic summit of the OAU in Lagos at the end of this month. The theory is that the market forces do not always demand producing for the needs, and for the profit, of the developed world; horizontal linkages are possible; appropriate technology can lead to increased self-reliance and a sort of prosperity that is measured not in Mercedes in city garages but in better-fed and educated children in peasant families.

One thing is certain: the crudity of a bulldozer applied to Makola Market ensures that within months Makola Market will be in operation once again.

## CONTENTS

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| Comment: Liberia's April 14 indictment: "Scandal" of the missing millions ..... | 648 |
| Race and the Bristol riot .....   | 649 |
| Upper Volta: democracy and development .....                                    | 650 |
| Matchet's Diary .....   | 652 |
| Imperialism and the Volta Dam — IV .....  | 655 |
| Books and publications: Literary lyricism .....                                 | 661 |
| Letters .....   | 664 |
| Economic and business news .....  | 667 |
| Dateline Africa: Arrests in Ghana .....   | 675 |

## Liberia's April 14 indictment

IN MONROVIA today, at least 50 members of the Progressive People's Party are to appear before a grand jury for indictment on charges of sedition and treason — the Minister of Justice had indicated that some 25 detainees would be released beforehand. However, there is cause for concern about the atmosphere in which the trial will take place. In his speech to the legislature (reported in last week's issue), President Tolbert adopted the tone of the God of the Old Testament declaring that no clemency would be exercised in favour of those found to have transgressed the laws of the land, and that it was a time for "extreme rigidity". It is to be hoped that Liberia will only be led to the brink of political executions — the maximum penalty for treason is death — without being taken over the edge. Furthermore, the President's stature is more likely to grow in the eyes of the Liberian people if he is seen to demonstrate "magnanimity".

Today is in itself a memorable day for Liberia. Last April 14, police opened fire on demonstrators in Monrovia and (officially) killed 49 of them but could not prevent them from doing damage to property officially estimated at around \$36m. Unofficial sources said about 100 people were killed, 600 wounded, and an

unprecedented level of anger was shown in the streets of Monrovia that day, not simply because of a proposed increase in the price of rice, but also because of pent-up frustration.

The veteran Liberian journalist Albert Porte wrote of his discouragement at seeing President's Tolbert's unwillingness to reach any compromise with PAL. He said PAL was ready to call the demonstration off but did not have access to the radio and television. The deaths of April 14 demonstrated the results of the hard line. This year, the President, and the ruling party have been sorely provoked: Baccus Matthews accused the Tolbert Administration of having failed to fulfill its promises (such as in the campaigns for "From Mat to Mattress", "Self-Reliance", "Self-Sufficiency in Food Production", "Reduction of International Credit", "War on Ignorance, Disease and Poverty", "Liberianisation", "Rural Development and Urban Reconstruction", and "Eradication of Corruption"); the PPP leader said this was the "only President in the history of Liberia whose stay in office has led to political instability, labour unrest, and civil disturbance resulting in the loss of precious lives of many Liberians"; he finally called for the immediate resignation of the Tolbert Administration "to hand over the Executive functions... to a coalition of the political parties"; and for a nationwide strike "to last for as long as it shall take the Tolbert Administration to assume its responsibilities".

It is reported that one result of the second congress of the Movement for Justice in

Africa held at the end of last month was the mandate for the leadership to form a political party. The present mood of the ruling party in Monrovia bodes ill for an opposition movement to raise its head. Even more disturbing is the Amnesty International report of prices being put on the heads of 20 suspected PPP members (see page 682) by the Justice Ministry — this is both witch-and-scalp-hunting. But democracy cannot function without a valid opposition; the security and stability of a government is also proportionate to its real — not imaginary — popularity with the governed. The True Whig Party has nothing to fear; it puts into practise its motto of "Deeds Not Words". Two things should be borne in mind by President Tolbert in the days to come: modern skyscrapers, suspension bridges, aircraft wings are all built to be flexible not "extremely rigid"; secondly, this very Christian President should remember it was the good Lord who said "Vengeance is mine". Perhaps Baccus Matthews should be allowed to repeat again.

## Scandal of missing oil millions

THE SO-CALLED scandal concerning the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation involves such a huge sum of money — \$2,800m. — that it is difficult to maintain belief: there is a feeling that James Bonser should be sent for. The scandal has other odd elements that prevent unalloyed indignation being expressed: the NNPC itself is not crying "Thief!" and the police have not been called in. The impression has been given that it is more a matter of a book-keeper getting into a muddle than of an embezzler planning to retire to Switzerland to live in luxury off a numbered account.

The matter first came to light in September last year when American auditors reported that certain NNPC assets, mostly in the form of money owed to the company, were not reflected in the books. There was no suggestion then that the money had been unlawfully obtained by anybody. Later, however, investigations by senators revealed, according to Dr. Sola Saraki, the NPN Senate leader, that the money had "inadvertently" been paid into someone's private account in London. The Senator did not mention any names. Once again there was no talk of prosecutions pending.

The only truly scandalous revelation has been that before last year the NNPC books had not been properly audited for about five years. That by itself would be sufficient to require a full investigation. The reports and rumours about the "missing millions" make this the more necessary. The present lack of hard information is doing harm to Nigeria's reputation for sound commercial practice and it seems likely that a full disclosure would limit the damage.

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# Race and the Bristol riot

Dillibe Onyeama discusses the tensions that underlay the outbreak of anti-police violence in the British city of Bristol last week.

THERE WAS one curious element that emerged from the controversy over the recent outbreak of fighting between black youths and the police in the British city of Bristol: that was the top priority given by anxious politicians in their assertions that it was *not* a race riot. One heard it repeatedly — from the police, Race Equality Commissioners, and from MPs, including the Home Secretary. The general consensus was that it was a rebellion by an underprivileged section of society against authority. But a more realistic assessment by Conservative MP, Sir Ronald Bell, is worth noting: "To pretend that it was not a race riot is part of the fashionable humbug that always envelops the awkward subject of immigration."

There can be no doubting that the Bristol disturbances were the result of racial tension. There have been widespread complaints that police have been harassing blacks in the district for years, in common with other cosmopolitan parts of Britain. The police, on their part, contend that their activities cannot be described as "harassment". They have insisted that in multi-ethnic quarters of Britain, blacks have been chiefly responsible for muggings and drug-crimes, which justified the greater attention they focused on blacks than on whites. But blacks have viewed this as gross victimisation with undertones of colour prejudice, for which reason one can plausibly maintain that it was on the basis of colour that they felt the need to react violently against the police in Bristol when the latter appeared in unnecessary force to execute one arrest.

In the cross-current of confusion and misunderstanding between all parties concerned, several facts emerge: giving recognition to police reports of high West Indian crime-rate, one must also recognise the valid explanation of the black man's dilemma in British society — poor job prospects, high unemployment among school-leavers, housing problems, and alienation resulting from the rejection of them by the native British. These handicaps create the basis for frustration and non-conformist attitudes. From a police standpoint, this is a province of pure social work, of which they are not expected to have expert knowledge, and which they cannot allow to obstruct their duties. But welfare experts and social workers are helpless, as their room for manoeuvre to try and tackle the problem is limited by the wholly ineffective provisions of Britain's race laws.

The Race Relations Act was passed in 1968 only because it was finally recognised in Government quarters that racial prejudice degrades and dehumanises its victim in a way that ordinary forms of prejudice do not. It meant that unlike before, when prejudice against blacks in virtually every facet of society could be practised with open arrogance, any further discrimination in



Police bring dogs to the scenes of disorder in St Pauls, Bristol.

housing, employment or education was now illegal and liable to retribution in a court of law. But neither prohibitions of the act, nor the now defunct Race Relations Board, nor its more powerful replacement — the Commission for Racial Equality, did much good. All that happened was that the old British craft for subtlety was effectively brought to play, so that discrimination against blacks continued as before, only was well concealed, making it next to impossible to prove. Hence the continuing deprivation that has been the lot of many black Britons and hence the violent consequences that erupted in Bristol.

The blaze of publicity that was spotlighted on the devastation to property and on the despatch of Home Office executives to investigate the cause of the disturbances were classically reminiscent of the aftermath of the 1967 American race riots. The role of the late President Johnson towards the riots was harshly criticised by the distinguished black American author Julius Lester: "President Johnson reacted like what he was, a white man, and appointed a commission to study the rebellions, spending a lot of money to find out something he could

have found out by asking any black sleeping on a bench in front of the White House.

"If nothing had ever made white America get up before, the summer of 1967 did. 'Whitey' got up, but it didn't seem to do him much good. He simply went into his whole screaming act about 'looting and violence', which said to blacks that he cared more about his property than he did about blacks."

Of course white America has changed almost beyond recognition since 1967, compelled by the savagery of those riots to give the whole race issue top priority. The country has effectively tackled the problem by making it a matter of law that every Federal Government department in the more cosmopolitan sections of the States be represented by a qualified employee from each minority group. Such groups include blacks, Indians, Chinese, Mexicans and Italians. Together with stringent laws prohibiting any form of racial discrimination and a massive drive through media and government quarters to convert those of bigoted disposition, this has brought favourable results. Most businesses in the States have voluntarily taken on black em-

ployees, and blacks have been promoted to key positions in every conceivable field. Without question race relations in America has reached a stage that casts a shameful light on Britain's still-smouldering embers of tension.

That basic human prejudice in all its ugliest forms will always remain an outstanding feature of man's existence is a thorny fact recognised by any realistic person. But in Britain the race problem is not just a question of individual attitudes; unlike in America, it is institutionalised into the British conservative infrastructure, and the only manner in which it can be properly checked is by a positive effort of will by the pillars of the ruling class to make greater provisions to absorb members of minority groups into key positions in society. Left to that remedy alone, the cure of Britain's race ills will take a long time. But whether the victims of those ills can control their frustration for as long is a frightening point for reflection. When one considers that it required the racial tidal wave of 1967 to effect the closer contact enjoyed between the races in America today, the Bristol riots, by comparison, would seem like a mere warning to Britain, the npple that precedes the big wave.

It is indeed disturbing to have to consider the possibility that a furor of the bloody magnitude of Watts might need to happen in Britain before the Government recognises the necessity to follow in the footsteps of America with a massive drive to impress upon the masses the inherent ugliness of racial prejudice.

## Upper Volta: how democracy is linked to development

By a correspondent

WHEN in Ouagadougou, at the end of March, to participate in the congress of UDV-RDA, the governing party, M. Philippe Yace, the President of the Ivorian National Assembly and Secretary-General of the Parti Democratique de Côte d'Ivoire had this to say about his visit: "It is in the hope of reconciling Voltaic fraternal enemies that I have come personally to participate in the forthcoming congress of the UDV-RDA (Union Democratique Voltaique — section du Rassemblement Democratique Africain). I come to Ouagadougou with the instructions of President Houphouët-Boigny in this matter. But one must also speak the truth. . . . It has been possible to say at times that Upper Volta is democratic because of its multi-party system. But the moment when such a multi-party system becomes negative, perhaps it is necessary to correct it."

That a foreign visitor of M. Yace's importance could get away with such a statement with impunity when in most other countries — and from other visitors in Upper Volta — it would have created a

diplomatic incident, being adjudged an intrusion into the internal affairs of another state, is a fair indication of the seriousness of political developments in Upper Volta and of the grip that Ivory Coast has on economic and political life of its northern neighbour.

What is it that M. Yace and President Houphouët-Boigny see that causes their concern about the future of Upper Volta? It is a view that is influenced by the Ivorian experience, where social and political development has played second fiddle to economic progress. In Ivorian eyes, this has paid off. Upper Volta, on the other hand, is not as easily defined as some would wish. It is the clearest example of a country where hope for economic development had what practices democracy. This impression is beginning to acquire proportions that are *volkanique*, to use the French phrase. Upper Volta is not as economically helpless as it is made out to be. The practice of democracy is not as altruistic as some would like to believe and both these factors are related to and act upon each other.



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## Manganese project delayed

These are some traditional economic indicators: as a result of inflation the second Five Year Plan (1977-81) has had its volume raised from 262.4bn. CFA francs to 354bn. CFA francs, 93.7 per cent of the figure will be provided by foreign aid, a vital element in the plan's projection with an increase in the Gross Domestic Product of 5.7 per cent annually will be achieved which depends on the manganese development project at Tambao, this will require considerable investment both in the mines and in the transport infrastructure to make the deposit accessible. To the disappointment of all the execution of the project has had to be delayed because of difficulties in finding suitable financial backing. This has been an important setback. Meanwhile this year's budget slightly down on last year's — 35bn. CFA francs as against 35.7bn. last year. Reasonably favourable climatic conditions have permitted the authorities to predict a slight increase in cotton production this year: 70,000 tonnes compared to 59,900 tonnes last year. This will leave a large surplus for exports. Two measures taken over the last six months will alleviate conditions somewhat. The creation of a Credit Agricole will facilitate farmers' needs to find finance for modernisation, though it will be of particular benefit to the cotton producer. There has been a 25 per cent

increase in salaries which was announced at the beginning of the year. Meanwhile plans continue for the development of the Volta Valleys. The latest project — the estimated cost of which was evaluated at 30bn CFA francs in mid-1978 — is at Bagre on the White Volta. A French company has been given the responsibility for the pilot project which will involve the setting up of an irrigation scheme and village unit for incoming families. The entire programme will include the construction of a dam containing two billion cubic metres of water and with a total power of 7,200 kw, much of which will serve Ouagadougou. Meanwhile, Upper Volta has had to appeal for emergency food relief.

## Questions on foreign aid

Within this context, there are areas of the economic and political sectors in Upper Volta that are coming in for particular criticism. The preponderant role of foreign aid can be questioned on two counts. The first and much broader issue is to what extent is such massive aid necessary? The second concerns the execution of that aid and its costs. On the first point, there is growing evidence of discontent in many circles both in Upper Volta and beyond that economic productivity can sometimes be inversely proportional to the amounts provided in aid. Certainly, there have been occasions when one has wondered whether Voltaic planners have seriously thought about the effect that aid was having on the incentive of the producer. Last year one heard that Ouagadougou's markets were cleared of locally produced cereals at low prices because a large shipment of foreign cereals — part of the foreign assistance — was arriving and had to be put on the market at the normal prices. The second point about aid revolves around its immediate efficiency. There are constant reports of duplication of work by different agencies, sometimes more than one report is prepared on the same project. Then one has to wonder what the total cost of the foreign personnel brought in as specialists — always at an attractively high salary — is in proportion to the total grants. One suspects that it will be alarmingly high. This is a problem for both the agencies and the recipient country. In Upper Volta it is acute.

The combination of lack of finance and overwhelming foreign aid leaves the Voltaic authorities with little room for manoeuvre. The atmosphere is aggravated by what is called in Upper Volta *attentisme*: malpractices are condemned, political rivalry is denounced as harming the national effort for economic progress, unions constantly call for more increases in their pay, consultation and confrontation continues, but there is never a resolution. An encouraging note was struck earlier in the year when a national commission into administrative practices roundly condemned the lack of cohesion among ministries and was specifically critical about the parastatal sector which is accused of

being corrupt and inefficient. The only immediate suggestion was the creation of an Inspectorate General which would operate independently of any ministry. A section of the report acknowledged that traditional chiefs must be introduced into the administrative system and that their role should be accepted as extremely important. This is relevant not only in the social significance of the proposal but in that there are insufficient cadres in the country to cover regional administration adequately.

Meanwhile, the peasants have to live from year to year. There are sufficient isolated examples of groups of farmers in different areas who have taken their own initiatives, partly because of the absence of the national authorities (a trait that was remarked on in an article that referred to the Ziguinchor region of Senegal, *West Africa*, March 17, 1980). Instead of having money thrust upon them before they even have time to think, such groups and co-operatives reach a stage of self-sustained development in agriculture and infrastructure and only then do they find it necessary to seek capital to expand their projects.

## Party political manoeuvring

This all-too-rare picture is in stark contrast to recent events in the capital, which were partly responsible for prompting M. Yace's remarks. He had gone on to say that he hoped that the parties would be reconciled and especially that the Union National pour la Defense de la Democratie, the party of the former President Maurice Yameogo, would co-operate with the government. The UNDD continues to make progress that is disconcerting for its opponents. Eighteen months ago it won 14 seats in the legislative elections, making it the second most important party. Then the political future of Maurice Yameogo was still unknown. Now, following the UNDD congress in Ouagadougou at the end of January, the former President has been appointed a member of the Political Bureau of the party and to a position in the propaganda section. Herman Yameogo, his son, was replaced by M. Emmanuel Zana, a former Minister in the government of General Lamizana. He received a personal visit at Koudougou from General Lamizana. All the signs are that the government has tacitly approved the discreet return of Maurice Yameogo to political activity. It is also felt that there are a number of deputies in Ouagadougou who are sufficiently disenchanted with the lack of progress made by their party, the PDV-RDA (it changed at the Congress from Union Democratique Voltaique to Parti Democratique Voltaique), that they may throw in their lot with the UNDD. It would make for an unassailable combination if the two parties were to ally themselves. Though in the nature of Voltaic politics, the democratic facade often obscures what is a perennial struggle for power among a group of important personalities with their regional bases for support which will continue to hamper any unity. Furthermore, the lack of decisiveness



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continues. Important financial decisions in the Assembly have been delayed, and the budget was disputed, which has meant that financial affairs and the allocation of resources have been continuing unimpeded by the deputies. This will only serve to increase the support of the opposition Front Progressiste Voltaïque, led by Professor Ki Zerbo and M. Joseph Ouedraogo. It will also add to the discontent of the unions which have been demanding ceaselessly improvements in work conditions.

## Draft law on striking

A government draft law aimed at limiting the rights to strike was so bitterly opposed when it was made public in January that the unions forced the government to shelve the plan. The draft had intended to disallow any public servants — some of the most ardent unionists in Upper Volta — from striking. Last year's strikes succeeded in bringing in the 25 per cent rise in minimum wages in January. General Lamizana, however, feels that the unions are among the privileged groups in Upper Volta. He refers to them as an "urban feudal" class. The fact remains that the four main unions (Confederation Nationale des Travailleurs Voltaïques, CNTV, Organisation Voltaïque des Syndicats Libres, OVSIL, l'Union Syndical des Travailleurs Voltaïques, USTV, and, Confederation Syndicale Voltaïque, CSV) are determined. They have won their first rounds and it will now be for the

government to decide whether it can risk sparking off further strikes by presenting its trade union draft law again.

