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The Wig and the Sword

Independence of the judiciary, it is always claimed is the most important of the legacies which Britain has left to her colonies. To a most remarkable degree this claim is correct. Everybody knows post-independence judges who have trimmed their sails to suit their governments. On the other hand, there are many cases where, particularly in West Africa, the judges have produced judgements which have embarrassed their governments. In The Gambia there was the case of the then Prime Minister's marriage. In Sierra Leone the Court of Appeal decided that the trial of most of those accused of 'complicity in the overthrow of civilian rule was "null and void"'. In Ghana the acquittal of Mr. Adamafio on the charge of attempting to assassinate Dr. Nkrumah led to the dismissal of the Judges concerned and the attempt by the CPP Government totally to control the judiciary.

In Nigeria when, in 1953, the London constitutional conference recommended the "regionalisation" of the judiciary, this was almost the only issue then discussed which excited popular antipathy in Nigeria itself. For even illiterate people had by then decided that independent judges and magistrates could be more important than electoral commissions or "bills of rights".

In countries where, as is true of most African countries, formal democratic rights can easily be rendered meaningless because of intimidation by party thugs, by bribery, or by the influence of traditional authorities, it may be far more important for the individual citizen that he has unfettered access to the courts than that he has a nominal freedom to change his government. This is one reason why the general body of people in Commonwealth West African countries who have experienced military rule have not felt that they have been entirely deprived of their political rights.

To a surprising degree, the courts have not only remained independent of the military regimes, but may have appeared to the ordinary citizen to have been more free than they had been under the political regimes.

In fact in various ways the military regimes have clearly established their supremacy over the courts. But they have done so only in relation to issues which



Sir Adetokunbo Ademola

might directly question their authority. Otherwise they have been content to allow the Courts to carry on normally and, on occasion, even to uphold the rights of the citizen against the state.

The retirement, this month, as Chief Justice of the Nigerian Federation, of Sir Adetokunbo Ademola, under whom for over 14 years the Courts in Nigeria have shown a most remarkable independence, underlines the position of the Judges in Commonwealth West Africa today. Sir Adetokunbo was the first Nigerian to be

Chief Justice of the Federation, and on the eve of his retirement he has toured every part of the country and has spoken very frankly about the position of the Judiciary. General Gowon himself presiding at a farewell function for the Chief Justice, said that although it might be thought that a military governor should not undertake any review of the judicial system, nevertheless they had decided that the time had come for such a review. This, among other things, would make it easier and less costly "to obtain justice in our law courts". Even so, they would do nothing to reduce the independence of the Judiciary and Sir Adetokunbo himself said that he agreed that a review was necessary.

During his tours the Chief Justice had recommended, for example, that there should be a conference of State Judges to work out a uniform court system for the country. On the other hand, he warned that the Federal Supreme Court, which hears not only ordinary appeals but constitutional issues, should not be based on "state representation". He urged reestablishment of the Judicial Service Commission, which many Nigerians regard as a guarantee of judicial independence.

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To the outside world, Niger present might look like a country in the decisions of certain tribunals subject only to the approval of the military governors, although they awarding death sentences on an increased scale. It should be remembered, however, that one member of each tribunal judge or magistrate. But Sir Adetokunbo called for measures to give the accused greater measure of defence in front of such tribunals.

Whatever form the government Commonwealth West African countries may ultimately assume, it still is likely that the claim that they inherited an independent judiciary remain valid. It is possible that the "Westminster model" of central government will prove unworkable, or that British system of local government founder in a sea of corruption and nepotism. But for the ordinary citizen the one sure foundation for freedom still be the independence of the judiciary and the magistrates. If that goes, what will be left? Sir Adetokunbo Adeniran at present the greatest example that guarantee of freedom remains possible.

Seven Years of The Gambia

by a correspondent

This month The Gambia celebrates its seventh anniversary of its independence (February 18) in a pre-electoral atmosphere. The President, Sir D. Jawara, announced at the state opening of parliament in January that the House of Representatives would be dissolved after its next meeting in February, that arrangements were now being made for a general election to be held, possibly in the last week in March. It is expected that the election will bring a surprise reversal of the present position.

The ruling Peoples Progressive Party has 28 of the 32 elected seats, and the Opposition United Party of P. S. has the other four. Mr. N'Jie resumed leadership of the UP when his brother D. N'Jie, was killed in a car crash in January. Although "P.S." is a well-known Gambian figure, the lack of opportunity for any Opposition personality to gain much of a mark, as well as his periods of inactivity, combined with continuing support the PPP has meant that at most the Opposition gain a handful of extra seats. Any other would be surprising. The other opposition group, that of the former Finance Minister, Chief Sesay, is also unlikely to gain much support, even if it fields candidates.

No-one expects the election to be a bitter confrontation. The "first-come, first-served" method of voting, which has been described as foolproof against corruption and multiple voting, as well as

of forging of ballot papers, has helped build confidence in the fairness of the elections, and P. S. N'jie himself was quoted by a recent visiting correspondent of *The Times* of London, as saying that there was no attempt by the government to interfere with the political work of his party.

The present state of The Gambia, seven years after its birth, was amply covered by the President in his speech to parliament. For the fifth year in succession The Gambia had managed to maintain a modestly viable yet progressive economy. There had been independent financing of the entire recurrent budget and a considerable stepping up of the level of capital expenditure. On price control the President said that although the prices of certain essential commodities are already controlled, the government was looking into ways and means of making such controls effective. In the field of agriculture, the policy of diversifying and intensifying agricultural production with a view to increasing exports of agricultural products, as well as reducing the import of such goods, continues. An agricultural census is also planned, he said.

The President also spoke of how the government was deploying considerable resources to raise the income of the farmer. In this connection it will be recalled The Gambia Produce Marketing Board raised the producer price of undercoriander groundnuts during the 1971-2 season from D170 to D180 (£36), an increase of £2 per ton. In agreeing to this increase the government had reaffirmed its intention to encourage further production and better quality and thus to improve the farmers' income and arrest the drift from rural to urban areas by making farming more lucrative. The price increase was justified by the firmness of the world market price for groundnut products and by the healthy state of the Marketing Board's price stabilisation reserves. The season, which opened on December 13, lasts until March 29. The weather has been favourable and a good crop purchase figure of up to 120,000 tons has been forecast.

The Minister of Agriculture, Mr. H. O. Semega-Janneh, however, made a broadcast expressing surprise at the lack of an encouraging response to appeals for speedy evacuation, and appealed to all co-operative societies to hasten evacuation of their purchases. He pointed out that with a slow pace of transit during the peak period of purchase, the tendency was for the Cooperative Union to borrow more money for crop financing than was envisaged, resulting in the payment of high interest rates. He had directed, therefore, that "in the event of any cash shortage and in the event of deliberate delay in the evacuation of groundnuts purchased by societies, cash supplies will be withheld until progress in the evacuation of the groundnuts purchased is realised." The Marketing Board issued a circular to licensed buying agents saying



Groundnut cutters at a Bathurst wharf

that the response to its appeal for the immediate loading of craft was disappointing. At the present rate of transit, the Board was extremely concerned that groundnuts will still be left at buying stations waiting to be moved well into June under the threat of damage by rain. If immediate steps for loading were not taken, the Board would have no alternative but to appeal to the government to reduce the number of buying days or if necessary to suspend buying altogether until the position improves.

To return to the President's speech, he referred to the fishing industry and the establishment of two industrial fish processing plants. Local fishermen will be encouraged to take full advantage of the opportunities offered. The revolving loan fund for the purchase of outboard engines will continue but the possibility of the construction of bigger fishing boats for deep sea fishing will be explored. He also disclosed that a new World Bank mission would be coming to The Gambia to discuss the possibility of another soft loan, this time to expand the acreage of rice cultivation. It was hoped that this project would lead to the much-hoped for self-sufficiency in rice.

The President also said that the British firm Ballour Beatty would in a few months begin harbour works in Bathurst costing about 7m. Dalasis (£1.4m). This is being financed by a World Bank loan and from local funds, with some British technical assistance to establish the port authority to operate the enlarged installations. He noted that 2m. Dalasis (£400,000) had been allocated for the development of Yundum Airport, and thought was being given to further development in the light of the rapidly expanding tourist industry. Subject to the outcome of surveys being carried out, the government would ensure all necessary lengthening and reinforcing of the runway. To facilitate rapid and efficient service between Yundum and Dakar, the President said, a VHF tower and building at Yundum has been completed and new equipment has been installed. The reconstruction of one Bathurst street and the Brikama-Gunjur road have been completed, as well as the main trunk road to

Basse on the South Bank, and work on the North Bank road. At the Trans-Gambia ferry service, he said, efforts to improve the service have been fruitful, with more reliable and efficient service being provided.

(It will be recalled that last summer after the President's visit to France, it was announced that France would finance the studies for the building of a bridge over The Gambia River at the site of the Trans-Gambia ferry. The President said that time that he hoped the French would provide the £3m necessary for the bridge. The significance of the bridge is that it links the Casamance province in Senegal much more directly with the capital of Dakar. It is thus a high priority project for the Senegalese. It is understood that the bridge will be a toll bridge to compensate the Gambians for the revenue they would lose from the abandonment of the ferry.)

Relevant education

The President also mentioned education. While the policy of consolidating foundations that have already been laid before expanding into new fields was being maintained, the government was mindful of the increasing necessity of providing an education that is relevant to the needs and circumstances of the country. Intensified efforts would be made to reorientate a more practical and functional education system. "I am confident that in the not too distant future we shall be in a position where our educational system will be able to produce our basic manpower requirements for service towards national development." It was proposed, he said, to launch a pilot literacy project geared towards agriculture.

Sir Dauda underlined the great increase in tourism, which had been expanding at about 100 per cent per annum and would expand at a similar rate in the next few years. By early January over 1,200 tourists had already visited The Gambia in the current tourist season, which began on November 3. The new Fajura Hotel had recently opened, with accommodation for 186 guests.

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Ghana's cocoa buying problem

By a correspondent

Attempts to reorganise cocoa buying in Ghana bear similarities to Mark Twain's professed ability to get up smoking "I've done it many times".

There is no need to go as far back in history as the Noel Commission, which led to the establishment of the Cocoa Marketing Board, or to the Jibowu Commission, set up after a Parliamentary debate in 1955, to which Dr Busia made an important contribution. In the last year alone there have been three inquiries — the committee appointed by the Cocoa Marketing Board, the Aboagye Commission, and the Esseku Commission.

As a result of past difficulties a new purchasing system was introduced for the 1971/72 season, primarily designed to prevent buying agents from defrauding the Marketing Board by over-declarations. But by the end of November the situation was so serious that at least two MPs were threatened in their constituencies by farmers, and police had to be called in to stop a fight at a Produce Buying Agency shed at Bibram when angry farmers confronted agency officials over delays in payment. Farmers were furious that, as in the later days of the Nkrumah regime, they were being given "chits" instead of money.

Discussing the problem in Parliament before the coup, Mr Alex Hutton-Mills, Justice Party member for Ga, felt the need to recall the cocoa crisis years of 1953-1957. "Many people were killed, Twumasi Ankrab, Balfoe and others died as a result of cocoa politics. But for the grace of God, this small country of ours would have ended up with a federal constitution".

Other warnings were given in the Ashanti House of Chiefs, for instance, several members counselled that unless remedial action was taken quickly the efficient marketing of the crop would be rendered impossible. The Government responded by releasing more money into the system and the situation had undoubtedly improved by the time it was overthrown.

Nevertheless, it was not surprising that one of Col Acheampong's first announcements was a promise to review the cocoa purchasing system.

The basic problem for the farmers is to get cash for their cocoa, the problem for the Board is pay only for what is received, and not merely what the buying agents say they are delivering. Thus, the new 1971-72 arrangements allowed for the buying agents to be paid only after actual delivery of graded beans to the cocoa stores instead of merely on declared purchases. This was also intended to speed up grading and evacuation. To facilitate deliveries the Board established 24 storage centres in the cocoa-growing areas, as well as at Tema and Takoradi. The two largest

buying agents, the Produce Buying Agency and the Ghana Co-operative Marketing Association, were given advances to cover the first week of operation, after which, like the smaller licensed buying agents, they were expected to be self-financing.

