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# NIGERIA'S HUNDRED THOUSAND

When Nigeria's army is cut down to around 100,000, as the new government has decided it must be, it will still be the biggest by far in black Africa, and bigger than any of the North African armies except that of Egypt, which is in the front line in the Middle East. The nearest African armies in size will probably be those of Algeria and Morocco (some 55,000 each, according to *The Military Balance, 1975-76*) and Ethiopia and Zaire (some 40,000 each). Comparisons can be highly misleading, since the Nigerian army is not a conscript one, as are many of the world's biggest; on the other hand it is relatively lightly armed, having, for example, no tanks and little heavy artillery. But Brazil, with its population of well over 100m. has an army of some 170,000. Canada, one of the world's richest countries, an army of some 28,000, and Sweden some 55,000.

Such countries have very much stronger navies and air forces than Nigeria has. Nobody has pretended, however, that Nigeria since the end of the civil war has needed an army of well over 200,000, or 20 times the pre-war strength, for her defence against external aggression. But it was generally agreed that it would be socially dangerous to release from the forces tens of thousands of half-trained men, who h become accustomed to the use of firear without learning the discipline in their which thorough army training should in Natural wastage, it was argued, wo reduce the numbers, Nigeria could now ford an army of this size, and her stanc in Africa and the world justified it.

Unhappily, however, it has been p that if an army is maintained at a partic strength as a social service and not military reasons, it may be less effe than it should be. And Nigeria's army, organised in only three infantry divisi has come to look rather amorphous. –

unwieldy. It is also very short of experienced officers at all levels, even though both during and since the war the small officer corps has performed wonders in organising and leading an army which had expanded so rapidly. Its senior and most experienced warrant officers and NCOs are elderly. It is indeed an ageing force, as is shown by the decision to begin releases with men over 55 — many of them reservists called back to stiffen the army during the war. A smaller army could be a much more effective army, with actual and potential officer talent corresponding more closely to the numbers of other ranks, and the whole organisation backed, for example, by the new Armed Forces Staff College at Kaduna, acquiring a more professional look — and being able to afford more and better equipment.

Brigadier Danjuma, the Chief of Army Staff, has explained, moreover, that the view that Nigeria could easily afford its swollen army was mistaken. In the present year recurrent expenditure of the Ministry of Defence accounts for about a third of the whole Federal recurrent budget, and over a sixth of the recurrent budgets of all Nigeria's governments. Over 90 per cent of the defence budget, the Brigadier said, went on pay, leaving inadequate funds for new equipment. The 1975-80 Development Plan refers to the army's "relative immobility", with a "backlog of old and rickety vehicles" — to replace which the staggering expenditure of almost 550m. naira is proposed in the 1975-80 plan — one-sixtieth of all proposed expenditure, and more than expenditure on the livestock programme. The plan also mentions that "lack of executive capacity" — which means experienced officers — partly accounted for the failure to spend more than 35 per cent of the capital sums allocated to the armed forces in the 1970-74 Plan. It admits that five years after the end of the civil war military hospitals remained quite inadequate, while the barrack building programme had so far touched "only the fringe of the problem".

No doubt if the previous government had had the courage to reduce the size of the armed forces it could proportionately have reduced the need for barrack accommodation — and so for the Ministry of Defence cement which is largely responsible for the Lagos port congestion. It could also have cut the enormous vehicle programme, which is closely related to the number of men in the army, but which would have led to insuperable difficulties of procurement and maintenance. The way costs are rising may mean that even now the proposed capital expenditure for the army in the 1975-80 period (1,690m. naira) could not be greatly reduced, but at least there is a hope that it can now be financed and carried out, that it will meet the needs of the smaller army, and that the barrack programme can be completed.

Government spokesmen have sought to allay the inevitable misgivings aroused by the news — it is tragic that it should coincide with reports of the entirely local difficulties between civilians and soldiers in the South-East State. Brig. Danjuma has said that many of those released will be absorbed by the police and other uniformed government services, while all employers will be urged to give special consideration to them. Brig. Bisalla, the experienced officer who is Commissioner for Defence, has said that many jobs await the released soldiers. Brig. Akinrinade, Commander of the First Division, has said that all will get their financial benefits: the government had no intention of creating a new army of beggars. Ex-servicemen called back for war service would be the first to go, followed by those over 55 who had become "unproductive". These categories of men, one may suppose, would be respectable citizens, anxious only for a quiet life. But Brig. Akinrinade said that in the end they would also have to discharge "with ignominy" those with records of indiscipline, drug addiction and immoral behaviour, as well as those known to have harassed civilians. These men will be an unhappy addition to civilian society. But if the army is to be an effective force and not a vast system of outdoor relief, it cannot carry them.

That is, indeed, the point. Those responsible for planning armed forces are hopelessly handicapped unless they know what the forces are intended to do. No clear direction came from the previous government, which simply wanted, as the Development Plan puts it, "a strong, efficient, and mobile Military Force capable of guaranteeing the security of the nation". But the very size of the army, maintained for non-military reasons, worked against mobility and efficiency. Is "security" internal — where the army should never be more than a support or last resort for the police, on whom some of the savings on the army should be spent — or external? And is not one of the most important likely jobs for Nigeria's army the mounting of contingents for UN or OAU forces — for which small, lightly armed, but highly trained and disciplined units are needed? Many had supposed that the civilian government expected in 1976, alarmed by mounting defence expenditure, would at once clarify the army's role and so allow its organisers to plan more effectively. The new military government seems ready to do this job itself.

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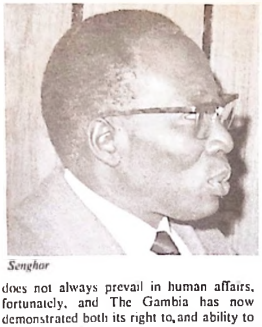
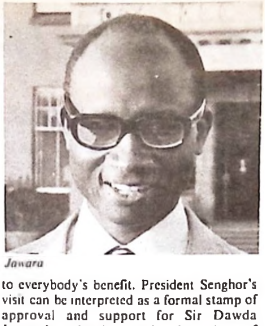
# The Gambia's good neighbour policy

Next week's State Visit to The Gambia by President Senghor of Senegal can be counted as something of a feather in Sir Dawda Jawara's cap since President Senghor is notably not much of a visitor save, of course, to certain academic and other functions close to his private heart, and to major gatherings of heads of state. Even though this trip could come under the category of popping next door to see the neighbours it has taken a long time to arrange and a willingness by Sir Dawda to repeat his invitation more than once. President Senghor, it seems, has been reluctant to repeat his rather unsatisfactory 1969 visit, although under the Senegal-Gambia Treaty of Association concluded in 1967, the two Heads of Government meet annually.

Logically, no doubt, The Gambia ought to merge with Senegal, which surrounds it and provides all its landward borders. But logic



*Senghor*



*Jawara*

does not always prevail in human affairs, fortunately, and The Gambia has now demonstrated both its right to, and ability to maintain, an independent existence.

Relations between the two countries have not always been of the best but the differences of opinion have been more matters of impatience than antagonism and in recent years both sides have worked hard to see each other's point of view and extract mutual benefit, usually employing the Banjul-based Senegalo-Gambian Secretariat. When Sir Dawda visited Senegal last month — a working not a State visit — the two Presidents were entitled to congratulate themselves, in the words of the joint communique, "for the encouraging progress made so far in the economic, technical and sociocultural fields". It is pleasing to see how often Ministers and officials of the two countries meet to discuss and work out, in a humdrum way without heavy formality and protocol, steps to improve life in both. In last month's communique the two Presidents referred to, among other matters, a meeting of experts to revise the existing fishing agreement in the light of experience, to the Banjul-Kaolack telecommunications link, to co-operation on television matters, to Gambia River Basin studies and the proposed dams at Sambangalon and Kekreti, to boundary delimitation and of course to the Trans-Gambia Bridge which will mean so much to Senegal.