It is not the healthiest of pictures and the Ivory Coast watches attentively. President Houphouët-Boigny has played a crucial role in Upper Volta over the years. He acted as something of a patron to Maurice Yameogo in his early days. This was returned with devotion in international politics. The governments led by President Lamizana have had no choice but to maintain extremely close ties with Ivory Coast. The latter is the market for about 40 per cent of Voltaïc exports, it also employs well over half a million citizens of Upper Volta, mainly in the agricultural sector. Parts of their salaries are sent back to families in Upper Volta, providing an important source of foreign revenue for the Voltaïc government. Ivory Coast supplies 95 per cent of Upper Volta's fuel needs and is the sole outlet for Voltaïc trade. In recent months there has been an endless stream of government ministers, including the Prime Minister, Mr Joseph Conombo, flying down to Yamoussoukro to consult with President Houphouët-Boigny. Therefore when M. Yace suggests that the UNDD will work in close political consultation with the PDV-RDA one can be sure that he is expressing more than pious hopes, he is telling Voltaïc politicians to get their house in order and he has the power of economic ties and dependence of Upper Volta on Ivory Coast and the personal influence of President Houphouët-Boigny to back that up.

## Matchet's Diary

THE NIGERIAN Government of President Shagari is not contemplating amending the constitution in order to make clear beyond dispute what two thirds of 19 is. It was told this last week by the Attorney-General, Chief Richard Akinjide, who was in London on a private visit and who consented to being interviewed in spite of a number of other engagements and telephone calls: an Attorney-General's life is always extremely busy, he said.

Chief Akinjide, as chief legal adviser to the SPN, won a famous victory by persuading the electoral tribunal and then the Supreme Court that two-thirds of 19 was 12 2/3 and not 13 — a sum that mathematicians find easier than politicians. In particular, this meant that Alhaji Shehu Shagari was properly elected President after obtaining a quarter of the vote in 12 states and nearly 20 per cent in the thirteenth, Kaduna. It was a complicated and much-disputed argument and some people have suggested that some clarifying amendment was now necessary.

Chief Akinjide, however, said, "To mind there is no need for any constitutional amendment because the Supreme Court

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which is the highest court in the country, has pronounced on the matter and there is nothing more to clarify."

Asked about whether some UPN men were not still disputing the ruling, Chief Akinjide said, "I am not aware that there is anybody in Nigeria who has not accepted the judgment of the Supreme Court. Under the constitution we are all bound by such a judgment." He did not accept that there was any bad drafting in referring to two-thirds of 19. "The drafting is quite clear. The problem is that some people will not accept defeat but will continue to lick the wound for ever. They are not sportsmen."

He went on to point out that Chief Awolowo had achieved a geographical spread of only six states instead of the needed 12½, and he did not get a majority of the popular votes. "How can he then say he does not accept the judgment of the Supreme Court? It might have been a different matter if he had satisfied either of the constitutional requirements. The vote captured by the NPN cut across ethnic or tribal groupings, whereas Awolowo's votes are tribally based. The pith and marrow of the constitution is that no tribal leader should be appointed President."

Pressed on the legal arguments that had raged — and continue to rage — over this matter, Chief Akinjide said: "Ten judges have sat on this case, three at the tribunal and seven at the Supreme Court. Nine out of the ten judges said that the President was validly elected. It is absolutely unnecessary to alter the constitution. The Supreme Court has pronounced on this, and that is the last word on the matter."

Another controversial constitutional issue was the decision by the outgoing Military Government — taken at the last moment — to abolish the provisions for an electoral college of senators and members of the federal and state assemblies if the first presidential election had proved not decisive. The military ruled that there should be another popular election. The Attorney-General would not comment on whether the military were right to over-ride the Constituent Assembly, which had earnestly debated the matter for a long time. "The military was in power," he said. "We had no control at that time. But what they did, to my mind, was very good. Allowing an electoral college might give room for corruption, for Tamany politics, and for somebody who is unpopular, or who is tribally based, through corruption to emerge as President. I think what they did is very wise under the Nigerian circumstances."

Asked about allegations that there had been a "violation" of the constitution in the deportation of Alhaji Shugaba Abdulrahman, the majority leader of Borno State, Chief Richard Akinjide said that he could not comment on the case as it was *sub judice*, but he could say that nobody had violated any provision of the constitution. "Alhaji Shehu Shagari is one of the most law-abiding persons I have ever worked with. He is very thorough, he is very careful and he upholds the constitution religiously. And he will never violate that constitution deliberately."

Discussing the equally controversial matter of the presidential liaison officers appointed to the 19 states, the Attorney-

General said that the Federal Government had projects in all the 19 states which involved a colossal amount of money. For example, in Borno State, there is the Chad Basin Authority, whose budget is more than the budget of the Borno State Government. "Are you saying that it would be wrong for the Federal Government, for a more efficient operation, to put a liaison officer in that state?"

Things were easy during the time of the Military Government, he went on to say, when the governors were military men who could be given orders and recalled if necessary. It was different now that many states had non-NPN governors. They could hardly be asked to carry out federal policy in federal matters. It was only right and legitimate that the Federal Government should have a representative in each state. He felt that it was a political matter and thus it was right that politicians rather than civil servants be appointed. It depended entirely on the President who was appointed.

I asked about the allegations of a "secessionist plot" which had been made at a press conference by the Secretary General of the NPN, Alhaji Suleiman Takuma. Chief Akinjide said: "I do not believe that anyone can secede in Nigeria and I feel sorry for anyone who attempts to. The results of the elections provided a great insurance for stability, peace and good government. All the five parties control either the Federal Government or a state government, so every one of the parties has a stake in peace and stability, and I would not like to believe that any one of them would like to upset the

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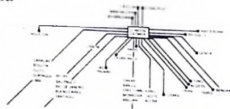
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appreciate or cause trouble. I do not believe anybody wants to secede and if any one tried to he would regret it very seriously."

Chief Akinjide would not agree to any criticisms of Alhaji Suleiman Takuma for making such allegations, however. "He must have had excellent reasons for doing so," he said. "I have not discussed the matter with him."

Asked whether the series of meetings of the nine governors pointed to some future alignment and whether the NPN was likely to face in 1983 or later an alliance of parties against it, Chief Akinjide said, "I don't think so. At the moment Alhaji Shehu Shagari is so popular that I am sorry for anybody who will oppose him in 1983. He has been both extremely efficient and extremely lucky. The operation has been building very well. One can divide the stages of operation into three: he started by mobilising the various machineries of government; then he moved into an era of consolidation; and he is now in the period of operation, and things are running full blast. He has also been a very lucky President — look at the result of the football matches! We have never won this competition before, and he won it in a grand style."

Turning serious again, Chief Akinjide said there were several matters on which constitutional amendments would have to be introduced. He would only mention specifically the Land Use Decree, which the President has said will have to be amended and which is in the constitution, but there were other provisions being considered. "The constitution is not a law of the Medes and the Persians and totally unchangeable," he said. "It is a sacred document, one must agree, but time and events must dictate which provisions need amendment."

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## IMPERIALISM AND THE VOLTA DAM — IV

# Power supply and economic nationalism

A correspondent concludes a series of articles giving the economic and political background to Ghana's Volta River project.

IT WAS INTENDED that the Volta River project should bring together two of Ghana's hitherto untapped resources — bauxite and hydro-power — to provide an aluminium industry as a catalyst of further industrialisation and to provide a sound industrial infrastructure. However, foreign monopoly capital succeeded in subordinating the aluminium sector to its own requirements. Now it is time to examine the second part of the project — the generation of power and its distribution to Ghana's infant industries and the mechanisation of agriculture.

The power produced by the Akosombo Dam is distributed to six major consumers. We have already looked at the effect of the VALCO demand in some detail. Two other consumers, Akosombo township and Akosombo Textiles take only 5mw each. The three other major customers of the VRA are the gold mines, the Electricity Corporation of Ghana (ECG) and the neighbouring countries of Togo and Benin.

Gold mining is Ghana's oldest export industry and the earliest discussions of hydro-power generation, going as far back as 1897, were oriented around the possibility of supplying cheap electricity to the foreign owned mines. However, with a comparatively small demand and prior investment in their own generating facilities (later consolidated in the Ankobra River Power Company) it was clear that a hydro-electricity scheme would not be a profitable investment, quite apart from the reluctance of the British Government to invest substantial amounts in a tropical African colony.

In 1962, five of the seven remaining gold mines were nationalised, leaving only the largest and most profitable mine in private hands. State control thus eased the way for the mines to switch over to Akosombo power when it came on line in 1966. This made the mines the largest consumer in Ghana and the 500 mile national grid had even been designed to include the mines' demand and thus enhance the viability of the project. Power from Akosombo was appreciably lower in price than the mines' own generation and the mines benefited further by being able to negotiate a tariff lower than that of other consumers.

The export of power from Akosombo to neighbouring countries had always been one of Nkrumah's more grandiose ambitions. Just as the independence of Ghana was meaningless unless tied to the liberation of the entire continent, he felt too the success of the Volta Project was linked to the export of power and the creation of a regional power grid. Gbedemah, as the architect of the project, warned Nkrumah that thought must first be given to meeting

the needs of Ghana's infant industries. By 1966, however, relations with neighbouring states were so bad that it was unlikely that they would ever agree to take power from Ghana, thus tying their economies to the ambitions of Nkrumah. The coup of 1966, however, cleared the way for the sale of power outside the country.

Togo and Benin had earlier been interested in the hydro-power potential of the Mono River which constituted the boundary between the two countries. Studies indicated that the project was indeed a viable proposition and approaches were made to the World Bank for financial assistance. However, in 1966 the World Bank made it clear that it could see no justification for the project when Ghana, now that the Seven-Year Plan had been scrapped, had surplus power and already owed the Bank "... very considerable amounts borrowed particularly ... for the construction of the hydro-electric dam at Akosombo". The World Bank subsequently invited Togo and Benin to justify their position and advised Ghana to make proposals for the sale of power to her immediate neighbours.

In August, 1969, after protracted negotiation, agreement was reached that Ghana should make available a fixed amount of power (up to 50mw annually) to the Communauté Electrique du Benin (CEB) for a period of 15 years with an additional five-year option. In 1966 it was certainly the case that Ghana had excess capacity but by the time agreement had been reached with the CEB and the 288km transmission line constructed it was no longer the case and within another five years Ghana was herself to be experiencing a power shortage. Once again, the criterion for the export of power seemed to be the need to balance the books of the VRA since the CEB was to pay for all power in foreign exchange. The western creditors of the VRA had to be satisfied that Ghana could repay the loans on time. Yet Ghana could clearly not afford such largesse to her neighbours. The possibility of heavy industrialisation in the country is now precluded by an estimated energy shortfall of 1,200mw; Ghana finds herself in the paradoxical position of exporting power to the east while negotiating with the Ivory Coast to import power from the west. A new type of economic dependency is thus being created.

On the other hand, one recent study of development strategy in Ghana found the Volta scheme to be one of the few successes of the Nkrumah period precisely because of its reliance on external financing and management "... especially the involvement of the World Bank". The Bank's prior approval was required for the appointment of the Chief Executive of the VRA, power



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rates were to be set in consultation with the Bank and an accounting firm acceptable to the Bank was to advise on the VRA's financial records. By a further agreement in 1969 the VRA agreed to review its operations, organisational structure, staffing policies and accounting system in a manner acceptable to the Bank. Taken together, these measures constituted a partial withdrawal from the principles of national sovereignty and national control of the commanding heights of the economy. These concessions, stemming from the new structure of dependence associated with the Volta project, were necessary to ensure that further loans would be forthcoming.

With this agreement the subordination of the Volta project to external interests was more or less complete. Approaches have since been made to both Nigeria and Upper Volta for a possible extension of the Ghanaian grid (once the proposed Bui project is completed in 1985) while mention has even been made of transmitting power to West Africa from the giant 30,000mw Inga scheme in Zaïre. While it can be argued that these regional developments do constitute the infrastructural framework for a greater degree of economic cohesion amongst the balkanised West African states, it must always be remembered that so far the stimulus for these has been determined by the production requirements of the international mining companies and the international banks which underwrite them.

But it was in the area of the local generation and distribution of electricity that

Nkrumah, and indeed the great majority of Ghanaians, expected the greatest gains to come to the country. It was said all, "the greatest of our development projects". It was Nkrumah's view that the main purpose of the Volta project was the provision of cheap and abundant power to provide the necessary infrastructure for the industrialisation of Ghana. Therefore it is in this area that we must examine most critically the performance of the scheme, particularly when the *Ghanaian Times*, as recently as 1978, could describe the Volta scheme as not only "the economic mainstay of Ghana's industrial revolution but one of the finest examples of the black man's ability to overcome what at first appeared to be impossible."

The idea of a national grid to distribute Volta power to the country had been an integral part of all the early Volta proposals. The Anglo-Canadian plans of the mid-50s had, however, dropped the idea in favour of channelling all available power to the smelter. The grid was only later reintroduced by Kaiser who saw in it a useful inducement to get Nkrumah to agree to the other terms of the Master Agreement. Even as late as 1961, the World Bank did not think that a national grid was justified at that stage in Ghana's potential demand in an effort to secure a low tariff for the smelter. He knew that his projections of a high local demand were exactly what Nkrumah wanted to hear and together they were able to convince the Bank to reinstate the grid. In 1961, the Volta River Authority was established as an umbrella organisation to supply all the main

consumers. All the local consumers, up to a maximum demand of 30mw, were to be supplied by the Electricity Corporation of Ghana, which, at the insistence of the World Bank, was to be placed on a sound commercial footing.

In 1965 plans were drawn up for the Electricity Division to accept Volta power and the ECG itself was finally incorporated by the NLC Decree in 1967. Yet, once again financial and technological dependence was to be extended by the almost total reliance of the new corporation on external funds and equipment. For within a decade, far from being able to finance generation expansion from domestic funds, Ghana was finding considerable difficulty in maintaining the existing transmission network. Even more significant was the fact that by the late 1970s Ghana was experiencing a declining growth rate in the expansion of supply, particularly so when we remember that the viability of the reformulated project was to be determined by the size of local supply.

Reasons why local demand has not increased as anticipated are not hard to find. The inadequacy of the distribution system, the high cost of electrical appliances (and their installation), inefficiencies in the operations of the ECG and the availability of cheaper alternatives such as charcoal and kerosene all continue to bedevil the expansion of supply. Industrialists in particular find a major problem in the unreliability of supply. By the late 1970's, blackouts were so frequent that many consumers considered the possibility of private generation.

However, underlying and aggravating all

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these problems is the overall shortage of power, given VALCO's consumption of nearly 70 per cent of the Akosombo output. The Acte's generation expansion study of 1975 indicated that the Akosombo dam would be fully utilised by 1979 and that further investment in power facilities would be required if supply was to match demand. Apart from the main recommendation — to proceed with the Kpong dam as soon as possible — the three-volume report came to some sobering conclusions regarding power supply in Ghana. In the absence of accurate statistics as to the gross national product the report adopted a power projection technique whereby load forecast was lined to population growth. This approach ensured that little attention would be paid to meeting, or even accurately calculating, the energy requirements of heavy industrial development projects. The only exception was to be the energy requirements of VALCO's fifth pitline then under construction. This was indeed a far cry from Nkrumah's promise that the shortage of power would no longer be a brake on the economic development of Ghana.

Projects identified in the report, but for which power could not be made available, included the alumina plant at Kibi, the proposed ARDECO smelter and an integrated aluminium scheme based on the huge bauxite deposits at Aya-Nyinahin. These three schemes alone would require a further 440mw while the new dam at Kpong would only add another 144mw to the VRA capacity. Other surveys of the manganese, iron-ore, pulp-paper and textile industries

revealed a need to add almost 600mw to Ghana's supply. In 1979, the Commissioner for Fuel and Power, during a visit to the nuclear power reactor at Kwabenya, indicated that Ghana would require 1,200mw within the next five years. Ghana's ability to transform her wide range of natural resources into a coherent strategy for industrial development was thus severely circumscribed by the explicit terms of the report. The projects outlined above "were not considered to be part of Ghana's natural load growth".

The new structures of dependency created by the Volta scheme are clearly illustrated by the distribution of power by the ECG. Far from stimulating local industrialisation and the mechanisation of agriculture, the new distribution grid, part-financed by American, Canadian and West German credits, did little to reorientate the economy away from the infrastructural imperatives of a neo-colonial economy. A brief analysis of the ownership of the means of production in relation to power supply bears out this contention. In 1977, industrial consumers took 100mw or 53 per cent of the total supply. Almost all of this was taken by the 100 largest consumers. This can be broken down further: state institutions accounted for approximately 47 per cent of the power, foreign and joint foreign-local enterprises for another 37 per cent. Lebanese owned businesses took 12 per cent while wholly-owned Ghanaian enterprises trailed with only 12 per cent. In short, what industrial development has taken place in Ghana since the opening of

the Akosombo dam has to a large extent been concentrated in the hand of a few companies, mostly owned by non-Ghanaians. Similarly, with Nkrumah's much-vaunted rural electrification scheme, designed to counter-balance the industrialisation initiative by merchandising agriculture, soon collapsed when the economics of supplying electricity to remote rural areas were finally worked out.

In fact, today only 5 per cent of the Ghanaian people have access to electric power given the difficulties and the expense of extending power supply in an underdeveloped country. The national grid, 400 miles long and supplying the major cities of southern Ghana, accentuated the existing north-south imbalance as well as reinforcing the urban-rural contradiction. By 1975 123mw out of a total ECG load of 153mw, went to the four cities of Accra, Tema, Kumasi and Takoradi. The ECG managed to maintain the 1961 tariff for 15 years but when the 1974 oil crisis forced a revision, VALCO made it known that they would only agree to raise the power rate if the ECG tariffs were likewise increased. Contrary to all expectations electricity in Ghana is now neither cheap nor abundant.

Yet Ghana is far from being unique in the high expectation stemming from the development of a large "multipurpose" hydro scheme. Similar promises of rapid industrial development were made to the Ugandan government in connection with the Owen Falls scheme. However, Gail Wilson in her study of the project concluded, "It is now clear that this extreme optimism

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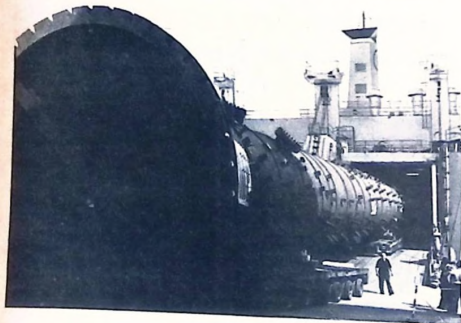
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was unjustified and that electricity has had a surprisingly small direct effect on development." She found no evidence of any cumulative effect of the provision of power to a few foreign owned industries nor of rural electrification creating consumers or initiating industrial development. The uses to which the power produced by the three large hydro schemes in southern Africa, the Cunene scheme, Kariba and Cabora Bassa, only serve to reinforce this conclusion. As in Uganda so too in Ghana the general impact of a capital-intensive hydro scheme on a neo-colonial economy was limited.