Unfortunately, agents reported difficulties in obtaining cash, so that the infamous "chits", so long the bane of the industry had to be issued.

Mr P Quardoo, another Justice Party member in the old Parliament, declaimed: "When I was a child what impressed me most was that everything else except cocoa could be bought on credit. I never thought I would live to see the day when the poor farmer would take his cocoa to sell and return home with a piece of paper", but chits have been part of the cocoa scene for many years. What is questioned is the length of time before their redemption.

The type of hardship caused to the farmer has been illustrated by Mr Harona Esseku, the chairman of one of the recent committees of inquiry. "A farmer delivered his cocoa to one of the two big agencies, and when the farmer went to collect his money, he was told that the money had not come from Accra, *sika ivaa mbaw*. The farmer was quite willing to wait but after a fortnight there was a funeral ceremony. He was involved in something else and he wanted the money. He went to the office of this agency to ask for the payment of his cocoa to enable him to use his own money for his much-needed things. But what happened? The official at the agency told him: "Papa we have not got NC500 to pay for your cocoa, but we can give you a loan of NC500 with an interest of NC300!" And the poor farmer got the loan of NC500 with the interest of NC300 before he was able to go and perform the funeral."

Mr Esseku attributed this situation to the creation of a monopoly. The money belonged to the agency and had come to the secretary-receiver concerned from the Cocoa Marketing Board. "The official knows he is the only person in the district with money to pay the farmers, so he will dictate his terms" (Secretary-receivers have received a bad press recently, in the debate already referred to, a Progress Party MP, M J A. Anyan, attacked "swindlers who christen themselves secretary-receivers").

Apart from hardship to the farmers, the issuing of chits encourages smuggling, which brings immediate cash payment.

The most frequently advocated method of improving the chit system is to make them cashable, like postal orders. To prevent fraud the chits could contain a mark of identification, such as the farmer's thumb prints. The Busia Government had said that it was looking into this suggestion "very seriously".

Other recommendations about chasing put to the Government include the recruiting of expatriates to help it out (Mr Richard Quarshie, Minister of Trade, surprisingly said in November "all the malpractices in the purchasing system started after the man had stopped buying cocoa", there were strong rumours that Government was, in fact, implementing this suggestion), a reduction in size of large co-operative societies on grounds that they are now unmanageable, intensification of the policy improving feeder roads (in Buem, there are insufficient feeder roads to cocoa to Tema but there is a first-class road on the Togo side of the border), eliminating the importation of "sealed certificates" which are given the Produce Department to agents who turn present them to the Marketing Board for cash.

But however purchasing is streamlined the size of the industry and the amount of money involved makes it impossible eliminate malpractices entirely. Farmers themselves have on occasion been dishonest by, for instance, taking advances from cocoa brokers and then selling their cocoa to someone else. These exceptional difficulties were illustrated by this story told by Mr Quarshie: "Not long ago, a graded stock of cocoa was put in a shed. The shed had two mighty dogs each with two mighty locks. Outside these, two armed policemen were mounted. Next morning the graded stock of cocoa in the shed had disappeared".

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MATCHET'S DIARY

Never has such a galaxy of the historians of West Africa been gathered together as Professors Ade Ajayi and Michael Crowder have collected as contributors to their two-volume *History of West Africa*. The first volume is now available from Longmans at £5 (paper), £21 (Professors Ajayi and Crowder say that because of the great variety of written and oral sources in many languages and the great range of articles in learned journals, together with the wide gaps in knowledge that still remain, a "synthesis" such as they planned is very difficult for the individual historian. They have accordingly called upon a large number of scholars with specialist knowledge of particular areas or periods.

The major emphasis in the first volume is on "state formation" in West Africa. Contributors include a number from Ibadan, Professor Ajayi's own university — Professors A. L. Mabogumbe and Thurstan Shaw and Drs R. A. Adeleye and F. J. Alagoa. They bring specialisation in archaeology, urbanisation, Islamic movements in the Western Sudan, and the use of oral tradition. From the sister University of Ife come Professor I. A. Akiyogbin, who specialises in the history of Yorubaland and Dahomey, and Professor Robin Horton. Professor Abdullahi Smith, Professor of History at Professor Crowder's university, Ahmadu Bello, writes on the early States of the Central Sudan. American contributors include Professors Curtin and Ralph Willis, while Professor Ivor Wilkes, now at Northwestern, writes on the Mossi and Akan states. There is one French contributor, Monsieur J. Suret-Canales, and one Israeli, Dr. Nehemia Levtzion. Finally, from the University of Ghana comes Professor John Hunwick, who writes on Songhai, Bornu and Hausaland.

Contributors to the second volume, apart from the two editors themselves, will include Murray Last, Christopher Fyfe, John Hargreaves, Dr. Adeleye again, and Professor Boehlen.

Dr. Nkrumah's millions

What precisely are the Nkrumah debts to Britain which the Ghana government has repudiated? Col. Acheampong said that they amount to some £36m, and are owed to four British firms — Parkinson Howard, Swan Hunter, Seawork and the Newport Shipbuilding Company. Parkinson Howard had a variety of contracts under the Nkrumah regime. They constructed, for example, the Tema Harbour extensions (contract for some £6m signed in 1962), the Tema Steelworks (contract for £1,650,000 signed in 1962), and the Accra-Tema motorway (contract for some £3,850,000 signed in 1963). They also supplied locomotives and waggons under a contract for £1,297,000 signed in 1963. There may

have been other contracts but all these were due for completion before the end of 1966 and the longest repayment period was five years. A Parkinson Howard spokesman declined to say how much was still owing to the group but he added that "the whole thing is closed".

Swan Hunter and Whigham Richardson received a contract in 1963 for some £4,330,000, to build four ships for the Black Star Line. These were completed in the following year. Unlike most of the Nkrumah debts, which resulted from "contractor-finance", this contract was financed by a Commonwealth Assistance loan and a loan from the City of London under the sponsorship of Barclays Bank. The company have explained that they themselves have been paid in full, but they cannot say whether payment is still outstanding on the loans; repayment period for which was 10 years.

Seawork received a contract for six fishing vessels worth almost £1m, in 1961, and these have been in Ghana for almost 10 years. These were, I think, the first trawlers to be provided under "contractor-finance". Later there was a positive flood of these vessels, 10 from the Soviet Union alone, for example, and others from Norway and Japan. I can't find details of the Newport Shipbuilding contract.

It is believed that the British Government's Export Credits Guarantee Department covered all or most of the contracts not otherwise covered so that the companies are unlikely to be greatly affected, particularly as the date for the full payment on the contracts is long past.

Peace Corps cuts

Two Commonwealth West African countries are seriously affected by the proposed cutting of the U.S. Peace Corps from some 8,000 to some 4,000. Mr. K. Y. Abehrese, Headmaster of Okomto Anokye Secondary School in Ashanti has written to the *New York Herald-Tribune* to point out that the two Peace Corps teachers on his staff are doing excellent work and setting an excellent example and that it would be tragic to lose the services of such young men. Sierra Leone may be so badly affected that the Peace Corps Regional Director for Africa has called at the Embassy in Washington to explain the situation. He was able to say, however, that it was still possible that the cut would not take place. Members of the Peace Corps themselves demonstrated outside the U.S. Embassy in Niiger to protest against the reduction and the proposed withdrawal of the Peace Corps entirely from a number of countries.

Dr. Busia's French

Last week I wrote that my Abidjan correspondent thought that one reason why Dr. Busia might be unhappy if he stayed for a long time in the Ivory Coast was that he didn't speak French. I must apologise to Dr. Busia who, I should have remembered, speaks perfectly good French and has broadcast in the language.



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ER VOLTA

The Civilians and the Soldiers

Ouagadougou

er the Ghana coup, Upper Volta is the only country left in Africa still in the process of returning to civilian rule. At the beginning of January a serious crisis threatened this process. It is hard to say to what extent news of the military coup which took place in neighbouring Ghana at the time of the Volta crisis had a training effect on both military and civilians. Visiting Ouagadougou, it is clear that everyone is well aware of the situation in Ghana and much alarmed at it. The army men would see it as a threat of their own. It at the present stage had to intervene in order to stop the peaceful return to democratic life. The army, army and civilians alike, are very proud of their achievement in giving their country one of the freest and most liberal regimes in Africa. They would hate to lose this much cherished reputation. The roots of the latest crisis in Upper Volta lie in simple differences of both policy and style between the army and politicians. These differences led to a confrontation on January 5, when five army members of the cabinet announced that they would not attend the weekly meeting of the Government until methods were worked out for

real cooperation with the Prime Minister and the ten civilian Ministers.

The Upper Volta Constitution, which was approved by a nation-wide referendum in June 1970, provides for a four-year transitional period during which the country would be governed by both military and civilians. The President is an army man, General Sangoulé Lamizana, and the Premier is Mr. Gérard Kangba Ouédraogo, the President of the RDA party. The RDA has an absolute majority in Parliament and a *de facto* absolute majority in the Government as well. The latter is because since the death of one of the two PRA Ministers the PRA has been unable to present an agreed new candidate. Despite its twelve members in the National Assembly, it is paralysed by deep divisions. The Government has thus been neatly divided between military and civilians, except on certain occasions when the younger "technocrats" of the RDA, particularly the capable Minister of Planning, Mr. Edouard Yaméogo, have sided with the military to convince their elders that the matter was purely technical and without political implications.

The differences in style have been more than those of mere protocol. They

have made real cooperation impossible. The soldiers complain that the politicians are only interested in honouring pre-election promises, while the politicians complain that the officers are inflexible and insensitive to the wishes of the people whom they (the politicians) represent and have to account to. The officers want to run the Government with the same impersonal efficiency that they enforced themselves before the elections. They cannot understand the politicians' long and subtle discussions on every subject. One or two small incidents contributed to the atmosphere of mutual suspicion, and the crunch came during the reconsideration of the Budget in the National Assembly in the first week of January.

From talks with both sides in Ouagadougou, it emerges that while the civilians are trying to "localize" the conflict, the army men are making it an issue of principle. The Prime Minister says he very much wanted to know what the exact areas were where the military were discontented. A member of the military team had this to say: "We think that our presence in the Government is to be no more than a rubber stamp, without being able to take action to avoid mistakes being made, we shall have to clear out and leave the civilians to bear the full responsibility for their actions."

To this the Prime Minister replies with a question of his own: "What does the Constitution provide for? Is it a military government supported by civilians or a civilian government supported by the army?" It is the former, of course. And am responsible not only to the Government itself, but also to the National Assembly." Here Premier Ouédraogo was delicately alluding to another problem of the present day Upper Volta: relations between the Government and the National Assembly.

Such a relationship is not an easy one to sustain in well-established democratic systems, but it is twice as difficult in Upper Volta, first, because members of the Assembly are paid no salaries and enjoy no amenities. This is so nowhere else in Africa. The Deputies feel that they should be more independent and active in controlling the executive branch. They cannot be silenced or bought as in many other African states. Secondly, because of the twenty-year-old rivalry between the President of the National Assembly, who is also Secretary-General of the RDA Party, Mr. Joseph Ouédraogo, and the Prime Minister, who is also the President of the RDA Party, Mr. Gérard Kangba Ouédraogo (they are no relation).

So the Prime Minister finds himself hemmed in and criticized on all sides. A politician he must preserve his power within the Party. Unlike the President of the National Assembly, he comes from a remote area, Ouahigouaya, and does not have many supporters in Ouagadougou itself. He must satisfy the Assembly Deputies if he wants to keep his leadership. On the other hand, he must take account of the Army. Not only is



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President Lamizana



Premier Ouédraogo (Gerard)



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Finance Minister Yaméogo

responsible to General Lamizana, but in his day-to-day work he must deal with the young officers in his Cabinet. The five officers are the hard core of the military régime. Three of them, the Ministers of Finance (Garanou), of Agriculture (Dikoué) and of Information (Bila Zagie) have served in the Government since the military coup of 1968.