Referring to the Brikama-Bignona Road the communique revealed something of The Gambia's special contribution to the relationship. The two Presidents "expressed their desire to involve Guinea Bissau in this project". They agreed to approach Guinea Bissau with a view to giving the road a sub-regional character. The Gambia has made something of a speciality in trying to bring its friends closer to one another to find points of contact. It is working hard and patiently to try to establish amiability and accord between Senegal and Guinea (only last week Sir Dawda suddenly popped up in Conakry on what people in Dakar believed to be another attempt to mediate between Senegal and Guinea), and is mentioned as a possible partner in the Mano River Union of Liberia and Sierra Leone.

The fact that The Gambia is patently too small to present territorial threats to anybody and equally obviously too self-confidently and sturdily independent to be anybody's puppet or Trojan Horse is a help in this self-appointed role which is so much to everybody's benefit. President Senghor's visit can be interpreted as a formal stamp of approval and support for Sir Dawda Jawara's adoption and adaptation of Winston Churchill's phrase "Jaw Jaw is better than War War" to "co-operation is better, cheaper and more profitable than competition". Perhaps Sir Dawda will be able to persuade his brother President that ECOWAS can best (and profitably) be developed with its existing compact membership, leaving expansion, which M. Senghor so keenly advocates, until later.

# Can Nigerian labour unity last?

An idea first mooted over thirty years ago — a central labour organisation for Nigeria — has become a reality with the creation of the Nigerian Labour Congress, although its genesis owes more to government pressure than to any real consensus of opinion among Nigeria's four main union groups, the United Labour Congress (ULC), the Nigerian Trade Union Congress (NTUC), the Nigerian Workers' Council (NWC) and the Labour Unity Front (LUF).

It was in 1943 that union leaders met to form Nigeria's first central labour group, the Trade Union Congress; then in 1950 they met again to try to unite squabbling factions — and a Nigerian Labour Congress was launched But still there was no lasting agreement and in 1953 the All Nigerian Trade Union Federation emerged, to be followed in 1959 by yet another attempt and the second Trade Union Congress. Then in 1962 union leaders from all over the country met in Ibadan and formed the United Labour Congress — promptly followed by a rival Independent United Labour Congress. Two years later three other central labour organisations emerged — the NTUC, the LUF and the NWC — and these, with the ULC, dominated the labour scene until today. In 1970 the four had come together in a United Committee of Central Labour Organisations but its role was confined to making representations to the Adebo Commission.

The Gowon government in 1973 tried to curb the divisions with Decree 31, which listed conditions for the formation and registration of any new central grouping. It decreed that any such organisation should have the support of 40 per cent of all registered unions. At that time it would not have been difficult for a determined man to win such support, as the decree specified organisations not membership (there were then over 1,500 registered). And the fundamental problem of Nigeria's unions is their proliferation; which the NLC aims to end.

Perhaps realising the futility of division the leaders of these groups resolved, in September 1974, to end their squabbles and build a central union which could command respect. This led to the signing of what became known as the Apena Cemetery Declaration, which, although it hung fire for over a year, became the foundation for the Nigerian Labour Congress. The story of the Apena Declaration is a curious one: Mr. J. A. Oduleye, former national treasurer of the ULC died and was buried at Apena Cemetery. His brother, Mr. S. O. Oduleye, belonged to the rival LUF. So the burial was attended by NTUC and LUF leaders, who had come to sympathise with the brother, by representatives of the ULC, who had lost a colleague, and by NWC members because a labour leader had died. It was then that they agreed that their division — caused largely by their attachment to foreign donors and domestic political influence — was unnecessary. Mr. Okon Eshiett, director of the Trade Union Institute, scribbled down an agreement which the four leaders signed. Thus the Apena Declaration was born.

Why has Nigeria's labour movement been plagued for so long by dispute? Over the years a strong central union may have been able to achieve better conditions and pay for Nigerian workers — the primary basis for a union — rather than dissipate the energies of strong leaders in useless dissent, all too often caused by having to mouth slogans supporting their foreign donor organisations' pro-west or pro-eastern line.

The NTUC and the LUF have been related to the Moscow-based World Federation of Trade Unions, the ULC to ICFTU (the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions), and NWC to the World Confederation of Labour. But taking a firm hand with the unions, as it had with the public services and other branches of national life, the government of Brig. Mohammed decreed last month that foreign trades union organisations and secretariats, with the exception of the ILO and the Organisation of African Trade Union Unity, should be banned from operating in Nigeria. The announcement was made two weeks before the official launching by the unions themselves of the Nigerian Labour Congress — and even that did not go without a hitch. On December 18 delegates had gathered at Lagos City Hall for the historic signing. Then came the announcement that the merger could not be sealed because the vital documents were, for the moment, inaccessible having been kept at the ULC's Trade Union Institute which had just been raided by the police. Also raided was the NTUC's Patrice Lumumba Institute. Altogether over 100 unionists were held in the raid, including the general secretary of the ULC, Chief Odeyemi, and his deputy, and the signing was finally postponed until the next day.

No doubt the new arrangement will survive until civilian rule returns in 1979. It is then that its reality will be tested.

# NIGERIA AIRWAYS

## WINTER 1975/6 INTERNATIONAL TIME TABLE

## EFFECTIVE 1 NOV 1975 – 31 MAR 1976

**TABLE 1 NIGERIA/UNITED KINGDOM/EUROPE** ALL TIMES LOCAL

| FREQUENCY | | MON | TUE | WED | THU | FRI | SAT | SUN |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| FLIGHT NUMBER | | WT902 | WT904 | WT906 | WT908 | WT910 | WT912 | WT914 |
| CLASS | | F/Y | F/Y | F/Y | F/Y | F/Y | F/Y | F/Y |
| AIRCRAFT TYPE | ↓ | B707 | B707 | B707 | B707 | B707 | B707 | B707 |
| LAGOS | d | 1030 | 1030 | 1030 | 1030 | 1030 | 1030 | 1030 |
| KANO | a | 1150 | 1150 | 1150 | 1150 | 1150 | | 1150 |
| KANO | d | 1235 | 1235 | 1235 | 1235 | 1235 | | 1235 |
| ROME | a | | | | 1700 | | | 1700 |
| ROME | d | | | | 1745 | | | 1745 |
| AMSTERDAM | a | | | | | 1820 | | |
| AMSTERDAM | d | | | | | 1845 | | |
| LONDON (LHR) | a | 1720 | 1720 | 1720 | 1900 | 1900 | 1550 | 1900 |

**TABLE 2 EUROPE/UNITED KINGDOM/NIGERIA** ALL TIMES LOCAL

| FREQUENCY | | MON | TUE | WED | THU | FRI | SAT | SUN |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| FLIGHT NUMBER | | WT901 | WT903 | WT905 | WT907 | WT909 | WT911 | WT913 |
| CLASS | | F/Y | F/Y | F/Y | F/Y | F/Y | F/Y | F/Y |
| AIRCRAFT TYPE | ↓ | B707 | B707 | B707 | B707 | B707 | B707 | B707 |
| LONDON (LHR) | d | 1210 | 2200 | 1210 | 2200 | 2200 | 1210 | 2200 |
| AMSTERDAM | a | | | 1358 | | | | |
| AMSTERDAM | d | | | 1455 | | | | |
| | | | WED | | FRI | | | |
| ROME | a | | 0115 | | 0115 | | | |
| ROME | d | | 0200 | | 0200 | | | |
| | | | | | | SAT | | MON |
| KANO | a | | 0620 | 2030 | 0620 | 0435 | 1845 | 0435 |
| KANO | d | | 0705 | 2115 | 0705 | 0520 | 1930 | 0520 |
| LAGOS | a | 1930 | 0825 | 2235 | 0825 | 0640 | 2050 | 0640 |