Clearly, then, the provision of electricity is not the key to successful industrialisation. Historical experience has demonstrated that while electricity can be regarded as a critical complement to an industrialisation programme it is not its cause. Furthermore, for the effective utilisation of a country's natural resources, its capacity and output must be planned in relation to its development strategy and not, as is so often the case, in relation to the energy requirements of multinational corporations. The outlines of a successful development strategy involve planning the convergence of domestic resources and domestic demand within a political structure which would ensure that the surplus thereby generated would fall into the hands of those who could use it productively.

So far, in these articles, we have omitted any mention of the multitude of small projects associated with the Volta project. This omission is in part deliberate since we have been mainly concerned with the more fundamental, structural implications of the greatest of Ghana's development projects. The failure of the host country to integrate fully the industry within the country and the unbalanced distribution of the power produced by the Akosombo dam are clearly more important considerations in devising an appropriate development strategy than the success or failure of the lake-side tourist industry. Yet, virtually every analysis of the scheme has tended to reverse the priorities outlined above and has concentrated instead on the supposedly multipurpose character of the Volta development. Of course, these "fringe" schemes, if successful, would have enhanced the potential of the scheme and contributed to the development of the local economy but in assessing their significance we should not lose sight of the principal purpose of Ghana's heavy investment — and integrated aluminium scheme and the provision of a sound infrastructure for further development.

Therefore, before we go on to suggest a more appropriate development strategy, it would be as well to examine these smaller projects associated with the scheme. Central to all thinking about the Volta scheme was the belief that the resettlement programme, involving the 80,000 people who would lose their homes when the lake was created, would provide a unique opportunity to introduce modern, scientific farming methods to one of the most underdeveloped regions of the country. Irrigation schemes draw-down agriculture and co-operative farming were all envisaged in the more optimistic plans of the early 1950s. But b

1962, with inundation already under way, nothing had been done to put these plans into practice and a crash programme had to be introduced. With the government now forced to take the initiative, the original conception of self-help was abandoned and, with time, "the main attention of the resettlement programme moved from welfare to economy." It has originally been intended to provide every farmer with 12 acres of cleared land but by 1966 only a quarter of the land required had been cleared and this was largely needed for the 52 resettlement villages. This resulted in 13,000 of those to be resettled opting instead for the cash settlement. Following the 1966 coup, USAID and the World Food Programme had to be called in to provide food for the new villages. By this time, the independent subsistence farmer had been reduced to a landless peasantry dependent on food handouts and government social spending. Mechanised farming failed when the promised tractors arrived in insufficient quantities and without the requisite number of spare parts. In 1968 an FAO survey indicated that of the 68,000 supposedly resettled, only 26,000 remained in the villages. This sobering experience was to be repeated in the arrangements made to deal with new health hazards connected with the lake.

Problems in health were to be expected, and although the creation of the lake did not introduce schistosomiasis (bilharzia), onchocerciasis (river blindness) and malaria to the area it did create an environment in which they could flourish and in which control was made more difficult. Lack of funds

and drugs has prevented the VRA from seriously tackling the new health problems of the lacustrine population.

In the area of irrigation, it was widely felt that the Volta project was capable of stimulating a minor agricultural revolution. A pilot study was in fact set up but the costs of its wider application effectively curtailed the project. The effects of the Sahel drought also had an unfortunate effect on the irrigation project and at one stage the government found itself prohibiting the drawing of water from the lake to ensure that optimum generating capacity could be maintained. These two factors inhibited the implementation of the irrigation schemes originally associated with the larger Volta project.

Fishing on the new lake was one of the few successes of the project. By 1976 40,000 tons of fish were being caught, providing a valuable protein source for the rest of Ghana. The VRA correctly identified lake fishing as a growth industry and despite problems with spare parts and the other vital inputs, particularly the establishment of credit facilities for the fishermen, is now determined to proceed with fish farming to further enhance the potential of the industry. While the creation of the lake provided new opportunities for the migrant Tongu fishermen above the lake, those below the dam were not quite so fortunate. Regulation of the river had a disastrous effect on the estuarine clam fishing industry. The clam beds were destroyed and a local industry generating some £200,000 per year collapsed. It is also widely believed, if not scientifically proven, that changes in flow rate

have been one of the reasons for the reduction of catches of sea-fish.

Another feature of the original multi-purpose scheme which failed to make the transition from drawing board to implementation was the development of a north-south transport system capable of opening up the northern part of the country. Early proposals had involved a complete navigation channel from the coast, through locks at Akosombo, up to Tamale. But with the siting of the new port at Tema in preference to Ada, this opportunity was missed. Kaiser, once again, had produced a feasibility study of such an inland waterway for Nkrumah but had inflated the projected traffic using such a system. By 1970 Kaiser estimated an annual tonnage of nearly 500,000 tons. The actual figure was slightly more than 20,000 tons. The Volta Lake Transport Company was set up in 1969 to exploit the opportunities offered by cheap water transport but as the 1976 annual report concluded, "The VLTC continued to be faced with an acute shortage of cargo capacity, lack of spare parts and maintenance facilities and inadequate cargo handling equipment. Furthermore the Akosombo port road reached such a stage of deterioration that bulk cargo haulers refused to carry loads to Akosombo port." Early in 1978 it was announced that a West Germany company had agreed to revitalise the system at an estimated cost of £19m.

The failure of many of the peripheral schemes associated with the Volta project only serves to reinforce the original contention that the main concern of those involved

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with initiating and maintaining the Volta scheme in its present form is the supply of cheap power to the VALCO smelter.

In the wider context of the new accumulation model of industrial capitalism — the exploitation of minerals and energy — we find that the Volta project, which typified both these concerns, has now been subordinated to this model. The multinational corporation, in this situation predominantly Kaiser Aluminium and Chemical Corporation, is not a neutral observer of this process but has actively participated in preventing Ghana from reaching what the "orthodox" economists refer to as the "take-off stage". The net result has been the "disintegration" of the potentially catalytic Volta project and the distorted and uneven development of two of Ghana's most valuable natural resources. What then can be done to reverse this process and return national sovereignty over these resources to the Ghanaian people? A useful starting point would surely be to see what has been achieved elsewhere.

Historically, the aluminium industry developed first within the US, but as domestic supplies of first bauxite and subsequently cheap hydro power dried up the industry was forced to integrate abroad setting up the classic pattern of exporting with processing. Bauxite was predominantly exported from the third world to refineries in the US to supply the largest markets. The Caribbean was the first area to be integrated into this pattern of corporate investment. However, with the break up of the colonial empires, the problem of dealing with a country over which the companies had no national claims had to be overcome by eliminating the influence of the national state. Essentially, the companies pursued a policy of neo-colonial accommodation to ensure continued access to the vital mineral wealth of the new independent nations.

Colonialism was the most direct response by the western capitalist economies to the problems of ensuring complete control over the mineral resources of Africa. The bauxite deposits of the Gold Coast were in fact opened up during the most serious crisis of capitalism this century — the Second World War. The immense power of the US, fully established by the war, led directly to the decline of the European empires as American industry laid claim to the bauxite of the British Caribbean colonies. Independence and the new tactics of neo-colonial accommodation strengthened rather than weakened the power of the multi-nationals at Third World claims to development aid and investment came to coincide with corporate investment logic. This was the high water mark of orthodox development economies when a number of basic assumptions governed development theory.

Development was a non-contentious process not involving irreconcilable conflicts of interest between developed and underdeveloped countries or between different social groups within the latter, that there was no structural connection between underdevelopment and development; that what was modern was good and what was traditional was bad and that the two were unconnected (dualism), that development meant becoming more like the West."

These basic assumptions were to be embodied in the post-1951 development plans when Sir Arthur Lewis, the renowned development economist was economic adviser to the Gold Coast government. Eighteen years later the Harvard Advisory Service again tried to implement the policies suggested by these assumptions. Their efforts were clearly contributory factors in the 1972 coup of Acheampong.

However, as we have seen in this study of the Volta project, conflict of interests did indeed exist between host country and company. The more the independent state represented the people, the more this latent conflict became structurally inevitable. This in all the countries associated with the production of aluminium a number of staged strategies emerged to ameliorate the exploitative relationships established during the heyday of orthodox economies.

Ghana, without going so far as taking unilateral action, has thus so far tried to secure a higher returns on the power sold to the smelter and has been relatively successful on at least five occasions. The power rate negotiated in 1961 now stands at 4.5 US Mills but it is unlikely that any further substantial revisions to this rate will be made. With regard to the second strategy, that of pressuring the companies to establish additional facilities so that additional tax, foreign exchange and employment can be generated, Ghana has been singularly unsuccessful. Local bauxite has not yet been mined to feed the smelter while the export orientation of the planned fabrication plant will contribute little to the national economy. The final step of direct state participation and decision making in the smelter company has so far been avoided although bauxite mining at Awaso was partially nationalised in the wake of the 1974 Caribbean bauxite offensive. The formation of the International Bauxite Association in 1974 was an attempt to alter the basic bargaining position of the producer countries and there can now be little doubt that the role of the government in the international aluminium industry is now in a process of structural change. The first breakthrough came in 1971 in Guyana when the operations of ALCAN were nationalised after long and difficult negotiations. Jamaica followed up this initiative with a tax offensive in 1974 and partial nationalisation. Surinam half-heartedly followed suit the same year.

Of course, the companies do not react passively to these new strategies. Within the internationally accepted concepts of private property, such acts of expropriation are classed as theft, despite the "historic debt" owing to the producers. The inevitable conflict between country and company is best illustrated by the attitude of the producers, who see acts of expropriation as real attempts to resolve the structural imbalances created in the national economy by the temporary abrogation of the basic principles of national sovereignty. As Giran pointed out, such acts, derived from the need to harness all surpluses to the national effort, represent an act of maturity and not as it is so often represented, an act of childishness.

# BOOKS and Publications

## Literary lyricism

*Une si longue lettre* by Mariama Ba, (Les Nouvelles Editions Africaines; 1,200 francs CFA.)

IN HIS OVERWHELMING emphasis, African writing has been marked by a strong social inspiration developing first as an expression of African reaction to the colonial situation, our modern literature is presently evolving along the direction of tense preoccupation with the political and social issues of the post-colonial period. There is, however, an important aspect of social life in Africa which has not so far received adequate treatment in our literature; that of the feminine condition as it is affected both by tradition and the process of transition in contemporary Africa. It is true that the novels of writers like Flora Nwapa, Bessie Head and Ama Ata Aidoo, to cite some of our too few women writers, touch upon the situation of women in African society, and more lately, Buchi Emecheta has devoted her writing to

a lively defence of the cause of the African woman. Not one of these writers, however, displays the depth of insight of John Munonye in his novel, *The Ombi*, into the situation of the African woman, and it is thus fair to say that there is yet to emerge in African literature a specific current of what one might call the "female imagination".

With Mariama Ba's novel, however, an important step seems to have been taken in this direction, for it presents itself as the first novel to offer a testimony of the female condition in Africa while at the same time giving that testimony a true imaginative depth. It is perhaps not surprising that this development should have been brought about by a Senegalese woman, whose experience has obviously been marked by an acute conflict between the effective promotion of a whole generation of

articulate women and the pressures of a social milieu dominated by attitudes and values that tend to deny women a proper social personality. Mariama Ba's novel draws its theme directly from this conflict and presents its inner drama as lived, in its concrete implications, by the modern Senegalese woman. The novel takes the form of a long letter written by a recently widowed woman, Ramatoulaye, to her friend Assatou, both of whom are linked by their common accession to modernity and who have to confront the problems of polygamy in their social relations and in their emotional lives. In retracing their common though varied experience of these problems, it is a comprehensive picture of life and values in contemporary Senegal that the novel offers, from the particular perspective of the women on whom its contradictions and tensions exert the greatest pressure. The novel is structured in such a way as to combine the stories of the two women on whom is centred into a single narrative, and even manages to integrate that of a third into the narrative, which thus defines a common ground plan as it were for the drama of the three women, so as to give a representative value to the theme of the novel.

But if Mariama Ba's novel appears at first sight to present a social interest related to the important question of the situation of the African woman today, its appeal lies much more firmly in its character as a human document. It is of interest to note in this regard the particular quality of its style, which is marked by an unusual sensitivity,

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by a pose which maintains throughout the novel an emotional tone at once composed and intense. There is none of the aggressiveness that we sometimes feel in the novels of Buchi Emecheta: Mariama Ba takes us rather into the very heart of the emotional lives of her characters in such a way that we are made to feel the problems she touches on, not so much as large social issues, but rather as the immediate factors that determine the texture of their lived experience. Mariama Ba's style indeed often has a lyrical quality to it, reminding one especially of Anne Philippé's *Le temps d'Égypte* in the early pages devoted to the pain of widowhood, but it is a lyricism that is quite free of any suggestion of sentimentality, employed essentially for the exploration of the complex feelings of her characters. And in its apparent simplicity, her style serves admirably to weave a subtle pattern of social commentary on many of the issues that are today of real concern to contemporary Senegalese society — apart from polygamy, the intractable caste system, the tensions of politics and the conflict of generations being some of the most important of these — and to carry this commentary along on a current of profound feeling.

It is not often that a first novel gives the impression of an achieved thing as this one. The novel certainly drops somewhat in its level of concern and of tone towards the end, but this hardly seems to affect the impression of sustained excellence which it produces for most of its development, and of the overall intensity of the concern which

it expresses. It is not only the fact that this is the most deeply felt presentation of the female condition in African fiction which gives distinction to this novel, but also its undoubted literary qualities, which seem to me to place it among the best novels that have come out of our continent. It is also one of the most significant, in the convincing way it has carried African writing forward into a new area of experience.

Abiola Irele

## Women as workers

**Black Women: Bringing it all back home**, by Margaret Prescod-Roberts and Norma Steele (Falling Wall Press: £2.95 and 95p)

"NO MATTER what anyone else has said, there is always more to be said until women have spoken", declares Solveig Francis in introduction to two speeches, an afterword, and one resolution by black immigrant women telling their stories and perceptions in their own words. This little book aims to demonstrate the real meaning of "housework" and suggests that housewives have "made the major contribution to integration with the native community and to community relations. Once this work and pain is highlighted, we can also see that we are owed far more than we owe". It is also a contribution to the necessary sharing of information between mothers, grand-

mothers, wives, sisters and daughters of both immigrant and non-immigrant origin.

Norma Steele describes her arrival in England from Jamaica in 1962 to join her parents who had emigrated the previous year. The idea was to escape the kind of poverty "mapped out for West Indian women... mapped out for Black women". She discovered that "women's lack of money is international". She ends her speech by starting to explain that when Black women come to Britain, the US or any other metropolitan countries — the countries where the money is — we are here, there, for the money, not the weather. And when our children refuse to take on low-paid dirty jobs, when mothers refuse to work at home without being paid, when women refuse to take second jobs with long hours, poor equipment, dirty work — it is out of struggles that have gone on for hundreds of years that we are refusing to continue working for free, or for a pittance."

Margaret Prescod-Roberts develops the theme in her speech delivered to the British organisation, Housewives in Dialogue. As one should expect from the co-founder of the Black Women for Wages for Housework, USA, campaign, her piece is comprehensive and accessible, that is, without the slightest demagoguery or stale and increasingly rigid phraseology. After the pivotal role of Black women's housework in slavery (economic, racial and sexual) thus taking in her role in the white master's house and in her own — though without the same breadth of analysis shown

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by Michele Wallace in *Black Machos and the Myth of the Superwoman* — she identifies the Black mammy figure and her role: "reproducing everyone ... not only her own children, her man and herself, but also reproducing the master and his family, his children, his wife." She feels this "superwoman" role was pivotal in metropolitan capital accumulation, and this is why women are now "here for the money", demanding what is theirs.

But before they get there, she describes the organisation of emigration beginning with the contribution of "family abroad" who would send a little money home to the West Indies; the method of prostitution for making some more money at home; tireless saving from very hard work; using the priest and the church for a sometimes crucial push, and the preparation for leaving, which could involve the breakup, at least temporarily of a home.

Yet, the metropolis imposes certain divisions, such as the drift of children into the streets while women are at work; the pressure to be "upwardly mobile" resulting in a measure of schizophrenia between your island roots and big city ways. Margaret Prescott-Roberts describes the coming together of Black American women and West Indian immigrants in the struggle for education and welfare as part of the redefinition of "housework", and rejection of both the mammy-figure and the lady-figure, because, she concludes, "that's what 'We're here for the money' and the International Wage for Housework Campaign is all about".

"I come from another field — the country of the slave. If it is not a fit place for women, it is unfit for men to be there", said Sojourner Truth in 1867. Wilma Brown, another member of the above campaign, notes the error of making a religion out of womanhood, and being blackmailed into identifying working harder with being more powerful, "making a virtue out of slavery". She makes a telling point that for Black women, "the nationalism of Third World governments is the salvation of metropolitan government, business and industry: it veils our exploitation with a flag".

M.C.P.

## Viva il Papa

Pope John Paul II by M. Malinski (*Bornis and Outes*, £6.95)

FEW PEOPLE in history have risen so quickly from comparative, if dignified, obscurity to world-wide recognition as Pope John Paul II who was inaugurated two-and-a-half years ago. The cardinal's choice of a Polish cardinal to succeed Pope John Paul I was certainly dramatic. Bishop Karol Wojtyla had been appointed Metropolitan Archbishop of the ancient diocese of Cracow, the most important in Poland after Warsaw, in 1964, at an unusually early age. Although Poland is a deeply Catholic country it also has a communist government and to appoint a popular serving cleric there as Pope might have looked like an attempt of the cardinals to seek a conflict with the Polish state,

particularly as it has always been exceptional for the Catholic Church to have a non-Italian Pope. But Church and State in Poland have shown much sense in maintaining a *modus vivendi*, in spite of some conflicts, and soon after his inauguration the Pope received Poland's Head of State in the Vatican and publicly thanked him for attending the inaugural mass. There followed the Pope's remarkable visit to his native land — probably the only one the government will permit.

The author of this biography, Father Mieczyslaw Malinski, is Chaplain to the University of Cracow. He is best known as a theological writer. He has been a friend of the Pope for over 40 years and was accordingly asked to write this book, which is in no sense a systematic biography (the date of the Pope's birth is not recorded). From its pages, however, there comes alive a man who, however conformist he appears to be in doctrine, has an unusual background for one in his position.

The son of a railway worker, he was a member of a theatrical group before working in a quarry and a chemical factory during the Nazi occupation of Poland.