Whatever the personal limitations of Mr. Gerard Kango Ouédraogo, his task is an impracticable one and could not be carried out by the most capable of leaders without running into serious difficulties. Power in Upper Volta is too sharply divided between two distinct centres—the army and the Party. This leads to *immobilisme* rather than equilibrium. Once again, one wonders whether the system of checks and balances does not put too much strain on the limited capabilities of the leadership. In Upper Volta, where a certain innate democracy is apparent, it seems that the freedom of the individual and control of corrupt politics could be maintained without such complicated mechanisms.

This innate spirit of democracy shows itself in the soldiers' dilemma. Were they less democratically minded, they would impose their will through the use, or the threat, of force. Instead, they walked out of a Government meeting and asked for discussions to be held.

The immediate reason for their walk-out was two items in the 1972 Budget—the allocation of funds to the Defence Ministry, and the payments of salaries to the traditional chiefs. Both these problems were discussed in the Cabinet before being put to the Assembly. The civilians suggested certain cuts in the Defence budget in the name of austerity and in order to reduce the prospective deficit of some 3 million CFA. They also proposed to increase the salaries of the chiefs. The Chieftaincy question is an extremely sensitive one in Upper Volta, because of the unusual influence of the Mero Naba, the Emperor of the Mossi, who supports the RDA. The other chieftaincies are so small and weak by comparison that any increase in the chiefs' salaries means in effect an increase in the power of the Mossi chiefs. Their salaries were abolished in ex-President Yaméogo's time, the military introduced half-payments. The civilians have offered to make up the other half from the State Budget (mostly by cuts in defence), while the military insisted that it should be done by voluntary local contributions

Although some Army ministers are Mossi themselves, they are afraid that state payments may antagonize the other tribes, particularly in the Bobo-Dioulasso area.

When the Prime Minister and the civilians ministers saw how adamant the opposition of the military ministers was, they did not press the matter further. The military took this as an agreement. But when the Budget came before the National Assembly, the civilians' proposals were put and carried by the RDA majority. The army ministers realized that they had been out-manoeuvred, and accused the Prime Minister of duplicity.

There were then several meetings of the Voltaic officer corps, attended by the five military members of the Government, at least one of these was chaired by General Lamizana himself. The five were given a vote of confidence and told to remain in the Cabinet as a group. But it is not clear what mandate they have been

given for their dealings with the civilian ministers.

It is now clear to the whole leadership of the country that a transition period of four years of civilian-military coexistence is too long. The President of the National Assembly, Mr. Joseph Ouédraogo, says that he foresees the end of this uneasy marriage in less than two years' time, completely civilian Government would then be established. But even he cannot guarantee that when the marriage breaks up it will be a civilian Government that will take over.

The army officers are also positive that the present arrangement cannot last full term. One can see their dilemma: on the one hand they are reluctant to lose their power, on the other they are unhappy to see the fruits of five years' hard work turned had by what they consider rotten political methods.

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People

With his first book, *Nigger at Eton*, to be published in March, **Dillibe Onyema** is busily working on his second, provisionally called *John Bull's Nigger*. He describes it as "an expose of the black man," an explanation of why he considers it impossible for there to be a stable relationship between the black and white races. After four years at one of Britain's most expensive public schools, he finds himself caught between two cultures: he admits that he has neither close European nor close African friends, and gives his interests as "fishing and

company, and to travel. Born in Enugu, he went to England in 1959 and hopes to return home for a short visit in July, his first trip to Nigeria since 1965. It will be interesting to see how well received are his views that "the black man needs criticism, because he needs to be told his faults, the greatest of which is oversensitivity, the failure to analyse himself. No-one has yet told him, 'Look, your problems are your own fault'."

Mr **Frank McFadzean**, who takes over as £67,000-a-year chairman of Shell Transport later this year, will be remembered in West Africa for his attempt in the early days of the Nigerian civil war to secure the release of Mr Stanley Gray, the Shell-BP manager. Gray was held by the Biafrans for 11 days in the Presidential Hotel, Enugu, after the capture of Bonny by a Federal sea-borne assault in July 1966. He became a pawn in the Biafrans' attempt to obtain £3.5m in oil royalties from the company; although he signed a letter to Ojukwu promising a token payment of £250,000 Gray stressed that he was acting under duress. McFadzean, then managing director of Royal Dutch Shell, went to Enugu after being warned by the then Maj Gen. Gowon that he would be travelling at his own risk. On his return, he said that Gray had secured his own release after an hour's interview with Ojukwu (none of the money was ever paid to the rebels). McFadzean was also a member of a British Government mission to Italy at the beginning of the Second World War which offered Mussolini 12m. tons of coal if he would keep out of the conflict.

Physical force has its limitations. Nigeria's national boxing coach, The former featherweight champion of the world, Mr. Hogan Bassey, admitted recently that he had tried unsuccessfully to make his two wives live under the same roof but quarrels had proved inevitable. The attempt failed, he explained, "as I cannot box them to submission in the case of a misunderstanding."

Mr. S. O. Fadahunsi has been appointed chairman of the 12-man Nigerian Industrial Research Council.

The formal enthronement of Dr. Francis Arinze as Archbishop of Onitsha is due to take place on March 5.



Dillibe Fishing and Witchcraft

witchcraft." Claiming to possess "certain powers", he says that Alex Sanders, self-styled "King of the Witches" in Britain, turned down a challenge to a duel - with prophecies as Dillibe's chosen weapon - "because he thought I was too young." Now 21, Dillibe has incurred the displeasure of his father, Dad Onyema, member of the International Court of Justice, who apparently dislikes his son's antics (publication of some of the juicier incidents from his forthcoming book in an English magazine resulted in him being barred from visiting Eton again). Father-son relations were not improved when the distinguished judge went to stay at a plush London hotel last year - and found his son working there temporarily as a porter. The Eton book was rejected by four publishers - "I was reaching the point of suicide" - before it was accepted. The publisher has taken an option on his next five books, after which Dillibe hopes to keep them to himself, for his ambition is to run his own publishing

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Books and Publications

IN THE YAM ZONE

The New Yam Festivals of West Africa,
by D. G. Coursey and Cecelia K.
Coursey (reprinted from *Anthropos*,
*International Review of Ethnology
and Linguistics*, Imprimerie St Paul,
1700 Fribourg, Switzerland)

The "Yam Zone" of West Africa stretches approximately from the Bandama River in Ivory Coast to Mount Cameroon. The latter, as the authors say, is also an ethnic boundary, between the Negro races of West Africa and the Bantu-affiliated races of the central part of the continent. As at the western end of the zone, cultures with substantially lower levels of social organisation are encountered when the boundary of the zone is passed. The northern and southern limits of the zone are material rather than ethnic, the limits of climate.

The area thus constitutes what the authors call an "Ethnobotanical zone", for the yam growers celebrate the arrival of the new yams each year with festivals of major importance in the respective societies. These festivals, say the Courseys, have very largely been neglected by anthropologists, which is a pity, as the yam festival is a common factor running through several widely varying cultures, including the highest cultures of the forest region, such as the empires-states of Ashanti, Dahomey, Ile and Benin, as well as the more egalitarian societies such as the Ibo and the Ewe. To some extent yam societies are also matrilineal, but this is not a feature of the zone as a whole. However, as the Courseys say, "no other crop has been so universally venerated within this part of Africa", although in certain areas important rites are associated with other crops, such as the Ga New Corn Festival or Homowo, or the Ibo festival associated with cocoyam harvesting. "There is no doubt a need for a fairly high degree of social organisation for yam farming to be carried out successfully, but the correlation between the use of yam and a high degree of civilisation is hard to explain: nevertheless," say the authors "it appears to exist in West Africa."

The article rounds up all the information available about yam festivals among the major ethnic groups of the area, and puts forward various conclusions about their significance and origins. There is also a comprehensive bibliography of

sources the authors have used (the Courseys and Mary Kingsley to a recent article on the Ewe New Yam Festival in this journal). They also include examples from their own experience of Ibo, Ewe yam festivals, the only ones they have observed at firsthand. There are sections on the survival of the ceremony in Afro-America (it is only in St. Louis that a definite survival has been traced), which is surprising, in view particularly of strong Ashanti, Fon, Yoruba survivals in the Americas) and comparable ceremonies in other parts of the world, which help them to build their eventual thesis.

The "essential conceptual feature" of the festival is the prohibition on eating of new crop yams before the festival has been celebrated. "The rest of the New Yam Festival may be regarded merely a ritual process whose repetition ensures in a pre-literate superstitious society that the prohibition is kept, and further that it is only broken at the proper time, when the consumption of yams will cause no harm to the future of the community." The authors reject, incidentally, some of the "origenic" interpretations of the festival as reflecting the mortality of observers and detect no evidence for a phallicism or ritual sexuality, although the "normal tubes form of the African *D. Totundata* would seem an ideal basis for a phallic cult."

After examining and dismissing the view that the possible toxic nature of young yams might have led to the prohibition the authors suggest that the prohibition relates to the end of the yam's period of growth in which yam plants need to be protected from the damage which would be caused by the removal of tubers. Furthermore, "the festival had its origins in a pre-agricultural period earlier, possibly much earlier than the beginning of true agriculture three to four millennia ago, and was associated with the indigenous development of a form of 'protoculture' of yams."

The consequences were that the population could expand by allowing some safeguard for its food supply and secondly it conserved the best forms of yam. A true agriculture based on the yam only grew up in areas geographically coterminous to those where the festival was already practised.

"The Lion's Tail" by Dorothy K. Coveney and W. N. Medicon (Constable £3)

This anthology consists of unflattering references to the English, with a wide variety of sources going back as far as Cicero ("you must look out in Britain that you are not cheated by the charioteers") to modern Soviet spokesmen. There are no quotations from the main reservoir of colonial newspapers, although there are some Indian quotations and a large number of American ones.

The authors find that the most persistent accusation against the English has been that of perfidiously followed, perhaps, by hypocrisy and commercial greed, whether manifested through "imperialism" or not. More admirable qualities (individualism and "the stiff upper lip") come in for their share of ridicule, but somebody somewhere, has accused the English of every conceivable vice — for example, both of licentiousness and of a total lack of interest in sex. The English can afford to laugh at most of the accusations though the view that they have made no contribution to the arts is in some ways the most wounding, because it is so untrue. In any case there is nothing that has been said about them abroad that they have not said about themselves at home — but even this self-deprecation has been used by some of the critics against them.

D. W.

Interpreting figures

Race and the Press: four essays by Clement Jones, Peter Harland, Hugo Young and Harold Evans (Runnymede Trust, 50p).

This 60-page booklet contains more practical suggestions than a score of theoretical dissertations. Everyone with any concern for either racial harmony or the mass media should read it. Because the four lectures which are reproduced were given on similar topics but on different occasions there is some overlapping of examples — the treatment, for example, of a particular Home Office statement about the number of coloured immigrants entering Britain. The *Daily Telegraph* reported 5,778 more immigrants admitted, which was factually accurate. But the figure was simply the number of admissions from August to September, and represented a falling rate. The implication of *The Telegraph* headline was that immigrants were still "pouring in", and it was therefore likely to contribute towards marshalling public opinion in favour of controls. The headline *Immigrant Rate Dropping*, would have been equally factual but would have tended to persuade the reader that immigration was no longer a serious issue. Harold Evans, the Editor of the *Sunday Times*, points out "Even the very decision to publish a set of routine

monthly figures at all carries a message a suggestion to the reader immigration is something to be wary of perhaps anxiously, that the immigrants somehow a threat. Several papers do in fact publish these monthly figures they by silence, or the *Telegraph*, accurate but partial reporting, nearly represent the truth that day?"