**TABLE 3 LAGOS/ACCRA/ABIDJAN/ROBERTSFIELD/MONROVIA/FREETOWN/BANJUL/DAKAR** ALL TIMES LOCAL

| MON | TUE | FRI | SUN | | FREQUENCY | | MON | WED | SAT | SUN |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| WT843 | WT861 | WT861 | WT845 | | FLIGHT NUMBER | ↑ | WT842 | WT862 | WT864 | WT844 |
| F/Y | F/Y | F/Y | F/Y | ↓ | CLASS | | F/Y | F/Y | F/Y | F/Y |
| B737 | B737 | B737 | B737 | ▼ | AIRCRAFT TYPE | | B737 | B737 | B737 | B737 |
| 1100 | 1100 | 1100 | 0900 | d | LAGOS | a | 1550 | 1550 | 1550 | 1830 |
| 1050 | 1050 | 1050 | 0850 | a | ACCRA | d | 1400 | 1800 | 1800 | 1640 |
| 1120 | 1120 | 1120 | 0920 | d | ACCRA | a | 1330 | 1330 | 1230 | 1610 |
| 1210 | 1210 | 1210 | — | a | ABIDJAN | d | 1240 | 1640 | 1640 | — |
| — | 1240 | 1240 | — | d | ABIDJAN | a | — | 1610 | 1610 | — |
| — | 1355 | 1355 | — | a | ROBERTSFIELD | d | — | 1455 | 1455 | — |
| — | 1425 | 1425 | — | d | ROBERTSFIELD | a | — | 1425 | 1425 | — |
| — | — | — | 1110 | a | MONROVIA | d | — | — | — | 1420 |
| — | — | — | 1140 | d | MONROVIA | a | — | — | — | 1250 |
| — | 1515 | 1515 | 1230 | a | FREETOWN | d | — | 1335 | 1335 | 1300 |
| — | 1545 | 1545 | — | d | FREETOWN | a | — | 1305 | 1305 | — |
| — | 1650 | 1650 | — | a | BANJUL | d | — | 1200 | 1200 | — |
| — | 1720 | 1720 | — | d | BANJUL | a | — | 1130 | 1130 | — |
| — | 1750 | 1750 | — | a | DAKAR | d | — | 1100 | 1100 | — |

NOTES: NO TRAFFIC MAY BE CARRIED ABIDJAN/DAKAR OR DAKAR/ABIDJAN

**TABLE 4 LAGOS/ACCRA/LAGOS** ALL TIMES LOCAL

| MON | TUE | THU | FRI | SUN | | FREQUENCY | | MON | WED | THU | SAT | SUN |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| WT843 | WT861 | WT857 | WT865 | WT845 | ↓ | FLT. NUMBER | ↑ | WT842 | WT862 | WT856 | WT864 | WT844 |
| F/Y | F/Y | F/Y | F/Y | F/Y | ▼ | CLASS | | F/Y | F/Y | F/Y | F/Y | F/Y |
| B737 | B737 | B737 | B737 | B737 | | AIRCRAFT TYPE | | B737 | B737 | B737 | B737 | B737 |
| 1100 | 1100 | 0900 | 1100 | 0900 | d | LAGOS | a | 1550 | 1550 | 1110 | 1550 | 1830 |
| 1050 | 1050 | 0850 | 1050 | 0850 | a | ACCRA | d | 1400 | 1800 | 0920 | 1800 | 1640 |

**TABLE 5 LAGOS/PORT HARCOURT/CALABAR/DOUALA**

| WED | MON | | FREQUENCY | | WED | MON |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| WT166 | WT833 | ↑ | FLIGHT NUMBER | ↑ | WT167 | WT832 |
| F/Y | F/Y | ↓ | CLASS | | F/Y | F/Y |
| F 28 | B737 | ▼ | AIRCRAFT TYPE | | F 28 | B737 |
| 1100 | 1645 | d | LAGOS | a | 1895 | 2000 |
| 1155 | — | a | P.HARCOURT | d | 1600 | — |
| 1255 | — | d | P.HARCOURT | a | 1500 | — |
| 1335 | 1800 | a | DOUALA | d | 1430 | 1845 |

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# Corruption: a basis for security?

**Last year the Ghana Commission on Bribery and Corruption, which had been established in 1970, finally presented its report. The Commission, headed by Mr. Justice Anin, found that "corruption is endemic throughout the whole society" and suggested both causes for this state of affairs and possible palliatives for it. Here Opoku Acheampong of the University of Ghana offers an individual view of the problems the Commission examined.**

Two weeks after the Cocoa Season had been officially declared open, Kofi Guy went to buy himself a new Mercedes 280 Automatic. There were many theories as to where he obtained the "Karash"*. Some said he had got himself a "Sikaduro"† others that he had won a huge sum on the Weekly Lotto. I suspected, along with other knowing heads, that the money was part of the advance given him by the Cocoa Marketing Board to buy cocoa during the season.

Which brings to mind why the Security Forces do nothing to find the sources of income of people who live big without doing any known work or people whose living seems to be far far above their pay-packets. Or do they?

Well we don't see it! A lot of people are going about town free, beautiful and black, living on one form of roguery or the other. A special department within the "Special Branch" could be formed to take care of such people: better to nip them in the bud.

But to come back to Kofi Guy's case. I went back to school for the Michaelmas term. When I returned he was in trouble. Auditors who had come to check his books had found 65,000 cedis missing.

Everyone said it was a cinch Kofi was going to prison; but it proved to be different. He is still walking about town, free, beautiful and black — still thriving on roguery.

It semed that the auditors were from the Regional capital. A senior auditor was a bosom friend of a senior policeman in the region. Their friendship had begun as a result of a favour the policeman had done for his friend in the past.

Kofi was a cousin of this police official. He went to him one night and said: "Brother, this is the trouble oo. And you must help me out or disgrace will befall our house" . . . blah blah blah.

The policeman then went to the auditor and said: "Kwabena I hear some gentleman at Etwe-yede-Nkwanta has 'chopped' some money".

Mr. Auditor agreed: "Well Kwabena the case is like this: He is my brother". That was the end of the matter. Kofi was to find money to pay back his advance. Five years later he still has not paid.

The point, however, is this. An auditor can reason this way; "when I was in trouble he helped me. How can I refuse help to him? Besides trouble can come any day and it is a comfortable thought to know that there is someone you can rely on to help you".

We must recognise that all the question about right and wrong concerns value judgements. And in ethical questions second principles must yield to first — a man's first duty is to himself.

The first duty of the policeman was to his brother. The first duty of the auditor was to the policeman — a friend who had helped him when trouble threatened. Or would anyone argue that they owed a duty to the state first? Our people do not see it so.

Kofi Guy's case serves to show the currents which underlie corruption in Ghana. The proverbial man in the street puts the philosophy in a catchy line: "see me I see you".

The driver must secure his "contacts": the policeman, (just pay him 20 pesewas every time you come to the Police barrier) the bookman (he would load your bus), the testing officer (he comes in handy when your car gets involved in an accident. He gives you the right certificate needed to establish that your jalopy is OK when it isn't).

The cocoa purchasing clerk must obtain his contacts. He must "know" the auditors. Who knows? he may "chop" money one day. The businessman must "know" his suppliers. He must also know the police. The smuggler must "know" one of the Border Guards. The wee exporter must "see" the customs official. The prospective borrower must see the Bank Manager who will then recommend that Kramo Seidu is a gentleman who will without fail repay the loan. And so on. A long list.

The money and material used in "seeing" or "knowing" these various people (and there are as many "contacts" as there are different jobs) are in every sense premiums that they pay, or their "security". You pay me, I pay you and we are all happy — and so runs the world away.

Of course if you do not pay or accept the payment you stand to lose. You are in fact saying that you will sleep in an all-timber house without taking out a fire policy with the State Insurance Corporation.

Everybody will say "aaah" — uncommitedly but with a significant cast of the eye. The secret is that bribery (or corruption) affords the individual the greatest possible security. At present the risk of being charged with giving or receiving a bribe is one in ten thousand.

The problem of corruption has a history. We inherited it from traditional society. You want something done? Go to see the appropriate man with drinks. When the deed is done, you go again to thank him with drinks. Dr. Daaku's book: *Trade and Politics in Ghana (1600-1720)* shows how the system worked when the whitemen came.

The crux of the matter is this: Does the giving of drinks amount to a bribe? Are they meant to influence you in reaching a decision?