One would have wished, however, that a book of this kind had a little more to say about the Papacy and the significance of the choice of the present Pope, and about its significance for the world.

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## LETTERS to the Editor

### June 4: sense and nonsense

SIR: As the main source of news and views about Ghana for those of us who happen to be abroad, it behoves you to apply some depth to the analyses you dish out to us. I find your editorial of March 24, 1980, unfortunately lacking in depth.

Upon what premise did you come to the conclusion that it took "courage" for Captain Boakye Gyan and Major Mensah Poku to return to Ghana and call for an inquiry into AFRC rule? Boakye Gyan was acting chairman of the AFRC when Rawlings was not in Ghana, while Mensah Poku was in charge of AFRC security. So both men must have known that there were rumours flying — which reached the Ghanaian community here in Monrovia — that as soon as the AFRC handed over, all its members would "run away" from Ghana. Yet the two left immediately the AFRC handed over, apparently without the approval of Rawlings, who has given detailed reasons, in an interview with the *Accra Evening News*, of the reasons why AFRC members ought to have stayed on after handing over.

If, after five months, the two men return to Ghana, after having given substance to the rumours with their hasty departure, the reasons should be sought elsewhere than in their personal courage. It is possible that they were brought down to Ghana to counteract the effect Rawlings made with his last press conference, in which he denounced the security agencies for spreading false reports about an imminent coup, to be carried out by Ewe. It is said that Boakye Gyan and Mensah Poku worked with the Director of Military Intelligence while they were in Ghana, and that all their contacts with the Press were arranged through Colonel Odjijah of Military Intelligence. By using them to demonstrate that the AFRC was no longer united, the intelligence agencies were obviously hoping to demolish the very "spirit" of June 4, which you say in your editorial, was the main gain of the revolution.

It may surprise you to be given this interpretation of the two men's role. I would therefore like to substantiate it. There were rumours one Sunday recently when I was in Accra that a "coup" had been foiled and that shooting had been heard at the area around Independence Avenue in Accra. The one o'clock radio news of that day carried a statement by Boakye Gyan commenting on the "alleged shooting", and urging workers, students and soldiers not to allow themselves to be used by people working for their own selfish ends. Boakye Gyan's statement also made a weird attack on what he called "Western-type cowboy brnkmanship", or words to that effect. The question that everyone I talked to asked was "Who authorised Boakye Gyan to make this statement? Is the Director of Public Relations for the Armed Forces dead? Is Boakye Gyan the new Chief of Defence Staff?" It turned out later that the "shooting" had come from the exhaust of a car and the Inspector-General of Police, no less, took newsmen to Black Star Square to demonstrate how the car's exhaust sounded like shooting! Not long afterwards, Boakye Gyan left Ghana.

Boakye Gyan had seemed like a socialist when we read some of the things he was saying on behalf of the AFRC, as reported in the world press. It was then alleged that he was working for the People's National Party of Dr. Limann,

and creating problems within the AFRC so that it would hand over to the PNP without carrying the house-cleaning to its logical end. Some PNP big shots have been heard to boast that some AFRC boys were "taken care of", and sums of up to \$100,000 each have been mentioned in connection with these "boys". Now, it is easy to infer "facts" from people's subsequent behaviour, and I would not like to fall prey to that. But if some people took \$100,000 from the PNP, it would stand to reason that they would fear an inquiry in the hope that people would say "If they have dirty hands, they would not call for an inquiry". Meanwhile, they would be confident that the PNP Government would not heed the call for an inquiry, knowing what was capable of coming out from it. And you call such rogues "courage".

To support my point may I ask you what good would do to Ghana's stability to instigate a spontaneous revolt (which is what June 4 was) after it has been contained and taught the people the lesson that those in power should be careful because the people's anger can be unleashed against them? Is the Ghana Army so devoid of regulations binding its officers and men to secrecy that an international inquiry should be instituted to ascertain the "facts" about its most sensitive experience so far. Can you call anyone who suggests an inquiry by Commonwealth countries (including members of NATO) a patriotic person? All that glitters is not gold, Sir, and I hope that next time, you won't be so easily taken in.

Monrovia

KOFI YIRENKYI

### The booty of June 4

SIR: The *goods* (or booties) of June 4 (1979) in Ghana have been obvious and well-protected. Cars seized from the people are parked and placed at the disposal of some of the mentioned scyophants of the former AFRC, now working under the guise of an "Assets Disposal Committee".

Incidentally, that Committee is made up of a National Union of Ghana Students boys and other AFRC favourites who have formed what is called the "June 4 Movement". It is an open secret that some of the members of the Asset Disposal Committee have been driving the choicest cars identified to belong to the post-seized vehicles: BMWs, Range Rover "smiling" Benzes, etc. They change the cars at will, and the least fault.

It is really nauseating if one thinks of it deafening noise made of accountability, social justice, insistence on one's rights and so on and so forth, during the period June 4 to September 2, 1979. We are not surprised that some people are moving heaven and earth to avoid the AFRC being probed, as requested by Captain Boakye Gyan and Major Mensah Poku, both members of the dissolved AFRC. Those kicking against it requested probe are people with tainted hands like those mentioned above. They know it their "ill-gotten gains" (vehicles, costly appointments, houses, monies, etc.) will be exposed in public.

Ghanaians will not be deceived any longer whereas our experience has shown us that coups are, first and foremost, motivated personal gains and selfish interests.

Accra

KOFI M. P. ABORA

### Unwarranted attacks

SIR: I would like to use your medium to express my feelings about what is happening in Ghana today. It seems to me that, since Dr. Hilla Limann assumed office as the President of the Republic of Ghana, there have been several criticisms from various quarters more especially the opposition. In fact, the problems in Ghana cannot be solved

by the President without time.

The myriad of problems caused by the past military regimes spearheaded by Koiaka and Afrifa and the rest of the "Notorious Liars Council" (National Liberation Council) members could not be solved in four or ten years time. It is only a blind man in Ghana who can't see the economic chaos created by those greedy chieftains.

I would therefore advise the President to exercise understanding for unwarranted provocative attacks, being levelled against him.

*Anchi, Nigeria*

O. N. AGYEMAN

Organisation, however, denies the claims made by Mr. Wurie. They are misleading and incorrect.

Many members of the organisation are surprised to hear that Mr. Wurie alone struggled to gain recognition and support for the organisation as opposed to the organisation's efforts and recognition as a registered charity in Britain. The facts are that Mr. Wurie and Mr. Mason Okunghae have been suspended from the Organisation by the Management Committee since September 25, 1979. The Organisation has obtained an injunction against Mr. Wurie and Mr. Mason in the High Court by Order No. 1135 dated January 14, 1980. Furthermore, investigations are still being carried out into the funds of the charity, as resolved by the General Meeting.

*London*

A. UZOMAH

Secretary General  
pp. Management Committee

not as a Tiv leader first, but as a Nigerian leader with a constituency, which included Tiv but extended far beyond it to his many friends throughout the country who appreciated his work.

*Newcastle*

MARTIN DENT

## President for a fifth term

SIR: Allow me to react to the news recently carried in your journal of Mr. Ahidjo's *reappointment* to the Cameroon presidency ("reappointment" because in the absence of an opponent to run against him any suggestions that the Great Comrade could lose the presidential elections in April only succeeds in imposing severe strains on Cameroonian minds already weary and sceptical from years of such nonsensical assaults on their intelligence). As a Cameroonian I take great pride in the fact that we gave post-colonial Africa the first practical expression of the much elusive pan-African dream when the bilingual republic was born almost two decades ago. I had hoped that this feat would be matched by one equally rare and un-African, i.e., become the first African country whose president elected to retire from office voluntarily without being forced out through the barrel of the gun. Instead, I find my leaders bent on gerrymandering the constitutionally imposed limits on leadership tenure in order to create a life presidency for the present occupant.

We are told by the government press and its paid agents that the so-called Congress of Mastery unanimously endorsed Ahidjo to run for an unprecedented fifth term as President; and that this massive (which in Cameroonian argot translates to mean "well-orchestrated") endorsement was based on the history of 22 years of peace, stability, and prosperity Cameroonians

## Leader of Nigeria

SIR: Thank you for publishing my long obituary for my beloved friend J. S. Tarka. It was I think especially at the memorial service conducted by Father Turner at the funeral parlour for some 50 people from Nigeria and from all parts of the world that we knew how great J. S. was and how much we loved him. It was indeed proper that a distinguished representative from the House of Representatives was present as well as Simeon and all Tarka's family. We know that he has passed triumphant through the ford of death and straightway home to God.

If I might be allowed one small criticism — the heading under which you published my obituary described J. S. Tarka as a "Tiv leader". He was indeed a very great leader in Tiv and his tradition will remain, but he always looked upon himself

## The myth of manliness

SIR: I was surprised to understand from your correspondent in Accra (March 31) that only men reflect "bold and selfless action" and that Elizabeth Ohene would perhaps wish to be considered "the only man among Ghanaian journalists".

At the time when much interesting material is produced in *West Africa* it might seem petty for me to cast an accusatorial eye at this piece of verbiage, but it should perhaps be pointed out that any struggle which includes the liberation of West Africa from a colonial past, and present day imperialism must be accompanied by the liberation of people from sexual exploitation and the myth that manliness is somehow close to "godliness".

*Sheffield*

RAYMOND BUSH

## Spokesman disowned

SIR: Your comment (*West Africa*, March 31) about Mr. Mohamed Wurie helping black youths in Britain makes an interesting reading. As you rightly stated the information contained therein was supplied by Mr. Wurie himself. The Management Committee of the Pan African

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have enjoyed under Mr. Ahidjo's leadership. Few were surprised by the action taken at the Bafoussam Congress. Any fool familiar with the farce that passes for politics in Cameroon — and for that matter most African states — would not have expected anything less from this gathering of obsequious party hacks. What I dispute is the assertion that the re-nomination of Mr. Ahidjo followed from a careful and critical assessment of his record in office these past 22 years. Equally disputable is the dangerous assumption implicit in this endorsement: the assumption that with a population of 7½ million Cameroon suffers from a dearth of leadership talent so severe that it must, even after two decades, concede to an inability to find a suitable replacement for Ahidjo so that he can retire to a richly-deserved rest. An equally debatable assumption implied in this recommendation is that a hasty replacement of Mr. Ahidjo would throw the country into a state of chaos from which it will take years to recover. As a way to prevent this from happening Cameroonians have been programmed, so it seems, to expect these quinquennial CNU-inspired hosannas to Mr. Ahidjo's reign.

It is conceded here that even Mr. Ahidjo's most vociferous critics will agree that under his leadership Cameroon has enjoyed a remarkable degree of political stability, economic growth, and to some extent, development. But as the Greek philosopher Heraclitus cautioned back in the 6th century B.C. "no man can step in the same river twice," meaning that change is inevitable and no society remains static, motionless, and immobilized for any period of time. Thus we should expect that after twenty years under one ruler even Cameroon has experienced some change. Any assessment of this change however, must be done with Heraclitus' dictum in mind. Having said this, it is important that we do not confuse the illusion of change with the reality of change.

The delegates to the Bafoussam Congress

were more concerned with the illusion of change in Cameroon and thus allowed themselves to be ineluctably mesmerized by its cosmetic manifestations (a national shipping company with a couple of vintage ships here, a national airline complete with several Boeing 747s in its hangars there and so on and so forth). Had they spent a few hours critically examining the socio-economic balance sheet, they would have agreed with many serious students of Cameroon society that the country has not experienced any significant fundamental socio-economic transformations to warrant the euphoric endorsement the Congress accorded Mr. Ahidjo (see my edited volume *An African Experiment in Nation-Building and a forthcoming study Tribesmen and Patriots: Political Culture in a Polyethnic African State*). And if we were to move beyond the mechanistic measures of economic growth favoured by national planners and view development in human terms — hunger, disease, ignorance, etc — then we are confronted with the reality of a Cameroonian economic miracle that is anything but spectacular. What we are likely to discover beneath this veneer of economic prosperity is a pattern of persistent and deepening poverty, rising unemployment, and an uncontrollable inflationary rate fast approaching 100% (unofficial estimates). So serious is the latter that it has forced prices for the most essential items such as plantains, stockfish, meat, vegetables and so on to such frightful heights well beyond the reach of the masses of Cameroonian workers and peasants. In a free and open political system, no incumbent administration can ever hope for re-election if it must stand on a record of such deplorable economic conditions. Yet the Bafoussam Congress delegates are asking us to believe that it is precisely on the basis of this questionable record of economic achievements that Mr. Ahidjo deserves another five years as head of the Cameroonian state.

Cameroon's impressive political stability, given its violent birth two decades ago and the epidemic of *coups d'état* that has plagued post-colonial Africa, has been pronounced by an uncritical local and foreign press as solid evidence of political maturity. Within Cameroon the words "peace" and "stability" have become a powerful social narcotic which the CNU elite doles out to the "comrade" masses in doses sufficient to keep them in a permanent state of intoxication. To those who find political stability so desirable regardless of the price paid in human lives imprisoned, disabled, or destroyed and the denial of basic rights of free speech, movement, and assembly they need only look at Iran, Nicaragua, Columbia and a few other such places to see how the people can suddenly transform themselves into a potent force for change and in the process recapture their deferred dreams and denied rights. For Cameroonians who still cling to the belief of Mr. Ahidjo's indispensability and the fear that unless he appoints a successor, *après lui le déluge*, my response is two-fold. First, if after two decades in office Mr. Ahidjo has not been able to groom a successor — assuming for the moment that this is his responsibility — then only the most naive among us should hold out any hopes that he has any intentions of doing so during this forthcoming term in office or any other subsequent ones. And even if the intentions are there we still have no guarantee that the mothers of Cameroon will in the next two decades do what they have apparently failed to do in the preceding two, i.e., give birth to a leader capable of taking over from Mr. Ahidjo. If in fact Cameroonians are seriously concerned about the chaos that they have been led to expect in the wake of Mr. Ahidjo's inevitable departure (for surely he will leave office someday) then it seems to me that this issue should be openly discussed now.

Illuans

NDIVA KOFELE-KALE, Ph.D.  
Professor and Co-Director  
International Studies Centre

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# ECONOMIC and Business NEWS

## Another ICA faltering

From a correspondent

WHILST the International Cocoa Agreement was being unpleasantly talked out of existence in London last month representatives from 50 countries were in Geneva to discuss the possibility of establishing another International Commodity Agreement, for cotton. This was the fifth meeting in a series convened by the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) about all that was agreed was to hold another meeting.

The main issue dividing producers and importers at the meeting was whether an international agreement on cotton should include economic clauses to maintain prices within a fixed range.

A group of 14 Third World producing states at the meeting, advocated an international buffer stock of cotton, or a system of internationally co-ordinated national stocks as the most effective way of reducing price instability. The two stocking schemes are amongst options which have been before the group since it began discussions in 1977 on how to reduce excessive price fluctuations for cotton.

The US, the world's largest net exporter (27 per cent of world exports), and some West European importing countries, have said they felt the need for international measures has not been proved. Even had it been proven the mechanics would be enormously complicated since there are so many different varieties of cotton with differing characteristics which make them suitable (or unsuitable) for different end uses. A buffer stock system would in effect have to be a collection of systems and could if the floor price was too generous encourage the production in some cases of cotton with little sales appeal. If the price was realistic the scene could be set for a repetition of the International Cocoa Agreement debacle.

What the US suggested, and Japan as the world's leading cotton buyer supported, as more helpful than a buffer stock system was an organisation to promote marketing and development of a wider range of uses for cotton, thus enlarging the market so that it could absorb increases in production. This sounds to be close to some of the philosophy of the Common Fund's "Second Window" proposal. It

would perhaps have been helpful if the International Cocoa Agreement had permitted the ICCO to do more work on promotion and on research into other possible uses of cocoa to broaden its market from being almost entirely a near-luxury food in the developed countries.

Russia — another top cotton producer, produces 20 per cent of world exports — and its East European partners supported international stabilisation measures, but said they should not apply to trade in cotton amongst Communist states.

While cocoa was almost exactly split between developing producing countries and developed consumers, production and consumption of cotton is much more evenly spread on both sides of the North-South divide so that, if the political aspect of the buffer stock system can be quietly set aside and attention concentrated on the many other points which could benefit both farmers and users, perhaps a genuinely international and interdependent commodity agreement could be reached. It must be admitted that at present the arguments are not cheerful for the current talks on UNCTAD's Common Fund.

## UNCTAD moves

The UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) is going to make fresh efforts to promote co-operation between cocoa producers and consumers despite the breakdown of the International Cocoa Agreement. UNCTAD's Secretary-General, Mr. Gamam Corea, has said he still believes that "it is in the interest of the international cocoa community to continue to search for a solution".

The cocoa pact's collapse is recognised as a set-back to UNCTAD's integrated programme of commodities which is aimed at promoting international commodity agreements linking about 18 key commodities through a Common Fund.

Hitherto negotiations on such pacts have been seen mainly as attempts by producers to obtain concessions from consumers. Now there is a prospect of the producing countries joining hands to get more control of world markets by co-ordinating their supply policies regardless of the consumers.

## Cocoa producers meeting

Ghana, Nigeria, The Ivory Coast, Cameroon, Togo and Brazil were due to meet in Brasilia on April 9 to work out mechanisms to defend the price of cocoa on world markets according to Brazilian Agriculture Minister, Amaury Stabile. He said there would be no concessions by producing countries and cocoa will continue to be traded at prices not lower than a pound, 120 cents (US).

A Ministry spokesman said, however, that the new mechanisms would not involve the formation of a cartel by the producing countries.

● A World Bank projection puts the international cocoa price in 1990 at 145.7 cents per kilo (at 1978 values).

## Brazil may cut export taxes

Brazil's Planning Minister, Sr. Antonio Delfin Netto, is to consider growers' demands to eliminate or reduce export taxes on cocoa beans and products. He has promised to find "a satisfactory solution" but has warned that complete elimination of the tax is unlikely because it would result in lower prices on world markets.

The taxes were first imposed following a large Cruzeiro devaluation last December. They now stand at 16 per cent for beans, 8 per cent for liquor and 10 per cent for cake and butter. The growers have suggested the beans tax should be cut to 8 per cent.

## Slack trading

Business on the London Cocoa market last week was slack and prices moved very little. At the middle of the week May cocoa was about £1,405 a tonne, there was a gentle climb through future months but the Cocoa Producers' Alliance price of £1,500 was not reached until May next year, which was above £1,510.

Ghana main crop purchases finished March at just over 279,000 tonnes compared with 246,000 last year. Nigerian purchases were estimated to be above 162,000 tonnes (127,000 tonnes); Cameroon purchases were near 113,000 tonnes (nearly 95,000 tonnes); Ivory Coast purchases are estimated at about 307,000 tonnes (279,000 tonnes) of which about 125,000 tonnes is believed to be being stockpiled, sales, excluding allocations to local industry, are said to be about 130,000 tonnes so far.