If it is agreed that reports in the mass media can cause ethnic tension. Any newspaper or broadcasting station which does not foster such tension must recognise the consequent commitment that it must have a positive policy to avoid unnecessary damage. For too much more from laziness than malice. British newspapers have avoided responsibility by shying away from the concept of "commitment" on grounds that it prevents that "objectivity" to which they claim to subscribe. This is an attitude prevalent in Africa too, and for that reason I recommend these lectures to journalists working in Africa, particularly in a country like Nigeria where ethnic differences are a part of public life and need to be handled sensitively instead of that last phrase almost wrote "and are potentially inflammatory" but that is the sort of unhelpful dramatization of communal differences which journalists are so prone to indulge in (predictions of violence frequently self-fulfilling).

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THE MILITARY UNDER THE BUSIA GOVERNMENT

Since transferring power to a civilian government in 1970, the Ghanaian military has not fared well. A large number of top officers have retired, died or been seconded to other organizations. The list includes all former members of the NLC - Gen. Afrifa became Chairman of the National Committee of the National Service Corps, Gen. Ocran retired to Oxford University, Gen. Ankrah retired to take his horses, and Gen. Kotoka was killed in the April 1967 coup in addition, Col. John Ewa became Director of charge of administration in the Ghana Industrial Holding Corp. (GIHOC); Col. Laryea, Secretary-General of the Ghana Legion; Gen. Nathan Aferi, High Commissioner to Nigeria; Major A. J. Cobbin, Chief Transport officer of the Omnibus Services Authority; Lt-Gen M. A. Otu, retired; Gen. D. C. K. Amenu was seconded to the National Service Corps; Director, Brig. J. R. K. Acquah was retired; Col. C. K. Yarboi became deputy General Manager for Administration of Ashanti Goldfields; Admiral D. A. Hanson is head of the National Vocational Training Institute; Col. Larley has died; Brig. Kattah became Defence Adviser to the High Commission in New Delhi; Col. Sanni-Thomas is seconded to Protocol; Col. Quaye became Head of the Navy.

In addition to this list, the NLC retired five other high-ranking officers for political reasons (Ashitey, Zanlengu, Kut Assasie and Hassan). This means that one-half of those who held ranks of Lt-Col and above at the time of the 1966 coup have been lost to the military.

Retirement of the top officers has meant rapid promotions for the middle level officers. The Colonels and the Brigadiers are young and inexperienced and there are now serious promotion blockages facing junior officers, particularly since the military establishment is not expanding. The Military Academy under Col. D. A. Asare, had intakes as large as 150 men in the early 1960s, but now intakes have been cut back to only 25 men a year. The course has been expanded from two to three years, but this has been achieved by sending the cadets to Ghana Technical Secondary School in Takoradi for two years. The actual training at the military academy only lasts one year.

The really significant aspect of the Military Academy is the Staff College, although men are still being sent to Camberley, in the U.K., and to India or Canada in the Commonwealth Staff College training in the United States has been suspended because it was considered that Ghanaian officers only got half a course, since one-half of the American course deals with nuclear weapons. The American course (such as was taken by Col. Acheampong) was not considered adequate for Passed Staff College (PSC) qualifications.

The role of the military after almost fifteen years of independence is still unclear. The army itself sees its main (and probably sole) role as one of guarding the nation against its foreign enemies. To the Busia government the Guardian role appeared either insufficient or non-existent. They found it difficult to justify spending more than Nc 40m a year on an institution that contributed so little to the economic and social well-being of the nation. The Busia government attempted to deal with this in two different ways.

On the one hand, the military budget was cut back for 1971-72. The most serious cuts were in the Air Force and the Navy, both of which seemed clearly superfluous. The Navy was not expanded, its ships were in need of refitting but there was no money for that. The ships were reported to be in such bad shape that they could not be sailed to refitting. The *Achimota*, old flag ship of the Naval Chief of Staff, was decommissioned and was offered for scrap. The Air Force could afford very little flying time because of the high cost of fuel.

The Army also had its share of cuts - the parachute battalion which used to be at Tamale was disbanded because it was too expensive to maintain. It was reformed as the Seventh Battalion at Takoradi to keep some airborne capability, but costs were still excessive, so the entire battalion was disbanded and the personnel absorbed into other units.

1971-72 defence expenditure was budgeted at Nc 40.4m (31.4m for recurrent and Nc 9m for capital expenditure). Cutting back the budget while maintaining the size of the establishment meant that there was very little money for "non-essentials" such as exercises, training, ammunition, etc. Restrictions on imports meant that the military had real supply and spare parts problems. Many vehicles were not repairable locally.

The Government was also seeking new ways to use the Army. Since April 1970 the military had been supporting the police in an anti-smuggling operation on the borders. Then, in September 1970, joint Police-Military operations against crime began. The Army medical corps was active in the anti-cholera campaign and the Air Force provided flood relief aid in the North. But all these activities still left Ghanaians with the feeling that the military could be more useful.

The National Union of Ghana Students suggested in the Summer of 1970 that the technical branch of the Ghana Army should be used in agriculture and construction. The then Minister of Defense, J. Kwesi Lamptey, said at that time that the Ghana Army would only be used for defence. But a year later, after the Ministry of Defence had changed hands and a Northerner, Alhaj B. K. Adama, had become Defence Minister and Ghana's financial condition had worsened, the attitude towards non-military work changed. In last summer's budget the Finance Minister announced:

"It is possible to combine... training with substantial contributions to

national development. Therefore during this financial year, it has been arranged that whenever units go out on training exercises they will seek to leave behind them some positive development project... by way of roads or sanitary buildings."

Progress had been made in the military, however, in recent years particularly in the area of self-sufficiency. The Air Force is almost completely self-sufficient, except for a few Italians who help with the Aeromachs. The Army is also mostly on its own for training with the exception of two Canadians. The Ghanaians are also running the military hospital themselves with only two Canadian doctors, who are expected to leave at the end of this year. The only real tie that remains with the British Army is a troop exchange programme. For six weeks, one Ghanaian Battalion goes to Aldershot for training while a UK parachute battalion comes to Ghana for a similar period.

Recently there has been great uncertainty in the armed forces because of both personnel shifts and loss of income.

Lt-Gen M. Otu had served a longer than normal tour of duty as Chief of Defence Staff (he served 3 years from March 1968 to June 1971), and found that he was retired while on leave last summer. Otu had been under house arrest during the NLC period (many believe that this was done at the insistence of Inspector-General Harlley) General D. K. Addo, former Army Commander, was appointed acting Chief of Defence Staff, but some feared that he lacked the finesse that Otu had. Brig. J. R. K. Acquah (former Director of Army Intelligence), became acting Army Commander. Col. Acheampong became Commander of the First Infantry Brigade in Accra. Lt-Col. E. M. Osei-Owusu became acting second infantry Brigade Commander in Kumasi. Two months later, Brigadier Acquah retired to enter the building industry. Brigadier Twum-Barimah was appointed acting Commander - leaving the entire military leadership young and new at their jobs.

The hardest thing for the military to tolerate has been their declining income. In the July 1971 Budget, a National Development Levy was introduced which required a one per cent contribution from all workers earning more than Nc 1000. In addition, vehicle maintenance allowances were abolished with effect from August 1. This meant a tremendous cut in the real income of officers. One observer calculated that a typical major who was taking home Nc 215 a month would only take hom Nc 125 under the new budget. In November, part of the vehicle maintenance allowance was restored. But the following month's massive devaluation again cut deeply into the real income of the officers.

The lot of the military under the Busia government was clearly not a happy one.

Valerie Plave Bennett

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Angola: Who is Fighting?

There are times when, seeking truth, the modest observer of the African scene (and if not modest at the outset he will rapidly become so) can be thankful for a sense of humour. His readers may be even more thankful. About, for example, this question of who is fighting the Portuguese in Angola.

It's not a question which bothers the Portuguese. They have long made it clear, whether in military handouts or regular correspondence, that there is in fact only one guerrilla army of any significance inside Angola, that of the MPLA whose leader is Dr Agostinho Neto. It continues a little to bother the exiles which, while withdrawing its personnel from Mr Holden's Kinshasa-based "government in exile", continues to pay some heed to Mr Holden's claim to have effective forces inside Angola. But it is mostly in Western Europe that the question seems to arise.

In Western Europe, mainly from persons in Britain, Belgium and Sweden, one finds a fairly constant stream of propaganda about a third organisation, UNITA (União para la Independência Total de Angola) whose chief figure, Mr Jonas Savimbi, is Mr Holden's former "foreign minister". This organisation claims to be the only serious revolutionary party in Angola, to have a force of some 3,000 fighters, to have control over "one million people in the districts of Moxico, Cuando-Cubango, Malange, Bié, Lunda and Huila during 1970" (UN A/AC 109 20 April 1971), and generally to be the sole nationalist threat to continued Portuguese control.

MPLA observers

Now in 1970 a number of foreign observers traversed different parts of Angola's eastern districts with units of MPLA, those who did this had come from France, Sweden, Finland, Algeria, Italy, Western Germany, and Britain, the last country's "representative" being myself. And a careful reading of all their reports brings absolutely no evidence of any significant UNITA presence, or even any presence at all. The most that appeared possible, though not sure, was that UNITA did indeed exist along a narrow tongue of territory in northern Moxico, thus, incidentally, is also what the Portuguese believe (see a series of articles in *O Comercio*, Luanda, July 1970).

My own conclusion was that UNITA's principal claims were absurd, and that UNITA was not little more than a distraction. I have since discovered no fresh evidence that could lead me to a different view. But this was where I began to need a sense of humour. For Mr Savimbi's men in Western Europe (and these undoubtedly exist) began immediately to shower me with accusations of a

violet and indeed libellous nature. According to their *Kwacha* (London, undated, but late 1970) I had "dared", in offering a considered judgment about the situation in Angola (which, after all, I had formed on the spot and not in Stockholm or Brussels or London), to "fabricate lies", to indulge in "filthy propaganda", and "consistently confuse truth with falsehood". And so, with adjectival variations, it continued.

Yet there are other strange aspects of these UNITA effusions that may interest. I think, a wider public.

Another UNITA-London publication, dated June 1971 ("Angola: Portugal and Allies (NATO) Facing Defeat") carries a long interview with Yvette Jarico with Mr Savimbi ("transcribed from a recorded tape"). The recording is said to have taken place inside Angola, and an uninformed reader could easily suppose that Mme Jarico was there at the time. But I learn from her (*via Mr Jarico*) that she was not in Angola, then or at any other time, and merely "sent her tape-recorded questions". She does not say from and to where she sent the questions. But she explains with regret that they and the answers were published without her consent. And not surprisingly.

For although the interview is dated August 1970, one of the questions (page 12) asks Savimbi to comment on articles of mine which appeared in *September* of that year. Perhaps no less revealing of the real value of this stuff, Savimbi casts doubt on my visit to Angola, saying that I claimed the little town of Muie (whose outskirts I reached) was 350 kms (about 220 miles) from the Zambian border. Muie is well marked on any good atlas, so I should have been singularly foolish to have said any such thing. What I did say was that Muie was 100 miles on a latitude from the border, but that I myself had walked about 300 miles. Mme Jarico's interview, in short, seems a rather poor basis for accusations against other people of "fabricating lies" and "filthy propaganda"; but never mind, a sense of humour often helps.

It needs to. Another UNITA-London outpouring, ("Document 2", July 1971) has an article (with corresponding content) entitled "Basil Davidson in the Service of Modern Revision" or, alternatively, "Social Imperialism". This, one supposes, was in line with the propagandist interest which UNITA was then receiving in Peking. UNITA, we read, "do not need lessons from such old-fashioned colonels" - tut tut, but wait - "who are retreating and working for their pensions, and speaking on behalf of their imperialist and revisionist masters... He is being paid by somebody and we know now who that somebody is" (Editor and you, too, the agent of Washington and

Moscow?)

Silly, yes, but there are further points in this that bear on UNITA's claims to be a serious or even minimally honest organisation. Here, as elsewhere, UNITA are presented as a super-leftist revolutionary party for which even the world-war-two struggles of the Yugoslav partisans are "of no interest". Yet how ever silly people may be, one can still judge them by their friends.