There are various interpretations of this custom. But it is to be noted that drinks were more a "knocking fee" to the man's social standing than an attempt to bribe him. A lawyer could refuse to handle the case after hearing it from the prospective client. The doctor could tell the patient that he could not help her even though the consultation fees had been paid.

The "drinks system" was like that. In some cases the drinks were refundable although the givers seldom took them back.

Modern society, made up of you and me, took this system and moulded it into something more unacceptable, more unjust: the present form of bribery.

You want to be a messenger?
See that man
You want this thing or that?
There is your man.

Nothing is ever done on merit again. You either have to fawn or fall. Into what kind of world are we bringing up our children?

A friend told me that before he came to the university, he had to get an X-ray picture of his chest (a precaution the university takes to avoid students bringing TB on to the campus). The university was already open and he was afraid his place may be given to someone else. At the X-ray department of Okomfo Anokye Hospital, one of the men in charge told him:

"My brother, if you want it done in less than 24 hours, you must pay two cedis".

It is in this respect that the modern form of bribery is less respectable than the old. That is not to say that bribery in any form is acceptable. The ideal is total eradication.

Some people argue that corruption acts as a lubricant to the economic process. They argue thus: "Take the Passport Office as a random example. The normal period it takes the office to process a passport is about two months (I hear it is far less now). But given the incentive, that is, if you pay your individual insurance premium — in the form of a bribe, you can have it in a day or two".

The argument goes on: "Since say a hundred passports instead of twenty are processed as a result of the bribes given out, the passport office produces more".

In other words, the protagonists of this theory equate the rate of corruption with that of economic productivity — a brilliant piece of economic analysis, I admit.

I am not prepared to go into the truth or falsity of this doctrine because I am not qualified to do so. However it seems to me that it has as faulty or as valid a reasoning as has the urge by certain people that we must legalize prostitution because it offers jobs to beautiful girls with twisted morals or that the State Construction Corporation must continue to drain public funds because otherwise some people would be thrown out of jobs.

Rubbish! We are only taking the line of least resistance.

*Cash.*
*†A juju that gives its possessor money.*

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# An international language for Africa ?

**Recently a correspondent argued that since the new ECOWAS covered one of the most complex areas, linguistically, in the world, it made the search for an African lingua franca more urgent (*West Africa,* November 3). Here Adewole John of Sierra Leone argues the case for his choice.**

Africa, continent of three hundred million people and a thousand languages is heading for a major linguistic problem. According to a detailed linguistic map compiled by the School of Oriental and African Studies there are some 1,500 languages in Africa, in addition to the major European languages in use throughout the continent. Altogether something like twenty different languages could be developed as linguas francas by the middle of the 1980s; this is the source of the potential danger. During the scramble for Africa and its subsequent partition it was not uncommon to find one tribal group straddling two or more African States. For example the Ewes live in Eastern Ghana and Togo. Yorubas live in Dahomey and Nigeria. Lingala is spoken across the borders of Congo and Zaire. The most pressing demands of most African governments is to weld their inchoate ethnic groups into one nation.

Sierra Leone, with a population of under three million, boasts fourteen different languages — West Africa, indeed, seems to have an unfair share of Africa's linguistic problems: two-thirds of the 1,500 languages in Africa can be found in the West.

Why should I or any African concern ourselves with the idea of an international language? Would it solve our pressing problem of under-development? Some of us would argue that Africa's number one enemy today is poverty. Why should I even consider the learning of a new language? In fact, there are reasons for me to be thankful I have the use of English. If English did not give me a song at least it gives me a tongue for singing. If you believe that I can speak English I have at my disposal the ability to speak to about sixty million Nigerians, ten million Kenyans and two hundred million Americans, etc. etc. Without English it would be a voyage of silence; or shall I call it a linguistic exile? The practicality of the English language is obvious, so why don't we convince the rest of Africa to adopt English as our international language? At a stroke we could obviate any dangers of linguistic crisis. In spite of the attractions mentioned above, the answer would be no. English represents the language of colonialism.

In post-colonial Africa our desire to rediscover our lost heritage is turning us more and more into isolationists; forsaking almost everything Western and extolling the virtues of almost anything African. Not long ago, educated Africans took pride in speaking very correct French or English. Very recently I attended a meeting with several post-graduate students from Africa. Almost everyone who made a contribution to a very lively debate first apologised for addressing the gathering in English and, as they put it, "not very good English". What language, then should Africans adopt as their international language? Should it be Hausa, Krio, Mandingo or Swahili?

Hausa is spoken by some forty million Africans — by far the largest indigenous language group in Africa, spreading over Chad, Northern Nigeria, Northern Ghana, Upper Volta and beyond. But politically southern millions might see it tending to divide rather than unite, if it were a national lingua franca. Also it is spoken within a small geographical area.

Krio is spoken extensively in the coastal areas of West Africa — more widely spoken in geographical area than Hausa. It is the language of some fifty thousand Krios of Sierra Leone but it is the lingua franca of the entire country. It is also spoken as a pidgin form in Ghana, Nigeria, Liberia, The Gambia and Cameroon, where it is known as "wes kos". Although no one is really sure, West African "pidgin" English probably developed in the slave depots or factories on the West Coast. The European slave lords needed a language in which to give orders to the slave, and the slaves from different tribes needed a language to speak to each other. As it grew, pidgin English became a language of many English words and large African grammar and syntax. To a linguist pidgin is a language which has no native speakers. It is used by people who don't understand each other's native language. When pidgin becomes the mother tongue of a group of people linguists call it a "creole". Pidgin became strongest in Sierra Leone because it was the original colony settled by freed slaves or slave ship captives in the last 18th and early 19th centuries. Many had spent years away from Africa, many had been born outside Africa. They were losing hold of vernacular African languages and depending on pidgin to communicate. The main setback in adopting Krio is that it lacks a standardised form.

The next language being talked of is Mandingo, the dialect of the last truly great King of Africa, Mansa Musa. Though widely spoken in western West Africa it has too few speakers; fewer than ten million speak it as a language. On the credit side it is relatively a simple language to learn and its ethnic base is spread over a wide geographical area encompassing Mali, Senegal, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, The Gambia and other countries.

Swahili, which is the last of four languages I mentioned, is the one with the strongest case, especially among linguistic scholars. At the first Pan-African Writers Conference, in Rome in 1959, the writers passed a resolution urging independent African governments to adopt Swahili as a form of national expression. Recently at a meeting of African cultural ministers the

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Nigerian playwright Wole Soyinka urged them, on behalf of African writers and poets, to adopt Swahili as the international language of Africa.

The development of Swahili as a language along the East African coast is known to have taken place long before the advent of the European colonisers. Today it is the most widely spoken indigenous language group in Africa — throughout East Africa, most parts of Central Africa and extending west into Angola, from Zaire stretching into Congo, and south into Mozambique and northern Rhodesia. Swahili is also used as an official language in Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda and Rwanda.

These are some of the advantages which makes Swahili a front runner. It is not identified with any ethnic group and therefore would not engender tribal hostilities. It is a non-tonal language, which makes it easier to learn and understand it. As a member of the Bantu group in grammar and syntax it is distantly related to a number of Bantu language groups of the fragmentation belt, notably Temne in Sierra Leone and Wolof in Senegal.

Swahili has a standardised form of shorthand recognised by Pitmans. Recently it was modernised. It has also absorbed a number of Arabic words. Finaly Swahili is the most widely spoken African language abroad, especially amongst black Americans. If I am asked to make a prediction, I would forecast Swahili to become the international language of Africa by the middle of the 1980s, with English, French, Portuguese and Arabic running parallel as second languages.

# Matchet's Diary

The misuse of statistics is a growing and deplorable practice in politics and journalism, to name two of its favourite habitats, but an even more disturbing phenomenon is the total invention of statistical material to back up or pad out an argument or article. I have noticed, for instance, that many "quality" publications have not even been bothering to check their facts over the armed forces of the Maghreb states in comments on the Spanish Sahara issue.