Brazil's temporaria crop is now expected to be about 60,000 tonnes.

● Mr. Rene Amamy, director-general of The Ivory Coast's Caisse de Stabilisation has said he favours abolition of all government measures to increase cocoa production.

● Coffee prices reached their highest levels for four months last week, mainly as a result of support buying on behalf of producers. May coffee was about £1,660 a tonne, July about £1,695, with September, November and January all getting above £1,700.

## UNCLOS still en voyage

UNCLOS, the UN Conference on the Law of the Sea ended another five-week session before Easter after making some progress in a number of key areas, 152 countries, the biggest number so far, attended the session.

The aim of the conference, which opened in December 1973, is to codify law covering use of the oceans and exploitation of their living and mineral resources. The next session, to be held in Geneva from July 20 to August 29, is intended finally to complete work on a sea law convention. But with several important problems still to be overcome, it is uncertain whether this target will be achieved, and there is the possibility either of extending the summer session or scheduling an additional round of negotiations.

The final document, whenever completed, is to be signed at a ceremony in Caracas, where the Conference held its first substantive session in 1974.

Important topics on which agreement has yet to be achieved include: principles for delimiting overlapping maritime boundaries between nearby states, and a system of voting in the 36-nation council of a proposed International Sea-bed Authority that would regulate deep sea-bed mining.

Areas in which chaimers of committees and negotiating groups have reported progress were: principles for operating the deep sea-bed mining system and its financing; a definition of the continental shelf, and rules covering maritime scientific research by foreign vessels on a state's continental shelf and in its Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ).

Under the proposed convention, coastal states would have a 12 nautical mile territorial sea and a 200 nautical mile Exclusive Economic Zone. (Many countries have already applied these decisions.)

There has been no voting on substantive issues at any stage of the conference so far, since the technique used has been to try to achieve consensus through informal give-and-take. But at the Geneva session delegates hope to transform the latest version of the text into what, in diplomatic jargon, is called a "Basic Proposal". This is a formal document to which formal amendments may then be submitted and, if necessary, voted on.

If there are a large number of amendments, resulting in extensive debate, a further session would almost certainly have to be held.

## Nigeria raises oil prices

Nigeria has increased the price of its oil by 51 cents a barrel, bringing the price for top grade Bonny light to \$34.71 a barrel. This brings the Nigerian price into line with the Libyan price. British North Sea oil, which is virtually the same quality as the Nigerian and Libyan product, is expected to have its price increased shortly since North Sea prices generally follow the Nigerian level and avoid too big a gap.

Nigeria is also reported to be seeking to sell about a tenth of its output at a premium of \$1.50-\$2.50. The idea of changing premiums is being used in the Middle East as a condition for supply contracts. If Nigeria does not find buyers willing to pay a premium then it is thought that production may be reduced by about 225,000 barrels a day.

● The Islamic Development Bank has agreed to finance \$15m worth of Nigerian oil for Niger.

## Refining more petrol per barrel

The American company Ashland Oil has announced that it has developed a process to refine 25 per cent more petrol from a barrel of crude oil than is now possible.

"We believe we've found a method that allows us to produce more petrol from the heavy, leftover end of a barrel of crude oil," said Oliver Zandona, Ashland vice president for manufacturing and engineering research. "We think this is a real breakthrough in our industry."

In New York, Ashland chairman Orr Atkins told the New York Society of Security Analysts that a patented Ashland process is claimed to be able to extract from a barrel of oil more than 70 per cent petrol — rather than the 50 per cent usually extracted by current methods.

At present, US oil companies refine an average 14m barrels of crude oil a day, of which half is refined to petrol. Theoretically, the Ashland process could produce an additional 1.75m barrels of petrol a day if all US refineries were to adopt it.

## Search for oil by Senegal

President Senghor has announced that exploitation of Senegal's offshore oil deposits would begin this year. The oil field, 50 kilometres (30 miles) off the coast of Casamance, has an estimated reserve of 100m tonnes.

Senegal has previously refrained from exploiting the field because of the expense of extracting the heavy oil. Experts now estimate that with the rising cost of oil it has become worthwhile exploiting the Casamance deposits.

Venezuela, which has experience with heavy oil, is to

co-operate with Senegal in developing the field.

● Venezuela, a major oil exporter, has announced plans to run 250,000 vehicles off liquid petroleum gas in order to cut domestic petrol consumption. Energy vice-minister Jose Moreno Leon said "LPG" causes less pollution than petrol as it does not give off carbon monoxide and other exhaust fumes.

Domestic petrol consumption in Venezuela, one of the world's leading oil exporters, has risen to 170,000 barrels a day.

## Austria's growing Africa trade

Austria's foreign trade with Africa increased during 1979. Imports from Africa reached a value of 7,797m schillings (1978: 5,778m schillings), while Austrian exports to Africa increased to 8,034m schillings (1978: 6,877m schillings). In 1979 imports from Austria amounted to 2.9 per cent of Austria's total imports, while 3.9 per cent of Austria's exports went to this continent.

Libya and Algeria were Austria's first two trading partners in Africa. Nigeria exported goods to Austria worth 1,090m schillings (oil, cocoa) and imported Austrian goods worth 878m schillings (tyres, tubing, net fabrics, embroidered articles, machinery, lorries). Benin is also an importer of net fabrics, embroidered articles, and cotton fabrics.

Other African states exporting to Austria include the Ivory Coast (timber, cocoa, Libena iron ore) and Ghana (timber, cocoa).

## BATO's new man in Ivory Coast

The Britain Africa Trade Organisation, based in Glasgow, has appointed a new regional director in the Ivory Coast. BATCO now has representatives in 11 African countries.

Mr Mamadou Dioum is BATO's regional director for both the Ivory Coast and Guinea, where he was born and brought up. Mr Dioum is presently general manager of the Dioum Engineering Business Services (Prestation de Services Techniques et Commerciales) in Abidjan. He trained and worked, as a civil engineer in the US.

● The North of England Development Council is sending a trade mission to Nigeria from May 5 to 14.

## UBA's pre-tax profit dips

The United Bank for Africa's pre-tax profit for the half-year to September 30, 1979, was N16.96m, compared with N19.40m in the corresponding period of 1978.

Profit after tax was N8.46m, roughly the same as in 1978.

UBA claims to be one of the top three commercial banks in Nigeria.

It has a network of more than 60 branches and intends to have all the 27 rural branch sites allotted to it by the Central Bank of Nigeria busy in operation by the end of next month — most of them already are — and has plans for more expansion.

## US plans to join ADB

The US Secretary of the Treasury Mr William Miller recently outlined to the Subcommittee of International Development Institutions and Finance of the US House of Representatives the terms of US non-regional membership of the African Development Bank.

Mr Miller urged Congress to approve a US subscription to \$360m, representing 5.7 per cent of the bank's total capital and 17 per cent of the overall non-regional amount.

He said: "US membership in the ADB comes at an opportune time. It is fitting that the US should join a major Pan-African institution, as the largest non-regional member, during a period when our overall relations with the nations of Africa have experienced dramatic improvement."

He said that expansion of the ADB with non-regional members should help to stabilise politics in Black Africa by "strengthening the healthier independent African nations, promoting Pan-African co-operation and assisting the region to evolve peacefully towards full political autonomy."

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Prospects are that per capita income growth will continue either to stagnate or impose almost imperceptibly throughout the 1980's. The World Bank projects an annual increase of between 0.7 and 1.9 per cent for the poorest African countries and between 0.7 and 2.2 per cent for the "middle income" countries.

Even such income growth notions fail to reflect the immense development problems facing the developing countries of Africa in the 1980's. These countries have the lowest literacy, the lowest life expectancies, the highest population growth rates, and the largest percentage of people living in abso-

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South Korea has also applied to join the African Development Bank which last year decided to open its capital to non-African subscribers.



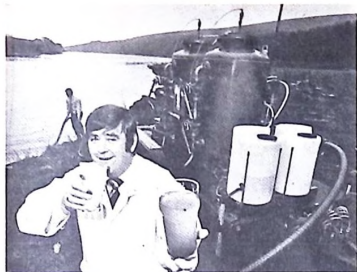
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The union will be based in Liberia and each country will be represented within the organisation which decided to create the following bodies: the congress, open to all member countries, the general assembly, the directing committee; the scientific and technical council. The Ivory Coast chairs the directing committee with Tunisia as vice-chairman.

## ADB standby

The African Development Bank is trying to arrange a seven year standby credit of \$200m. It has proposed a standby fee of 1/8 per cent and a margin of 3/8 per cent over Libor if the money is actually drawn.

# SHIPPING News

## BARBER LINES

**EASTBOUND** — TEXAS slg Monrovia Apr 8, then Apapa, Douala, Tema and Abidjan, TAMPA due Tenerefe Apr 12 then Dakar, Freetown, Monrovia, Abidjan, Tema, Apapa and Douala.

**WESTBOUND** — TEXAS due Lomé W/African ports as above Apr 17-23, for Norfolk, Baltimore, Philadelphia and New York TAMPA loading W/Africa ports as above May 4-14, for Norfolk, Baltimore, Philadelphia and New York.

## BLACK STAR LINES

**WESTBOUND** — OTI RIVER Takoradi Mar 19, USA/Gulf Apr 14 **SOUTHBOUND** — OFFIN RIVER Hamburg Apr 16, Antwerp Apr 17, Rotterdam Apr 21, Rouen Apr 23. **ASIA RIVER** London Apr 3 **NORTHBOUND** — OFFIN RIVER Hull early April, Middlesbrough mid April

## E.A.C. LINES

**SOUTHBOUND** — BORINGIA Oslo Mar 30, Copenhagen Apr 4, Aarhus Apr 9, Hamburg Apr 11, Bremerhaven Apr 11, Rotterdam Apr 13, Antwerp/Zeebrugge Apr 13, Rouen/Le Havre Apr 14, Tenerefe Apr 18, Dakar Apr 20, Freetown Apr 21, Monrovia Apr 22, Abidjan May 1, Tema May 24-25 (with transshipment), Lomé May 23-25 (with transshipment), Lagos/Apapa May Apr 25, Douala Apr 29 **NORTHBOUND** — FIONIA Port Harcourt Apr 8, Lagos/Apapa Apr 11, Cotonou Apr 9, Lomé Apr 12, Tema Apr 13, Abidjan Apr 14, Monrovia Apr 16, Dakar Apr 17, Tenerefe Apr 20, Antwerp/Apr 23, Antwerp Apr 23, Bremen May 8, Hamburg Apr 25, Aarhus Apr 28, Copenhagen May 3, Oslo/Mos May 5, Le Havre May 11

## ELDER DEMINOR LINES

**SOUTHBOUND** — SHERBRO slg Middlesbrough Apr 18, SEKONDI due Apapa Apr 17 **NORTHBOUND** — DUMBAIA slg Pointe noire Apr 14, SHONGA due London Apr 20 **EASTBOUND** — BLUE AKEJESHI due Lomé Apr 21, KADUNA due Warrn Apr 18 **WESTBOUND** — SEKI ROKAKO slg New York Apr 22

## FARRELL LINES

**WESTBOUND** — EXPORT BANNER Lagos/Apapa Apr 15, Abidjan Apr 17, Monrovia Apr 19, New York May 2, Philadelphia Apr 30, Baltimore Apr 29, Norfolk Apr 27 **EASTBOUND** — Boston EXPORI BUYER Norfolk Apr 7, Baltimore Apr 8, Philadelphia Apr 9, New York Apr 11, Dakar Apr 19, Monrovia Apr 21, Abidjan Apr 27, Lomé Apr 29 (if sufficient inducement), Lagos/Apapa May 12, Douala May 12, Matadi May 7.

## K LINE

**WESTBOUND** — IBERIA MARU from Japan, via Hong Kong and Singapore to Abidjan, Lomé, Apapa/Lagos, Port Harcourt, Douala, Matadi, sailed Japan Apr 4 due Apapa/Lagos May 10

## MEFALAGICA GOLDEN EAGLE/NIGERIA LINE

**EUROPE/WA** — CAP BRETON Buloane Apr 12-14, Ipswich Apr 12-15, 18, Rotterdam Apr 19-21, Hamburg Apr 22-23, Lagos May 6, Port

Harcourt May 11 **MEDITERRANEAN/WA** — ILLERBERG Livorno Apr 8, Marseilles Apr 15, Barcelona Apr 18, Valencia Apr 20, Lagos May 3, Warrn May 8 **USA/WA** — HEK FOR Norfolk Apr 8, Philadelphia Apr 10, Port Alfred Apr 14, Montreal Apr 16, Lagos May 9, Port Harcourt May 13 **FAR EAST/WA** — ZIRIAH Yokohama Apr 10, Hong Kong Apr 16, Singapore Apr 22, Lagos May 17, Port Harcourt May 22

## MITSUI O.S.K. LINE

**WESTBOUND** — INDIAN GOODWILL Kobe Mar 24, Hong Kong Apr 3, Singapore Apr 8, for Abidjan May 8, Monrovia May 12, Lagos/Apapa May 18, Port Harcourt May 26.

## NIGERIAN NATIONAL SHIPPING LINE

**SOUTHBOUND** — RIVER RIMA London Apr 16, Freetown Apr 24, Tema Apr 28, Port Harcourt May 2, Warrn May 11, Douala May 17, RIVER ETHIOPE Antwerp Apr 2, Hamburg Apr 6, Bremen Apr 7, Rotterdam Apr 11, Apapa Apr 31 **NORTHBOUND** — RIVER BENUE Matadi Mar 28, Abidjan Apr 9, Dublin Apr 9, Liverpool Apr 27

## OT AFRICA LINE AB

**SOUTHBOUND** — VALLMO Felixstowe Apr 11, Zeebrugge Apr 12, Greenough Apr 12, Rotterdam Apr 12, Le Havre Apr 13, Dakar Apr 21, Monrovia Apr 21, Abidjan Apr 22, Tema Apr 22, Lagos/Apapa Apr 23.

## PALM LINE

**SOUTHBOUND** — APAPA PALM Hamburg Apr 9, Rotterdam Apr 16, Dakar Apr 24, Freetown Apr 27, Monrovia Apr 29, Abidjan May 1, Tema May 3, Cotonou May 8, Port Harcourt May 9, Douala May 20, BAMBENA PALM Limerpool Mar 31, Abidjan Apr 12, Apapa Apr 13

## S.C.A.D.O.A.

**SOUTHBOUND** — SAINT VINCENT Apr 4 Dunkirk Apr 14, Rouen Apr 16, Le Havre Apr 18, Bordeaux Apr 21, Cotonou May 5 (containers only), Port Genitil May 14, Pointe Noire May 8 **NORTHBOUND** — POINTE NOIRE Apr 11, Port Genitil Apr 13, Nantes Apr 26, Honfleur Apr 29, Dunkirk Apr 30

## SCANDINAVIA WEST AFRICA LINE

**SOUTHBOUND** — RS 17 Moss Apr 21-23, Aarhus Apr 24, Copenhagen Apr 25, Norkkoping Apr 28-May 2, Dakar May 13-14, Monrovia May 17-18, Buchanan May 19, Abidjan May 21-22, Abidjan May 21-22, Cotonou May 24, Apapa May 25-31

## UNITED KINGDOM WEST AFRICA LINES

**SOUTHBOUND** — SAGALAND slg London Mar 25, due Monrovia Apr 5, Apapa Apr 9, MINOS STAR slg London Apr 15, due Apapa Apr 27, Luanda Apr 16, Matadi Apr 19

## WEST WIND AFRICA LINE

**EASTBOUND** — WEST WIND Houston ETA Apr 11, EIS Apr 14, Abidjan EIA Apr 29, Lagos ETA May 4, EASTWIND Houston ETA Apr 21, EIS Apr 24, Abidjan ETA May 9, Lagos ETA May 14

## Nigeria raises oil prices

Nigeria has increased the price of its oil by 51 cents a barrel, bringing the price for top grade Bonny light to \$34.71 a barrel. This brings the Nigerian price into line with the Libyan price. British North Sea oil, which is virtually the same quality as the Nigerian and Libyan product, is expected to have its price increased shortly since North Sea prices generally follow the Nigerian level and avoid too big a gap.

Nigeria is also reported to be seeking to sell about a tenth of its output at a premium of \$1.50-\$2.50. The idea of charging premiums is being used in the Middle East as a condition for supply contracts. If Nigeria does not find buyers willing to pay a premium then it is thought that production may be reduced by about 225,000 barrels a day.

● The Islamic Development Bank has agreed to finance \$15m. worth of Nigerian oil for Niger

## Refining more petrol per barrel

The American company Ashland Oil has announced that it has developed a process to refine 25 per cent more petrol from a barrel of crude oil than is now possible.

"We believe we've found a method that allows us to produce more petrol from the heavy, leftover end of a barrel of crude oil," said Oliver Zandona, Ashland vice president for manufacturing and engineering research. "We think this is a real breakthrough in our industry."

In New York, Ashland chairman Orrin Atkins told the New York Society of Security Analysts that a patented Ashland process is claimed to be able to extract from a barrel of oil more than 70 per cent petrol — rather than the 50 per cent usually extracted by current methods.

At present, US oil companies refine an average 14m. barrels of crude oil a day, of which half is refined to petrol. Theoretically, the Ashland process could produce an additional 1.75m. barrels of petrol a day if all US refineries were to adopt it.

## Search for oil by Senegal

President Senghor has announced that exploitation of Senegal's offshore oil deposits would begin this year. The oil field, 50 kilometres (30 miles) off the coast of Casamance, has an estimated reserve of 100m. tonnes.

Senegal has previously refrained from exploiting the field because of the expense of extracting the heavy oil. Experts now estimate that with the rising cost of oil it has become worthwhile exploiting the Casamance deposits.

Venezuela, which has experience with heavy oil, is to

co-operate with Senegal in developing the field.

● Venezuela, a major oil exporter, has announced plans to run 250,000 vehicles off liquid petroleum gas in order to cut domestic petrol consumption. Energy vice-minister Jose Moreno Leon said "LPG" causes less pollution than petrol as it does not give off carbon monoxide and other exhaust fumes.

Domestic petrol consumption in Venezuela, one of the world's leading oil exporters, has risen to 170,000 barrels a day.

## Austria's growing Africa trade

Austria's foreign trade with Africa increased during 1979. Imports from Africa reached a value of 7,797m. schillings (1978: 5,778m. schillings), while Austrian exports to Africa increased to 8,034m. schillings (1978: 6,877m. schillings). In 1979 imports from Africa amounted to 2.9 per cent of Austria's total imports, while 3.9 per cent of Austria's exports went to this Continent.