Last summer an Austrian journalist, Herr Fritz Sitte, gave a Lusaka press conference (*Times of Zambia*, Aug. 7) reporting on a journey in Angola with UNITA. He must be something of a superman, since "he travelled more than 2,000 kms" during "his month's stay". This means that he must have walked an average of about 40 miles a day for 30 days, but never mind... He also said that "there exists only one strong guerrilla republic in Angola - that is, UNITA 'liberated areas', as well as much else displaying his thorough approval of UNITA. But who is Herr Sitte? In 1970, as it happens, he wrote articles about another visit to Angola, this time to Holden's units in the far north-west. On that occasion he was rather less energetic, walking a mere 800 kms. (500 miles) in 47 days although laid up with sickness for part of that time. He wrote with deep admiration for Holden and his movement, and felt able to report that they controlled 2,100,000 people, or nearly half Angola's whole population - and this, please note, at a time when Holden's movement had practically vanished from Portuguese communiques.

Christians and Marxists

Never mind, the interesting point is just why Herr Sitte was so pleased with Holden and his movement. This he repeatedly explained, most clearly of all in *Alle Welt* (Nov-Dec, 1970), the illustrated Vienna periodical of Papal Action for Dissemination of the Faith (Papstlichen Werkes der Glaubensverbreitung). Holden's movement, Herr Sitte assured his readers, had nothing to do with Marxism or Communism. "There is no ground here for Marxism," he concluded, "Christianity binds the various Angolan tribes together in their wishdream of a free Angola."

Christianity counts in Angola: not a doubt. Yet how does it come about that the so vehemently Catholic and anti-Marxist Herr Sitte finds it possible to approve wholeheartedly of the so vehemently secular and super-Marxist UNITA? And if Holden controls 2,100,000 Angolans and Savimbi another 1,000,000 ("or more"), who is left to the Portuguese - let alone to the MPLA against whom the Portuguese, according to their own generals, are fighting all the time? Who is doing the lying? But let it go. All the same, the Angolan war of liberation is a serious affair. There is really no place in it for rubbish of this kind.

Basil Davidson

Commercial News

'HISTORIC' OIL AGREEMENT

Signing an agreement granting an off-shore oil concession to Henry Stephens and Sons, Nigeria's Federal Commissioner for Mines and Power, Shettima Ali Monguno said the event was historic because it was the first time Government had signed such an agreement with a wholly indigenous company. "All in this country feel proud that our citizens are joining the government in the risky oil business." He paid tribute to the company's chairman and managing director, Chief Henry Fajemirokun, and said that the Government would encourage similar associations with indigenous companies.

Chief Fajemirokun praised the Government's forward-looking policy of ensuring greater Nigerian participation in the industry. "Apart from the Government itself which is to participate in the three phases of the oil industry... we earnestly hope that better opportunities will be given to Nigerians in the private sector to do likewise."

The concession area covers 34,329



Shettima Ali Monguno

square miles near Bonny, the premium is £50,000 and the company has to pay a further £15,000 a year in support of petroleum technology educational programmes. As with the off-shore agreements already signed with Occidental,

Deminex and Japan Petroleum, the Federal Government will have a 51 per cent participating interest on discovered oil in commercial quantities.

In January, the chairman of Delta Oil Chief Godfrey Amachree, announced that his company had started drilling Nsukwa, south of Asaba, commenting: "This is an historic occasion for Nigeria because this is the first oil well drilled with Nigerian private capital in partnership with foreign capital."

• An article on the Nigerian economy in the British Government's magazine *Trade and Industry* by Mr. L. F. Hogg, a councillor in the British High Commission in Lagos, concludes that Nigeria "with its population of some 65m, its development schemes and its improvement payments is no longer just a market promise for the future. It is now a market in reality, to which the eyes of the whole world of commerce and industry are starting to turn; and the future is now of consolidation followed by further growth."

"Traditionally, British manufacturers have been Nigeria's principal suppliers. They maintained their faith in Nigeria's future during the difficult days of the civil war and 'backlog' of payments and held their position well in the general increase in trade that has taken place during the past two years. But they must now prepare for the really hard sell in the large new Nigerian market, there is no room for complacency and nothing should be taken for granted."

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'Cover Ghana from Abidjan'

French firms were forced at the end of the Nigerian civil war to review their overall position in Africa and decide how much effort to put into establishing themselves in Nigeria, says an article in the latest issue of *Commerce International*, the journal of the London Chamber of Commerce. "It is significant that most of the French companies who made this kind of review have already been working hard for at least a year to try to build the Nigerian end of a Lagos-Abidjan axis, often involving considerable short-term sacrifice."

The author suggests that British companies could follow this formula with considerably less sacrifice. "Ivory Coast is the most rapidly growing of the francophone territories, and there are remarkably few exchange control problems. Companies needing regular but not continuous representation in Ghana, where exchange control problems are the major obstacle, might well give thought to covering both countries through a staff man resident in Abidjan. A similar result could be achieved by extending the territory of existing representation in Accra, but the Ghana Government's intransigence over providing foreign exchange for travel would restrict activities considerably."

A footnote adds: "In spite of the political developments which have taken place in Ghana since this article was written, it is believed that the general case for switching representation from Accra to Abidjan still holds. Nevertheless, it may be advisable for companies wishing to make a change to hang fire until the new government's intentions on foreign exchange policies are made known. At the time of going to press it seems unlikely that any radical changes can be expected."

● Guinness' trade in Ghana "is checked by the uncertainties which political change has produced," the chairman, Lord Iveagh, told the patent company's annual general meeting in London. Recalling that the first Guinness from the company's new brewery in Kumasi was successfully launched on December 6, he commented: "Great efforts had been made by all our staff to fulfill our plan to have Guinness back on the Ghana market before Christmas. Since that time, the Ghanaian currency has been devalued by 44 per cent, and more recently there have been Government changes, and a subsequent revaluation of the currency, the full consequences of which are not yet clear."

● The British Government "very much regrets" that the new Ghana Government has made unilateral announcements about the cancellation of debt payments affecting contractual obligations "without any form of consultation." Announcing this in Parliament, Mr. Anthony Kershaw, for the Foreign Office said: "Debts owed to

Governments other than the United Kingdom and to the international institutions, total some £300m. Payments are heaviest in the next 10 years but repayments of aid loans continues until the year 2020." Debts currently outstanding were estimated at over £400m.

● A pretax profit of £329,925 was made by Ashanti Goldfields (owned by Lonrho) in January, compared with £226,396 in December. The four month profit total is £983,046 compared with £747,845 after the same period last year. A statement attributed the January profit figure to the higher price for gold and the December devaluation of the cedi, which has now been partially revalued.

● The Joint Committee of British System Builders and Component Manufacturers is planning a trade mission to Nigeria and Ghana next May. A statement issued by the Committee said, "As a result of the Nigerian civil war and of a long-standing need to speed up construction projects throughout West Africa, there appears to be a considerable market for British building systems, components and expertise in that area". The mission is expected to visit Accra, Lagos, Ibadan, Kaduna, Kano, Port Harcourt and Enugu.

AFRICAN BANK'S 'UNCERTAIN' FUTURE

Senegal's Finance and Economic Affairs Minister, M. Babacar Ba, said the African Development Bank faces uncertain future, since by the end of the year almost all of its funds would be exhausted. Speaking on his return from a meeting of the Bank's Board of Governors in Abidjan, he pointed out raising the level of contributions would not be a practical solution to the problem since most of the member states behind in their contributions. They could not float loans on the international market because its weak financial position would deter potential lenders.

He considered that the best solution was for the Bank to "swallow its pride" about being an all-African institution and open itself to participation by African countries, as the Asian Inter-American Development Banks have done. This would pose the question: the independence of the Bank - but could not achieve its aims given the present state of its financial resources. This question had been discussed at Abidjan meeting and would be "a major topic" at the forthcoming annual conference of the Governors in Algiers.

● The Zaire Government has announced its agreement in principle to the route of the trans-Africa highway through Mahagai, north of Lake Albert.

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EASTBOUND - From Lagos, Tema, Takoradi, Abidjan, Lome etc. to Japan: SAIKYO MARU due Lagos/Apapa Apr. 14, Pointe Noire Apr. 20, Japan Jun. 4.

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STRAIT TOWA from Hong Kong slg. Feb. 2, due Lagos/Apapa Mar. 12, Conakry Mar. 21, Lome Mar. 22, Tema Mar. 23, Abidjan Mar. 24, opt., Monrovia Mar. 28, Freetown Mar. 30.

OUTWARD - STRAIT FREETOWN from Nigeria/Ghana to Singapore opt., Hong Kong and Japan early April; STRAIT TOWA from Nigeria/Ghana to Singapore opt., Hong Kong, Japan and Shanghai March/April.

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Ghana, Nigeria give credit guarantee problems

Britain's Export Credit Guarantee Department had a difficult year in 1973 with problems over Pakistan and a transfer problem with Nigeria, Mr. Roy Fell, secretary of the Department, said last week. These had been dealt with as Chile and then Ghana became problem areas. He said that the international situation was causing concern and might put pressure on the premium rate. The rates for ECGD insurance set nearly six years ago would remain at the same level for the immediate future, but it is a measurable point at which a substantial debt experience had a downward effect on premium rates. The Department covers about 37 per cent of British exports and has liabilities of about £5,000m in the first three-quarters of the current financial year. ECGD covers more than £23m in claims compared with £27m in the previous full financial year, Mr. Anthony Grant, Permanent Under-Secretary of State for Trade, said in Parliament. "Many developed countries already operate schemes of this kind," the Government believes that it is a fairer system for Britain to do the same."

Parliament has given a second reading to a Bill seeking to enable British firms to insure against political risks in the form of expropriation and nationalisation, war and currency inconvertibility. The scheme is designed to encourage British investment in developing countries, as is a scheme to be run by Overseas Development Administration, which part of the cost of about pre-investment studies will be reimbursed. The book value of British companies' existing net overseas assets amounts to about £1,700m in developing countries.

■ Sir Manuel Perez-Guerra, secretary-general of UNCTAD, will press conference in London that UNCTAD conference in Chile next week will probably pass a recommendation urging that developing countries should get more benefit from Special Drawings Rights Support for such a link increased and was "under more consideration in the International Monetary Fund, the Group of Ten, individual governments," but the scheme still had many opponents, particularly central banks.

■ Discussions on the renegotiation of the International Coffee Agreement began in London. Among the changes being considered is a demand by coffee producers for a bigger share of export quotas. The Executive Board of the Agreement is also to consider proposals to offset the effects of the dollar devaluation on producer nations' coffee export

SITUATIONS VACANT

SIERRA LEONE

An international organisation with interests in Sierra Leone invites applications from suitably qualified Sierra Leoneans for a post in one of its associated companies.

Applicants aged 30-35 years should be University Graduates or hold equivalent qualification with at least three years commercial experience at a responsible level. A knowledge of business systems will be useful particularly if this experience has been gained in a marketing/sales capacity.

Applicants from other fields with sound commercial experience and evidence of their ability ultimately to move into management will also be considered.

Write with full details to:

Box No. X1408,
West Africa, Cromwell House,
Fulwood Place, London WC1V 6HZ.

LAGOS STATE GOVERNMENT

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT: LAGOS STATE SCHOLARSHIP AWARDS FOR POSTGRADUATE STUDIES 1972/1973

Applications are hereby invited from graduates of Lagos State Origin for Lagos State Scholarship Awards for Research Work and Post-professional Studies.

2. Scholarships will, normally, be awarded for courses which are available in Nigerian Universities but consideration may be given to deserving students who either are already in Universities abroad or whose courses of study are not available in Nigeria.

3. The Scholarship covers tuition fees and maintenance allowance of EN660 per annum for students in Overseas Universities and EN500 per annum for students in Nigerian Universities.

4. Qualifications:

(a) Applicants must have a good University Degree preferably First Class or Upper Second Class Honours or equivalent.

