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Zaire's Quest for Authenticity



Sometime in the middle of last year the emphasis in what was then still Congo-Kinshasa, seemed to change. Until then the bland image of unlimited economic progress and political stability which President Mobutu had carefully built up since coming to power in 1965, but more particularly since 1968, was unquestioned. But the second half of 1971 brought a number of new trends, notably the occurrence of a couple of plots to overthrow the government, the move to expel African aliens, and above all the change of name to the Zaire Republic in October.

The background has been a somewhat less rosy economic situation, arising principally from the serious slump in the world price for copper, which has been approximately halved in a year. In 1971 the adverse balance of payments increased, the reserves fell and the year ended with a £60m budget deficit. This has meant that the usual end of year wage increases in public and private sectors have not been forthcoming. The authorities have specifically denied that this situation has anything to do with other

political developments and it is not something that should be magnified out of proportion. The country is still enormously wealthy, mineral production is still expanding, and there are now some signs of the long expected agricultural recovery. But the fat years of the late sixties are now indisputably at an end.

The upsurge of nationalistic spirit is also not a new development. President Mobutu has talked in his speeches for some time of "authentic nationalism". Names such as Leopoldville were Africanised as long ago as 1966. The new style is in fact a return to the more obvious nationalism which accompanied Mobutu's first months in power in 1966. The new wave of place name changing was followed by the more dramatic dropping of European first names.

It was here that the President, now called Mobutu Sese Seko (full name adds Kuku Ngbendu Wa-Za-Banga), ran into trouble with the Catholic church, who are strongly implanted (5m Zaireans are baptised Catholics). Although the Pope has reportedly said that you can have an African name and remain Catholic, there

were certain criticisms of the name changing published by the Cardinal Kinshasa, Mgr. Malula, in the Catholic paper *Afrique Chrétienne*, which led to its banning, and, while President Mobutu was in Switzerland for medical treatment, to attacks on the Cardinal. The Cardinal was, however, allowed to leave for Vatican for consultations accompanied by the Rector of the new united university of Zaire, Mgr. Tharcisse Tshibanda (the latter subsequently returned home after an ultimatum). It has now been announced, however, that legal proceedings are to be taken against the Cardinal for his opposition to name changing.

All this has been dealt with at length in the Belgian press, who have recovered their old feeling of ambiguity about the Zairean President. Mobutu gave an interview with *Le Soir* in which he stressed that he was not in conflict with the church and remained a Catholic, but saying that he had been dissatisfied with the attitude of the Cardinal for some time. In the offending article, the Cardinal had frontally attacked the whole quest for authenticity, saying: "it is not by resurrecting a philosophy which our past history has condemned, or in distorting ancient concepts of life which constituted the weakness of our ancestors before colonisation, that we shall win the battle in the modern world". Since going to Rome the Cardinal has only given tongue once, in an interview with the Belgian magazine *Pourquoi Pas*, in which he criticised a tendency to deify Mobutu.

Another bone of contention between church and state in Zaire has been the setting up of branches of the ruling party, the Popular Movement of the Revolution (MPR), in Catholic seminaries. The MPR Political Bureau has now decided that all seminaries should have MPR youth committees by April 1, and those that refuse will be closed and their students invited to continue their studies in Rome. The Bureau has confirmed the closure of the large Jean XXIII seminary in Kinshasa, which had refused a party branch, and of *Afrique Chrétienne* (all newspapers have had to change their names). Priests who refuse to baptise with Zairean names will be prosecuted.

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What effect has this had on the Vatican, after a long silence, issued a statement on March 18 expressing "profound preoccupation" over the situation. In spite of Belgian criticism, the Belgian Foreign Minister Pierre Harmel went on an equally successful visit to Kinshasa on March 21, during which it was agreed that Belgium's aid to her former colony would increase. The communique said that Harmel-Mobutu talks were aimed at developing relations and "adapting them to present circumstances".

The most serious consequence has been on Zaire's relations with its former African colonies, and in particular with the Organisation for African Unity (O.A.U.) to which Zaire also belongs. The Afro-Malagasy Common Organisation (A.M.C.O.) has also expressed the President's displeasure at his criticism of him in two private Zaire-based publications, *Le Nouveau Monde* and *Le Monteur*, saying that Zaire was considered "a disgrace" in protest at the company's "certain false African brothers with the white colonialist graveyards of Africa". The President summoned the Senegalese Charge d'Affaires in Kinshasa and, as the agency said, "the Senegalese tone with which President Mobutu received the Senegalese diplomat was cloudy perspectives. This was towards the simple closure of the Senegalese representation in Dakar and the Kinshasa doubtless before the end of the month of all Zaire's diplomatic representatives accredited to the Senegalese capital. The President had protested to President Senghor before about the attitude of Dakar newspaper agency alleged there was a campaign in the Senegalese press "did not hesitate to use the press to report that every thing wrong in Zaire on all fronts economic, financial or monetary must conclude that the real Dakar ... are the French". President's threats the agency said "it remains to be seen whether Mobutu Sese Seko, a man of real will as action, will immediately build bridges or whether his wisdom will prompt him to recede decisions".

Expelling the Senegalese

The difference with Senegal goes back to last autumn when newspaper protests in Senegal led to the deportation of Senegalese citizens of them prominent businessmen in Zaire. The Zaireans at the time of them of diamond smuggling. These objected to the often humiliating treatment received were also a number of Malian, Sierra Leoneans, Nigerians and others expelled, as well as some of them of nationality, who were sent back, were put to agriculture in Zaire). The Senegalese protest



General and Zaire in happier times. Presidents Mobutu and Senghor in Dakar last year.

to damage the new relationship built up with Senegal after Mobutu's official visit there in February 1971. In particular a Zaire-Senegal trade agreement was nearly rejected by the National Assembly in Dakar, in an unwonted demonstration of independence of mind.

But it was the meeting of bishops of francophone West Africa in Dakar from February 11 to 15 that seems to have provoked Mobutu into reconsideration of his relations with OCAM, as opposed to, simply Senegal. It was revealed early in March, by the Cardinal of Ouagadougou, Mgr Paul Zoungrana, that the thirteen bishops had sent from Dakar a telegram of solidarity to Cardinal Malula. Cardinal Zoungrana, who was speaking immediately after an audience with the Pope, said that the treatment of Cardinal Malula constituted "a humiliation for Africa". He added that the Sovereign Pontiff could not approve the attitude of General Mobutu, and "it would be an error to accuse Rome of weakness". The Zaire news agency attacked him, and the Archbishop of Abidjan, Mgr Bernard Yago. Shortly after, President Mobutu sent special envoys to President Houphouët-Boigny and President Lamizana to discuss the bishops' attitude.

Son of Africa in Power

The Archbishop of Dakar, Mgr. Hyacinthe Thiandoum, also in Rome, lent his voice to the controversy, saying that the conflict was not one between General Mobutu and the Cardinal, but between the President of Zaire and the entire church. He appealed for reconciliation, adding "we cannot accept that a son of Africa, once in power, can do things the former coloniser would not have dared to do." The Cardinal had been expelled from his house, which was not African tradition.

Official sources in Dakar are quoted as expressing astonishment that the Zaire government should treat independent press comment as of the same standing as an official declaration. The daily *Le Soleil* pointed out that the Senegalese constitution guaranteed press liberty, adding: "the government has let it be known that the head of state will not fail to remind President Mobutu of this." Later, however, the Senegalese Minister of Information, M. Ousmane Camara said that the friendship between Presidents Senghor and Mobutu would overcome the "misunderstanding" about the Senegalese press. There was no doubt, however, that for the time being a considerable gulf remained.

A new dimension to the running crisis was added by the intervention of President Sekou Touré of Guinea, currently also at daggers drawn with the Senegalese. He sent a message to the Zaire President saying he could not remain unconcerned in view of Mobutu's statements denouncing the "anachronistic and neo-colonial character" of OCAM, as well as his denunciation of the "intolerable interference" of the Catholic Church in the affairs of state and nation. No self-respecting African could ignore that OCAM was planned and established by and for European imperialists to weaken and paralyse the OAU in an effort to maintain bonds of dependence, said the message. Guinea unreservedly approved of nationalisation of all private schools to achieve a national education of a non-denominational and purely African character. "We consider your decisions a contribution to a really historic and cultural rebirth". Although this overrates the extent of the measures Mobutu in fact had taken, it is the first sign of political contact between Guinea and Zaire since Mobutu's early nationalistic period, when he was taking over the Union Minière, and consolidating his position with the radical African states.

It is possible to see Zaire's enigma and controversial President as once again at an African crossroads. For the last few years he has been content, broadly, to throw in his lot politically with francophone states. Membership of OCAM has always been of marginal interest to Zaire, except that it won approval in Abidjan and Paris, and paved the way for Mobutu's splendid visit to France last spring. His only last friend in OCAM nowadays is Chad, who is having its own quarrel with the organisation. But if Zaire leaves OCAM where will it turn? Although relations with Uganda are good, Tanzania and Zambia now view Mobutu with suspicion not least because he is thought to be engaged in secret deals with Portugal, and has persistently refused to lend backing to the Angola liberation movement favoured by the radical OAU states, the MPLA, continuing to support, against all evidence that he is effective, the GRAP of Holden Roberto. It is true that as yet he continues to oppose the "dialogue" with South Africa. This was one important cause of the coolness which developed last year with President Houphouët-Boigny of Ivory Coast. But at the moment, the search for authenticity could lead to isolation in a no doubt authentic African cul de sac. One swallow does not make a summer, and one pat on the back from Sekou Toure doesn't refurbish a radical image.

Nigerianisation and the Oil Industry

By a correspondent

Because of the exploitation of oil, the foreign exchange constraint on Nigeria's development has been broken and the major constraint is now shortage of skilled manpower. Unfortunately, however, as Scott Pearson shows in his book *Petroleum and the Nigerian Economy*, the oil industry makes only a minimal contribution to the provision of skilled labour.

"The industry has not been particularly notable in training Nigerian manpower", he states. "It does undertake important training functions, but these are limited to a small group of Nigerians, most of whom remain in the petroleum industry." An attempt to remedy this deficiency was made by the Federal Government through the 1969 Petroleum Decree, which said that recipients of mining leases must guarantee that within 10 years they would employ Nigerians in

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75 per cent of management, professional and supervisory positions, and in 100 per cent of all other jobs. Moreover, holders of future prospecting licenses were required to submit a detailed programme for recruitment and training of Nigerians within the first year of operation.

Pearson goes even further and suggests that the industry could train many more entrepreneurs, managers, technicians and skilled labourers than it could itself use. Some of these newly-skilled Nigerians could be employed in "backward-linked" industries that service or supply the petroleum exploring and producing industry and in "forward-linked" industries, such as those producing petrochemicals and fertilisers: "an oil industry policy to supply skilled labour to other sectors of the Nigerian economy would increase the availability of the factor that should soon be scarce in Nigeria."

Nigerianisation has always been a bone of contention. Earlier this month, the Commissioner for Mines and Power, Shettima Ali Monguno, warned companies to stop dismissing senior Nigerians or trying to get them to resign "voluntarily". He circularised all companies and marketing firms pointing out that some of them "have openly been flagrantly frustrating government policy on Nigerianisation" and instructing that no further dismissals of senior Nigerian staff could be effected before the Ministry of Mines and Power had considered each case. Even more pointedly, Mr Philip Asiodu, permanent secretary in the Ministry of Mines and Power, said recently that in addition to the companies' inadequate record, "we possess documented evidence that Nigerians are often subjected in the oil industry to several indignities with racial overtones, and other vexations".