Libya and Algeria were Austria's first two trading partners in Africa. Nigeria exported goods to Austria worth 1,090m. schillings (oil, cocoa) and imported Austrian goods worth 878m. schillings (tyres, tubing, net fabrics, embroidered articles, machinery, lorries). Benin is also an importer of net fabrics, embroidered articles, and cotton fabrics.

Other African states exporting to Austria include the Ivory Coast (timber, cocoa), Liberia (iron ore) and Ghana (timber, cocoa).

## BATO's new man in Ivory Coast

The Britain Africa Trade Organisation, based in Glasgow, has appointed a new regional director in the Ivory Coast. BATO now has representatives in 11 African countries.

Mr. Mamadou Dioum is BATO's regional director for both the Ivory Coast and Guinea, where he was born and brought up. Mr. Dioum is presently general manager of the Dioum Engineering Business Services (Prestation de Services Techniques et Commerciales) in Abidjan. He trained and worked, as a civil engineer in the US.

● The North of England Development Council is sending a trade mission to Nigeria from May 5 to 14.

## UBA's pre-tax profit dips

The United Bank for Africa's pre-tax profit for the half-year to September 30, 1979, was N16.96m compared with N19.40m in the corresponding period of 1978.

Profit after tax was N8.46m, roughly the same as in 1978.

UBA claims to be one of the top three commercial banks in Nigeria.

It has a network of more than 60 branches and intends to have all the 27 rural branch sites allotted to it by the Central Bank of Nigeria busy in operation by the end of next month — most of them already are — and has plans for more expansion.

## US plans to join ADB

The US Secretary of the Treasury Mr. William Miller recently outlined to the Subcommittee of International Development Institutions and Finance of the US House of Representatives the terms of US non-regional membership of the African Development Bank.

Mr. Miller urged Congress to approve a US subscription to \$360m, representing 5.7 per cent of the bank's total capital and 17 per cent of the overall non-regional amount.

He said: "US membership in the ADB comes at an opportune time. It is fitting that the US should join a major Pan-African institution, as the largest non-regional member, during a period when our overall relations with the nations of Africa have experienced dramatic improvement."

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**WESTBOUND — TEXAS** due load W/African ports as above Apr. 17-23, for Norfolk, Baltimore, Philadelphia and New York. **TAMPA** loading W/Africa ports as above May 4-14, for Norfolk, Baltimore, Philadelphia and New York.

## BLACK STAR LINES

**WESTBOUND — OTI RIVER** Takoradi Mar. 19, USA/Gulf Apr. 14.  
**SOUTHBOUND — OFFIN RIVER** Hamburg Apr. 16, Antwerp Apr. 17, Rotterdam Apr. 21, Rouen Apr. 23.  
**ASIA RIVER** London Apr. 3.  
**NORTHBOUND — OTI RIVER** Hull early April, Middlesbrough mid April.

## E.A.C. LINES

**SOUTHBOUND — BORINGIA** Oslo Mar. 30, Copenhagen Apr. 4, Aarhus Apr. 9, Hamburg Apr. 11, Bremen/Haven Apr. 11, Rotterdam Apr. 13, Antwerp/Zeebrugge Apr. 13, Rouen/Le Havre Apr. 14, Tenefé Apr. 18, Dakar Apr. 20, Freetown Apr. 21, Monrovia Apr. 22, Abidjan May 1, Tema May 2-25 (with transshipment), Lomé May 23-25 (with transshipment), Lagos/Apapa May Apr. 25, Douala Apr. 29.  
**NORTHBOUND — FONIA** Port Harcourt Apr. 8, Lagos/Apapa Apr. 11, Cotonou Apr. 9, Lomé Apr. 12, Tema Apr. 13, Abidjan Apr. 14, Monrovia Apr. 16, Dakar Apr. 17, Tenefé Apr. 20, Amsterdam Apr. 23, Antwerp Apr. 23, Bremen May 8, Hamburg Apr. 25, Aarhus Apr. 28, Copenhagen May 3, Oslo/Mos May 5, Le Havre May 11.

## ELDER DEMISTER LINES

**SOUTHBOUND — SHERBRO** slg Middlesbrough Apr. 18, SEKONDI due Apapa Apr. 17.  
**NORTHBOUND — DUMBAIA** slg Pointe Noire Apr. 14, SHONGA due London Apr. 20.  
**EASTBOUND — BLUE AKIESH** due Lomé Apr. 21, KADUNA due Warri Apr. 18.  
**WESTBOUND — SEKI ROKAKO** slg New York Apr. 22.

## FARRELL LINES

**WESTBOUND — EXPORT BANNER** Lagos/Apapa Apr. 15, Abidjan Apr. 17, Monrovia Apr. 19, New York May 2, Philadelphia Apr. 30, Baltimore Apr. 29, Norfolk Apr. 27.  
**EASTBOUND — Boston EXPORT BUYER** Norfolk Apr. 7, Baltimore Apr. 8, Philadelphia Apr. 9, New York Apr. 11, Dakar Apr. 19, Monrovia Apr. 21, Abidjan Apr. 27, Lomé Apr. 29 (if sufficient inducement), Lagos/Apapa May 12, Douala May 12, Matadi May 7.

## K LINE

**WESTBOUND — IBERIA MARU** from Japan, via Hong Kong and Singapore to Abidjan, Lomé, Apapa/Lagos, Port Harcourt, Douala, Matadi, sailed Japan Apr. 4 due Apapa/Lagos May 10.

## MEDAFRICA GOLDEN EAGLE/NIGERIA LINE

**EUROPE/WA — CAP BRETON** Boulogne Apr. 12-14, Ipswich Apr. 15-18, Rotterdam Apr. 19-21, Hamburg Apr. 22-23, Lagos May 6, Port

Harcourt May 11.  
**MEDITERRANEAN/WA — ILLERBORG** Livorno Apr. 8, Marseilles Apr. 15, Barcelona Apr. 18, Valencia Apr. 20, Lagos May 3, Warri May 8.  
**USA/WA — HEKTOR** Norfolk Apr. 8, Philadelphia Apr. 10, Port Alfred Apr. 14, Montreal Apr. 16, Lagos May 9, Port Harcourt May 13.  
**FAR EAST/WA — ZIRIAH** Yokohama Apr. 10, Hong Kong Apr. 16, Singapore Apr. 22, Lagos May 17, Port Harcourt May 22.

## MITSU O.S.K. LINE

**WESTBOUND — INDIAN GOODWILL** Kobe Mar. 24, Hong Kong Apr. 3, Singapore Apr. 8, for Abidjan May 8, Monrovia May 12, Lagos/Apapa May 18, Port Harcourt May 26.

## NIGERIAN NATIONAL SHIPPING LINE

**SOUTHBOUND — RIVER RIMA** London Apr. 16, Freetown Apr. 24, Tema Apr. 28, Port Harcourt May 2, Warri/Matadi Apr. 16, Lagos May 9, ETHIOPE Antwerp Apr. 2, Hamburg Apr. 6, Bremen Apr. 7, Rotterdam Apr. 11, Apapa Apr. 21.  
**NORTHBOUND — RIVER BENUE** Matadi Mar. 28, Abidjan Apr. 9, Dublin Apr. 9, Liverpool Apr. 27.

## OT AFRICA LINE AB

**SOUTHBOUND — VALLMO** Felixstowe Apr. 11, Zeebrugge Apr. 12, Gronemouth Apr. 12, Rotterdam Apr. 12, Le Havre Apr. 13, Dakar Apr. 21, Monrovia Apr. 21, Abidjan Apr. 22, Tema Apr. 22, Lagos/Apapa Apr. 23.

## PALM LINE

**SOUTHBOUND — APAPA PALM** Hamburg Apr. 9, Rotterdam Apr. 16, Dakar Apr. 24, Freetown Apr. 27, Monrovia Apr. 29, Abidjan May 1, Tema May 3, Cotonou May 6, Port Harcourt May 9, Douala May 20, BAMBENA PALM Liverpool Mar. 31, Abidjan Apr. 12, Apapa Apr. 15.

## S.C.A.D.O.A.

**SOUTHBOUND — SAINT VINCENT** Apr. 4, Dunkirk Apr. 14, Rouen Apr. 16, Le Havre Apr. 18, Bordeaux Apr. 21, Cotonou May 5 (contamers only), Port Gentil May 14, Pointe Noire May 8.  
**NORTHBOUND — POINTE NOIRE** Apr. 11, Port Gentil Apr. 13, Nantes Apr. 16, Honfleur Apr. 29, Dunkirk Apr. 10.

## SCANDINAVIA WEST AFRICA LINE

**SOUTHBOUND — RS 17 Moss** Apr. 21-23, Aarhus Apr. 24, Copenhagen Apr. 25, Norkeping Apr. 28-May 2, Dakar May 13-14, Monrovia May 17-18, Buchanan May 19, Abidjan May 21-22, Abidjan May 21-22, Cotonou May 24, Apapa May 25-31.

## UNITED KINGDOM WEST AFRICA LINES

**SOUTHBOUND — SAGALAND** slg London Mar. 25, due Monrovia Apr. 5, Apapa Apr. 9, MINOS STAR slg London Apr. 13, due Apapa Apr. 27, Luanda Apr. 16, Matadi Apr. 19.

## WESTWIND AFRICA LINE

**EASTBOUND — WESTWIND** Houston EFA Apr. 11, ETS Apr. 14, Abidjan EFA Apr. 29, Lagos-ETA May 4, EASTWIND Houston EFA Apr. 21, ETS Apr. 24, Abidjan EFA May 9, Lagos EFA May 14.

## SITUATIONS VACANT

# Offshore Oil Terminal Operations

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**EJISUMAN NATIONALS**  
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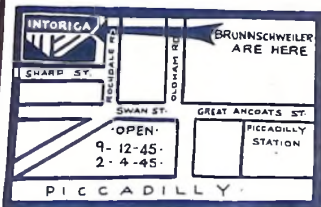
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Applications are hereby invited from suitably qualified candidates for the 1980-1981 post-graduate award of scholarships and bursaries from The Petroleum Technology Development Fund.

- (2) The award will be for courses available in Nigeria and Overseas Universities and relating to the Petroleum Industry.
- (3) These courses include but not limited to:
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  - (b) Petroleum Engineering
  - (c) Mechanical Engineering
  - (d) Chemical Engineering
  - (e) Environmental Engineering/Science
  - (f) Petrochemical and Hydrocarbon Chemistry; and
  - (g) Other related courses.
- (4) Candidates undergoing any of the above or related courses in any of the Nigerian or Overseas Universities may also apply.
- (5) The award is for a maximum of two years.
- (6) Students who previously applied before this advertisement should put in a fresh application.
- (7) Only successful applicants shall be contacted.
 

Requirements

  1. Good Bachelor's Degree
  2. The graduate programs must not be more than two years
- (8) The application letters should reach the Secretary not later than Friday, 25th April, 1980. All application letters should contain the following information:
  - (1) Personal details of the applicant.
  - (2) Particulars of education and examinations passed (copies, not original certificates, should be enclosed).
  - (3) Proposed course of study.
  - (4) Letters of admission for 1980/81 Session from the Institution.
  - (5) Whether applicant has applied to any Government or other Organisation for a scholarship. Condition of Awards:  
The condition of awards will be similar to those made under the Federal Military Government Scholarship Scheme.
- (9) All application letters should be addressed to:

The Secretary,  
Petroleum Technology Development Fund,  
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## NOTICES Cont.

## FEDERAL MINISTRY OF EDUCATION, LAGOS

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Applicants who obtained their first degrees overseas must submit full transcripts where applicable.

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1 Anatomy, Physiology and Biochemistry  
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2 Ophthalmology

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- (iii) 6 months resident post in general Surgery

(b) Ophthalmic Nurses  
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**GENERAL INFORMATION —  
MODE OF APPLICATION:**

1 Prescribed Application Forms are obtainable from March 31, 1980 from

(a) ALL State Ministries of Education at Benin, Calabar, Enugu, Ibadan, Ilorin, Jos, Kaduna, Kano, Lagos, Maiduguri, Port Harcourt, Sokoto, Abeokuta, Akure, Makurdi, Yola, Minna and Owerri.

(b) Nigerian Missions abroad in the USA, UK, France, Germany, Austria and Italy.

(c) The Federal Scholarships Board, Lagos.

(d) Application forms must be accompanied by photostat copies of all supporting Educational certificates, first degrees, Masters, Diplomas, Certificates and transcripts where applicable

**ON NO ACCOUNT SHOULD ORIGINALS BE SENT**

These will be required for verification only in the cases of successful applicants

(e) Application Forms incompletely or incorrectly filled or not accompanied by the required documents will not be accepted

(f) Late applications will be rejected

(g) No correspondence will be entered into in connection with applicants, except with those who are successful

**CLOSING DATE**

The last date for the receipt of all completed application forms is May 26, 1980. All application forms should be forwarded to reach The Permanent Secretary, Federal Ministry of Education, Scholarships Division, Lagos, not later than that date

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The Managing Director, Gambia Utilities Corporation, PO Box 609, Banjul, REPUBLIC OF THE GAMBIA.

to reach the above address no later than Saturday, 31 May 1980.

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# Dateline AFRICA

## GHANA

### Soldiers arrested for conspiracy

The Ministry of Defence has announced that "a number of soldiers and a civilian" were arrested on March 29 in connection with a conspiracy to cause unrest in the country, reported *GNA*. The statement said one of the soldiers arrested had been a liaison officer for the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council, and that the conspiracy was still being investigated.

A correspondent writes: Flying Officer Ebenezer Odoi is known to be the liaison officer in question (he was liaison officer with the Ministry of Transport and Communications, as well as being a

member of the Pre-trial Investigation Team). Other than that single detail, the rest has been rumour ever since the end of March when talk of a "coup attempt that had been nipped in the bud" began to go around. Different sources suggest that Flying Officer Odoi and the as yet unidentified men had plans of executing a number of senior officers and civilians of managerial level as a continuation of the June 4 purge. There are also rumours that one sergeant has died during interrogation and that some others were so severely beaten that they have been hospitalised.

## 27 dead over Wa skin

Twenty-seven people were shot dead and 42 others seriously wounded during a three-day period of fighting in Wa between rivals in a dispute over the rightful Wa-Na. The fighting followed an attempted installation of Yakubu Seidu as the new Wa-Na. Two boys were among the dead, and the *Daily Graphic* estimated that about 0.3m worth of property was destroyed.

The Minister of Internal Affairs, Dr. W. C. Ekow-Daniels, noted that the President had recently appealed to the disputing factions to exercise restraint pending the final determination of the suit in the Upper Regional House of Chiefs. The judicial committee had recommended that Yakubu Seidu was the rightful Wa-Na, but James Mamor, the substantive Wa-Na up until the committee's report, appealed to the Upper Regional House of Chiefs, and the appeal is still pending.

## New inquiry for E. K. Owusu?

The Special Tribunal has dismissed adverse findings made against Mr. E. K. Owusu, former chairman of Kowus Motors Ltd., made by the Amarteifio Committee which probed the company's affairs last September. Mr. Owusu was sentenced to 25 years imprisonment by the AFRC Special Court and his assets forfeited to the State. A petition was later filed to the Special Tribunal by Mr. Owusu, his German wife, their children and others. Mr. Justice I. K. Abban, the Special Tribunal Chairman, ordered the restoration of the seized assets, and declared "null

and void in all respects whatsoever the taking over of the business of the petitioners as involved in the transfer of shares and merger — Kowus Motors Ltd., Kassabohrer (Ghana) Ltd., and Ghana Assembly Plant Decree 1979 (AFRC 60)". The Attorney-General's Department was instructed to take immediate steps to have the decree repealed by the appropriate authority.

Mr. Justice Abban criticised the "unprecedented haste and hurried manner" in which the Amarteifio Committee was conducted and which resulted in breaches of natural justice, leaving the Special Tribunal with no choice but to set aside the entire proceedings of the committee. The Tribunal however instructed the Attorney-General's Department immediately to see to it that the appropriate government authority sets up a new committee of inquiry into the businesses operated by Mr. Owusu.

The Tribunal has also set aside the deportation order imposed on Mr. Brutus Habib Beany by the AFRC Petitioners filed by Metal Construction Ltd. against its confiscation by the AFRC were dismissed. Another petition filed by Mr. E. L. Laraya, managing director of the National Tobacco Rehanning Co., Tema, was dismissed.

## Gyandoh for Ombudsman

Professor Samuel Otu Gyandoh, Dean of Law at the University of Ghana, Legon, has been nominated for the post of Ombudsman. Mr. Justice J. H. Griffiths-Randolph, the Speaker, told Parliament that the nomination had been made by the President in consultation with the Council of State. The Ombudsman Bill had

earlier been approved by Parliament. Professor Gynaduh is the author of *The Ombudsman*, and *Protection for the citizen* published by the Centre of Civic Education in 1971. He was a member of the Constitutional Drafting Commission and also of the Constituent Assembly.

## Unemployment at 20 per cent?

A Member of Parliament has asked the government to introduce a Bill to curb the present labour unrest. Mr. Thomas Broni, (PFP) MP for Asutifi, said a strong labour code was urgently needed because strikes would never do any good whenever they occurred. During a visit by the Parliamentary Committee on Social Welfare, Rural Development, Labour, Youth and Co-operatives to Mr F. Q. Amegash, Minister of Labour, Youth and Social Welfare, Mr Broni promised to help pass the Bill because it would be effective in view of the high rate of unemployment which he said was around 20 per cent, a factor that would be suitable for such laws.

● One million bicycles ordered from China by the government have started to arrive in the country, reported the *Daily Graphic*. The motive behind the order is to conserve fuel and make farmers more mobile, the newspaper said.

● Only people arriving in Ghana from abroad will be allowed to bring in without import licence motor vehicles as part of their personal belongings. A Ministry of Trade and Tourism statement drew the attention of the public to Legislative Instrument 1149 and repeated an earlier warning that nobody would be allowed to take delivery of any vehicle on behalf of anybody else.

## Dispute over highlife contest

Dr E. Osei-Kofi, director of the National Cultural Centre at Kumasi, has asked the organisers of the national highlife and traditional dance competition to publish immediately the agreement under which filming and recording of the competition was being done. He said the government should confiscate all films and recordings done so far until proper investigations had been conducted. "Who will own and control the films and records being made out of the contest? Are speculations that the films and records are going to be sold outside the country true? If they are true, who are the prospective buyers?" Is the government aware of the potential value of such records and films? What is the extent of involvement of the Ghana Film Industry Corporation in the programme and why could the GFIC not undertake the whole project?" he asked.