Morocco's armed forces number some 61,000, of which 55,000 make up the army, 2,000 the navy and 4,000 the air force. In addition, there are a similar number of reserves and a 30,000-man gendarmerie. The cutting edge of these forces consists of five armoured and nine motorised battalions with 265 tanks and 140 APC's in the army, three patrol boats for the navy and Northrop F 5's for the air force. The army is conscripted with 18 months service, and defence expenditure for Morocco's 16 million people represents some three per cent of GNP.

Algeria, similarly, has 63,000 men in her armed forces, of which 55,000 are in the army, 3,500 in the navy and 4,500 in the air force. There are 50,000 reserves and a gendarmerie of 10,000, but the principal disparity with Morocco lies in Algeria's 350 tanks, 440 APC's, 24 patrol boats and 186 combat aircraft, including Mig-21 fighters.

Anything Algeria buys with the $200m allegedly provided by Col. Gadafi last month can only add to this superiority. Algeria's military service is voluntary and her defence expenditure, for a population practically identical in size to that of Morocco, represents some five per cent of GNP.

The other possible combatants in the Sahara are hardly comparable to the Maghreb states in either the size or equipment of their armed forces. Mauritania has an army of only 1,250 men, with a similar number of gendarmes, but only fifteen armoured cars and no navy or air force to speak of. Mali is slightly better placed, with 4,200 men in all services, ten tanks and two aged Mig fighters. Senegal, for her part, has 3,750 men under arms with 12 armoured cars, and four patrol boats for her 200 man navy. She has 1,600 gendarmes as well, but, like Mauritania, no air combatant force.

While there is obviously no guaranteeing the accuracy of such information, all the figures are as accurate as the International Institute for Strategic Studies can make them. The IISS's publication, *The Military Balance 1975-1976*, while making no claims to infallibility, has nevertheless the reputation for being the most accurate guide.

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present party of 15 will include for part of the time the massive figure of Colin Cowdrey, who joins them in Ghana in the middle of this month, after they have finished their fixtures in The Gambia and Sierra Leone (December 29 to January 14). The tour finishes with a two-day match against a West African team in Lagos, beginning on January 24. The captain is Ted Clark, the former Middlesex player, and the vice-captain Bob Barber, the former test batsman. Some 15 firms are helping to meet the cost of the tour.

It is something of a mystery that cricket has never won in Commonwealth West Africa the intense popularity it enjoys in the West Indies, India and Pakistan. Even in Australia the climate is often no more suitable for strenuous play than it is in Lagos and in India it can be much worse. The West African countries are more prosperous on the whole than is India, and the population is enormously greater than that of the Caribbean. But while in these other countries cricket is often the most popular sport, in West Africa it remains the game of an elite minority — even if one is told in Banjul that one reason why The Gambia will never be united with Senegal is that its enthusiasm for cricket, played on that attractive ground in the middle of the capital, rules the union out.

## Ashland pays up

A dispute between two American companies about which is liable to pay a $150,000 bribe alleged to be due to President Bongo of Gabon has, almost accidentally, revealed the extent of this attempted bribe. According to a *Financial Times* report Ashland oil has publicly admitted paying such a sum to the President after it had acquired Union Carbide's Gabon petroleum subsidiary in 1971. But Ashland claims that the alleged bribe was in discharge of a promise made by Union Carbide before the change of ownership.

According to Mr. Orin Atkins, Ashland's chairman, Union Carbide made the payment through a Swiss bank but stopped the cheque when the subsidiary was sold. He claimed that the Swiss Bank dishonoured the cheque, causing serious embarrassment to President Bongo whose Government threatened to withhold drilling permits if Ashland did not pay up.

Ashland actually sent a bill demanding repayment of the $150,000 to Union Carbide. But Union Carbide vigorously denied ever agreeing to the payment and has suggested that Ashland, which has already admitted making illicit payments in other countries, was simply outwitted by the Gabon Government.

## Town and gown

By calling on the Olubadan, the traditional head of Ibadan city, the new Vice-Chancellor of Ibadan University, Professor Tekera Tamuno, seems to have established a record. For the Olubadan complained to him that this was the first time a Vice-Chancellor of the University had called on him since Dr. Kenneth Mellanby — the first Principal of the University College, as it then was, who left Nigeria in 1953. Not surprisingly the Olubadan added that the University made little impact on the ordinary people of the city.

Dr. Tamuno, who was born in Rivers State, and is still only 43, has another record to his credit. He is the first graduate of Ibadan to become Vice-Chancellor, having taken his first degree, in history, in 1958. He became a Professor in 1971 and head of the department of history in 1972.

## None so blind

One possible factor in Dr. Kissinger's mishandling of the Angola issue may be his attitude to the American ambassador in Lagos, Mr. Donald Easum. The Ambassador, I hasten to say, is a first-class diplomat with much African experience — he was once Ambassador to Upper Volta. But while he was in charge of African affairs at the State Department he took a line about South Africa which was said to have displeased the Secretary of State, who caused him to be sent to the vacant Lagos post, which is sufficiently important to justify the posting of an official of such seniority. Mr. Easum, we can be sure, will have told Washington of the Nigerian attitude to Angola — which changed from neutrality towards the three movements there to active support of MPLA when South Africa's direct support of UNITA became clear. But Dr. Kissinger must have ignored his envoy's warning that Black Africa's most powerful state would feel obliged to back MPLA — and so to swing Black Africa's balance against the US-backed movements — if the Americans failed to persuade the South Africans to stay out.

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# LETTERS to the Editor

## Anti-corruption decree in Nigeria

SIR, In the face of its "deadwoods" exercise no one can doubt the determination of the Nigerian government to grasp the nettle of corruption. I do, however, have doubts whether the recently promulgated anti-corruption decree (*West Africa*, Dec 15) is going to make a significant contribution to the reduction in corruption. The greatest deterrent to a criminal is the knowledge that he will be apprehended and successfully prosecuted. Excessive penalties merely reflect the primitiveness of a legal system and weakness of its detective agencies). I claim no originality for the argument that any law which places equal criminal liability on the "giver" as well as the "receiver" of a bribe will fail to reduce corruption because detection is made difficult as the "giver", who would have been a prosecution witness, would want to save his own neck by not coming forward. The "giver" should be made criminally liable only if the "receiver" can prove that he was in effect forced to accept a bribe.

There is, in my opinion, no need for the creation of a corrupt practices bureau.

Investigation into alleged malpractices is the proper role of the Criminal Investigation Department of the Nigeria Police Force. If, however, such a bureau must be created, with no disrespect to Dr J. A. Adegbite, it should be headed by a legally trained person with the rank of a High Court judge. My dissatisfaction with minds without legal training carrying out what is essentially a judicial function reached its zenith with the recent allegation by Justice Belgore's tribunal about former Governor Gomwalk of Benue Plateau, last year the former Governor had been cleared after a thorough investigation by General Yakubu Gowon. Governor Gomwalk's accuser spent months in jail without trial.

*London* OYE OTIFOJU

## Nigeria's Constitution and the State of Emergency

SIR, A major point which the Rotimi Williams Commission on the drafting of a new Constitution for Nigeria would have to consider is the power of the Government of the day to declare a state of emergency.

Experience in Nigeria and elsewhere has shown that no matter how well entrenched or enshrined the rights of the citizenry may be, these rights could and have been trampled upon by the simple device of the declaration of a state of emergency, often accompanied by the suspension of the Constitution.

In most instances the issue is the political survival of an individual or his government, as opposed to any threat to the State itself. Criticisms no matter how well founded are stifled. An a priori policy disagreement is seen as a threat, political opponents are incarcerated without trial or access to the Courts.

If an illustration of the effect of this is required, then take India, where the personal woes of Mrs. Gandhi were magnified into threats to the very existence of the state of India.

Of course the right of a Government to declare a state of emergency must be provided for, but bearing in mind the abuses that can and have occurred in this area of the Constitution may I suggest that the Commission pays particular attention to what constitutes a state of emergency, when can the Government so declare, the rights of the citizens to challenge any orders made in pursuance of such a declaration, duration and provisions for the writ of Habeas Corpus which must be immutable. Finally the Supreme Court ought to be given a prima facie power to declare null and void any declaration or attempted declaration of a state of emergency which conflicts with these provisions. Unless some such provisions are made the liberty of the citizen cannot be said to be truly guaranteed.