Expatriate Quota Problems

Part of the misunderstandings on this issue can be traced back to the mid-1960s, when the expatriate quota policy was abused by both sides. Some companies applied for expatriate quotas far in excess of their needs in the hope of at least receiving their approximate requirements, and this caused the government to become unusually restrictive in processing requests. Pearson gives this example: "The industry often did not make clear just what function an applicant was to undertake, while the government often did not appreciate the need for very highly specialised workers. At one point Nigerian immigration officials turned down an application for three 'welders' because there were several unemployed Nigerian welders who they felt could handle the job. Furthermore, the applying company had specially trained three American welders, each with more than 15 years of experience in specialised applications, for their highly skilled job in Nigeria".

Oil is not labour-intensive, and in 1965 the total amount of locally paid wages and salaries generated by crude oil production was about £7.5m., paid to 17,309 Nigerians and 1,574 expatriates. (These totals, however, are far greater than for any single manufacturing industry: the leading manufacturer was motor vehicle repairs, which paid £3.3m. to 11,514 employees)

Technologically, too, the industry has not created important linkages, with the exception of the construction and maintenance of several miles of roads in the bush in the process of opening up well-sites. Some of these roads have been used by farmers to get produce to market.

Little use of local materials is made by the industry, which draws heavily on imported goods and materials. The one direct positive result has been the very large payments to Government, all the more remarkable for the facts that such payments did not regularly exceed £5m. a year until 1964. This was because accumulated capital allowances kept payments at a modest level compared with figures for output and gross receipts.

Onerous for the Industry

The whole structure of the industry is very complex, but it is not the straightforward case of companies exporting oil producing countries that many observers believe. Pearson points out that the current cost price structure was originally established by the major corporations to serve their own goals. Ironically, changing circumstances have locked the industry into what has become, in its view, an increasingly onerous system because of the incentive it inadvertently created for host country governments. "As a result there are wide margins between the industry's production costs and the prices it must use to calculate payments to governments. These margins reflect the economic rent involved in oil production and hence create a large host country tax base."

"The oil industry thus pays significantly greater amounts of taxes to host governments of producing countries than would be the case if prices were more closely reflective of production costs and if taxes were based on a normal concept of profit."

Since the companies are usually able to pass on the costs to their customers, the real victims in the oil business are neither the companies nor, any longer, the governments of the producer nations but the consumers in importing countries.

Nor is it true that oligopoly has worked in the companies' interests. "The net result of the interaction between the oligopolistic controls employed by oil companies on one side and the producing governments on the other has been a larger stream of payments to producing governments than is likely to have occurred in the absence of oligopoly." In Nigeria's case, the vision of the companies standing together shoulder to shoulder is

tempered by the jealousy which has been aroused, particularly by the American-owned companies, by BP's dominance.

Matters reached a head when SI took the initiative and informed the Ministry of Finance of its desire to extend to Nigeria the better negotiated by Libya. "Though a company realised that they eventually have to switch to OPEC in Nigeria, several hoped that this would be delayed until they had achieved stronger financial positions. As a result an extensive period of ill-feeling emerged among certain of the managers of Nigerian companies, perhaps reflected most directly by the cessation for a year of the monthly luncheon meeting of the oil producers' section of the Chamber of Commerce."

It is also ironic that the mainly private Western corporations have enhanced the power of the Nigerian Government, and other recipient governments, by making substantial payments, which are often used to enlarge the public sector. In Nigeria's case beneficial effects of the oil revenues have been known because of the crucial role they have played in clearing the overpayments "pipeline", particularly at a time when the country's export earnings have not been performing well. It is widely realised that since 1961, in every year except one, public saving — a vital factor in investment resources — would have been almost zero or even negative in the absence of petroleum revenues.

Good Timing for OPEC

On the whole, the Nigerian servants responsible for dealing with the companies have learned quickly and use their knowledge and experience to Nigeria's benefit. The timing of the country's membership of OPEC, for instance, was excellent — by waiting until the companies had made large investments high production was ensured which was the main aim, while the Government avoided the opprobrium extended to many of the more volatile producer countries.

There are a number of "grey areas" however. Pearson suggests that one of them was the decision to construct the Kajini Dam for hydropower, either because the true extent of Nigeria's vast natural gas resources was not known or because it was disregarded. "Some observers now fear that the government will institute a policy forcing the use of Kajini electricity at a price higher than that at which gas-based electricity could be produced and thereby discourage the establishment of energy-intensive industries in Nigeria." Pearson also wonders why a much larger, more efficient refinery was not built "not only to satisfy local demand but also to export petroleum products. The usual and not entirely satisfactory answer from the petroleum industry is that Nigeria is not well placed on the international oil shipping routes."



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Encouraging inter-African trade

By a correspondent

African Governments will "sooner or later" have to consider the feasibility of amalgamating existing African airlines on a regional basis, it is suggested in an ECA background paper for the intra-African trade seminar which ran concurrently with the OAU Fair in Nairobi recently. Amalgamations would be caused by the need to lower air-freight costs, which entailed a greater degree of regional co-operation and standardisation in airline operations.

"It seems that the problems of cost and rentability involved in the achievement and use of bigger and more expensive boats in air cargo can not be resolved on a national basis," said the document.

It was generally agreed that inadequate facilities formed one of the main barriers to intra-regional exports, which account for only 5.8 per cent of the Continent's total exports, a lower level than the corresponding figures for developing countries as a whole (17.9 per cent), Asia (21.3 per cent) and Latin America (11.8 per cent).

Mr Robert Gardiner, executive secretary of the ECA, told the symposium that this low level gave cause for anxiety because trade among African countries was of "cardinal importance".

Most of Africa's exports were primary commodities facing violent price fluctuations, the markets of developed countries were closed "for the foreseeable future" to manufactured African products because of the latter's inferior quality and cost-price disadvantages, and because of trade barriers.

Fast development

The total value of Africa's regional trade has been estimated at between \$200m and \$300m a year, with unrecorded trade worth possibly a further \$100m.

The suggestions made at the seminar for improving this situation could be divided into the specific and the general. On timber, for example, the ECA paper noted that, "wood production is being developed almost everywhere in West, Central and East Africa and the corresponding degree of specialisation in production and in trade is badly required. There is a need for defining directions in the export and the import of processed wood, such as sawn and planed timber and sleepers. There is a broad area for developing inter-African trade in panel board, plywood and veneer. This trade has developed extremely fast during the last few years but, to a great extent still lacks marketing research and business co-ordination efforts."

Among the general recommendations was the establishment of export credit and export credit insurance, "which has become an integral part of the export financing process in the developed countries."

For most African countries, ECA spokesmen pointed out, exporting to other African countries was an entirely new business. It is a question of penetrating unknown markets and contacting importers whose credentials are unknown. The risk is much greater.

"Besides, to compete with outside products, the African exporter will not only have to be competitive in price, quality and delivery dates, but as a special attraction will also have to offer credit facilities at least as competitive as those offered by overseas competitors.

"This is particularly important if the brand-consciousness of African importers is to be broken. In some countries, imports even for raw materials and consumer goods are allowed only if deferred payments can be arranged." Another piece of institutional machinery suggested was national Trade Promotion Advisory Councils, or more effectively, Trade Promotion Boards. These would be autonomous "because African Ministries and departments responsible for foreign trade have in most cases not proved effective. Bureaucracy in most developing countries has still to be attuned to development and promotional administration."

Strong currency

It was decided at the meeting to establish a committee to plan an Association of African Trade Promotion Organisations and that all governments should establish a focal point in each country responsible for trade promotion questions and intra-African trade. Few speakers, however, asked whether greater trade within Africa was actually desirable at the moment.

What most African countries need are the currencies which allow them to buy the capital goods and transport equipment which they need for development. "In the very near future", noted one paper, "the need for strong currencies will no doubt put a restraint on the development of intra-African trade."

"The need for industrial development will in some cases move the African countries to give preference to the exports able to produce strong currencies or to the production of manufactures replacing the strong currency imports from industrialised countries. This is an important factor to be taken into consideration by the trade policy-makers in the region and which will decide to what extent the development of intra-regional trade will be restricted by the need for increased exports to strong currency countries."

As Kenya's Minister of Finance commented, "Unless there is a system of payments many efforts to promote trade will be useless. If we facilitate payments between ourselves, trade will flow". What was needed was a political decision.

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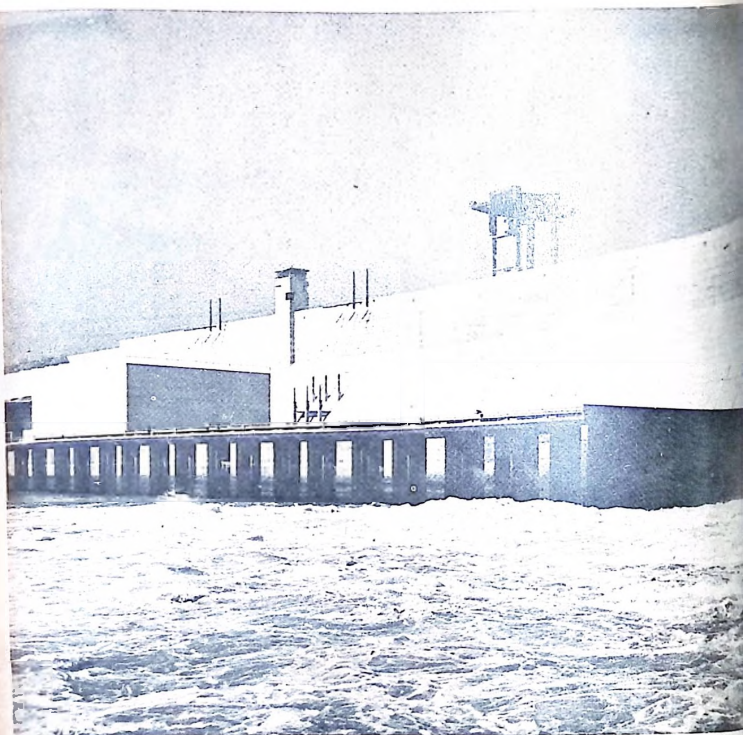
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Books and Publications

Working for Ojukwu

The Struggle for Secession 1966-1970, N. U. Akpan (Frank Cass £3.50)

Since he was Chief Secretary to the government of the Biafran regime, Mr. Akpan having been senior Permanent Secretary and later Chief Secretary to the government of the former Eastern Nigeria, one had high hopes of Mr. Akpan. With his unique experience, he could have told us just how the rebel regime succeeded in keeping aloft administratively in spite, for example, of trying to move its headquarters so often. Though this achievement must have cost much to the Chief Secretary, Mr. Akpan tells us nothing about it. He is at times, on the other hand, to tell us how completely excluded from policy decisions civil servants like himself were, and votes his very important book to "what he knows". That, fortunately, means the character and behaviour of the former Colonel Ojukwu, and the consequences of these characteristics on the events leading

to the civil war, the conduct of that war, and its outcome. One must not complain that Mr. Akpan has not written the book one hoped for: the book he has written is fascinating and readable throughout, and will be most valuable to historians.

One's most vivid, if vain, impression is of confirmation of much of what one had believed. The minority peoples of the East, of whom Mr. Akpan was one, for example, were never really trusted by Ojukwu, and Mr. Akpan describes the measures taken to underline this. But the suspicions of the rebel leadership extended even to the people of Aba. They in the end decided that they were not, after all, Ibo, but Ngwa. Their disaffection, combined with the dispiriting effect on the rebel troops of what Mr. Akpan, a good Presbyterian, describes as the "spiritualists" (most of us would prefer to describe them as the Cherubim and Seraphim) contributed greatly to the final collapse of the rebel forces. But behind

this was hunger.

Mr. Akpan confirms, to rebel leader took advice largely "elique" from his home area rather than from the estate service. He confirms, too, the declaration of June 1969, when the secessionist regime have little future seemed to be a declaration of a social revolution. Resistance to the federal government, in individualistic Iboland, property belongs to the owner, caused serious worry to leadership.

The dilemma caused by Declaration seems to be typical of rebel leader's policies. Mr. Akpan, at his point of vantage, considers Ojukwu, who tried to rule simultaneously, was determined to have all power in his own hands, and yield occasionally to pressure. These groups were never the civil service or the professional and they caused disaster. It is an unrealistic view of his army successes and of his regime abroad, the rebel leader himself died most to the disaster.