Mr. Osei Kofi said such investigations would prevent the

recurrence of the "Soul to Soul" episode in 1968 which "tricked and duped the nation" out of millions of dollars. He wanted answers to "whether an agreement on the competition was signed at all, how the programme was being financed, what percentage in royalties the government, the artistes and interested persons would enjoy". He said everything must be done to guard against Ghana's rich and invaluable culture leaving our shores "for a mess of pottage... Ghana has been exploited for far too long and it is time to stop cheapening our rich resources."

● Dr. Kwamena Ocran, Minister of Education, Culture and Sports, has said there is "nothing fishy" in the agreement covering the organisation of the just-ended national highlife and traditional dance competition. He said he had studied the terms carefully and found "nothing fishy" with regard to the filming, recording and other aspects of the agreement. Admitting that different persons might have different interpretations of what constituted clean business, Dr. Ocran maintained that as far as his Ministry was concerned there was nothing wrong with the agreement. He did not disclose the details of the agreement. He praised the organisers, the National Association of Dancers (a wing of the Arts Council) and Faisal Helwani Productions, for the time and energy used to ensure the success of the contest. Winners of the C 5,000 first prize (donated by Accra Brewery) were a Master Abraham and Miss Harding.

Meanwhile, Mr. Faisal Helwani has filed a Q1m libel action against Dr. Osei-Kofi of the Kumasi National Cultural Centre for statements made during the press conference reported above.

● Ghana Airways has raised its international fares as follows: Accra-London Q1,774.45; Accra-Rome Q1,598.80; Accra-Frankfurt Q1,779.50; Accra-Paris Q1,774.45; Accra-Zurich Q1,759.50. New West Coast fares are: Accra-Lagos Q132.95; Accra-Abidjan Q169.05; Accra-Monrovia Q374.90; Accra-Freetown Q462.30; Accra-Banjul Q639.40; Accra-Dakar Q669.20. This 13 per cent increase is due to escalating fuel prices, said Mr. Mike Anamzoya, public relations officer of the airline, who added that the fares had been approved by the IATA.

● The Ghana High Commission in Lagos has begun negotiating with the Nigerian government to arrange the repatriation of more than 25,000 Ghanaians in Lagos, mostly unskilled. This forms part of some 75,000 Ghanaians registered officially after an exercise to issue Ghanaian residents with identity cards. A Ghana High Commission official said there were a lot more Ghanaians in hiding.



President Hilla Limann (right) walking with President Siaka Stevens during his recent visit to Sierra Leone. See page 681 for the press communiqué.

## MP denies being trigger-happy

Mr. Alex Adjei, MP for Asamankese and Deputy Majority Chief Whip had a "fierce fight with a middle aged man" outside the Accra Mental Hospital, reported the *Daily Graphic*. It began when the man tried to remove a PNP sticker from the wind-screen of Mr. Adjei's car parked in front of the hospital. The *Graphic* said "the fight held up traffic for nearly thirty minutes and just as passers-by managed to settle the dispute, Mr. Adjei then in a suit removed his coat, walked briskly into his car and brought out a revolver. The crowd ran helter skelter on seeing the gun. Mr. Adjei fired a warning shot. But with people still running for dear life, a few bold ones including Mr. A. K. Kye, an Accra legal practitioner, managed to cool tempers down and Mr. Adjei drove his car away."

Mr. Alex Adjei later explained in a news conference that whilst he was engaged in conversation, a

man talking to a parliament usher sitting in (Mr. Adjei's car) demanded to talk to (Mr. Adjei) who asked the man to wait. The man started shouting: "You are only in Parliament House talking nonsense while we are being shot and went to the car and began taking off PNP stickers. When he told the man to stop, the man held a pistol and tried to strangle him for minutes. The MP said he pulled the pistol (not revolver) and fired a warning shot only when the man approached him with an iron bar. He said the man's action was "unprovoked attack on my personal property, and on the People's National Party". He also justified another warning shot he fired during last year's election campaign saying his supporters would have been killed by attackers in Brempong Asamankese, which he won as an Action Congress Party stronghold. Mr. Adjei denied that he was trigger-happy.

## 13 expelled from Achimota

Thirteen male students who rushed a girl's dormitory after switching out the lights have been expelled from Achimota Secondary School, reported GNA. The boys took advantage of relaxed rules on a school holiday to enter the girls' bedrooms and some girls

were injured in the stampede that followed. A committee of inquiry which looked into allegations of rape, recommended expelling the boys. School authorities accept its report.

● Work on the Veia and Tere irrigation dams in the Upper West Region have been at a standstill since March 20 because of a general strike by workers of the Woodrow, Ltd.

## NIGERIA The \$2.8bn. petroleum story

The \$2.8bn. scandal started when the military government, prior to handing over power to the civilians, ordered the auditing of all major agencies and state corporations. A 16-man team from Messrs Coopers & Lybrand, Chartered Accountants, struck a seemingly dry hole in the books of the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC) when they did not find records of dealings between Texaco Inc and Ashland Oil Inc and the Nigeria government. The NNPC's books also appeared to have failed to record unpaid liabilities, or to maintain figures on such assets as NNPC crude processed at the Shell Oil Co. refinery in Curacao in 1978.

When the Coopers & Lybrand audit reached NNPC Chairman, Festus R. A. Mannho, on September 5 last year he started his own investigation. But the NNPC has insistently denied that any of its money has been missing. A House of Representatives Special Committee on Petroleum and Energy has been investigating the affair and is yet to produce a report.

The events took a dramatic turn when, on the insistence of PRP Senate Leader Suleiman Barkan ZAWO, NPN Senate Leader Dr. Sola Saraki decided to carry out his own investigation. Senator Saraki recently told the Senate that, con-

trary to his initial belief, the \$2,800m was "inadvertently" paid into someone's private account in London.

He did not provide answers to the questions of whose private account it was, how the money got there and how long it was there.

Dr Saraki mentioned that Midland Bank Ltd in London handled the transactions. In London the Midland Bank said they are aware of the developments as reported by the Nigerian press but would make no comment. One fact about Midland Bank's involvement NNPC maintains an "imprest account" with them: the limit of this account was put at £2m. by a resolution of the Supreme Military Council.

NNPC executives have since told the House Special Committee that Dr Saraki's revelations were not correct, a denial which is weak in the light of the fact that some reports said the company has not had its books audited for more than five years. Mr Mannho brought in a new dimension into the dispute when he told the Committee that the Central Bank was responsible for the company's financial transactions.

Meanwhile the Chairman of the House Committee, Alhaji Ibrahim Idris, has spoken of death threats to members of his team. Alhaji Idris said all the 16 members have been warned to keep their hands off the matter or lose their lives. The

Committee proposes to send a team to London, and members of the public have been invited to submit any relevant information. Lt.-Col. P. C. Amadi, NPP leader in the House of Representatives, has said that the disputed sum was coming over £1m. daily in interest.

President Shehu Shagari has offered his government's support for the House Committee. The UPN, however, has asked the Senate to hand over the investigations to the police, adding that all serving officers connected with the scandal should be suspended so that the records are not tampered with.

## Fiscal measures for 1980

Details of the fiscal measures by the Federal Government for the 1980 financial year have been given by the Minister of Finance, Prof. Sunday Essang. Under the measures, the compulsory advance deposits for imports are now abolished. In addition, there will be no deposit on day of collection.

The Government has decided that industrial raw materials and spare parts covered by approved users scheme, more popularly known as Form M, should be exempted from pre-shipment inspection; the objective of this is to ensure that industries receive their vital supplies as quickly as possible, thereby eliminating delays which were sometimes inevitable where pre-shipment

inspection was a precondition for shipment.

With regard to other items of import not covered by the exemption, suitable directives will be given to the commercial banks to accelerate the speed at which Form M reaches the Central Bank for processing.

The Government said that the agreement in connection with the pre-shipment inspections would shortly be reviewed. This is with a view to involving other internationally reputable firms in the exercise so as to further reduce delay.

On travel allowance for overseas trips, the Government said that in view of the rising cost of living the world over, it has decided to increase the amount for adults to N1,000, and for children under the age of 12 a sum of N500 for each child. Henceforth, home remittance allowance for expatriates will be 50 per cent of net salary.

To encourage rural banking an investment allowance of 20 per cent, in addition to the normal initial 15 per cent and an annual 10 per cent allowance enjoyed by the banks as industrial enterprises, has been approved for them.

Import duty on fishing vessels has been abolished in order to bring the concession in line with free import duty on agricultural machinery and equipment. In addition, duty has been removed on paper bags and selected spare parts of the machinery used by the manufacturers.

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New items have also been added to the open general licensed imports, among them are stock fish, plastic pipes, ceramic products, insulated electric wire. The Government said that the removal of such building materials from import restriction was to facilitate the implementation of the Federal and State housing schemes as well as to encourage the construction of individual owner-occupier houses.

There are also a number of measures aimed at giving further protection to local industries; for instance the duty on completely built-up vehicles has been increased from 20 per cent to 35 per cent.

## Theft of N44m. foiled

The Central Bank has foiled attempts to steal N44m from Nigeria's external Reserve.

In March this year documents appearing to be directives from the Central Bank of Nigeria, asked Morgan Guaranty Trust Company of New York to transfer N22m to a private account with Barclays International of London and New York. The bank agreed but became suspicious on receiving further directives to transfer another N22m and checked with the Central Bank of Nigeria. The Central Bank stopped all the attempted transfers.

An international syndicate is believed to be working in partnership with influential Nigerian businessmen who have adequate knowledge of Central Bank operations.

The National Assembly has been informed that highly-placed Nigerians are behind the racket to import fake Peugeot car spare parts, mainly from Italy and Taiwan.

Mr. G. B. Sadiku, member of the House of Representative Committee for Commerce and Industry, said these very inferior spare parts, which often did not pass through normal custom clearance "have now flooded the Nigerian market".

As a result "a company (Peugeot Automobile Nig. Ltd.), in which we have 60 per cent equity shares, is running at a terrific loss in the sale of spare parts". Also, "our foreign exchange is being siphoned away by these Nigerians", Mr. Sadiku said. The committee had recommended that imports of Peugeot spare parts be placed under licence.

## Flat rates suspended

The government has suspended the collection of the flat rate of N7.50 per person. The Finance Commissioner, Mr. George Soliwaju, said collection of the rate was "cumbersome", and, as source of revenue the rate "is so meagre that it does not warrant the trouble and ill-will it generates between the people and the government".

## FROM THE STATES

### Anambra

The Federal Government has granted the State N52m. over and above its statutory entitlement for the financial year. Announcing this, the Vice-President, Dr. Alex Ekwueme, said that the present Federal Government was committed to equitable distribution of the nation's wealth and it would not be held responsible for whatever neglect Anambra State may have suffered in the last 13 years.

### Benue

The State Government is to set up a water pipe factory. The state's Commissioner for Special Duties, Mrs. Elizabeth Iyase, said the factory had become necessary to help combat the problem of acute shortage of water in the state, delay in executing water projects was normally due to shortage of water pipes.

The Governor, Mr. Aper Aku, has said that farmers in the state with legally acquired land holdings are to receive loans of up to N50,000 and farmers who in the past received N500 to develop their farms are now to get N1,500 as a token of encouragement from the state government.

The Governor, who pledged commitment to the "Green Revolution", said his government will make sure that farmers do not misuse loans, as some have done in the past.

### Borno

The Majority Leader in the Borno State House of Assembly, Alhaji Shugaba Abdurrahman has sworn to a 27-point affidavit against his recent deportation by the Federal Government.

Alhaji Shugaba said he was a Nigerian and a holder of a Nigerian Passport No. 0035528 issued on August 12, 1978. He said he had previously held a Nigerian Passport No. 041601 issued on 12.12.68.

He said that in the passport he was described as Abdurrahman Mele, adding that Mele was his father's name and Abdurrahman was the name given to him at birth by his parents. He said the name Shugaba was an appellation given to him after he was appointed leader of the Youth Wing of the NPC in 1955, and Darman was a pet name given him by friends when he was young.

Alhaji Shugaba said his father Mele was born in Chigina in Chad and belonged to the Baghirmi tribe but settled in Maiduguri in 1911.

His father then bought a house and it was in the house at Mafoni Ward that he was born. He said his father decided to live and spend the rest of his life in Maiduguri since he had been wholly accepted by the people and he became part of them.

Alhaji Shugaba said his father died in Maiduguri in June 1961. He

said Balu Kolo was his mother. She was a Nigerian, Kanuri by tribe, and she has a Nigerian passport which expired. He denied information in a counter affidavit that his mother was Banana by tribe, adding that as far back as November 25, 1968 his mother swore to a statutory declaration of age in respect of the date of his birth at the Magistrate Court Registry in Maiduguri.

Alhaji Shugaba said that his Nigerian nationality and his Kanuri origins had never been doubted or questioned in the political and social life of Borno State and beyond nor had they been challenged by the Federal Electoral Commission before or after the elections.

### Oyo

The Minister of Civil Aviation, Mr. Samuel Mafuyai has said that the new airport at Ibadan, capital of Oyo State, should be ready for use at the end of the year. The Minister said problems which have yet to be surmounted include provision of land for siting navigational instruments and staff accommodation.

### Kaduna

The State House of Assembly has passed two motions calling for connection of pipes from Sokoto River Basin to Kankia in Kaduna State, and construction of a general hospital at Mararraban Kubau and a health centre at Gamagira. Mr. Malam Hassan Kafirnsoli (Kankia West), who brought the motion, said the expansion of the water supply would help in solving the persistent water shortage being faced by the people of Kankia.

● Kaduna State Government plans to spend N235.5m. on services for the "fiscal year" ending in December 1980. N156.8m. will be for recurrent and N78.7m. will be for capital expenditure.

The State government hopes to collect from the Federal Government and its own internal revenue sources about N235m. This shows a deficit of N500,000 over its planned expenditure.

In his budget address, titled "Towards a People's Budget", the State Governor, Alhaji Abdulkadir Balarabe Musa, said his administration had tried to cut down personal emoluments to leave more money for development projects aimed at raising the living standard of the people of the state.

Governor Balarabe said that the increase in other charges from N39.8m. in the 1979/80 fiscal period to N118.9m. in the current year arose from various factors, including N28m. industrialisation fund under which N20m. was allocated for setting up industries in each of the 14 local government areas of the state.

A special grant of N5.4m. would also be made to the local governments from the Federal Government allocations for development projects at grassroots levels. This is N3.15m. over and above what was allocated to them by the previous administration.

Education, with N67.8m., has the lion's share of the budget. The government is introducing a new policy which emphasises the establishment of day secondary schools with a view to reducing costs. In addition to grants from the Federal Government, the State Government to provide N30 per child to local governments for UPE.

Parastatals are to be separated from ministries and allocated a recurrent and capital grant of N24.61m. removing the parastatals from the direct control of ministries, the Governor said, would give them a greater headway to act rapidly and effectively.

N7.9m. is to be provided for the proposed expansion of the Kaduna water supply in a N100m. project jointly sponsored by the Federal and State Government and the World Bank.

N9.3m. is to be spent on fertilisers and a new formula will ensure that the peasant farmers are the ones who benefit from the purchase. N10.6m. has been earmarked for basic health services. Road construction will cost the government N13.7m.

## Lagos

A Lagos High Court has ordered the Federal Government to reinstate Mr. Chike Chukwu, the former Nigerian Ambassador to Sweden, who was dismissed from the Federal Civil Service 1973 on alleged grounds of corruption, official misconduct and negligence. Mr. Chukwu's dismissal followed a probe into the purchase of a house in Stockholm which he had negotiated on behalf of the Federal Government.

In his judgment Mr. Justice Ademola Candido Johnson said that the removal of the former ambassador was against the provisions of the Civil Service Rules on the dismissal of senior civil servants of Mr. Chukwu's status.

## Kano

The enterprises indigenisation programme has failed in the State because some Nigerians exploit the loophole in the decree to engage in "fronting" for alien according to the Kano State Commissioner for Trade, Industry and Co-operatives, Alhaji Mohammed Adamu.

He also lamented that the unscrupulous and unprincipled Nigerians came forward to substitute themselves as shareholders, although which has validity only on paper.

## Ondo

Federal aid totalling N8m. will be given to the seven states created in 1976. The states are Ondo, Ogun, Bauchi, Gongola, Benue and Niger. The president's adviser, Dr. Kingsley Mbadu, said the aid was to help the new states with their "teething" problems.

## FRANCOPHONE

## Priority for economic matters at the Nice summit

The agenda for the Franco-African Heads of State summit on May 8 and 9 at Nice has now been set. The meeting of Foreign Ministers took place on April 4 in Paris.

The most striking feature, in comparison with some of the more recent preparatory conferences and summits, has been the relative neglect of the question of security. Instead, African ministers insisted that discussion should centre on economic matters especially support funds for raw materials and ways of stabilising prices for crops and minerals. Some called for longer term programmes and for more research into new sources of energy. The problems of refugees, desertification and land-locked states were also raised.

The French Foreign Minister, M. Jean François-Poncet, supported the plea made by his African counterparts. M. Robert Galley, the French Co-operation Minister, devoted most of his speech to energy and the need for countries to achieve self-sufficiency in cereal production. This year's increased credits from France for foreign aid reflect the Minister's opinion that more time and money should be spent on long-term planning for food production rather than direct

food aid, the effectiveness of which is being increasingly doubted in many circles.

Another subject which was raised, and about which the French government has been very cool in the past, is President Senghor's idea of a francophone commonwealth. For the Senegalese leader, such an "organic community of Francophone countries", as he calls it, would include non-African countries like Canada and Belgium. France, in the past, has balked at this project because of the political implications and the problem of Quebec. The French official reaction to the latest discussion on the matter is that it approves such a group provided it is strictly a cultural and linguistic organisation and that Quebec must be made a member by some legal means. According to the Senegalese project, such a commonwealth's structure would include a Heads of State conference, which would be responsible among other things of the Agence de Co-operation Culturelle et Technique, which groups 34 member states that are entirely or partly francophone, a francophone council composed of parliamentarians and an international foundation.

Neither Guinea nor Madagascar were represented at the ministerial meeting, though it is thought that Guinea will be present at the full conference in May. Three new countries were present with observer status: Sierra Leone, Somalia and Equatorial Guinea. Three other observers who have been present at previous meetings

were Guinea Bissau, Liberia and Morocco.

There are 19 states with full rights to participate in the summit: Benin, Burundi, Comoros, Congo, Djibouti, Central African Republic, France, Gabon, Ivory Coast, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Niger, Rwanda, Senegal, Chad, Togo, Upper Volta and Zaire.