*London* P K OGBIMI

## Africans must fight now!

SIR, It is often said, particularly in the Western press, that Africans cannot fight. Hence the empty boasts of Ian Smith in Zimbabwe that "if they come in thousands, they will be killed in thousands" and the arrogance of 4m white settlers in South Africa, lording it over 16m. Africans. Can Africans really fight? If they can what are they doing about the invasion of Angola by South African forces? Will Africa allow NATO to decide Africa's future by encouraging South Africa's invasion? Will Africa wait until South Africa has been helped by NATO to produce nuclear weapons before attempts are made to liberate South Africa? The darling of African youth, Idi Amin of Uganda, is yet to release his jets to fight South Africa as he promised. What a let down! One hears the notorious Dr. Kissinger declaring that the US will continue to divide Africa by massive military supplies to enemies of African liberation, and the hypocrisy of US representative in the UN in accusing the Russians of colonising Africa. Who does he think he is kidding? In fact to Africa's credit, there is no communist state in Africa at all.

By now President Kaunda of Zambia must have learnt his lessons of the real military intentions of South Africa. The liberation forces

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preparing to liberate Zimbabwe are therefore forewarned, and should prepare to take on the South African forces at all fronts. One is, however, encouraged by the actions of some countries, like Tanzania and Nigeria, in defending the interests of Africa. And I am confident that they will crush the South African forces completely. There is no point in asking the South Africans to withdraw; they will not. We must meet force with force. Finally it is best if the OAU withdraws recognition of UNITA leaving the MPLA and FNLA to come to terms in the African way.

*University of Strathclyde* JOHN HARRY

## The State of Tourism

SIR, As the first Secretary General of the Nigerian Tourist Association I fully endorse the general point made by Mr. I. A. Atigbi (Letters, December 15) that state support is essential for the development of a sound tourist industry, more especially in a situation where that industry is in its very early stages and the obvious attractions of African tourism are not so clearly evident as in, say, East Africa. Any government in those circumstances is in duty bound to support the creation of an infrastructure on which a viable industry can be based.

All the most successful tourist countries, especially in Europe, make quite massive provision for the development of tourism and exercise an overall control in its organisation and execution.

But I must correct one fallacy in Mr. Atigbi's letter. He says that "The British Government decided to give an outright sum of £20,000 per room to bodies involved in construction of hotels in London in 1971". This is wrong.

Under the Development of Tourism Act 1969 the three National Tourist Boards created under that Act are empowered to make grants for the building of new hotels or extensions to existing hotels at the rate of £1,000 or 20 per cent of the eligible expenditure (whichever is the less) per room. The conditions are stringent, apply only to projects carried out between April 1, 1968 and March 31, 1973, and require undertakings from recipients to maintain the stated number of rooms added for ten years. Approximately 50,000 new bedrooms were added and grants of about £41m. have been paid to date — equivalent to an average of about £800. Failure to observe the conditions incurs liability to repay all or part of such grants. At Mr. Atigbi's quoted figure the total sum paid out would be near £1 billion, a sum utterly beyond the resources of Britain.

W. H. IRVINE
*Hotel Development Statistics Officer*
*HDI Grants Unit, English Tourist Board*

## Ghana probes and elites

SIR, I have been a doubting Thomas concerning setting up of probes in Ghana. This scepticism stems from the fact that membership is always selected from a group of elitists — lawyers, top civil servants, senior military and police officers, university dons and doctors — they thrived under the colonial regime and have been benefitting from all governments since. Their basic interest lie in living in positions of privilege — indeed a small selfish, money-minded, minority among vast masses of people, who live at subsistence level.

They want always to maintain the status quo. The report by the Ansu Commission on Bribery and Corruption, however, throws a ray of hope on the fact that the fight against public immorality continues in earnest.

The ruling Supreme Military Council should use the report to generate public morality in Ghana. The Council cannot afford to fail in this direction.

KOFI OWUSU
*London*

## Outsiders and Angola

SIR, It is a horrible shame that the MPLA, the FNLA and UNITA are letting outside forces poison their minds against each other. These three groups ought to wake up and see that non-Angolans are only interested in destroying a potentially great African country. The fighting between the three liberation groups only confirms the myth that the white man has about Africa. He knew that when the Portugese left Angola, the Africans were incapable of ruling themselves without a white presence. It should be obvious to the three groups fighting for control that they are playing into the hands of South Africa and other sources that are not concerned with the social, economic, and political well beings of the Black African.

*Memphis* J. L. JOHNSON

## Rehabilitation of the evacuees

SIR, I read in your November 3 issue with tears of joy that the evacuation of Nigerian workers from Equatorial Guinea was continuing. This is one of the boldest steps the present military government has taken to alleviate human suffering. For decades now Nigerians have been used, tortured beyond endurance.

I would like to remind the Nigerian authorities — for they are aware — that these people are to be rehabilitated. Most of them, if not all, have acquired a wealth of experience on farming and can best be used in the government farms. Some of them have spent half of their lifetime in Equatorial Guinea and have lost the sense of learning a new trade. A few, who perhaps have other awarenesses, are coming back home completely naked of money. Remember: "A hungry man is an angry man".

EMMANUEL M. OGBONNA
*University of Nebraska*


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# BOOKS and Publications

## The City and the State

**Urban Policy and Political Conflict in Africa** *by Michael Cohen (University of Chicago Press; £8.50)*

The Ivory Coast is often held up as the *wirtschaftswunder* of West Africa, a living proof of the robustness of private enterprise in a continent of increasingly nationalised economies. Its economic success is also often held to be indivisible from its political stability, so unusual among its neighbours, a view that is shared by the governing elite themselves, who fear that social disturbance will frighten off foreign capital. It is therefore no surprise that scholars, among whom Dr. Cohen is only the latest, should seek to raise "the veil of fear" and see how the Ivory Coast actually copes with the seething problems beneath the urbane veneer.

Many smaller developing countries are merely their capital cities writ large. The capital acts not just as an economic growth node, attracting ever more industry and enterprise to its monopolistic administrative and commercial facilities, but also as a social magnet, drawing the rural unemployed, the adventurous and the simply curious to share the imagined excitement of the "bright lights". Politics in the capital are the crucial factor in new states, for in the city old loyalties break down, new values are acquired and politics begin. At least, this is what theory tells us.

Dr. Cohen is so right when he says that "most of the discussion about social stratification in post-independence Africa starts with erroneous assumptions about traditional society" and reveals how the PDCI, the Ivory Coast's ruling party, encouraged, preserved and, at times, created ethnic associations in the capital. These provided the lower levels of political organisation it initially lacked, and prevented the formation of more sophisticated cross-ethnic political groupings, which might challenge government decisions. Dr. Cohen recognises that material expectations among city dwellers in the Ivory Coast were both extravagant and unreasonable, but also that the government, because it distributes wealth, such as land grants, on the basis of political patronage, can neither accede to even a portion of these expectations, nor yet expose their illogicality. The pressures that this paradox forces upon government policy is the principal concern of the book.

The patronage system in the Ivory Coast is based neither on party nor class, but upon politics. As Adou Dogui, the Secretary-General of the Tenants Union, says: "The government has a law, no politics . . . all the land goes to the same people". Indeed, Dr. Cohen shows that between 1960 and

1970, land grants to those politically "connected" rose from 12 to 50 per cent of the total. Moreover, such favours go not to townsfolk who might be expected to have accumulated capital and become used to city ways, but to the *parvenu* immigrant relatives of the politically mighty. In parallel fashion, the administration, through a series of special allowances, gets an unfair share of the available reward. Other groups, such as "transporters", the army, employers, fishermen or party cadres, use the *ad hoc* institution of "*Dialogue*" to press their various claims on the President, thus leaving the relatively unorganised masses out in the cold. As a bucket-shop form of interest-group liberalism, however, the system seems to work rather well, although Dr. Cohen sees inevitable problems of unfulfilled expectations and the gradual wearying of the armed forces and the other apparata of repression of their role.