Mr. Akpan's story is a somewhat confusing one. It is more for the nuggets it contains than for its narrative value. He is anxious to recrimination and mentions more than that of Ojukwu as little as he. He provides information, never which all historians will, for example, he tells us that Ojukwu returned from Aburr, after reaching apparent agreement with Gowon and the other Military Rulers. Col. Ojukwu asked Akpan to think they have understood the implications of the decisions taken." Akpan says that he was worried, as the federal civil service showed themselves to be indecisive, decisions which were duly made by Decree No. 8. Yet Akpan, and Enugu, urged Ojukwu to accept a decree as offering the best hope for the then Eastern Region. Ojukwu, Akpan says was dissatisfied declaring outright secession in 1966 only by the refusal of the chief, Patrick Okeke, and the Commander, Col Ogunweke. Ojukwu wanted the Aburr agreement or nothing at all. Akpan himself, condoning nothing, agrees that disturbances in Northern Nigeria explained as a reaction against Ojukwu in January, even though relations with Ojukwu were not so bitter. He confirms that these disturbances Ojukwu and those who had fled from the North, with his own assurances for the future. But about the September killings, bitter, even though he could not advise his leader against secession publicly to advise his fellow Nigerians against allowing hatred to guide policies. Yet he is convinced that some other Easterners were determined on revenge and that even had been no secession, there would have been "a fight".

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Mr Akpan produces abundant evidence that although at the start secession had wide popular support, and not only among Ibos, the rebel regime survived only from the use of intimidation, witch-hunting, and deception. The leader and his immediate advisers used astutely the tactic of "divide and rule" and buttressed falling morale with propaganda about foreign assistance and support for the regime, and claims about fictitious, military successes against the federal troops. It is possible, though Mr Akpan does not mention this, that they deceived themselves as well as others. Otherwise it is impossible to understand how they could have issued the Ahara Declaration when they did, since it promised an Utopian welfare state at a time when, for the majority of those besieged in the rebel enclave, starvation and squalor seemed the only prospect.

Mr Akpan does not deny that relief from abroad helped to prolong the war (he confirms that the regime demanded aircraft landing fees in foreign currency), but he adds that far more lives would have been lost without relief than were lost because of prolonging the war. He explains how, chiefly through lack of arms, the rebels had really lost the war before the end of 1968, but, chiefly through the efforts of President Houphouët-Boigny, arms then began to flow in. Even so, it is difficult to understand how the resistance continued so long - Mr Akpan believes that the federal bombing, until near the end when it assisted the ground forces, possibly strengthened the will to resist. It is interesting, too, that Col. Ojukwu agreed that General Gowon himself was a humane man, even though he strengthened the people's will to resist by bloodcurdling threats of what would happen if the federal forces were allowed to overrun the secessionist area.

Among many pieces of information which I, at least, had not previously heard of is one concerning the formation of the rebel militia. Mr Akpan tells us that the officers of this body, which displayed considerable courage and initiative, were intellectuals who would not have been ready to serve in the regular army under the command of "people of lower intelligence and education than they."

Perhaps the most vivid part of the book concerns Ojukwu's departure for Abidjan, where Akpan accompanied him, and the party's reception in the Ivory Coast. The normally distant and aloof Houphouët-Boigny emerges as a very human figure. But one is once again astonished at the extraordinarily selfish way in which the whole enterprise was conducted.

His friends as well as his enemies, must ask why Mr. Akpan remained loyal to his leader to the very end. Civil service habit is one explanation, he, certainly, was doing no harm and felt that he might still do some good. But one must also remember that his wife, family and relatives were in the rebel area, and (as Ojukwu showed when he summoned to

Abidjan Col. Eifiong's family as "hostages") they would have suffered if Akpan had defected. It is good to know that he now has an agreeable berth as pro-Chancellor and Chairman of the Governing Council of the University of Nsukka. It is agreeable to record, too, that whenever he deals with matters of which this reviewer has direct knowledge he is entirely accurate.

D.W.

Tales of Lagos

This is *Lagos and Other Stories*, by Flora Nwapa (Nwankwo-Ifejika Publishing Co., Enugu, Nigeria)

Flora Nwapa triumphs again! This dozen of Nigerian lady writers has packed a lot of humour and laughter into a new collection of thirteen short stories titled, *This is Lagos and other stories*.

There has been nothing quite like this before, not since Peter Enahoro's hilarious best-seller, *How to be a Nigerian*. Nwapa's collection tells us how to live in Nigeria. The stories are immensely refreshing.

They deal in the main with the crisis and conflict of city life, and the Nigerian capital, Lagos, provides a most appropriate setting.

Nigerians who seek sophistication must go to Lagos to get it. Lagos is so different from the rest of the country, and those who live in it appear to be ceaselessly engaged in a struggle for survival. A brief spell in Lagos is a passport to better things. This is a myth, but then it holds strongly for many a Nigerian youth.

The Lagos lover is the most sought after by women. He can be lavishly liberal with money. But most Lagos lovers are fakes, and Nigerian mothers know that more than anyone else. And they never fail to remind their daughters who venture outside the village to beware of Lagos men.

Lagos transforms people, and it did so rather very quickly to Soha, a pretty village damsel who goes there to live with her aunt. Soon a Lagos lover comes into her life. There is a flashy car and plenty of money. The shy, unassuming Soha now starts to stay out late, as city life begins to fascinate her.

Then to the surprise - and shock - of everyone she secretly and without warning, marries her lover. This angers her aunt, an old-fashioned lady who insists that Soha must conform with tradition. *This is Lagos*, the title story, is a vivid illustration of the continuing conflict between the new and old society in Africa.

The Traveller is a disconcerting mirror on modern morality. Musa, rich and flamboyant, takes a trip to the country (the village, that is), but discovers to his surprise that permissiveness has not spread quickly from the city.

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The Road to Benin is a story that could have been drawn from the life of Ezekia, a brilliant school boy who won a school scholarship, but soon found his hopes of his delighted parents joining the underworld, a situation that was troubling many Nigerian homes.

The agony of Agnes in *The Road to Benin*, I am sure, be shared by many Nigerian girls. Agnes, desperate for a child, but can't have one. She is what most Nigerian girls would do: steal a child. The story Agnes shows unusual sympathy for the child despite the shame and hardship of being a child thief in a society that despises the childless.

Flora Nwapa has written an interesting book *How to Live* which celebrates the tensions, agonies and joys of life. The actors are alive and the story is crisp and simple - a primer for the young. Once you begin to read, you don't want to stop, and you will laugh at the idiosyncrasy of African people.

Bibliography of Nigeria: An Anthropological and Linguistic Study from the earliest times to the present (Cass, £11)

An extremely thorough and comprehensive volume by the Librarian at the University of Administration, Ahmadu Bello University, in a field where bibliographies is a major frustration. It contains nearly half a thousand entries on all branches of anthropology, but also relevant studies. Books, government publications and periodicals are listed. The reference to unpublished materials and publications in Arabic. The book is divided into two parts. One deals with Nigeria as a whole, the other with general works or those with several regions or sex groups. An analytical table of contents, a comprehensive ethnic index, an index and an index of subjects, together with generous cross-references, are ready and easy to use.

Awards for Commonwealth Staff, 1972-74 (The Association of Commonwealth Universities)

A very useful book for staff wishing to work in the Commonwealth countries, or a list of fellowships, visits open to university staff in Commonwealth country who carry out research, make studies or teach at a university in Commonwealth country.

Oral English for School Certificate intensive course by L. A. Peter A. Connell (George Allen & Unwin, 80p.)

A two-year preparation course for new oral English examinations for African Examinations Council.

People

The Cameroonian scholar, Jean-Claude Bahoken, whose controversial book *Clairières* in *Anthropologie Sociale* was published five years ago by *Éditions Africaines* is currently lecturing on his branch, *Nyambéisme*, at Paris University's Centre International de Recherches Africaines. A Protestant theologian who was a pastor for many years, Professor Bahoken says "nyambéisme is at once a scientific system and a philosophy of existence which studies the relationship between people and their perpetual interrogation on the meaning of life." The term itself comes from the Dual for Supreme Being, *Nyamb'a Dikoua*, who is central in the traditional religions of the coastal Bantu of Cameroon whom Professor Bahoken has studied extensively. The prospectus outlining the centre's activities for the current academic year states that Nyambéisme will be studied alongside two other religious movements, Christianity and Islam, both of which Professor Bahoken states "will have to be domesticated by Nyambéisme if they are ever going to meet the profound religious needs of the African people."



Jacques Ngom, a veteran Cameroonian trade unionist has died soon after being appointed to the Bureau of the new central union organisation, Union Nationale des Travailleurs Camerounais (UNTC). Born in Makak in 1920, he served as a junior civil servant in Batouri before becoming a leading member of the Union des Syndicats Confédérés du Cameroun (USCC), established after the legalisation of trade unions in French Cameroon in 1944. This organisation, affiliated to the French CGT, had its headquarters and main following in Douala; it was closely linked with the Union des Populations du Cameroun (UPC), in which Ngom was also a prominent member. When the USCC split in 1951 the factions were headed by Charles Assale (whose long political career has led to his being Prime Minister of East Cameroon and, today, a touring ambassador) and Jacques Ngom. Ngom's faction, the Confédération Générale des Travailleurs du Cameroun - which used the German spelling, following the UPC's campaign for restoration of the old German frontiers - maintained the link with the CGT. For some time he was nominated by the CGT to the French Economic and Social Council.

In 1955, after the urban riots which led to the banning of the UPC, Ngom was arrested. Later, however, his organisation severed its links with the UPC, and the CGKI split into two factions, headed by Ngom and Mayoa Beek. Ngom's faction, which eventually emerged the stronger, was affiliated to the WFTU, on whose international bureau he served. After independence Ngom was for some time secretary-general of the new Fédération des Syndicats du Cameroun (FSC). Last November, that organisation, the Union des Syndicats Croyants Sud Cameroun (not to be confused with the earlier USCC) and the West Cameroon Trade Union Congress, agreed to merge into the UNTC. In February, Ngom joined the Bureau of the UNTC as Secretary for information, with two assistants, Martin Che and Mlle. Sita Bella.

Miriam Makeba cut short a visit to Senegal for a cultural festival after a row with the government, who cancelled the festival, accusing the singer of "exaggerations and discourteousness towards Senegal" while on stage. The cancellation was decided at a meeting of the UPS Political Bureau presided over by President Senghor. The festival had been "knowingly transformed into a political demonstration serving an ideology and a government foreign to Senegal." Miss Makeba had been accompanied by her husband Stokely Carmichael. The festival had been organised by the Senegalese branch of the *Société Africaine de Culture*.

President Maga of Dahomey has been in Paris for a week's medical consultations, and for talks with French officials about co-operation. The visit was delayed by disturbances in the army last month.



Reid F Wilds, the new Liberian ambassador in London, and his wife Louise. Mr. Wilds arrived in Britain last week after 11 years as ambassador to West Germany. His predecessor in London, Mr. Dudley Lawrence, is now ambassador in Lagos.

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NIGER

The French Connection

A correspondent writes: A number of aspects of the visit of President Pompidou to Niger were insufficiently dealt with in the article "Pompidou sees for Himself" (*West Africa* week ending February 11). In particular the interview which President Hamani Diori of Niger gave to *Le Monde* on the eve of the visit is worth recalling, especially where it touches on France-Niger relations.