## CHAD

## Eyadema intervenes with very little result

Something vaguely resembling a ceasefire was agreed on by the leaders of the two warring factions of N'Djamena. This was achieved as a result of the personal intervention of the Togolese President, General Gnassingbe Eyadema. It is now impossible to compute the number of deaths in the fighting and President Ahidjo of Cameroon has said that 100,000 Chadian refugees have fled across the Chari River to northern Cameroon. Meanwhile the participants in the fighting are accusing each other of receiving external support.

President Eyadema arrived in N'Djamena on April 5. Shortly after his arrival, there was a lull in the fighting. The Togolese leader then went to the headquarters of both armies to discuss a ceasefire with President Goukhoum and Hissen Habre, the two rival leaders. It was announced on Sunday,

April 6 that a ceasefire had been agreed and that fighting would stop at midday, Tuesday, April 8. As we go to press the diplomatic ceasefire has broken down yet again.

Shortly after the agreement President Goukhoum said that he was very "pessimistic" about the outcome of this, the fifth attempt at a ceasefire. Hissen Habre, encamped in the south of N'Djamena was equally sceptical. Suspicion prevails on either side, though many still feel that Goukhoum Wodder's position and prestige has been enhanced by what is seen as his attempt to prevent a *coup de force* by his Defence Minister in the Transitional Government of National Unity, Hissen Habre.

Apart from the troops, N'Djamena is now almost an empty city. President Ahidjo of Cameroon has announced that at least 100,000 civilians have crossed the



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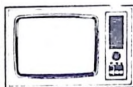
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Chad drama: an injured man is carried to hospital after N'Djamena shooting.

Chari River and fled the fighting into Northern Cameroon. It is estimated that about 10,000 civilians remain in the city largely in the Muslim quarters which are controlled by Hissen Habre's Forces Armées du Nord.

The casualty list is now not known. It is beyond doubt that at least 1,000 people have been killed and many more wounded in the fighting. Medical supplies and doctors are few and the sanitary conditions are dangerous.

The present ceasefire will surprise many if it succeeds in keeping the armies apart for more than a few days, a correspondent writes. In spite of President Eyadema courageously flinging himself into the fray, at considerable danger to his own person, both Chadian leaders have not only made it quite clear how much they distrust each other but they have both said that an eventual solution to the conflict is conditional upon the elimination of the one or the other. At a news conference last week, President Goukouni told journalists that as far as he is concerned "FAN must be liquidated, or if they have the means, they must liquidate the present government. For Hissen Habre constitutes a handicap to the national reconciliation of Chad. So, it is, in my opinion, necessary that a winner who can dominate the country emerges from the fighting."

The President also asserted that he was satisfied as to the neutrality of the French troops in Chad, a large proportion of which are based in the air base at N'Djamena in the sector controlled by his Forces Armées Populaires. This is

contested by some of the factions who claim that there are French advisers assisting FAN. This is a deep-rooted suspicion on the part of many of the factions who believe that Hissen Habre was supported by France when he became General Malloum's Prime Minister in late 1978. The radio controlled by Col. Kamoague's southern forces, at Moundou, has also accused the French of favouring Habre. Ahmad Aeyl, the leader of the Front of Action Commune, and allied to the President in the current round of fighting, has repeated the allegation. The French commander in N'Djamena, Col. Lardry, has denied the allegations saying that the only time he will use arms will be to defend his own positions.

There have also been reports that President Goukouni called on Libya for military assistance. This has been denied and there is no evidence of any aid being given by Col. Gaddafi, even though the original report was sent out by the Libyan News Agency, JANA.

For their part the Libyans have issued a statement intimating their support for President Goukouni as the legal President of Chad as was agreed at the Lagos conference last August. Tripoli Radio has published a communiqué from the Libyan Ministry of Foreign Affairs which says that Libya will not stand by while "an international plot" threatens the people of Chad and the African continent. It added: "If the provisional government of Chad undertakes to respond to the armed rebellion of Hissen Habre, who is supported by external forces, some very dangerous initiatives have been taken." The com-

muniqué also noted that any attempt not to include the states which participated at the Lagos conference (Libya, Cameroon, Niger, Sudan and Nigeria) "will be seen as an attempt to support the rebellion".

The Secretary-General of the OAU, M. Edem Kodjo is now in Chad with a five point plan that was drawn up in consultation with the Chairman of the OAU, President Tolbert of Liberia. The plan provides for: a visit to Chad by President Nimeiri of Sudan to arrange a ceasefire; an appeal to the international community to desist from any acts which might encourage or aid directly or indirectly the warring factions; a visit to Chad by the Secretary-General of the OAU to appeal to the warring factions to bring an end to the hostilities; a request to the Presidents of Togo, Sudan, Cameroon, Nigeria and Congo to serve as a mediation committee to try to bring about peace; an appeal to the international community to help the Cameroon government to cope with the influx of about 100,000 refugees.

The Libyan President had earlier appealed to President Gaddafi to use his good offices to bring about a settlement in the fighting.

As heads of government rush to find a solution, one of the most trenchant critiques of what lies behind the inability to bring peace to Chad came from the Tanzanian press. The *Sunday News* said that the conflict in Chad pointed to the need for a new charter for the OAU. In an editorial, the paper said: "The framers of the Charter were primarily concerned with the problems of inter-state wars and conflicts and never with intra-state violence."

"Of great concern to Africanists and humanitarian groups and international lawyers is the apparent impotence of the OAU in handling conflicts of this nature and magnitude."

"This impotence gives an upper hand to foreign 'friends of Africa' to intervene under the pretext that they are out to end Chad of civil war."

"The Organisation has yet to prove itself to be a body for and of the peoples of Africa, rather than a private club of Heads of State."

## SENEGAL PLO accorded full privileges

Senegal has decided to grant the Palestine Liberation Organisation office in Dakar ambassador-level diplomatic status, the Foreign Ministry has announced. That status would include full privileges and immunity. A communiqué said that Senegal intended to renew and strengthen its support of the PLO, "the sole authentic representative of the Palestinian people."

Senegal was the first country in Black Africa to allow the PLO to open an office on its territory. The

head of the PLO, Yasser Arafat, visited Senegal in June 1977.

## Army to double in size

The Senegalese army will increase by half, to 15,000 men over the next few years. This was announced in a message to the nation by President Senghor during the National day celebrations on April 4. He said the proportion of the budget devoted to the army would rise from the present 13 per cent to 15 per cent. It was part of a reorganisation plan which would make it more efficient, the President said.

He also announced that his recovery plan, outlined by Prime Minister last December, would include a drastic reduction in imports to make up for years of deficits, deterioration in terms of trade and 10 years of drought. President Senghor said the great national problem for the remainder of this century would be the fight against desertification. Senegal planned to plant 100,000 hectares of trees every year until 20 per cent of the country would be forest, he said.

Over the next 40 years, the building of 13 dams would end the irrigation of some 82 million hectares of double-crop land, he added.

## PDS meeting broken up

Riot police dispersed about 1,000 people on Thursday, April 6, who were about to take part in a meeting called by the opposition Parti Démocratique Sénégalais. No reason was given for the police action.

## ANGOLA Inefficiency at Luanda harbour

President Dos Santos recently visited Luanda harbour where he commented on the "grave situation" affecting the efficiency of the harbour. Food products have been left in the harbour, according to reports reaching the President, because of problems facing the vice sector. The President is especially critical of the bureaucracy, "this bureaucracy is preventing the rapid solution of our people's problems," he said.

3,500 tonnes of goods had been abandoned at the harbour, dozens of lorries meant for organisations responsible for production and transport of goods have been left stranded at Luanda Harbour. "We have seen sugar-tinned fruit piled up in warehouses. They have not left Luanda harbour because of our bureaucracy."

"The President of the Republic and Secretaries of State are not always on hand to visit production centres to see for themselves what is going on there and receive from our subordinate

heads of departments and national directors, reports which are full of flattery. They always paint a rosy picture which does not correspond to reality, because everyone wants to show that he is working hard in the service of the revolution. But the fact of the matter is that officials and civil servants are not always serving the revolution." The President's statement concluded with a warning to party cadres to be vigilant against external and internal enemies.

## ZAIRE Ambassador's visit to church leader

The US Ambassador to Zaire, Mr. Robert B. Oakley, has paid a courtesy visit to the spiritual leader of the Kimbanguist church, His Eminence Diangienda Kuntima. They discussed exchanges between the Kimbanguist church and other churches in the US. After the meeting, Mr. Oakley said that he was

very impressed by the work carried out by the Kimbanguist Church in Zaire and its close identification with the country's development. According to Rev. Luntadilla, the Secretary General of the Kimbanguist Church, the latter has in Zaire 3,851,000 followers distributed among 4,462 parishes. The medical work of the church is carried out by 104 dispensaries and two hospitals. The church also runs a medical training school for nurses, an institute for pastoral studies and a faculty of theology. It also runs many primary and secondary schools.

## CAMEROON Ahidjo gets fifth term

President Ahidjo has been elected for a fifth term of office with 99.99 per cent of the vote in the April 5 presidential election. The President was the only candidate. He was nominated, unopposed, at the Cameroon National Union congress in mid-February.

## SIERRA LEONE

### Stevens and Limann issue joint communiqué

The following is from the joint communiqué issued by President Stevens and President Hilla Limann of Ghana, after the latter's visit to Sierra Leone at the beginning of the month.

The two Heads of State reviewed global political and economic issues and bilateral matters on which they shared complete identity of views. In connection with developments in Africa they expressed their satisfaction, with the successful election of the Patriotic Front in Zimbabwe, an election result which was a vindication of the position taken by the OAU and of the rights of the people of Zimbabwe.

Both Heads of State were particularly encouraged by Zimbabwe's determination to take its rightful place in the Organisation of African Unity, The Commonwealth, the Non-Aligned Movement and the United Nations Organisation and pledged to assist the new Zimbabwe in preserving its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, as well as in the challenging task of national reconstruction.

They expressed their deep concern about the deteriorating political situation in Chad, which was a threat to the peace and security of Africa. They welcomed the current OAU peace mission and called upon the warring factions to cooperate with it in arranging an immediate ceasefire and appealed to all the factions to work together to achieve a lasting national reconstruction.

To respond with speed and decisiveness to similar unforeseen situations which might threaten the peace, security and stability of

Africa, the two leaders urged the establishment of a permanent Political Security Council within the Organisation of African Unity. They considered that establishment of such a permanent machinery should be considered by the assembly of heads of state and government without further delay.

The two leaders noted with deep concern the deteriorating international economic situation which is threatening the stability of many Third World countries and affirmed their determination to co-operate more closely together to be able to meet the growing aspirations of their own peoples. Both presidents expressed their satisfaction at the progress being made towards regional economic integration and in particular, the further development of economic co-operation within the Economic Community of West African States and expressed the hope that the forthcoming economic summit of the Organisation of African Unity in Lagos will provide positive guidelines for the development of Africa in the 1980s.

They also called for the establishment of a joint Ghana/Sierra Leone commission for co-operation.

Finally Dr. Limann thanked President Stevens for the hospitality extended to him and his delegation and invited President Stevens to visit Ghana at his earliest convenience.

## W. German visit

President Stevens, and Mrs. Rebecca Stevens, will pay a five-day official visit to West Germany from April 14-18. It will be followed by a three-day visit to

Algiers from April 20-22.

The president's party will include the Foreign Minister, Dr. Abdullahi Conteh, the Minister of Development and Economic Planning, Dr. S. S. Banya and the Minister of Trade and Industry, Mr. Solomon Pratt.

## Stevens stresses food production

President Stevens said that last year's acute shortage of rice is enough reason for Sierra Leone to redouble its efforts at increasing the production of the country's food requirements. The president was speaking at the Bo Agricultural Show.

Cataloguing government efforts to boost agricultural production, Dr. Stevens mentioned the Le9m Torma Bum Rice Development Authority project financed by ADB and the Dutch government which presently has under cultivation over 6,000 acres of rice. "When developed to full capacity, we should be able to attain self sufficiency in rice within a relatively short period of time," he said.

He also mentioned the Gambia Mattru Oil Palm project which has recently been incorporated into the Daru Oil Palm Company and the several oil palm mills of SLPMB which together aim at satisfying local demand for palm oil as well as providing surpluses for export.

The president spoke of the establishment of a Southern Area Integrated Agricultural Development project in cover Bo, and Pujehun districts which will provide supervised credits for the development of upland rice, inland swamp and cocoa.

He said the Ministry of Agriculture's rice crash programme which aims at accelerating rice production is presently being implemented while SLPMB is to embark shortly on a similar project with assistance from Rumania.

President Stevens emphasised that government attached great importance to agricultural shows because they expose farmers to new farming techniques, thus improving their ability to produce more and better crops.

## Recognition for Western Sahara

Sierra Leone has recognised the Saharoui Arab Democratic Republic of Western Sahara (occupied by the Polisario) as an independent sovereign state. The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Abdullahi Conteh has announced.

Mr. Audehalkm Ibrahim Adel, Foreign Minister of the Saharoui Arab Democratic Republic who was in Freetown on the second leg of an African tour thanked President Stevens, the Government and people of Sierra Leone for the recognition which he described as "a touching moment" in the history of their liberation struggle. The

Saharoui Arab Democratic Republic, Mr. Adel said, would live up to expectation of African countries by seeking membership of the Organisation of African Unity. He said that seventeen foreign states, including Iran, had now recognised the sovereign independence of his country.

## 11 held for armed raids

Police have arrested 11 people in connection with armed raids on educational institutions and other property here during the past two months. Acting Commissioner of Police Eric Musa has admitted that a man "previously in effective police employ" was among the 11 suspects.

Another of the suspects had jumped bail while on trial for robbery. In all the raids "imitation police uniforms and berets, arms and steel cutters" were used.

The matter was due for a court hearing shortly, police said, and if the charge was armed robbery the accused might face death sentences.

## Highway to Monrovia will cost Le 57m.

The secretary-general of the Mano River Union, Dr. Ernest Eastman, said in Freetown that the cost of building the proposed Freetown/Monrovia highway will be in the region of Le57m.

He said the secretariat has already received substantial commitments towards the project from West Germany, and assistance is also expected from other donors, including the EEC which has shown "considerable" interest. He said a team from the secretariat will be visiting possible donors including the Arab Bank for Economic Development in Africa (BADEA) for assistance.

## Possible restructuring for UAC

The chairman of UAC (S.L.) Ltd. Mr. A. R. Harris, said in Freetown that as a result of continued decline in profits, some restructuring of the company's business may become necessary this year to effect further economies. The company, showed pre-tax profit of Le462,000 last year.

Mr. Harris, who was speaking at the company's annual general meeting, spoke of difficulties in obtaining adequate supplies of merchandise necessary to maintain the profitability of the business. As a first step in streamlining the company, he said, the Equire department within G. B. Ollivant which had been operating at a loss for several years, was closed at the end of last year. The company has

also decided to dispose of commercial and residential properties which are surplus to requirements.

"Despite the difficulties, there were a few encouraging developments such as the Motors Division, which consolidated its local assembly operations of Isuzu vehicles," Mr. Harris said.

## LIBERIA

### Wanted: dead or alive . . .

The London section of Amnesty International has deplored the Liberian Government's decision to offer dead-or-alive notices for 19 men and one woman suspected of belonging to the Progressive People's Party. Amnesty said the notices were issued by the Justice Ministry last week, with rewards for their capture or assassination ranging from \$1,500 to \$2,500. "These notices are an open invitation to political murder. They should be withdrawn and the rule of law restored," said Amnesty in a news release.

### Call for review of sedition laws

Senator William V. S. Tubman of Maryland County has called for a serious review of the sedition laws with a view to abolishing them. Delivering the commencement address at the Tubman National Institute of Medical Arts in Monrovia, at the end of Feb-

ruary this year, he said: "I do not believe that we should have sedition laws in Liberia." Senator Tubman said he was happy that in Liberia one could express his views without fear of reprisal. He did, however, warn those who want to change the social and political institutions of the country never to tamper with the freedom of speech but to maintain the democratic way of life of the people.

The Maryland Senator stressed that all Liberians were entitled to the full protection of the law, and that those in authority should adhere to the spirit of the law. He called on them to resist the urge to over-react to situations which make those responsible for law enforcement to appear like a "bunch of boys and girls", instead of men and women with experience, reported the *New Liberator*. He said making arrests without any substantial proof and evidence had eroded public confidence in law enforcement. He reminded Liberians that theirs was a government of laws and not of men. While those who violated the laws should be punished, he said those who have the public trust must reciprocate that trust by doing their jobs earnestly.

Senator Tubman said that unless Liberians take the discipline to point out wrongdoings in their midst, speak out against them and punish wrongdoers, they "stand a good chance of ruining their country". The need for discipline in do-

one's job without accepting or expecting tips was urgent because it was ruining the efficiency of government ministries and agencies in the country. He said the stage had been reached where even to process a single document or to get information that was public property, one has to bribe somebody. "The need for discipline and restraint exemplified by President Tolbert, should filter down to us all," he said.

### Polisario support for Tolbert

Official sources have claimed that the Polisario Liberation Front, which is fighting for an independent state of Western Sahara, has declared its support for President Tolbert following "recent attempts to destabilise the Liberian Government" by the Progressive Peoples Party (PPP).

A special message to President Tolbert, who is current Chairman of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), from Polisario Secretary-General Mohamed Abdelaziz, was delivered by the Foreign Minister of the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic, Ibrahim Hakim.

The message condemned recent PPP activity as directed "not only against the Tolbert Administration . . . but against Africa as whole". It added that the PPP aim was to divert from "the excellent and successful role" of the OAU Chair-

man was playing in an important year for Africa.

The Saharan envoy praised President Tolbert for "the level of democracy he has developed in Liberia", commended him for "encouraging dialogue with the people" and described the presidential building as "a pain of the people", the sources added.

### Lone Stars lose

The Lone Stars lost 0-2 to Ghana's Black Stars in the first leg of their Olympic Games qualifying match. The *Ghanaian Times* reported that: "The Lone Stars went on a three-week tour of Mexico which cost the nation \$75,000 and on their return they were picked up at the OAU village. So important was the match to them that for the first time there was full coverage on their colour television and all over the city of Monrovia, there were big posters calling on all Liberians to turn out in their numbers to cheer the Lone Stars on a victory. The 0-2 defeat was therefore not taken kindly by the reporters who threatened to beat their players. It took the army and the police about one-and-a-half hours to get the players from the stadium and the fans charged their buses as it left for the OAU village. So enraged were the Liberians that one newspaper demanded that all members of the Lone Stars should be jailed for wasting \$75,000 . . ."

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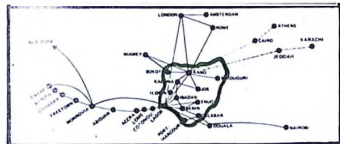


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