Dr. Cohen's book is thus strong on description, and for insights such as the way in which the PDCI has deliberately fostered ethnic identification in an attempt to delay the proletarianisation of urban dwellers; but, for all its chapter headings, it is short on analysis. Dr. Cohen claims to have found objections to Samir Amin's thesis on class structures in the Ivory Coast but his text hardly bears this out. True, he shows that political connection is the chief means of advancement, and the sole path of access to decision-making. Yet at the same time he reveals this last process as little more than a series of tactical withdrawals in the face of a rising tide of public demand and, while he stresses political "connection", offers no explanation, for instance, of those land grants (50 per cent) which are handed out on different criteria — financial ones perhaps? Nor does he adequately explain the role of the President in the whole political and social process in the Ivory Coast. Why is there such reverence for "*Le Vieux*", and what damping effect, if any, does it have on political demands? There are obviously civil servants who look beyond the President to his successors; — do these men agree with Adou Dogui that "that ministers don't mean anything. It is the President who acts?" One would have been grateful for some reflections on these crucial influences on urban policy.

Nevertheless, this book adds to the steadily accumulating store of knowledge from which one day some general conclusions about government in new states may be drawn. If it offers no particularly fresh insights — Payne's *Labour and Politics in Peru* made the points about violence, class formation and urban bargaining several years ago — it does at least show how "transformed liberalism" really works.

H.P.J.

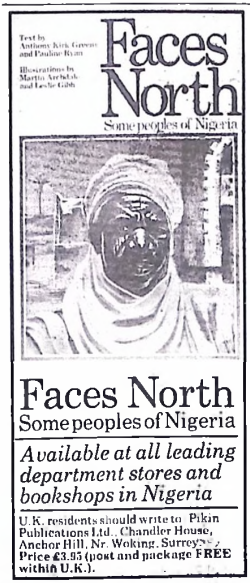
## South Africa buys time?

**The Last Bunker** *by Guy Arnold (Quartet Books; £5.50)*

Since Portugal's revolution in 1974 led to her abandonment of her previously uncompromising hold on her African territories, the political situation of southern Africa has been transformed. Until her nervous intervention in Angola at the end of last year, it seemed that South Africa, the centre of this study, had reconciled herself to a new situation, where the white-dominated states in Southern Africa were more isolated than ever and had to reconsider their internal and foreign policies. Rhodesia no longer has Portuguese assistance to beat sanctions via Mozambique, South Africa is no longer ready to allow Rhodesia to be a liability, and has put pressure on the Smith government to take a conciliatory line. But has there been a real change of heart in South Africa?

Mr. Arnold doubts the reality of the change. He analyses the southern African countries one by one (as well as Angola and Mozambique, he includes Guinea-Bissau because of its influence further south), looking at their military and economic power and their political policies. He concludes that the philosophy of beleaguered apartheid states, precludes voluntary renunciation of white minority power. On the other hand more and more African states support black liberation movements. By the 1980s and explosion of violence may be difficult to avoid.

Through detente (unless the Angola intervention has ruined that) and the creation of "Bantustans" South Africa may "buy a few years for herself, but the effects of freedom at last in the countries round her borders must be profound". Apartheid "will not work: no amount of pretence or justification and no juggling with land for the Bantustans can alter the simple fact that the system in South Africa is devised to ensure the perpetuation of white supremacy". Just as Frelimo said to the Portuguese that independence was not negotiable, the time is coming when South Africa's black majority "will say to the white minority that equality — in all respects throughout the Republic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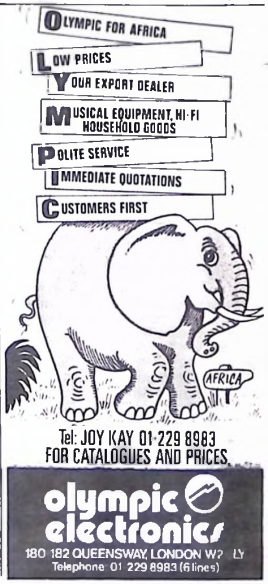

— is not negotiable". Yet it appears inconceivable that the whites will concede power, it seems probable, Mr. Arnold concludes, perhaps a little too positively, that "the fight will start at the beginning of the 1980's."

D.W.

**Race, Science and Society** *edited and introduced by Leo Kuper (George Allen & Unwin for the UNESCO Press £5.95)*

There must be few people holding racist views who are likely to be convinced by the reasonable, learned and stimulating pamphlets of which the work is a collection. However, while frustrated by its naive approach, one cannot regret reading most of the papers, especially the ones by Levi Strauss and Essien-Udom on "Race and History" and "Tribalism and Racism". Levi-Strauss's point about Cultural Relativity being the antithesis of Physical Relativity in that civilisations going in the same direction appear to move, while those going in another direction seem stationary, particularly recommended itself. All the same, there was no attempt at a balance; no consideration, for instance, of the fact that racialism has proved an effective psychological weapon and "crowd-control device" in colonial situations, nor that it has been used as one of the many similar procedures to "harden" otherwise humane people to commit inhuman acts for political or economic ends. It is easy for reasonable men to agree with Confucius that "the nature of men is identical; what divides them is their customs" but more difficult to cope with the question of why customs differ in the first instance.

H.N.

# Performers' Plays

**African Plays for Playing 1 and 2,** *edited by Michael Etherton (Heinemann Educational Books: £1 each Africa and Caribbean; £1.50 elsewhere)*

These two booklets make up the first anthology of plays from Africa intended to assist development of the theatre. There are plays from Cameroon, Uganda, Ghana, Nigeria and Zambia, and almost all have had popular performances in their own countries. They are meant to be seen and only incidentally to be read. The editor is the founder of the pioneering Chikwakwa Theatre of Lusaka, and now Senior Lecturer in English and Drama at Ahmadu Bello University. He helps readers to visualize the dramatic potential of the plays by means of practical notes and sketches. The notes can greatly assist producers, as well as widen the view of readers.

In Volume 1 "The Invisible Bond" by Nuwa Sentongo (Uganda) explores a symbolic relationship between a killer and the corpse of his victim; "Amavi" by Jacob Hevi is a portrait of a Ghanaian peasant woman over 20 years of her life, showing the degree to which many African women are exploited; and "Rakinyo" by 'Segun Ajibade is a play about ambition and greed in a town in Western Nigeria.

In Volume 2, "The Tragedy of Mr. No-Balance" is a comedy, on the same theme as Ajibade's, by the Cameroonian, Victor Elcame Musinga; "Black Mamba Two" is the middle play of a Zambian trilogy by Godfrey Kabwe Kasoma about President Kaunda and UNIP, the ruling party; and "Monkey of the Tree" by Uwa Udensi, the Nigerian, is about the rootlessness and despair of an exiled Black South African in a mercenary army in independent Black Africa.

A.M.

**South Africa:** *Black Labour — Swedish Capital (distributed by TCO, P.O. Box 5252, S-102 45 Stockholm, Sweden, free)*

This is a report on the visit to South Africa by a delegation from the Swedish Trade Union Confederation (LO) and the Swedish Central Organisation of Salaried Employees (TCO) early last year. It describes and analyses (yet again) the policy of apartheid and its effects in almost every aspect of working life. As the title suggests the report concentrates on Swedish companies operating in South Africa and concludes with recommendations of what the Swedish trade union movement could do to help black workers in South Africa.

P.S.

**Ideals and Realities of Islam** *by Seyyed Hossein Nasr (George Allen and Unwin £2.95)*

Apologetics is hardly a traditional occupation of Islamic scholars but this book is a lively, concise and sympathetic exposition of the tenets and mysteries of Islam aimed at the Western reader unfamiliar with Islam, and indeed at the westernised Muslim seeking a closer "translation" of his beliefs into western idiom. It covers the main aspects of Islam, from the Quran to the Shar'ia and includes such potentially controversial subjects as the Sh'ia and Sunni schism. In short, it ducks no subject in its self-appointed task.

J.I.