President Hamani Diori, in an interview with *Le Monde* to coincide with President Pompidou's visit said, on cooperation with the French that while he was convinced of the need for it "The French themselves should be persuaded of it, and that the negative and retrograde attitude of certain ill-chosen French *cooperants* should not compromise Franco-Nigerian relations. We have here only 500 *cooperants*. They should therefore be chosen with minute care, and it is important notably—indeed it is capital—that these men should be perfectly decolonised psychologically and mentally. We should not be sent, on the pretext that Niger is poor, hotheads or unadaptable people. On the question of uranium, the President said that it would not be discussed in detail, because it was not in African tradition to embarrass a guest. However, adaptations

were necessary, and in a few weeks he would be going to Paris to discuss the question with President Pompidou there. On the educational TV project he urged that the French should not put an end to an experiment full of promise, which helps Niger to overcome the distortion which exists between the countries of the coast and of the interior.

Chad and Libya

On the Chad-Libya question, the President said that it could only be regulated by bilateral talks between Chadians and Libyans. As the frontier question between Libya and Niger inherited from the Laval-Mussolini agreement before the second world war had been settled. He would however, attempt one last mediation, to try and persuade Presidents Gaddafi and Tombalbaye to come and sit round a table in Niamey. If this failed he would advise a limited committee of President Ahidjo of Cameroon and Ould Daddah of Mauritania to appeal to the OAU. He would not discuss the political situation in Chad with France, because that did not concern him.

Finally he said that the Council of the Entente had asked him to raise with the

French the proposal for a Council of the franc zone at a higher level. The entente had also to broach the difficult question of the French army. This independence was chosen by the community, and the pensions had thus been frozen at the level since 1962. This "obstruction" had heavy consequences, and should be reviewed. It was France had promised to increase pensions affected by 2 per cent, but this measure remained and was, in any case, insufficient.

Sources in Niamey said that Pompidou-Diori talks the question of French investment in a new mine at Akokan, near the frontier. It was raised President reportedly told the current of uranium on world markets meant that uranium from Akokan for the moment be too expensive. President Diori had also visited the West African Central Bank, which should be allowed to lend to member states to aid development. For example, the bank should be permitted to rediscount French treasury bills to make short term loans. Presidents had also discussed the possibility of extending educational television by construction of new transmission satellite, said the sources. Diori, Mme Pompidou and Mme Diori visited a nearby school to inaugurate an educational TV in action.

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Letters to the Editor

Nigeria's army expenditure

SIR - Allow me to comment on General Hassan Katsina's statement that Nigeria is spending £8.9m on emoluments and allowances for officers and men of the armed forces apart from maintenance costs of £15m and the defraying of a £101m debt incurred during the civil war. These figures need to be verified before one can make an assessment of the wisdom of spending this huge amount on an essentially unproductive branch of government. When it is understood that this sum does not include amounts spent on the police, prisons and customs security, many Nigerians must be asking themselves how long it will take our leaders to come to terms with the fact that we cannot afford this wastage of national resources. How can we possibly justify spending £8.9m a month on the armed forces when in 1969/70 the total recurrent grant for the University of Ibadan was only £2.8m!

I am not an enemy of national defence - I believe that we should not spare any effort in this respect. I am also a friend of the Nigerian army to which my brother gave his dear life as an army engineer. I am only concerned that the army should not fail.

There are too many fringe benefits for officers - subsidised housing, car allowances etc. Perhaps this expenditure would be acceptable if at least the army could be made to perform engineering and construction works as well as grow its own food. This sort of thing is being done even in the United States.

Our Government should realise that petroleum is not an inexhaustible source of money. If our Government doesn't do something fast, all talk of national rejuvenation may be seen for what it is.

Jide Osuntokun (Dr.)

University of the West Indies, Barbados

Angolan freedom fighters

SIR - I should like to correct some points in Basil Davidson's article "Who Is Fighting in Angola?" (*West Africa*, week ending February 25). First, I am not a "superman" although perhaps a little younger and more powerful than he. I walked 2,000 km. in the area affected by the struggle in Angola. The proof is the picture shown here, taken in Bie province in Central Angola. It is a shot of the Benguela railway, showing the milestone 864/III with the UNITA General Secretary Puna sitting on it. I also have the 16mm colour TV print from this point in Bie. Look on the Portuguese map and you will see where this milestone is. I walked four days more in a westerly direction from this point. You can play with words, but never with photos or



film. I have 700 original photographs and 100 metres of TV film which has been shown in ten countries including the USA. Anything can be doubted in this Angolan problem, but not my march.

Secondly, I never said that UNITA was the only liberation movement in Angola. What I did say that when I was in Mexico and Bie I saw not one MPLA guerrilla or village, and this is where their propaganda claims they are in control. I also say that UNITA does exist in Angola, very powerful, with good discipline and organisation. Also, Christianity is an element binding all the population of Angola. I was there in 1968, invited by the Portuguese government, in 1969 in the GRAE areas (more than 800km.), and in 1971 in the UNITA area and have many documents, photographs, films of praying people, etc.

Lastly, I am not a Maoist, capitalist,

communist, nor an "anti" journalist and it is my duty to write from all sides. Mr. ... writing like a military officer ... anyone comes with facts ... own. Also, he should differ ... statements of leaders and facts ... says he controls 2m. and ... then I am in agreement with ... son, these are only numbers. ... this very clearly in all my ... should not forget, however ... MPLA also claims to control ... 1m. of the people of Angola. ... they be believed any more than the liberation movements?

FRIT

Villach/Kärnten, Austria

Taipei or Peking?

SIR - An item in *West Africa* (January 21) states, "the Gam Nationalist China will set up emb each others capital".

This step would not be in the term interest of the people of Gambia. May I appeal to the Government to rethink this policy? I also urge all Gambians their influence to persuade Government to change their policy should all persuade the Government, the only correct policy for her to recognise the People's Republic of China. This recognition would be long term interest of the people of Gambia.

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Army and Politics in Ghana

If you think you are part of the solution you are really part of the problem".

If a telegraph pole is dug into the Ghanaian soil it will quickly burgeon: and the army is placed at the centre of government in Accra it will soon take root in the fertile political life of the capital. Indeed, it will be obliged to do so if it is to survive, and Colonel Acheampong cannot conceivably keep the army out of politics, however much he may intend to do so. The difficult question for the National Redemption Council, as far as the onlooker, is to know which group of interests or collection of individuals will succeed in grafting themselves onto the army council, and to whom the new military leaders will turn for help. Already, within a brief period of the seizure of power, conflicting pressures are beginning to be applied as the soldiers struggle with a government which they acquired on January 13 without any knowledge of what to do with it. And "solutions" are proffered which are indeed part of the problems which now confront not simply the army or the former politicians but the general public in its daily life.

In the comfortable days of the British and the early CPP and even early Progress Party it was confidently assumed that the military and civil power were quite separate: the army stood guardian over the state which the civilian government directed. But those happy Westminster and Sandhurst days are over. Very likely they never existed if the army (the last of the elites) is seen as moving always towards politics as it began to be Africanised, and as it began to be conscious of itself as a collective force, no less eager to pursue its advantage and protect its interests than other pressure groups within the local universe of Ghanaian politics. It has successfully intervened twice, and the inescapable fact now is that the army will be part of whatever government exists in Accra for the next decade or so. But what kind of government will that be, and who will be the army's counterpart?

All manner of claimants are coming forward. There is, for example, Mr. Ibedemah — "early and middle CPP" — a leader without a party, despite his recent re-election of the National Alliance of Liberals and its merger with other groups to form the now disbanded Justice Party. Ibedemah is a lone figure in many ways, waiting still for the call which has eluded him since 1961. Whether the NRC will reach out to enlist his help in a future crisis — when the money runs out and the imports do not arrive — one simply does not know. He may be thought to belong too much to a past which is still too close to be attractive. He also has to bear the further burden of belonging by birth and, in 1969, by weight of political support — to the Ewe community which is suspect (often absurdly so) in political terms, although the briefest of conversations with the former CPP leader ought to be

enough to allay the fear. That such a man should still be politically alert lends an endearing and encouraging feature to Ghanaian politics. And the bounding of Gbedemah (with legal and constitutional devices) from the National Assembly after the 1969 elections was not the least of the mistakes which the over-confident Progress Party leaders committed.

Then there is the "late CPP element" — would-be ideologues whose political career was perhaps the least tainted with suspicion of bribery and corruption, survivors of the Winneba Ideological Institute who once used the cloudy tenets of Nkrumahism to shroud their own beliefs. They can hardly be said now to constitute a coherent group: but the language, and a handful of users of the language, linger on. The voice on Ghana radio and television in 1972 is unmistakably that of Col. Acheampong or Col. Selormey: but the hand of Kofi Badu, a former sports writer and CPP editor, can (it is said) be detected in the quasi-revolutionary images used, as in the current newspaper call for a "new revolutionary man". It would be very unwise to suppose that the NRC is inclined towards "socialism, or "Nkrumahism", or to any kind of ideological stance. The easiest explanations of the stress on revolution and redemption is simply the need by the NRC to assert something, the religious beliefs of Col. Acheampong, and the strategic position (particularly on the government-owned press) of those who were associated with neither the Progress nor NAL party organisations. There is no room to doubt, and a great deal to suggest, that Col. Acheampong meant what he said when he replied to a journalist's question:

Q. *If you were to choose between Busia and Nkrumah which would you prefer?*

A. *I will choose neither of the two. I have my own line of conduct which I follow. Their time is past.*

But others whose time might also have been thought to have passed are reappearing. In the early weeks of the NRC, following dramatic acts such as the repudiation of debts and the revaluation of the currency, it began almost to look as if the day of the ordinary Ghanaian — that elusive common man — had dawned. The trade unions rejoiced. Bentum was prominent. The vindictive legislation of the former government abolishing the TUC was undone: a firm promise was given by the soldiers to control prices. And suddenly there was the announcement that J.K. Tettegah, the former General Secretary, had flown in from Cairo. He was received into the VIP lounge at Kotoku Airport — only to be escorted off to Burma Camp for questioning. And the NRC has already begun to frown on any suggestion of strikes or trade-union activities as forbiddingly as their predecessors, the NLC.

Yet another group of would-be met together briefly during the summons by the NRC itself. Council of State: a group of experienced "neutral" men growing numbers throughout the country exemplify the wealth of talent Ghana can offer. The result was the "National Advisory Council" was called, met on a Friday and dissolved on a Monday. The evidence given in the press was that it had responded to a "public demand" (the newspapers) for "new positions as directors of firms. The members of the Council (as was said) were not "men of revolutionary generation", and that some were actually "Newspapermen". Nevertheless, they included a practical skill. J.V.L. Phillips, for example, had served under the government, then under Nkrumah (after a period abroad) under Yaw Adu had an equally distinguished career as a "colonial administrator" in the cabinet under the secretary of the East African Services Organisation, and Secretarial General of the Commonwealth Secretariat in London. Modji and Robert Gardner are experienced administrators, K.A.B. Jones a man of absolute integrity, Nana Badu Dormaahene a chief of resource, having fought the Cooperated with Nkrumah, he NLC, supported Busia, and welcomed new military. But out they are becoming not part of a solution indeed, any can be found), but the problem of where power should be the national level.

The *Spectator*, *Pioneer*, *Graphic* and the *Times* professed to be confident "all the revolutionary forces youthful and dynamic are behind NRC": but perhaps the most interesting comment came in the edition of the weekly *Spectator* on 19 February: stick to old solutions in the revolutionary change is to give the impression that Ghana is lacking of action. Alas! Ghana has none of them."

And of course there is the service, many of whose members comforted in the early days of the NRC by the announcement that the officials dismissed by the Busia government would be reabsorbed, and that land and car allowances would be paid. During the First Military Era, the became an administrative state with civil servants were very powerful. It may be again, since the NRC is constant underpinning at both the national and local levels. It is difficult to see the revolutionary, dynamic and fruitful days of the National Redemption Council, not to believe that the speech, the agricultural policy, the decisions, educational plans, the steady day-to-day continuance of government are the product of unrevo-

ordered late comers to march to the local square for drill. (Whether the bulk of the civil service likes or dislikes the NRC's imposition of a 40 hour, five-day week, no one can yet say.) In more serious vein, a shiver of unease is said to have passed through the senior ranks of the service when the soldiers abolished the "retirement on full salary" guarantees for judges and former NLC members under the 1969 constitution, for civil servants understand contractual obligations and do not like to see them altered. For the present all may be well, but it is not easy to believe that the fiction (for such it is) of a non-party administrative state as a means of satisfying so politically alert and restless a society as Ghana in 1972.