(b) Applicants of any age may apply, but preference will be given to those under 35.

5. Application Forms: Scholarship Application Forms are obtainable from:-

(a) The Permanent Secretary, (Scholarships Section), Lagos State Ministry of Education and Community Development, 216, Yakubu Gowon Street, Lagos, Nigeria.

(b) The Academic Registrars/Secretaries of all Nigerian Universities.

(c) Overseas candidates will contact the nearest Nigerian High Commission or Embassy.

Candidates who require application forms to be sent to them by post should attach self addressed, stamped envelopes, marked "L.S.G. Post-Graduate Scholarship 1972/1973" on the left-hand corner when applying for the forms.

Forms from applicants who are Civil Servants in the Public Service of the State Governments or Statutory Corporations, or

other agencies of the Government, or Voluntary Agencies, or those already in institutions of learning must be forwarded through the applicants' Head of Department. Incorrectly filled forms or those forwarded through improper channels will not be entertained.

6. Submission of Applications:

Completed application form must be accompanied

(i) A passport size photograph duly signed at the back by the applicant.

(ii) A letter of admission.

(iii) Photostat or certified true copies of certificates and detailed results (NOT ORIGINALS), including transcript of degree examination (where applicable).

(iv) A letter of recommendation for postgraduate studies by a University Professor, Reader or a Senior Lecturer where applicable.

(v) A description of plan of study or research not exceeding 200 words.

(vi) Prospectus from the institutions giving details of the proposed course of study.

7. All completed application forms together with Appendix 'A' must be submitted to the Permanent Secretary, (Scholarships Section), Lagos State Ministry of Education and Community Development, 216, Yakubu Gowon Street, Lagos, Nigeria on or before Saturday, 11th March, 1972. In the case of a candidate whose place of origin is in Epe, Ikorodu, Ikeja or Badagry, Appendix 'A' of the application form should be forwarded through the Divisional Officer of the candidates declared town or place of origin in the State. Overseas candidates are advised to forward the completed application forms direct, by air mail, to this Ministry.

FOLARIN COKER Permanent Secretary.

SITUATIONS VACANT - cont.

LAGOS STATE GOVERNMENT

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT:

LAGOS STATE SCHOLARSHIP AWARDS FOR UNDERGRADUATE AND PROFESSIONAL STUDIES 1972/1973

Applications are invited from qualified candidates of Lagos State Origin for Lagos State Government Scholarship Awards for Undergraduate Courses and Professional Studies.

2. The fields of study for which scholarships are to be awarded are shown below:-

(i) ENGINEERING

Mechanical Engineering
Electrical Engineering
Civil Engineering
Chemical and Petroleum Engineering

(ii) ENVIRONMENTAL STUDIES

(a) Architecture
(b) Town Planning
(c) Estate Management
(d) Land Surveying
(e) Quantity Surveying

(iii) SCIENCE

Physics
Botany
Zoology
Combined Science Courses
Biochemistry
Geology
Mathematics
Geography
Sociology
Political Science

(iv) MEDICINE

Medicine
Dentistry
Pharmacy

(v) AGRICULTURE

Agriculture (including Fisheries)

Veterinary Medicine

(vi) ARTS AND LANGUAGES

African History
Nigerian Languages
French
Arabic

Combined Arts Courses

Librarianship

(vii) EDUCATION

Arts and Science

(viii) BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION

Accountancy and Banking

(ix) TECHNICIAN COURSES

Electrical Technology
Electronics and Telecommunications
Mechanical Technology
Wood and Metal Technology
Workshop Technology
Laboratory Technology
Confidential Secretary Course
Dental Technology
(a) Mass Communications
(b) Physical Education
(c) Home Economics
(d) Domestic Science

3. The awards for these courses are normally tenable in Nigerian institutions, but consideration may be given to deserving students who either are already in institutions of higher learning overseas, or whose courses of study are not available in Nigerian institutions.

4. The number of awards, in each field of study or training, will be governed by the anticipated needs of the public service of Lagos State as well as the known high - level manpower requirements in the private sector of the economy.

5. Value of Awards: Scholarships will not necessarily cover all costs of study or training, but in most cases it will cover boarding and tuition fees. The present average values of these awards are:-

(a) For institutions in Nigeria Boarding and Tuition Fees
(b) For institution Overseas Maintenance Allowance £N480 per annum and tuition fees charged by institutions. The value for each award for Technical courses will be determined on its merit.

6. Candidates are advised to acquaint themselves with conditions of admission to the course of study or training which they wish to undertake in order to ensure that they hold the requisite

academic qualifications. The following points should also be noted.

For University Courses:

(a) The qualifications required are the G.C.E. at Advanced Level or the Higher School Certificate at Principal Level in at least TWO subjects relevant to the intended courses of study, in addition to evidence of a general education to the level of the West African School Certificate, Grade I and II or their equivalents.

(b) Applicants for awards for Technician Courses must hold the West African School Certificate or equivalent, and must have satisfied admission requirements for the courses in an approved institution.

7. In addition to submitting scholarship application form, candidates are expected to apply for admission direct to institutions of their choice. When submitting the scholarship application form, each candidate must produce evidence of admission into a University or the intended institution - preferably a photostat copy of letter of admission and in case of those who are on preliminary courses, evidence of having passed the examination.

8. Other Qualification Required:

(a) Applications for scholarships may be submitted by candidates of either sex who are of Lagos State Origin, but preference will be given to candidates who are under 30 years of age on 1st January, 1972.

(b) Successful candidates will be required to pass a medical examination of fitness which will include a tuberculin test and an X-ray examination of the chest.

9. Application Forms: Scholarship application forms for candidates institutions situated anywhere in Africa are obtainable from

(i) (a) The Permanent Secretary (Scholarships Section), Lagos State Ministry of Education and Community Development, 216 Yakubu Gowon Street, Lagos, Nigeria. (b) The Academic Registrars/Secretaries of all Nigerian Universities.

(ii) Candidates in institutions situated anywhere in Europe may obtain application forms from either the nearest office of the Nigerian High Commission or Nigerian Embassy.

10. Candidates who require application forms to be sent to them by post should attach self addressed stamped envelopes marked "L.S.G. Scholarship 1972/1973" on the left hand corner when applying for forms. Prospective candidates are required to fill only one copy of the application form. Forms from applicants who are Civil Servants in the public service of State Governments, Statutory Corporations, or other agencies of the Government or Voluntary Agencies or those already in institutions of learning must be forwarded through the applicants' Head of Department. Incorrectly filled forms or those forwarded through improper channels will not be entertained.

11. Submission of Forms: The completed application form with a passport size photograph, photostat copies of certificates (not Originals) together with Appendix 'A' should be forwarded to the Permanent Secretary (Scholarships Section), Lagos State Ministry of Education and Community, 216 Yakubu Gowon Street, Lagos so as to reach him not later than Saturday, 11th March, 1972. In the case of a candidate whose place of origin is in Epe, Ikorodu, Ikeja or Badagry, Appendix 'A' of the application form should be forwarded through the Divisional Officer of the candidate's declared town or place of origin in the State.

12. Candidates outside Nigeria are advised to return the completed forms by Air Mail.

13. Note: (A) Candidates are urged to adhere strictly to the foregoing instructions and failure to do so might lead to rejection of their applications.

(b) Late application will NOT be entertained.

(c) Candidates who are not qualified as stipulated at paragraph 6 above need not apply. Applications for course not listed in paragraph 2 above will be rejected.

(d) Candidates must not send their original certificates at the initial stage; they will be required to produce them later at the time of interview. The Ministry will not be responsible for the loss of original certificates forwarded by candidates.

FOLARIN COKER, Permanent Secretary.

SITUATIONS VACANT - cont.

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Endurance Limited,
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London N17 0SN

MAPEL

NOTICES - cont.

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SITUATIONS VACANT—cont.

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST

STAFF APPOINTMENT

Applications are invited from suitably qualified Ghanaians for the post of ASSISTANT REGISTRAR.

Qualifications:

A good degree, preferably not below 2(1) Second Upper, plus considerable administrative experience in a university or similar institution.

Salary: N£2,720 x 120 – N£3,560/N£3,740 x 180 – N£4,640, N£4,800 (Under Review).

Applicants in the Civil Service, Statutory Corporations and the Universities should forward their applications through their Heads of Departments. Overseas candidates should apply to the Assistant Registrar, Universities of Ghana Office, 15 Gordon Square, London WC1H 0AG

NOTICES—cont.

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A leading company in Sierra Leone invites applications from suitably qualified Sierra Leonean nationals, aged 25-35, with commercial, preferably marketing, experience for the position of Sales Representative based in Freetown.

Applicants should apply in writing stating age, qualifications and experience to Box No. 2R/699, C/O Mathers & Bensons Advertising Limited, 12 Sutton Row, Soho Square, London W1V 5FE.

NOTICES—cont.

HIS HIGHNESS,
LATE WANOGHO AFUJENYA,
THE OKPARA-UKU
OF OROGUN CLAN

AWAKENING CEREMONY

The Wanoghos and family of the late Okpara-Uku, in the United Kingdom, will be holding an awakening ceremony in remembrance of their father who passed away on the 2nd February, 1971.

Date 26th February, 1972.

Place:

Deptford Town Hall,
New Cross Road, London, S.E.14.

Time 5 p.m.

Children:

D. Wanogho, P. A. Wanogho, Mrs. F. Gbudje
Mrs. P. Ebioké.

Family:

J. M. Abboh
M. O. Umusu, S. E. Ofuyah
L. O. Kakitie, S. O. Agbandje, O. J. Ugono
P. Abu Wanogho, Gen. Secretary,
Eta Family Students' Union,
Great Britain & Ireland.

CORRECTION
GAMBIA
STUDENT UNIONGAMBIA
WELFARE SOCIETY

The price of admission to the above Union's Dance held on 18th February and advertised in 'West Africa' on 11th and 18th February, inadvertently read 65p. The price should have read 75p. Also Mr. Omar Jool's name was spelt incorrectly.

Dateline Africa

GHANA

Civilian Advisors Suspended

The military government has suspended its nine-member National Advisory Committee following "public outcry" against its composition. An official announcement said that the Committee set up to advise the NRC on matters affecting the national interest, would be reconstituted. It had been sworn in only four days earlier. The announcement said that the Committee, headed by the former Speaker of the dissolved National Assembly, Nii Amaa Ollennu, had advised the NRC to carry out the suspension "in view of public outcry against its membership."

Both the *Ghanaian Times* and the *Daily Graphic*, the two state-owned newspapers, had criticised the composition of the Committee and called for the inclusion of young men with revolutionary ideas. The *Graphic* said that the Committee was "irrelevant to the problems of the day", calling the members "tired old men", some of whom represented powerful vested interests. "How can anyone take us seriously when we bring these representatives into the front line of our campaign for economic independence?" It urged members to ask to be honourably relieved of their responsibilities: "If there is one thing about which Ghanaians feel sore since the January 13 coup which overthrew Prime Minister Kofi Busia it is the composition of the Advisory Committee comprising tired old men." Ghana "has had an unhealthy record of public men holding onto positions even when they are satisfied beyond every doubt that they are unwanted or that these positions run into conflict with their other interests." The *Ghanaian Times* asked whether the country could expect an unbiased response from some members of the committee when asked to comment or advise on certain areas in agreements with foreign firms which they represent. It was unfair of the NRC to put some members in the invidious position of having to comment on the companies to which they owed their living.

The Committee had earlier been named as Nii Amaa Ollennu, former Speaker; Mr. James Phillips, deputy manager of the Volta Aluminium Company; Nana Agyeman Badu, Paramount Chief of Dormaa; Professor K. A. Jones-Quartey, of the University of Ghana; Alhaji Yakubu Tali, the Tolon-Na and former ambassador to Yugoslavia; Dr Robert Gardiner, Executive Secretary of

the ECA; Mr. A. L. Adu, resident director of Consolidated African Selection Trust and former deputy secretary of the Commonwealth Secretariat; Mr. Daniel Chapman-Nyaho, chairman of the Pioneer Tobacco Company and Ghana's former permanent representative at the United Nations; and Mr. A. Lattey, a businessman.