Finally there are the soldiers themselves, who are very much part of a problem for which they believe themselves to be the solution. Not the least effective method of reducing imports would be to reduce the size and cost of the armed forces, and it was a timid move in that direction which helped to persuade the soldiers to put an end to the Progress government. But who will now bell the cat, when the cat is in full control of the house? Worst difficulties may lie in the future. Looking at the first few weeks of the NRC in office, it is tempting to argue that if the coup in February 1966 was a tragedy, then that of January 1972 was a farce. Once again Marx is proved a prophet. But comedy too may wear a tragic face, and have tragic consequences.

Of course it is easy to understand why a number of groups and individuals impressed by the dramatic reversal of devaluation, and the cancellation of some debts - were inclined, without much enthusiasm, to prefer the soldierly bearing of the NRC to the absurd arrogance of the Progress leaders. And it may be that the NRC can carry forward for a time the better policies of the Busia government including, most noticeably, its rural development. Where a terrible doubt arises, however, is not whether the NRC can effect any change in the overall plight of the economy - for that it can hardly do unaided - but whether it will be able to withstand the kind of local pressures which began to be exerted (within and against the army) after 1966. We may be seeing, therefore, not simply the resumption of a soldiers' government, but the beginning of weak and unstable military rule. In 1968-69, within two years of seizing power, the NLC was able to transfer power to those who had successfully grouped themselves around Busia (and to a lesser extent around Gbedemah) much as the British were able to recognise Nkrumah and the CPP as possible successors in 1951. But political society in Ghana is now fragmented. There is no stable body of opinion or leader to whom the NRC can turn; yet there must also be serious doubts about the coherence of the NRC itself. And therein lies the tragic-comedy of the present situation.

Dennis Austin

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CAMEROON

African football fortnight

Douala

The inter-African Continental competition for the eighth African Nations football cup ended with The People's Republic of the Congo winning the coveted cup when they defeated Mali by 3 goals to 2 at the Ahmadou Ahidjo Stadium, Yaounde.

The highlights of the fortnights football competition, for Groups 'A' and 'B' in Yaounde and Douala respectively, were the elimination of the Sudan, former holders of the cup, and of Morocco, the only competitors from Africa in the World Cup. Cameroon, the host country was eliminated in the semi-finals by one goal to zero by the Congo, who managed to reach the semi-final when they won a loss against Morocco. In the elimination for Group 'B' in Douala the Congo and Morocco tied with three points each to qualify for the semi-finals.

The scores in the elimination matches in Group 'A' in Yaounde were as follows. Cameroon defeated Kenya by 2 goals to one, Togo had a 3-3 draw with Mali, Kenya a 1-1 draw with Mali. Cameroon defeated Togo two goals to zero, Kenya another 1-1 draw with Togo and Cameroon a 1-1 draw with Mali.

In the Group 'B' elimination matches played at the Douala Re-unification stadium the results were: Morocco had a



Cameroon's national eleven march past in the new Ahmadou Ahidjo stadium, Yaounde at the opening of the African Football Cup Series

1-1 draw with the Congo, Sudan and Zaire, another 1-1 draw, Sudan and Morocco a 1-1 draw, in the match between the two rival countries of Zaire and the Congo the Zairians humiliated the Congolese by two goals to zero, Zaire and Morocco had a 1-1 draw and Congo defeated Sudan by 4 goals to two.

In the semi-finals Congo narrowly defeated Cameroon in Yaounde by one goal to zero, while Zaire forced Mali in the first match to a 3-3 draw and Mali

finally defeated Zaire in the extra time 4 goals to 3 in Douala. In the last classification match between Cameroon and Zaire, Cameroon defeated Zaire by 5 goals to 2.

Since the inception of the African Nations football trophy, the following countries have hosted the matches. 1957 host country, Sudan and Egypt won the cup. May 1959, Egypt host country and they also won the cup. January 1962 Ethiopia host country and they also won the cup. November 1963 Ghana host and Ghana won the cup. November 1965, Tunisia the host country and Ghana won the cup. January 1968 Ethiopia the host country and Zaire won the cup. Feb 1970, Sudan host country and they also won the cup, and Feb to March 1972, Cameroon host country and Congo-Brazzaville won the cup. Egypt is expected to host the 9th African Nations football cup or Ethiopia in 1974.

Apart from the trophy won by Congo they were awarded 22 gold medals, Mali, 22 silver medals and Cameroon 22 bronze medals. Meanwhile, Cameroons Cannon football club of Yaounde, won the 1971-72 African Champion football clubs cup and some African observers felt it would have been too ambitious for Cameroon alone to have won two African trophies in one year.

Two modern national stadiums had been built in Yaounde and Douala respectively for the 8th African Nations football cup competition. The two stadiums cost the Cameroon government about 5 billion francs CFA. The Yaounde Stadium can take 45,000 people and that of Douala can take 40,000. The two stadiums were originally known as the Omnisport Stadiums but the Cameroon Football Federation, (FECAFOOT) recently renamed the Yaounde Stadium "Ahmadou Ahidjo stadium" and the Douala stadium "Re-unification stadium".

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Commercial News

Ominous signs for Nigerian Tin

Ominous signs that the major tin-bearing alluvial deposits on the Nigerian Plateau are wearing thin were referred to by Mr. William Fox, former Secretary to the International Tin Council, when he addressed the tin consumption conference in London last week. "Nigeria has suffered a high rate of degradation in the quality of the tin-bearing ground under mining (the value fell from 0.91 lb of cassiterite in 1962-63 to only 0.65 lb in the year 1966-67)," he pointed out.

But he noted that there were tin deposits in the drowned river valleys underlying the flow of basaltic lava in the Plateau. "How extensive are these deposits is not known since even geo-physical investigation has its limits here. Attempts have been made to mine these sub-basalt deposits, but these have raised many problems of underground mining, water and rock decomposition which are new to the predominantly open-cast mining community of Nigeria."

Mining of these deposits seemed to require "massive capital resources which have not yet been attracted". One observer, he said, believed that the undiscovered resources of submarginal grades in Nigeria were equal to the known and inferred reserves which he put at 138,000 tons of tin, "but it would be optimistic to assume that the Nigerian industry (in its present stage) is likely to be able to exploit those reserves under the basalt for some very considerable time".

Looking at the situation in Zaïre, Mr. Fox commented "It contains one of the great tin reserves of the world and it would appear to be reasonable enough to regard its mining potential as to have been little more than scratched". But he added, "This position appears to have been obscured by the conservatism of its reports on reserves made in the 1960s and by the unfortunate history of its mining production since the state became independent of Belgium in 1960".

The pegmatitic deposits have produced more problems in mining, crushing and recovery than had been anticipated. Labour has been affected by the savagery of the internal troubles; mining supplies, including dynamite, were looted; capital investment was curtailed in the light of the relations between the Belgian companies and the newly-independent Congolese government; new equipment reached the mining areas only after overcoming massive administrative, financial and trans-

port problems. These factors explain the stagnation in the last ten years in tin production in the Congo and they may help to explain the slowness with which other foreign capital has moved to consider the exploitation of the Congo reserves. We may assume that it will take some time for questions of the terms of concessions, capital investment and repatriation of profits to be arranged so satisfactorily as to bring other foreign capital into tin in the Congo, but this will not affect the fundamentally very strong reserves position." Outside capital, he remarked, "is beginning to look at the prospects for a tin revival".

● *Mining Journal* has reported that following confirmation from the new Ghana Government, Ardeco, the Japanese Aluminium Development Resources company, is to go ahead with its plan to develop bauxite deposits in Kibi. "Pending Japanese Government approval, Bauxite Alumina Study Co. (BASCOL), will examine the feasibility of exploiting the deposits and of constructing a plant in the Tema industrial area. The project has been costed at \$200m and work is scheduled to commence after the feasibility study is complete, scheduled for autumn next year." Bascol comprises Kaiser Aluminium (50 per cent) and Reynolds Metal (30 per cent), with Japanese concerns holding the remainder.

● Ashanti Goldfields recorded an estimated pre-tax profit of £347,358 in February compared with £205,980 the previous February. The five-month total for the financial year since September amounts to £1,330,404 (£953,825 for the same period the previous year). The management has pointed out that some of last month's working costs were based on the devalued rate of 4 738 cedis to the £1, the present rate, since the partial revaluation, is 3 34.

● A resolution has been issued by the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries threatening concerted retaliation against any oil companies refusing to implement its decisions. The warning came in the middle of "test case" negotiations between the Gull producers and the Arabian American Oil Company (Aramco) over participation (the extent of the stake which producers are demanding to have in the operations of the concessionaries). Aramco has already accepted in principle a minimum of 20 per cent participation.

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Free market has helped rubber producers

Praise for the benefits gained by producer countries from the free markets for rubber has been given by Mr N A Symons, acting chairman of the Rubber Trade Association of London, at the annual general meeting. Noting that 1971 was a bad year for producers, particularly for small-holders, he said that the price, which had fallen to 15p per cilo in 1970, continued its "relentless decline" throughout 1971. The average price of RSS 1 in the London market for the year was almost 14 1/2 p a cilo. In December the price dropped to its lowest level for 22 years. Considering the increase in costs which had taken place in the last quarter century, it was remarkable that rubber estates were still able to produce profitably, albeit modestly, at these levels.

He went on: "Producers have always been able to take advantage of the facilities of the free markets to dispose of their rubber and these facilities have never been more beneficial than during the past two years of declining prices."

"For example, in 1969 many producers sold forward in the London Market substantial proportions of their crops at the high prices obtainable at that time in some cases up to three years ahead. Many advantageous forward sales have been made since then but, of course, at lower levels. None of these forward sales would have been possible without the facilities of a free market and the expertise of London traders, whose experience and business reputation have been built up over many years."

● United States membership of the International Coffee Agreement until September 30 next year has been approved by the US Senate and the legislation has been sent to President Nixon for signature. But reports from Washington indicated that the Senate supported the Bill only after State Department assurances that it would oppose moves to raise prices because of currency realignments or other "unjustified reasons". In addition the Senate Finance Committee has ordered a Government investigation into the Agreement.

● Ivory Coast, Portugal, Brazil and Columbia have agreed to "carry out effective and immediate control of supply of coffee" on the world market. A communique issued after two days of talks in Bogota invited other coffee-growing nations to a policy co-ordinating conference in Geneva in April and called for "continuous and permanent understanding" between producers.

● Two cocoa sales agency agreements have been terminated by the Ghana Government with J Aron and Co in New York and Martin Stuerken in West Germany. The agreement with Aron, signed a year ago, made the company the sole agent for the selling of Ghana cocoa in the USA and Canada, at a commission of half per cent of sales value.

Ghana and the EEC : an assessment

The application of the European Economic Community's common external tariff (CET) against Ghana's cocoa, aluminium and wood will place a major obstacle in the way of expansion of exports of these products to the EEC, says an article by Josephine Asante of the Ghana Commercial Bank.

She points out that the CET against cocoa beans, powder, paste, butter, wood and aluminium alloys, even after the adoption of UNCTAD's generalizes scheme of preferences, is generally high. "In particular, the tariff differentiation between cocoa beans and cocoa products from non-associated countries will tend to hold back the progress being made in our processing industries, and thus pose a real threat to what appears to be our main opportunity of increasing the value of our exports."