• A National Security Council has been established with the Chairman of the NRC, Col. Acheampong, as Chairman. The National Security Council becomes responsible for taking measures for dealing with any situation affecting national security, public safety and public order in circumstances where the NRC has declared that a state of public emergency exists. The NSC consists of the Commissioners for defence, foreign affairs, interior and finance, the Attorney General, Chief of Defence Staff, the Inspector-General of Police, the NRC member or Commissioner responsible for national security, and anyone else appointed by the NRC.

• The repudiation of debts would be a feature of the present decade in Africa, said Dr. Godfried Agama, an economist and former leader of the parliamentary opposition. He was supporting the NRC's repudiation of the \$94m. of debts owed to British firms. He told a news conference that the matter of debts repudiation had generally been recognised abroad, especially in the United States where some people were surprised that the debts had not been repudiated earlier. Some British debts, particularly those involving British trawlers were, at the time they were incurred, an attempt by the British government to create job opportunities for their own people, he alleged.

Col. Acheampong had earlier blamed some members of the opposition for compromising their positions by obtaining big government loans, thus laying themselves open to political blackmail. It was an open secret, he said, that the machinery of the electoral commission was open to adulteration in a manner that would have made any future election farcical. Dr. Agama replied by saying that he was not convinced that it was wrong for opposition members to obtain loans for legitimate business. As far as he could ascertain some opposition backbenches had obtained loans under the small business loans scheme.

• The military government has introduced a constitutional provision which permitted judges, members of the National Liberation Council and armed forces personnel of the rank of Lieutenant-General to retire on their salaries as pension.

A Government decree said no person should retire on his full salary as pension in respect of service rendered to the State in any capacity whatsoever. It ordered that payment of full salary as pension to any person under the age of 40 should be discontinued.

Under the constitution, suspended the overthrow of the Busia regime, members of the superior court, members of N.L.C. and armed forces personnel of rank of lieutenant-general were paid salaries as pension on retirement.

Under the decree, all members of N.L.C. who retired after 40 years of service are entitled to draw only their pension.

• The NRC has declared forfeit vested in the state the assets of deposed Prime Minister, Dr. Busia, cabinet ministers, ministerial secretaries, and their wives. It also confiscated assets of the former chief regional executives, the deputy speaker of the dissolved National Assembly, the general secretary and treasurer of the disbanded Progress Party and their wives. The decree said that the NRC may, however, decide that any assets or property confiscated should be restored to the avoiders undue hardship. Since the coup the assets of about 200 companies and individuals have been frozen.

• A three-man committee has been appointed to investigate the assets of certain persons including Dr. Busia, his former colleagues. It is headed by High Court Judge, Mr. Justice J. N. Taylor.

• The NRC is determined to dispel the belief that the quickest way of making money is to become a politician. Commissioner for the Volta region, Mr. Kyeremeh, told a meeting of donors that those with gifts to offer should give to charitable organisations. The only NRC expected from Ghanaians is the payment of taxes and contribution to labour. "Unless the people change attitude the country's economy will continue to suffer."

• Traders found guilty of selling above the controlled price may be imprisoned, or both. The courts also order forfeiture of all goods involved and of others of the same kind in the trader's possession. It may also order a trader to pay the customer a sum equal to double the price he charged.

Failure to do this could mean a further six months imprisonment. The price control decree also prescribes punishment for the hoarding of goods.

- The 568 public servants who were dismissed for unstated reasons by the Busia government in February 1970 are to be reconsidered for re-employment, it has been announced. This would be based on "where vacancies exist and on merit." It was emphasised that the decision to re-employ such persons "does not imply that they will be given back their former jobs."

- An act passed by the deposed Busia government prohibiting re-establishment of a one-party state has been repealed by the NRC. Under the act anyone promoting the revival of the Convention People's Party or the restoration of its leader, Dr Kwame Nkrumah, as Head of State in Ghana can be sentenced to five years imprisonment.

- January 13, the day Dr. Busia was overthrown, is to be known as National Redemption Day and observed as a public holiday.

It had earlier been announced that February 24, the day of President Nkrumah's overthrow, and October 1, the day the NLC handed power back to parliament 26 months ago, would no longer be observed as public holidays.

- Ashanti Regional Commissioner, Lt Col Baidoo, has warned representatives of national trade unions that Ghana could not afford any further strikes. The NRC, he said, was prepared to co-operate with workers to solve their difficulties through the correct channels. The union representatives had presented a petition to the Commissioner asking the NRC to consider restoring the TUC as a matter of urgency by repealing the 1971 Act.

- A decree was later issued repealing the Industrial Relations Act, which was passed last September to abolish the Ghana Trades Union Congress.

- The Federation of Ghanaian Trade Union Associations has called for the setting up of a national distributive and retail board to regulate and direct all trading activities in Ghana.

- The independent bi-weekly newspaper, *The Spokesman*, said Ghana is facing the same economic problems as Britain did in 1931 and therefore expects sympathy and understanding from the British government and people.

It appealed to IMF member and non-member countries to give Ghana elbow room to develop and diversify agriculture and raise cultural and spiritual standards.

- The NRC has frozen the assets of 27 more companies and the accounts of five individuals.

SIERRA LEONE

Following reports that two Sierra Leonean pilgrims in Jeddah had been fined and imprisoned by a Saudi Arabian court for alleged drug trafficking, Mr S. A. Koroma, Minister of Social Welfare, visited Saudi Arabia. It was reported that other Sierra Leone pilgrims had subscribed and borrowed money to help to pay the fines imposed on their colleagues, some Le20,000. Mr. Koroma, who was received by King Faisal, took with him a sum of money to assist pilgrims who, because of their contribution to the payment of the fines, were stranded. On his return to Freetown, the Minister said that the imprisoned pilgrims had accepted responsibility for two boxes which had no identification marks but which contained the drugs, some 400,000 "Congo Pills". The Minister visited Medina, as well as Mecca, and said that many of the Sierra Leone pilgrims he saw were in sad circumstances.

Apart from those who had died, the rest of the pilgrims are now reported to have returned.

Sierra Leone has now been invited to the Conference of Islamic foreign ministers taking place in Jeddah.

- During discussions with representatives of the Alluvial Diamond Mining License Holders' Union, the President said that there was to be a new drive against "strangers" in the Kono district, the main diamond area. The delegation asked the President to assist them to lease more diamond bearing areas from the concessions of Diminco, the partnership between the government and the former Sierra Leone Selection Trust.

Earlier the vice-president had told the delegation that they should regard Diminco as their own company, whose interests they should protect. The release of more land from the Diminco concessions may not be to the national benefit, and alluvial diggers should organise themselves more effectively, Mr. Koroma added.

- The first Spanish Ambassador to Sierra Leone, Mr. Juan Jose Cano, resident in Ghana, has presented his credentials. The Ambassador said that Spain was the first country to decolonize, when, in the 19th century, she withdrew from territories in America and the Far East after more than 300 years "of fertile presence, giving birth to twenty newly independent nations." This made it possible for Spain to understand the feelings of new African States.

- Lt J. F. Demby and Lt. H. T. Keitell have passed out at Mons Officer Cadet School. Lt Demby was one of two under-officers who commanded the Senior Commissioned Company, he also won the Baton of Honour as the most outstanding overseas cadet.

- Medical equipment worth £6,000 to be presented to the Ministry of Health by the Association of Doctors in West Berlin. The equipment will be used at Kabala Hospital after completion of extensions there.

- An eye specialist from Westminster Hospital, London, Mr. Trevor Roper, made a three-week visit, during which he carried out advanced ophthalmic surgery in the provinces and Freetown.

- Mr. Donald Macauley, the former High Court Judge, who is now in private business, has caught a nine foot shark off Banana Island.

- Mr. George T. Brewer has been re-assigned as Liberian Ambassador. He was a former Ambassador to Britain.

- Three Italian engineers who are carrying out the feasibility study on the Bumbuna Hydro-Electric project hope to present a report by November.

- Mr. Solomon Pratt, Minister for External Affairs, was elected chairman of the OAU Foreign Ministers Meeting in Addis Ababa.

- The Government is examining the possibility of establishing a Housing Corporation and a Housing Bank.

GUINEA

Thirty-four of those accused of membership of the "fifth column" including six Lebanese traders, have been released, says Guinea radio. The national committee of inquiry said no firm basis remained for the detention of the prisoners. Those released include two police inspectors as well as customs officials, civil servants, party workers and traders. Sixty-five of those arrested for the "fifth column" affair have now been freed.

- In an interview in Algiers, General Lansana Diagne, Minister of Social Affairs, said that Guinea wanted President Senghor of Senegal to say whether he was ready to hand over mercenaries who took part in the 1970 invasion of Conakry before the OAU mission to mediate between Guinea and Senegal meets. The General, a former Army Chief of Staff, had taken a message from President Toure to President Boumediene, who is a member of the mission. He said the response to the message had been "real and deep understanding". Guinea, he said, had complained to the OAU of the violation of one of its resolutions, from the Lagos conference on 1970, by one of its members.

- Mamadi Keita, Secretary of State for the Army, has been in Mali with a message from President Sekou Toure to Colonel Moussa Traore.

CHAD Withdrawal from Air Afrique

President Tombalbaye has announced that Chad is withdrawing from Air Afrique and he is resigning as Chairman of OCAM because of the refusal of Chad's application to have the regional headquarters of Air Afrique in Fort Lamy. Chad would, however, remain in OCAM. Air Afrique planes were banned from overflying Chad. The decision to move the headquarters for Equatorial Africa from Douala to Libreville was reportedly taken at the special Air Afrique summit in Abidjan last December, and was necessitated by the withdrawal of Cameroon from Air Afrique.

President Tombalbaye said "some heads of state have consulted among themselves to transfer the regional management of Air Afrique from Fort Lamy to instal it in another country. It is a slap in the face which the Chad people cannot accept. We consider that it is a lack of politeness for some heads of state to meet without the President of OCAM. The Chad government was not consulted. It remains for us only, in the name of the Chad people to consider the act as it is consummated."

The Chairman of Air Afrique, Cheikh Fall, flew to Fort Lamy for consultations with President Tombalbaye after the announcement. In Abidjan he was quoted as pointing out that Air Afrique was a different organisation for OCAM. Sources in Abidjan were surprised at the Chad President's action. It was known that President Tombalbaye had been dissatisfied with the fact that the December summit was not held in Fort Lamy, and he had expressed his dissatisfaction at the board meeting in Fort Lamy at the end of January.

The withdrawal of Chad reduces the members of Air Afrique to ten again. After the withdrawal of Cameroon there were eleven and the withdrawal of CAR in September reduced it to ten. In December, however, CAR was persuaded to return, on condition that the line took over various debts it had incurred in attempting to set up an independent airline.

● Speaking to reporters accompanying President Pompidou to Fort Lamy, the Commander of French troops in Chad, General Edouard Cortadellas, said that Chadian rebels training in Libya had clashed recently with Libyan government forces, at Koufra in southern Libya in December. The camp was transferred from Koufra shortly after the incident, he said, although he did not indicate the reasons for it. He also said that Colonel Gaddafi had had trouble with local Libyan bedouin recently. Chad rebels had also found refuge in Sudan but received no support from the government there. Military operations had nearly

ceased in Chad, and almost nothing had happened in the past six months. He denied French news reports that Chinese and Russian weapons had been found on the bodies of rebels. "The Russians have always ostensibly supported the government of President Tombalbaye. The weapons we usually find are British, Italian or French weapons taken from government armouries".

Some newsmen accompanying the President reported that there had been incidents involving the rebels in December in the neighbourhood of Zouar in the far north (Tibesti), but there were no details of any casualties.