"Associated countries, however, have duty free access to the EEC, and in the world of a production surplus, this will put a non-associated state like Ghana, at a considerable competitive disadvantage. In the circumstances, some form of accommodation will be necessary if all the products mentioned above are to get into both Britain and the EEC market with the least competitive disadvantage. In the circumstances, some form of accommodation will be necessary if all the products mentioned above are to get into both Britain and the EEC market with the least competitive disadvantage. The most favourable form of accommodation might be accession to the Yaounde Convention, which will be renegotiated from August 1, 1973."

Miss Asante cites facilitation of access to neighbouring West African countries as another, indirect, advantage of association. "Association will, in the long run, break the barriers which at present seem to divide West Africa into Anglophone and Francophone zones and promote closer political collaboration and economic cooperation in West Africa."

In addition, Ghana could participate in the European Development Fund (EDF). "By participating in the EDF," she writes, "Ghana would become a recipient of part of Britain's contributions, which, estimated to be in the order of sterling £20m to £37m a year, may well reduce the UK's bilateral aid giving capacity. Thus, by deciding against association, Ghana may find not only that she does not share from the benefits of the EDF but also that her existing aid receipts are reduced."

On the other hand, African associated countries had been complaining about the relatively few benefits of association, in particular that they had not reaped the benefits of exports to the EEC to correspond to the favourable position they had given EEC exporters to their markets. The associates had also been vociferous in their attack on the failure of the EEC to give them a decisive voice in the running of the EDF, and had criticised the Fund for financing "white

elephant" projects, without providing the necessary technicians to man them.

In order not to let association adversely affect Ghana's industrialisation, care would have to be taken to ensure that advantage was taken of the Association Convention provision stipulating that developing countries could impose tariff duties to protect their infant industries. "If advantage is not taken of this clause then we risk the possibility that the influx of EEC manufactured goods into the country at zero rate of tariff might adversely affect our industrialisation effort, since our infant industries will have to compete with EEC products entering in at zero rate of duty. And since our industries are invariably high cost ones and have been growing behind tariff protection, some amount of protection will be required for their continuing development in the immediate future."

Miss Asante concludes that Ghana stands to gain from associate status when Britain becomes a full member of the EEC because she would avoid the CET being imposed by Britain and the other EEC members. But "against this, must be weighed the threat to her economic growth and industrialisation and to free trade posed by the EEC."

• Mam crop cocoa purchases in Ghana after 22 weeks totalled an estimated 414,285 tons compared with 373,345 tons for the whole of last season, to March 4.

A statement by the Ghana Cocoa Marketing Board said that as part of its reorganisation programme it had created a marketing division charged with collecting and analysing information on all cocoa consuming countries.



President Ahidjo has opened the Cameroons Development Corporation Moundou oil mill in Tiko. The CF. 600m. mill was financed by the European Development Fund. The picture shows the Minister of Planning and Territorial Development, Mr. Charles Awana, speaking at the inauguration.

• Nigeria "is undoubtedly the most rapidly expanding market in the world outside Europe", says an article on Britain's exports in the London Chamber of Commerce magazine. An article on Ghana says that "if the new Government can effectively implement a policy which puts growth first, and rewards those whose activities can create new wealth for Ghana, the debt problem will to a large extent resolve itself, and the 'death blow for democracy' may yet be seen as a victory for sense"

Forerunner of an African Payments System

• A payment agreement between Ghana and Upper Volta might be "a forerunner of a possible all African Payment System, in line with those advocated by the Association of African Central Banks", says the Ghana Commercial Bank annual report for the year ended June 1971. Under the agreement the Bank of Ghana is opening an account, on behalf of the Government, with the Central Bank of West African States in Ouagadougou, into which all private and official payments due to Ghanaians from Upper Volta will be paid. The Upper Volta Government is similarly opening an account at the Bank of Ghana and all payments due to Upper Voltaiques are to be paid into that account. In 1970 trade between the two countries stood at NC2 6m., or 10 per cent of Ghana's total intra-African trade.

A new trade and payments system has also been adopted by the Government to streamline cattle trade between Ghana and her neighbouring countries. Cattle-sellers from Mali, Niger, Upper Volta and

other supplying countries will receive direct cash payment on the "proper market value" of their animals. By "proper market value", explains the Report, is meant the normal market price agreed between the buyer and seller. In cases where there is doubt between the seller and buyer, reference prices computed by the Chief Veterinary Officer on the basis of average price per pound of cattle will be used as the determining factor.

The system operates at six marketing centres at border crossing points: Tamale, Kapulima, Mogononi, Paga, Pusiga and Aflao. The Bank of Ghana has provided facilities at the centres to enable importers of cattle to exchange their cedis into CFA francs or any appropriate currency.

Ghana's trade with other African countries grew by 29 per cent in 1970 to NC26.4m. of which imports took up NC21m. Mali accounted for the greatest slice of this trade, 15 per cent, and Nigeria and the UAR accounted for 73 per cent of the intra-African exports.

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SITUATIONS VACANT

STATUTORY CORPORATIONS SERVICE COMMISSION

Vacancies for SURVEYORS and ARCHITECTS in the Nigerian Railway Corporation

LICENSED SURVEYOR SENIOR ASSISTANT QUANTITY SURVEYOR ASSISTANT QUANTITY SURVEYOR ASSISTANT ARCHITECT

QUALIFICATIONS

- License to practise land surveying issued by the Survey Licensing Board of Nigeria. R.I.C.S. qualification will be an advantage, but not compulsory
- (b) & (c) A.R.I.C.S. (Quantities) or A.I.Q.S. or equivalent qualifications.
- (d) A.R.I.B.A. or A.M.N.I.A. or equivalent qualification acceptable by the Architects Registration Council of Nigeria.

EXPERIENCE:

- Considerable experience as a Licensed Surveyor.
- 10 years' post-qualification experience on all classes of work.
- (c) & (d) Two years' post-qualification experience.

SALARIES:

- Scale SAP 5 - £N2,860 per annum (Consolidated)
- Scale SAP 2 - £N2,125/£N2,250 x 65 - £N2,380 per annum.
- (c) & (d) Scale SAP 1 - £N1,020 x 42 - £N1,104/£N1,290 x 55 - £N1,565/£N1,640 x 60 - £N2,060 per annum.

CONDITIONS OF SERVICE:

- The appointment is on contract
- (c) & (d) The appointment is pensionable.

METHOD OF APPLICATION:

Applications should be written on Corporation's Application Forms obtainable from -

- The Secretary & Chief Administrative Officer,
Statutory Corporations Service Commission,
30 Marina,
Lagos
- The Nigeria High Commission,
9 Northumberland Avenue,
London W.C.2.

OR (iii) State Public Service Commissions,
and should be returned to the Secretary & Chief Administrative Officer at the address above not later than 8th April, 1972.

N B Employed Applicants should forward their applications through proper channel.

SITUATIONS VACANT cont.

**DEVELOPMENT FINANCE
COMPANY LIMITED**

Vacancy

TRAINEE DEVELOPMENT EXECUTIVE
with an engineering background

Job Description

Development Finance Company Limited, which operates in the field of providing finance for commercially viable industrial projects within the three Eastern States of Nigeria, has a vacancy for a **TRAINEE DEVELOPMENT EXECUTIVE** with an engineering background. The successful applicant will be employed as a member of a Projects Investigation Team with other members of varying backgrounds, including accounting and legal. Eventually he will be expected to take full responsibility for initial investigations of certain projects, not confined only to the engineering aspects, but in this task he will have the assistance of other members of the team with different backgrounds.

Qualifications and Experience

Applicants should be Nigerian graduate mechanical engineers with some experience of construction and process industries. As indicated by the job description above, they should also have an enquiring mind, some accounting knowledge and an interest in industry and business finance in general.

Terms and Conditions of Service

The post will initially be based at Enugu, which is the present Head Office of the Company. Commencing salary will be negotiable according to the qualifications and experience of the successful applicant but will take into account that the appointment is a trainee one with prospects of a substantial increase in salary upon successful completion of training. The Company has a Staff Provident Fund in operation and other terms and conditions of service are comparable with those of other similar organisations.

Applications

Applications should be in writing and addressed to the

General Manager
Development Finance Company Limited,
P O Box 367,
Enugu, Nigeria

to arrive before *31st March 1972*. Applicants at present residing overseas should state the approximate date of their expected return to Nigeria.

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London N17 0SN

MAPEL

FILM SHOW

The Information Section
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The following films will be shown:

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SITUATIONS VACANT cont.

AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH COUNCIL
OF NIGERIA (ARCN)

VACANCIES

Applications are invited from suitably qualified candidates for consideration for appointment to the following posts in the Agricultural Research Council of Nigeria, Moor Plantation, Ibadan.

- (a) Chief Scientific Officers
- (b) Principal Scientific Officers and
- (c) Senior Scientific Officers

Qualifications

Chief Scientific Officers: A good honours degree in Agriculture or Natural Science with post graduate qualification in agriculture or allied sciences for two posts one in Agriculture and the other in Man-power Training, and a registrable Veterinary degree or a degree in Livestock Science for a post in Veterinary and Livestock Sciences. Candidates must have had at least ten years post graduate working experience with at least five years in a good research institution. Candidates should be familiar with or possess demonstrable interest in the development of agricultural science policy co-ordination of research and training, and the application of scientific research and training to agricultural development and promotion of the natural economy.

Principal Scientific Officers/Senior Scientific Officers: A good honours degree in Forestry, Agriculture or Agricultural Botany with post graduate qualification in Forestry or Forest Products for a position in Forestry, in Natural Sciences (Biology or Zoology) or Agriculture with post graduate qualification in Fisheries for a position in Fisheries, in Agriculture or Natural Sciences with post graduate qualification in agriculture or allied subjects for a position in Agriculture or in Man Power Training, and in Veterinary Science or Livestock Sciences for a position in Veterinary and Livestock Sciences and in Agricultural Economics with post graduate qualification for a post in Agricultural Economics. Candidates for Principal Scientific Officers must have had seven years post graduate experience with 3 years in good research institution. Those for Senior Scientific Officers should have had five years post graduate experience with 3 years in a good research institution.

Duties

Chief Scientific Officers will be required

- (a) to assist the Secretary in the work of co-ordination of research and training activities and in implementation of Council policies and decisions, in initiating policies and programmes and in the development of existing institutions and establishment of new institutes,
- (b) to be responsible for collection, collation, documentation and publication of information and statistics on scientific and technical facilities and personnel and activities;
- (c) to acquaint themselves with agricultural scientific organisations and lines of research and various sources of detailed information;
- (d) to act as Committee Secretary, organise meetings, prepare agenda and working papers

Principal Scientific Officers/Senior Scientific Officers in the present smaller fields of Fisheries and Forestry will cover similar duties as above in their respective fields and assist with rapid development and expansion of activities.

Others in Agriculture including Agricultural Economics, Man Power Training and Veterinary and Livestock Sciences will in addition to certain duties related to specific aspects of these posts assist the relevant Chief Scientific Officer in his assignments.

Salary

Chief Scientific Officers:	£N3,000 consolidated
Principal Scientific Officers:	£N2,532 consolidated
Senior Scientific Officers:	£N2,070 consolidated

Conditions of Service: The posts are permanent and pensionable. Other conditions of service are similar to those in the Federal Public Service.

Method of Application: Applications should show a detailed Curriculum Vitae stating (a) Full names and Postal Address, (b) Date and Place of Birth, (c) Marital Status and number of Children, (d) Present Employer, (e) Present Rank and Salary, (f) Education, (Schools and Colleges attended with dates), (g) Qualifications with dates, (h) Career since leaving School or College, (i) Publications and activities in public or international affairs, (j) Languages spoken apart from mother tongue and three references of persons acquainted with work of applicant, (k) one passport photograph

Applications should be addressed to the Secretary, Agricultural Research Council of Nigeria, Moor Plantation, Private Mail Bag 5042, Ibadan, Nigeria.

Applicants in Government Service or in the Service of any other employer will submit their applications in duplicate through their Heads of Government Departments or of other Organisations and be accompanied by a confidential report from the applicants' Departments or Organisations as the case may be.

Closing Date: All applications should reach the Secretary, Agricultural Research Council of Nigeria, Moor Plantation, Private Mail Bag 5042, Ibadan NOT LATER than 30th April, 1972

SITUATIONS VACANT - cont.

NOTICES - cont.

**MILITARY GOVERNOR'S OFFICE, LAGOS STATE
DIVISION OF INFORMATION AND TOURISM**

VACANCY FOR A FILM PRODUCTION OFFICER (CAMERAMAN)

Applications are invited from suitably qualified candidates for the post of a Film Production Officer (Cameraman)

QUALIFICATIONS:

Applicants must have experience in Commercial film production and should be able to operate both 16mm and 35mm cine cameras on exterior and interior assignments, and in addition, should possess one of the following -

- (i) Higher School Certificate or
- (ii) General Certificate of Education at Advanced Level and either of the following certificates:
 - (a) City and Guilds Final Certificate in Photography
 - (b) Institute of British Photographers

DUTIES

Cinema Film Photography on assignments arranged by the Principal Information Officer covering all aspects of life in the Lagos State in particular. The officer will be required to cover important events in the Lagos State for use in Nigeria and abroad.

SCALE OF SALARY: Scale CIT15 £N1,392 x 48 - £N1,440 x 54 - £N1,494 per annum

CONDITIONS OF SERVICE:

The post is pensionable but appointment in the first instance will be for a probational period of three years, after which, subject to satisfactory work and conduct, the appointment will be confirmed. Other conditions of service are similar to those existing in the Public Service of the Lagos State.

METHOD OF APPLICATION:

Applications from candidates not in Government Service should be completed on application form obtainable from the Secretary, Lagos State Public Service Commission, 216 Yakubu Gowon Street, Lagos. Applications from candidates in Government Service should be submitted in letter form, through the Head of the applicants' Department and if the applicant is in a Public Service other than that of the Lagos State of Nigeria, through the appropriate Public Service Commission and be accompanied by copies of Confidential Reports for the last three years. It will be appreciated if a covering letter can be sent containing any special comments that may be of value in assessing the candidates suitability for the post.

CLOSING DATE:

All applications should be submitted to reach the Secretary, Lagos State Public Service Commission, 216 Yakubu Gowon Street, Lagos not later than Friday 31st March, 1972 while candidates in the United Kingdom should submit their applications to reach the Recruitment Attache not later than Saturday 15th April, 1972.

*(C O BAJULAIYE)
Secretary,
Public Service Commission,
Lagos State.*

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Tel 01 697 0980

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SITUATIONS VACANT cont.

**MILITARY GOVERNOR'S OFFICE, LAGOS STATE
DIVISION OF INFORMATION AND TOURISM
VACANCY FOR TOURISM DEVELOPMENT OFFICER**

Applications are invited from suitably qualified candidates for the post of Tourism Development Officer in the Division of Information and Tourism.

QUALIFICATIONS AND DUTIES:

Candidates must possess at least a good honours Degree in Social Science with ten years post qualification experience in Tourism matters. Ability to speak two to three foreign languages, namely, English, French and German will be an asset. Leadership ability and organisational competence are very necessary. Previous experience of tourism in any of the leading tourist generating countries will be an advantage.

Successful candidates will be expected to administer, organize, coordinate and plan tourism for the state.

SALARY SCALE: £N3,000 per annum (Contract Rate)

CONDITIONS OF SERVICE:

Three years' initial appointment. Fare paid for appointee wife and five children under eleven years on appointment. Leave after 18-24 months' tour and termination. Children and car allowances, contract addition, accommodation at rent rates not exceeding 12% of salary.

METHOD OF APPLICATION:

Applications from candidate, not in Government Service should be submitted in duplicate on Form LSPSC I (Lagos State of Nigeria Public Service Commission) which may be obtained from the Secretary, Public Service Commission, Lagos State 216, Yakubu Gowon Street, Lagos or the Administrative Attache (Recruitment) Office of the High Commissioner for Nigeria, 9 Northumberland Avenue, London WC 2. Application from candidates in the Lagos State Government Service should be submitted in letter through the normal departmental channels. An applicant in a Civil Service other than that of the Lagos State of Nigeria should route his/her application through the Secretary of the appropriate Public Service Commission who should forward it with copies of the candidate's Confidential Reports for the last three years.

CLOSING DATE:

All applications should be submitted to the Secretary, Public Service Commission, Lagos State so as to reach him not later than 31st March, 1972 while candidates in the United Kingdom should submit their applications to reach the Recruitment Attache not later than 15th April, 1972.

(C. O. BAJULAIYE)
Secretary,
Public Service Commission,
Lagos State.

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NOTICES cont.

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BROADCASTING IN NIGERIA. Talk by Sam Swazer, new Director of External Services of the Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation. Thurs 23 March - 6.30 p.m. Africa Centre, 38 King Street, Covent Garden, WC2.

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SITUATIONS VACANT cont.

UNIVERSITY OF IBADAN. Applications are invited from suitably qualified persons for the post of Lecturer (Reproduction Biomedicine) in the Department of Chemical Pathology. The successful applicant will be expected to have some experience in Clinical Biochemistry, research supervision, teaching and research. He will be required to take an active part in preparing graduate students for higher degrees. Appointment, for three years initially, and subject to review thereafter is to commence as soon as possible. Salary scales: Lecturer (Medically qualified): EN2,400 x 100 - EN2,900; (non-medical): EN1,380 x 100 - EN1,880/EN1,980 x 100 - EN2,340 x 75 - EN2,415 (post Adebun awards) a year. Passages are paid for appointee, wife and five children under 11 years, on appointment, approved overseas leave, and termination, where applicable. F.S.S.U./N.U.J.S.S. Children's and car allowances are also paid. Part-furnished accommodation is provided. Detailed applications (4 copies), stating age, full qualifications and experience and naming three referees by 31st March, 1972 to Acting Registrar, University of Ibadan, Ibadan from whom further particulars may be obtained.

NOTICES cont.

HIS HIGHNESS LATE WANOGHO AFUJUNYA THE OKPARA-UKU OF OROGUN CLAN AWAKENING CEREMONY

The Wanoghos and family of the late Okpara-Uku, in the United Kingdom, apologise to friends and well-wishers for postponing their father's ceremony from 26th February to 25th March, 1972 due to power cuts. Venue remains as Deptford Town Hall, New Cross Road, London, S.E.14.

Any inconvenience caused is deeply regretted.

*P. Abu Wanogho, Gen. Secretary,
Eta Family Students' Union,
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Dateline Africa

ANA



Student volunteers from Legon University and Mount Mary Teacher Training College, Kumasi, harvesting over 100 tons of sugar cane to feed the sugar factory at Asutsuare in response to the NRC's call for patriotic service

Trade delegation for USSR

The NRC is soon to send an official delegation to the USSR and other socialist countries to discuss economic measures, Col. Acheampong has announced. He told heads of banking institutions that this did not mean that Ghana was substituting one friend for another. "It means that we are expanding the range of our friendship and giving effect to our policy of non-alignment." He also said that he had been assured that the governments of the western countries still had a fund of goodwill for Ghana and were anxious to create new conditions for the renewal of economic relations to ensure that the flow of aid was not interrupted.

Dr. Busias government, said the Colonel, behaved as if its capacity to govern depended exclusively upon its ability to raise a few million dollars or sterling from foreign countries.

Ghana would not hesitate to respond firmly to any reprisals following the repudiation of some debts, Col. Acheampong added (on February 5 he announced the repudiation of about £34m. worth of debts to four British Companies because the contracts were alleged to be "tainted". Ghana would not hesitate to repudiate other debts found to have been incurred under similar conditions.

Ghana would prefer to talk to her creditors individually rather than collectively, official sources have indicated. Commenting on Britain's reaction to the repudiation of the debts the sources said

"We prefer to talk bilaterally with all creditor nations. We have not, for instance, talked to the East collectively but we have done so on a government-to-government basis". Mr. Richard Wood, British Minister for Overseas Development, was quoted as telling Parliament that the British government was consulting other creditor nations and the World Bank about the proper reaction to the repudiation.

'Nationalisation' call

The state-owned *Ghanaian Times* has called for the nationalisation of the oil companies in Ghana. In an editorial entitled "Nationalise the Oil Companies" the newspaper said "It strikes us odd that the untenable position occupied by oil companies in Ghana has escaped public scrutiny for such a long time". In the past, it said, the oil companies had used their own money to import refined petroleum products. But today, Ghana produced her own oil from the crude oil she purchased with her own money from abroad. With the incorporation of the Ghana-Italian oil company, the useful role these companies had to play was at an end. The *Ghanaian Times* was sure that if the government took another look at the millions of cedis the firms took away in foreign exchange it would be convinced that the time was long overdue to begin negotiations for a takeover of these firms.

Commissioner for Labour, Maj. Kwame Asante, has called on trade unions and employers to declare an industrial truce "at least for 20 years". During this time trade unions and employers should adhere to the machinery laid down for the settlement of disputes under the Industrial Relations Act. He told the Ghana Employers Association that the NRC would do everything possible to maintain industrial peace. There had been 71 stoppages last year involving 32,164 workers and resulting in the loss of 100,845 man-days, Maj. Asante said. In 1970 there had been only 56 stoppages involving 10,083 workers and a loss of 123,852 man-days.

The government has no intention of imposing a Secretary-General on the 17 national unions which would constitute the Trade Union Congress, according to a statement from the Ministry of Labour. It was up to them to decide whether Mr. Benjamin Bentum should be reinstated. The TUC had been restored to its former status and the unions could not be said to have failed in their attempts to organise their members to pay dues voluntarily. Arrears of salary, outstanding claims in respect of transport, and a month's payment in lieu of notice have been paid by the Board of Directors appointed by the Busia government to wind up the affairs of the TUC.

Lt. Col. Benni, a member of the NRC, has told trade union leaders that the NRC would ensure free trade unionism and would soon demonstrate its belief in this concept. Opening an office at the Trade Union Congress hall, he said that the NRC was working on proposals to amend sections of the 1965 Industrial Relations Act to enable the unions to operate freely.

The NRC has published a decree increasing the penalty for an offence against the customs law relating to bribery. Customs officers who demand or take a bribe, gratuity, or reward in order to neglect their duties face instant dismissal. They are also liable, on summary conviction, to a 5,000 cedi fine or imprisonment or both. Anyone giving, offering or agreeing to give a bribe faces the same sentence.

Anyone smuggling essential commodities out of Ghana, including flour and cement, faces a possible sentence of 10 years imprisonment without the option of a fine according to the Price Control (Amendment) decree. Anyone who speculates or deals with such commodities to make excessive or unlawful profit could also be sentenced to 10 years in jail.

The Customs and Excise department has been empowered to deposit uncleared goods in a state warehouse. Imported goods which are not entered or delivered from the customs area within four days would be deposited in the warehouse and subject to rent and other charges. Unclaimed perishable goods may be sold at public auction if uncleared within 14 days. The proceeds from such sales would

be used to defray expenses and any balance paid to the owner within six months from the sale if he applies for it.

- The NRC believes in fundamental human rights and the rule of law said Col Acheampong. Therefore people will not be imprisoned without trial under its administration. A statement from the NRC office said that a report, which had quoted the Chairman as saying that persons who fail to declare their evasion of payment of import duties would be imprisoned without trial was a misrepresentation. What he had said was that they may have their assets confiscated and may also face imprisonment after trial.

- The rural electrification scheme initiated by Dr. Busu's government has been suspended and will be diverted towards the construction of low cost housing for workers and the provision of good drinking water in the rural areas. Announcing this in Bolgatanga the Commissioner for Works and Housing, Maj. Felh, said that he has ordered a report on the scheme be prepared for him to study. The Bawku, Lawra and Wa projects, which are almost completed, will continue.