● Chad and West Germany have signed a contract providing for investment in a number of industrial projects aimed at getting the Chad economy on the move. The contract, signed by President Tombalbaye and Dr Ernest Ring, Chairman of the German-based Bureau for the Encouragement of Investments in the 18 Associated States, covers the research and exploitation of mineral resources; the building of cement works; the revival of the Chad industrial meat company; the development of tourism; and the building of a brewery in Fort Lamy.

● East Germany's first Ambassador to Chad, Herr Gerhard Krausse, has presented his credentials to President Tombalbaye.

TOGO

Togo-Press reports the release of eight former army officers imprisoned for their part in a previously unannounced plot three years ago. The release followed the announcement by President Eyadema that there would be no more political prisoners in Togo, and the freeing of all those detained for the plot against the regime of August 1970.

● France is to lend Togo £115,000, towards the building of a new £360,000 air terminal now under construction. The new terminal is to be completed prior to the summit of the Organisation Common African et Malgache (OCAM) next April.

SENEGAL

Lepers and beggars are to be cleared from Dakar streets so as not to shock tourists. Information Minister Ousmane Camara has announced. At a cabinet meeting, said the minister, President Senghor had emphasised "the regrettable effect the proliferation of beggars and lepers on our streets might have on tourism development". The President had ordered that an effective solution to rid Dakar of the "scourge" should be found as soon as possible.

● Two Guineans have been arrested in Dakar. They are Ibrahim Kanta, an official of Air Guinée, charged with being a member of a network planning to help detainees escape from Dakar prison, and a sea captain, Sekou Camara, accused of having undeclared textiles on his ship at anchor in Dakar harbour.

CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Centrafrican Republic and Sudan to form a joint committee to work projected railway to link the two States. An agreement signed on December 15 in Bangui to construct the railway will be ratified by the Sudan Council Ministers. The joint committee discuss means of financing the railway which would begin from the town of Al-Dain, in the south of the Sudan Darfur Province, and cross into the area of CAR. The projected railway pass close to copper deposits in Sudan, facilitating their exploitation.

● President Bokassa has welcomed President Senghor's suggestion for Central African Community to renege the present Central African Customs Economic Union (UDEAC). However, "at the moment the UDEAC states go on reinforcing their co-operation solidarity so as to constitute a bastion to enlarge the union, even with other countries in West Africa".

● At a meeting with representatives of the private industry, President Bokassa and his government had decided to start "a sincere and serious dialogue with the private sector to find ways of pushing forward development. A representative of the business community Plantexim, proposed a joint commission to study public and private sectors to stimulate development.

● Following President Bokassa's visit to Gabon, CAR is to open three produce offices in Gabon, while Gabon to promote sales of timber and products in Bangui. During the visit the Presidents were joined in talks by Chairman of Air Afrique, Cheikh Fall to discuss CAR's reintegration in the air.

● Congo-B and CAR will complete the French General Transport Company in Africa (CGTA), for losses sustained when its assets were nationalised in 1970. The former river navigation company (Societe Equatoriale de Navigation) is also to be compensated for its assets.

● A Commission to control government missions going abroad has been established. The Commission will ensure government missions consist of not more than three persons.

IVORY COAST

The new 11,000m CFA deep port of Sa Pedro is expected in 1971 to have an export traffic of about 650,000 tons, largely of timber. A regular expansion is expected, so that by 1975 exports from the port are forecast 850,000 to 1m. tons. After that figures are expected to decline as forest reserves of South-West Ivory are depleted, but by that time it is expected there will be an increase in imports. New port was opened to traffic in

and became fully operational in October. It was built with finance from France, West Germany and Italy, as well as Ivorian funds.

The port includes a housing estate for 6,000 people, a 180 mile network of tarred roads, and a 40 acre industrial zone. The first phase, now complete, cost about 11,000m CFA (£15m), and was financed by France, West Germany and Italy. The Ivorian South-West regional authority is operating a £570,000 programme of municipal works for the port. French and German experts are currently studying the initial working of the first stage, and a Franco-Germano-Ivorian round table has been scheduled for this year to examine subsequent extensions. A key factor will be the development of the Mount Kihoyo iron ore deposits in the extreme west, which are expected to produce 10m. tons of concentrated mineral per year for an investment of \$450m. Tests for mineral content are currently being made on 600 tons of ore by the US firm Pickands-Mather, which has been prospecting in the area for more than three years. The financing of the project is by Pickands-Mather and two Japanese steelworks.

- Loan agreements totalling 3,040m CFA francs (about £45m) for the building of 1,800 new homes at Port Bouet have been signed. The Norwegian firm of Selmer of Oslo is providing 40.5m CFA, and a group of Lebanese financiers is providing the rest.

- Several senior civil servants have been arrested, including Francois Kumano, member of the Economic and Social Council and former Director of the Caisse des Prestations Familiales. They are accused of embezzlement of public funds.

DAHOMEY

A broadcast on the "continuing rift between the police and the judiciary" said that the division between these two institutions was a "peculiar malaise which leaves the impression that there is a crisis of authority". Unable to be indifferent or neutral in such a situation, the radio commentator felt "compelled" to say the position of a judge "is justified only when it is based on the sacred principle that force belongs to the law. Nothing worthwhile can be built through indiscipline. In this regard a body such as the police must serve as an example". Although nobody was above the law, it had to be applied in such a way that "it is not subject to any suspicion of venality, malice or flagrant injustice".

- Catholic Relief Services are to cease all operations in Dahomey for budgetary reasons. From July 1, 1970 to June 30, 1971 the organisation delivered to Dahomey food, medical supplies and development aid worth about £350,000. The organisation is maintained by American Catholics.

NIGERIA Ejor made Chief of Staff

Major-General David Ejor, former Commandant of the Nigerian Defence Academy and first Military Governor of the Mid-Western State has been officially named as the new Chief of Staff of the Nigerian Army. He succeeds Major-General Hassan Katsina who is coming to Britain for a one year senior officers course at the Royal College of Defence Studies in London. Gen Ejor, aged 38, enlisted in the Nigerian Army in 1953. He assumed office on February 16. He is the most senior serving officer after Gen. Adebayo.



Gen. Hassan addressing 3 Infantry Div.

Because the Nigerian Army has risen from 10,000 men before the war to 250,000, in addition to catering for wounded soldiers, resettling and organising training schemes for the army has involved huge expenditure, Maj. Gen. Hassan Katsina, said during a farewell visit to the 3 Infantry Division at Port Harcourt. He said that the Military Government was spending about £8.9m. per month for emoluments and allowances for officers and men of the armed forces apart from the maintenance cost of £15m. and the £101m. war debt. The current reorganisation in the army had no political tinge, Gen. Hassan said, its main aim was administrative efficiency and national security.

- Nothing will be done to reduce the independence of the judiciary. General Gowon said at a party he gave in honour of the retiring Chief Justice, Sir Adetokunbo Ademola. He announced that Nigeria was considering a review of the judicial system to bring it up to date and adapt it to Nigerian conditions. General Gowon said that he had intended that the military government should not undertake such a review, but as things were it did not seem improper for the government to make the review.

This, he said, would strengthen the system and make it more responsive to Nigeria's needs: "We should aim at making it easier and less costly to obtain justice in our law courts." He stressed that the courts must more than ever be regarded by all Nigerians as dependable institutions to which they could turn for

justice and fair play. He promised that when the time came for review the would be full consultations with the concerned. The State governments would do nothing to reduce the independence of the judiciary or act in any way derogatory to the judicial system. All governments had done what was humanly possible over the past year to ensure that the independence of the judiciary was in no way harmed. Gen Gowon added "I cannot over-emphasise the fact that I and my colleagues in the armed forces have no vested political ambitions whatsoever, and as such would not for personal or selfish reasons resort to interfering unnecessarily in judicial matters. It is my ardent hope and prayer that the understanding and co-operation that had existed between the Executive and the Judiciary in this country will continue in the best interest of all our people."

At the dinner party Sir Adetokunbo was awarded the insignia of the Grand Cross of the Order of the Niger.

- The two-day conference of Information Commissioners which took place in Enugu set out the responsibilities, powers, functions and membership for the proposed control panel on broadcasting in Nigeria. The Commissioners agreed that the panel should be run by Nigerians to safeguard the cultural, political, social and economic life of the nation and that the panel should maintain order in the utilisation of frequencies, formulate and enforce a code of conduct for broadcasters and protect the editorial freedom of broadcasters. They decided that the panel would act as a tribunal to examine complaints.

Membership of the panel, which lasts for five years, is to comprise a chairman, 12 representatives of state governments, and three others, in addition to a representative of the Federal Ministry of Information. Funds will be derived from the proceeds of radio and television licences. To provide orientation for external news services the Commissioners decided that heads of foreign language services should be Nigerians, while announcers concerned with presentation should be foreigners.

- No further oil concessions are to be granted by the Federal Government. All areas not covered by existing mining leases and prospecting and exploration licenses have been vested in the National Oil Corporation, which retains the right to select oil companies to co-operate with it as contractors or minority partners.

- A 34-member team from the National Defence College of Canada has visited Nigeria as part of a month long tour of African states.

General Gowon told them that for the establishment of an African High Command there must first be a stable government and a well-trained, disciplined army in each of the countries concerned. He hoped that when African States became more developed the OAU might be able to maintain a High

command financially for the defence of the continent. Meanwhile, African military experts were studying the feasibility of setting up such a command.

The oil workers who lost their jobs as a result of the civil war have petitioned their former Govon to be taken back.

In their petition the former employees of Shell-BP said that they neither inspired nor organised the civil war, but were now made to "atone for the sins which they never committed". The exact number of workers is unknown, but a Shell-BP spokesman said that there were less than the 3,000 claimed in the petition. He said that the workers were among those laid off during the war whose jobs were taken by members of other tribes when hostilities ended. Those who could not be re-engaged had been paid their entitlements. The workers called themselves the "Abandoned employees of the Shell-BP Development Company of Nigeria."

Nigeria should either set up a responsible and independent news agency or abandon the idea, says the privately owned *Daily Express*. It rejected the proposal to establish a national news agency controlled by the Federal and State Governments and recalled the resolutions of the Nigerian Newspaper Proprietors Association and the Guild of Editors which agreed that the agency should be a venture between the Association, the Guild and the Federal and State Governments.

Nigerian farmers needed more technical assistance such as improved seedlings, fertilisers, pesticides and insecticides, Federal Commissioner for Agriculture Dr. J. O. J. Okezie told the Polish Ambassador, Mr. J. Filipowicz, who had expressed his country's desire to participate in Nigeria's agro-allied industries.

The Federal Military Government has approved the establishment of a national economic advisory council. Made up of about 40 members, it should provide a forum for close consultation between public and private sectors in the overall management of the economy. It will also advise the government on all aspects of planning, economic and fiscal matters. The Commissioner for Economic Development and Reconstruction is to head the council.

Pakistan's withdrawal from the Commonwealth because of Britain's recognition of Bangladesh was but one indication that the Commonwealth was in trouble, said a Lagos radio talk. African members were particularly angry over Britain's veto of the UN Security Council resolution. But many African and Asian leaders continued to show strong affection for the Commonwealth despite the condemnation of imperialism, so that it would need a new generation of leaders to break it up.

Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Ghana and Senegal have ratified an agreement to set up an institute of photogrammetry at the

University of Ife. The project sponsored by about 20 African countries.

The first Nigerian to be second in Botswana under last year's tie agreement is Mr. Justice T. Agud becomes the new Chief Justice of the country.

All administrative officers in Rivers State Public Service will be posted to or in charge of Administrative Divisions of the state have been appointed as Justices of the Peace.

Nigeria has asked Niger to control the smuggling of grain across their common frontier.

Several changes have been made in the postings of permanent secretaries and top government officials in South Eastern State public service.

Mr. Justice Moses Olatunji Oye has been sworn in as Chief Justice of Western State. Mr. Justice S. Adetunji Ogunkeye has been sworn in as a judge of the State's Court of Appeal.

The Acting Principal of the Campus of Ibadan University, Prof. E. A. Ayandele, has taken up his post.

Seventeen people died in a collision between two buses at Agege Market in Lagos.



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