- The NRC has decided to investigate the way all landed property owned by Ghanaians overseas was acquired "to satisfy itself that the properties have not been acquired at the expense of the taxpayer and with ill-gotten funds". The NRC accepts that some properties may have been lawfully acquired by persons who have resided long enough in these countries to make enough money for their acquisitions.

- The death has been announced of Mr. Manyo Plange, aged 70, a retired High Court Judge who served in Nigeria and was once legal adviser to the Ghana Police Service.

Dr. Okoi Arikpo, Nigerian Commissioner for External Affairs, has visited Accra with a special message from General Gowon to Col. Acheampong.

SIERRA LEONE

A statement denying rumours about the recruitment of Sierra Leonean nationals for training as guerrillas in China, has been issued. The government said that in the past two years it has had under active consideration plans for obtaining seacraft for surveillance along Sierra Leone's coastline, which is approximately 315 miles long. The territorial sea area was recently extended to 200 nautical miles in the interest of security and to curb smuggling and encroachment by fishing boats.

"The Government has, therefore, decided to intensify security measures... Government's earlier requests to some friendly nations for assistance in this regard have been unsuccessful, but recently the Government of the People's

Republic of China donated to the Sierra Leonean Government two security patrol boats, which will be operated by about 60 trained Sierra Leoneans and arrangements are afoot for the recruits to begin their training as soon as possible".

- The executive of the Students Union and all the students have offered a written unreserved apology for the incidents which resulted in unrest at Fourah Bay. The college council has accepted the apologies, as have the Principal, Canon Harry Sawyerr, and the Vice-Principal, Professor Koso Thomas, who have decided to drop further action against students involved. At a news conference, Canon Sawyerr said that for some years he had noticed tribalism at the college and, as the students themselves had now realised this, positive action was being taken to stamp it out. He added that to give students an opportunity to air their views without fear, the college has approved a "Speakers Corner" for students.

In the report of the committee set up to examine student complaints and disturbances at the college, the Students Union executive was accused of being negligent in transmitting to its members accurate information about the plans and policies of the authorities, while passing on allegations contained in anonymous documents. The report expressed great concern at a state of affairs which necessitated police protection for the Principal. The report also criticised certain officials of the college administration.

- The government is to set up central planning machinery in the Development Ministry to prepare a comprehensive development plan. This was announced by the Vice-President, opening the third trade fair and exhibition organised by the government-owned *Daily Mail*. Sierra Leone's present 10-year plan ends this year.

- In its preparation for setting up a government sponsored commercial bank the government has been seeking assistance from Switzerland, Sweden and other countries, the President told a visiting group of Italian business men.

- President Stevens has accepted an invitation to serve as Chancellor of the University of Sierra Leone. The present Chancellor, Sir Samuel Bankole Jones, former President of the Court of Appeal, has ended his term of office.

- Women are now eligible to serve as jurors but, unlike men, for whom the minimum age is 21, they have to be at least 30 years old.

- The acting director of the Rice Research Station, Rokupr, Dr. Harry Will, is in Monrovia, following an invitation to serve as consultant to the West African Rice Development Association.

- Fifteen West German travel agents have made a four-day visit as guests of the management of Cape Sierra Hotel.

CAR

Bokassa Life-President

MESAN (The Movement for social Equality in Black Africa), the only party in CAR, is to hold its first congress since the 1966 coup on February 22.

The Congress decided unanimously to elect General Jean-Bedel Bokassa President for life.

- All foreigners have been banned from mining areas except authorised technicians, missionaries, planters and licensed traders with more than five years residence. The restriction also applies to naturalised Centrafrican citizens. The order provides for imprisonment for between three months and two years, and fines of up to £3,000.

An earlier decree forbade public servants from diamond dealing. It embraces members of the government, civil servants, local government officers, members of the armed forces and police and members of the national youth movement, none of whom may be shareholders or directors of companies mining and dealing in diamonds or precious metals. Nor may their wives or husbands. Companies having such people as their directors have been given 30 days to dissolve their boards and appoint new ones.

- A meeting of the employers union in Bangui said that economic stagnation in CAR was due to big debts owed to private firms by the administration and local government, the inefficiency of civil courts, postal delays and difficulties experienced by consulates. The administration and local authorities currently owed about £500,000. This paralysed firms' purchasing power and forced companies to resort to bank loans. On the courts the report said no commercial case had been studied or judged for years. This led Bangui businessmen to refuse to supply provincial customers. Letters normally took up to 12 days to deliver; on censorship the meeting asked that if it operated the officials should work faster.

SPANISH SAHARA

Moroccan newspapers have carried reports of recent incidents in Spanish Sahara in one of which eighteen deaths are reported. The opposition dailies *Al Alam*, *L'Opinion*, and *Mahgreh Informations* have all carried accounts especially of a clash in El Aioun on March 7, when eight demonstrators and ten Spanish soldiers were killed. The demonstrations were presented as an uprising for the liberation of "Moroccan Sahara", and were followed, said the papers, by numerous arrests. Also reported were demonstrations of solidarity in Tindouf in southern Morocco.

In a recent colloque of the right-wing nationalist opposition party in Morocco, the Istiqlal, which has constantly criticised the feebleness of the Rabat government on the Spanish Sahara question, frequent demands were made for a recourse to "popular action" and the use of arms.

ONGO-B Radical or Colonialist?

President Nguabi has been on a two-day visit to Paris, for talks with President Pompidou. He is reported to have discussed, in his capacity as Chairman of the Central African Customs Union (UDEAC), economic and monetary problems. Prior to his departure he had held a news conference that he had "very important questions" to discuss with the French President connected with UDEAC. The visit had been approved by the "highest party organs" as had the recent visit to Brazzaville of Mr Macnamara, President of the World Bank. He denied press speculation linking the abortive coup of Feb. 22 to the visits.

He confirmed that two former Ministers of Information, Lt Matoumpa Apollo, and Elie Itsouhou, had been killed, as well as a singer, Franklin Boukaka. He denied the charge by Amnesty International that 1,600 people had been arrested, giving the figure as 169. He had not given much thought as to what should be done with the guilty, "but the people's wish is capital punishment, and if the President does not fulfill that wish, he will fail". He also said that "aggressions are being prepared abroad against our country. The preparations are being intensified and the CIA and other Western secret services are solidly anchored in Central Africa". Major Yhombi Opango, army chief of staff, alleged that the organiser of the putsch, Lt. Ange Diawara, was a CIA agent. In the weekly *Enumba* he said a CIA document had been found in Diawara's house, namely, a study of the abortive coup of Lt. Kikanga of March 23, 1970. This had said that a successful coup in Brazzaville would have to rely on the division of party officials and the division of the people along ethnic lines. "One may ask how Diawara was able to get hold of this American intelligence analysis", asked the Major. The article also gave details of Lt. Diawara's flight. He left Brazzaville at 1 p.m. on February 22 in a jeep with five others. The jeep was abandoned at Kinsoudi, a few miles from the capital, and Diawara continued on foot to Goma Tse-tse, where he hid in the forest. On February 27 he put on civilian clothes and headed for the village of Madibou. He was still thought to be somewhere in the hush in the area.

At the news conference in Paris the President said he was pained by attacks on him in "so-called progressive journals". He gave no details of the events of February 22, other than to say that there had been no executions. Three men had been killed in the events. The rest would not be killed so that they should experience their sentences. President Nguabi, who reportedly referred to himself throughout in the third person, said the Peoples Republic of the Congo was to his knowledge the only country in Africa where scientific socialism was carried out in conformity with the principles of Marxism-Leninism. "There

has been no deviation to the right, our option is irreversible"; but he recognised that the dominant sector in the country was that of French capitalism. President Pompidou had committed himself to respect this socialist option, which justified Nguabi's visit to Paris, for "one can discuss seriously with the French government without becoming capitalist". He then criticised "idealists" who tried to give him lessons in politics, notably student organisations in France. He noted that he, at least, could leave Brazzaville without fear of being overthrown. The Former President, M. Massemba-Debat, was living freely with a head of state's salary. "It is not enough to have vegetated in Cuba, Peking or Moscow to be a marxist", he said.

Guests arriving at a reception the President gave were held up for some time by a bomb threat. They included Yvon Bourges, Secretary of State for Cooperation, and M. Ballanger, leader of the Communist group in the French National Assembly.

Prior to the visit the Congolese Embassy in Paris rejected criticism from left-wing intellectuals as "interference". They were replying to a statement by Jean-Paul Sartre and others expressing concern at mass arrests, tortures, killings and witch-hunts of "democrats and simple citizens". The Sartre statement described the events of February 22 as a reactionary *coup de force* against progressive leaders and militants and yet Nguabi continued to label himself "socialist".

Other criticisms of Nguabi have been published in the fortnightly *Afrique-Asie* which said that he had by his actions enfeebled the anti-imperialist camp. Opposite the "vast American base" which Kinshasa had become, Brazzaville had been an island of resistance and centre of support for progressive ideas and movements. Now, even if revolutionary terminology is kept, Brazzaville is preparing to reenter "the ranks of the orthodox neo-colonial countries". The paper claimed that it was probable that the army commander, Major Yhombi, was receiving support from the French secret service.

Major Yhombi put out a statement claiming that Ahmed Baba Miske, editor of *Afrique-Asie* was a collaborator of the CIA. He also named the art director, M. Morot-Su, and the journal's external relations director, Mme Atondi, as collaborators. All three were kept in touch through a Senegalese businessman named Labache living in Brussels. Mme Atondi's husband, Director of the School of Administration in Brazzaville, is one of those arrested.

Meanwhile public interrogation of the accused at the special Court Martial has begun. Major Kimboula - Nkoya, commander of the armoured car division said he had been tricked into participating by a second Lieutenant. Among those who denied participation were former Vice President Raoul, former party Secretary Ndalla, and former President Massemba-Debat.

DAHOMY Coup Accusations

The Government *Daho-Express* has called for "severest" punishment of those involved in the abortive putsch of February 23, saying this would be the best way of proving the cohesion of the ruling three-man Presidential Council. The commission set up to investigate the *coup* was doing good work, said the paper, and the presidential troika was determined to get to the bottom of the mystery. Far from being an internal army affair, as had at first been reported, the plot had been a "vast machination" against the "noblest, most vital and most sacred institutions of the nation". The paper claimed that some people expecting to benefit from the *coup* had returned to Dahomey from abroad.

One of the first to testify before the commission in Cotonou was the Assistant Secretary-General for Defence, Colonel Maurice Kouandété. As our correspondent pointed out last week, Col. Kouandété was the author of two previous successful coups in Dahomey, in 1967 and 1969. It is also now being pointed out by observers that several of those arrested in the *coup* attempt are known Kouandété loyalists, especially Lt. Kitor, who headed the commando which arrested Dr. Zinsou in the 1969 *coup*.

The weekly *Afrique Nouvelle* published in Dakar has been banned until further notice. A government spokesman said the paper had written tendentious articles about Dahomey. *Afrique Nouvelle* was started by the White Fathers after the second World War. Its editor, Simon Kiba is from Upper Volta. The Dahomey Public Works Minister, Gabriel Lozes, has denied the allegation in the article that he has been sent to M. Apithy by his political colleague, M. Ahomadegbe, to propose an Apithy-Ahomadegbe alliance. He was faithful in his commitment to the Presidential Council.

IN BRIEF

A meeting of the chambers of commerce, agriculture and industry of the five countries of the Council of the Entente (Ivory Coast, Togo, Dahomey, Upper Volta, Niger) decided to draw the attention of their governments to the low level of trade between the entente countries, and the need to study ways of stepping up trade. They also accepted the principle of setting up a committee of the five chambers, to represent them in the International Chamber of Commerce.

- Col. Traore, Mali head of state is to make an official visit to France from April 24 to 29. There will be a private stay of two days prior to the official visit. M. Faecart, French Secretary of State for African and Malagasy Affairs, visiting Bamako to prepare for the visit, said that the French government was most anxious that it should be successful.
- The Gambia and the Central African Republic have recognised Bangladesh.