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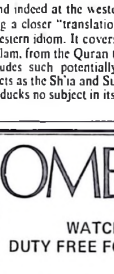

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# ECONOMIC and Business NEWS

## Now for the real work

**from a correspondent**

It was not really surprising that the North-South Conference overran its scheduled time of three days, the idea that each of the 27 nations participating would restrict its opening statement to ten minutes was optimism about as justified as expecting the OPEC members to set the tone of the conference with an announcement of massive cuts in the price of oil. However, it was a shame that Algeria was so insistent on trying to get rigid and detailed agenda for the four working commissions that a degree of sourness crept into what had been a warily amiable gathering and even produced a certain element of division amongst the 19 developing nations of whom Algeria was so keen to be the champion and leader. In the end it was the 19 who put forward the compromise which allowed proceedings to end at 4.30 in the morning of the fourth day. To have gone on much longer would have made it highly likely that, because of sheer physical fatigue, irritability would have taken a firm hold and moved on swiftly to acrimony.

It was a close-run thing but finally the determination that something must be done prevailed and it was agreed to leave the four commissions — on energy, raw materials, development and financial matters, without specific mandates for their work apart from instructions to begin work on February 11 and to report back to a new ministerial conference in about a year's time. This report back instruction is not, though, a deadline for work to be completed, it is felt that that could take anything from 14 to 24 months.

Another brief conference is to be held on January 26, when the various co-chairmen meet for final preparatory talks: they are Venezuela and Canada of the ministerial conference, America and Saudi Arabia for the energy commission, Iran and the Common Market for finance, Japan and Peru for raw materials, Algeria and the Common Market (again) for development.

The other members of the commissions are:

**Energy:** Algeria, Brazil, Egypt, India, Iran, Iraq, Jamaica, Venezuela, Zaire, Canada, Switzerland, Common Market and Japan.

**Finance:** Brazil, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Mexico, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Zambia, Switzerland, Sweden, America and Japan.

**Raw Materials:** Argentina, Cameroon, Indonesia, Mexico, Nigeria, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Australia, Spain, Common Market and America.

**Development:** Argentina, Cameroon, India, Jamaica, Pakistan, Peru, Nigeria, Yugoslavia, Canada, Sweden, America and Japan.

In addition 12 international organisations, including OPEC and the International Energy Agency, will be invited to take non-voting seats on relevant commissions.

Algeria's determination to have the matter of indexation firmly written into the mandates of the commissions — which is what kept the conference in session until the early morning — seems to be something of a reflection on the abilities of the representatives of the other developing countries. They are in the majority on each commission and have a co-chairman on each commission, yet Algeria appears to believe that they can be prevented from, or tricked out of, raising the matter of indexation unless it has been specified in advance. As this is so patently absurd it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that Algeria was making a gesture for the gallery of the developing world rather than stating a principle. But that sort of thing was to be expected, let us hope that some practical work will start soon now that the rhetoric has been exercised.

## Floor price

Major oil consumers in the 18 nation International Energy Agency have agreed a floor price of seven dollars per barrel for imported oil, to guarantee investments both in new energy resources and in recession-hit Western industry. The floor price agreement means an undertaking by governments not to allow oil to be sold on domestic markets below this level. The current OPEC price is about $11.50 a barrel.

• Libya has declared that, as it did not participate in the North-South Conference in Paris, it will not be bound by any resolution or recommendation issued by the conference.

## Cement deals cancelled

Companies from Britain, America, France and Yugoslavia have agreed to cancel, without compensation, contracts to supply £42m. worth of cement according to a report by the New Nigerian. Mr. Fred Egbe, chairman of a panel dealing with the cement problem, said the companies which were not named, had agreed to cancel orders for 1.5m tons of cement but they wanted the Government to pay promptly for cement already delivered Mr. Egbe urged other contractors to do the same.

• Lagos Port Authorities claimed just before Christmas that by the end of November the queue of ships waiting to unload had dropped to 313 vessels.

• Standard Chartered Bank credits department has sent a circular to customers urging them to get confirmation from shipping companies that vessels carrying their goods to Nigeria have in fact had official clearance from the Nigerian authorities to sail to Nigeria.

## Good for Guinness

Guinness reports a 28 per cent jump in pre-tax profits — £6.4m. — for the year ended last September 27, which is several million more than the most optimistic forecast from outsiders. The reason is an advance in general trading profits and a $3m. rise in associates, with probably something like two-thirds of the gain coming from Nigeria where the price was put up in February, for the first time for several years. Brewing has also done well in Cameroon. Nevertheless there are good reasons for wondering whether the company can do as well next year as all sort of declines in the consumer market are expected. On the other hand nobody expected this past year to turn out as well as it in fact did, so quite probably it would be unwise to foresee an outlook as dark as the brew. (Guinness also operates in Sierra Leone, Ghana and Liberia.)

## Amalgamated Tin dips a bit

Amalgamated Tin Mines of Nigeria have received the full remittance of dividends declared last March by the Nigerian subsidiary, £540,000, when Amalgamated's own declaration was 5.625p. But in the six months to September 30 profits have fallen to £124,000 compared with £532,000 for the same period last year.

## Bambergers' profit chopped in half

The Bambergers timber group reports pre-tax profits halved, at £451,000, in the six months to September 30, though the dividend goes up from 0.99p to 1.1p. The chairman says that the forest products and building materials division maintained their sales and says that although forecasting is still difficult there are signs of an increase in private housebuilding which should help demand.

• Pre-tax profits of Barclays Bank International, formerly Barclays Bank DCO, for the year ended September 30 rose to a record £72.36m., from £58.19m.

## Cloth for the Common Market

President Houphouet-Boigny has officially inaugurated a big cotton spinning and weaving complex at Dimbokro. When the operation, owned by the Ivory Coast Textile Industry Union reaches full capacity it will be processing 12,500 tons of cotton a year and employ 3,000 people: it is already employing 1,500 and selling half its output to the Common Market.

## Bottles boom

Nigeria's first glass bottle plant has been officially opened — it has been in operation at Ibadan for some months' so successfully that it is expected to show an operating profit in its first trading year — to the accompaniment of news that another £500,000 is to be invested to increase capacity of the existing four lines.

## CFAO to build Renaults

Ghana Motors Industries, a subsidiary of CFAO (Ghana) is to assemble 500 Renault 4 motorcars a year. Mr. Albert Adomakoh, a former Governor of the Bank of Ghana, and barrister Mr. John B. Quashie Idun have become directors of CFAO (Ghana) which employs 723 people, only five of whom are expatriates.

## TV programme

Officials from the television authorities of Niger, Ivory Coast, Upper Volta, Togo and Benin (formerly Dahomey) agreed during a four-day meeting in Leone on a wide ranging plan of co-operation including exchange of programmes and joint productions.

## Telephone link proposed

The Conference of African Telecommunications Administrations (CAAT), meeting in Kinshasa has approved a resolution to set up a Pan-African Union of Telecommunications (UPT).

The resolution said UPT would be headed by a nine-member steering committee whose initial task will be to draft rules for the new organisation, in co-operation with the OAU Secretariat, which would be discussed at a conference, convened sometime before next October, in Addis Ababa by the OAU Secretariat.

• France is to lend Cameroon about £11m. for road and bridge projects.

## World Bank raising cash

The World Bank and a syndicate of German banks, headed by the Deutsche Bank AG, as manager, and the Dresdner Bank AG, as co manager have signed an agreement covering a new issue of World Bank Deusche Mark bonds, which will be listed in all German stock exchanges The principal is DM250m. at 8 per cent, payable annually on December 1. The bonds will be publicly offered at 99.50 per cent. The issue will be repaid at par on December 1, 1982. The proceeds of this issue will be used in the general operations of the Bank. Including this issue, the World Bank has publicly offered Deutsche Mark obligations in excess of DM 3.6b.

• The World Bank has announced a medium-term borrowing of 200m. Swiss Francs from a group of leading banks in Switzerland.

• The UN Children's Fund (UNICEF) has been given $10m. by The Netherlands Government — the largest individual donation it has ever received — for special assistance programmes for children in developing countries hardest hit by the current world economic crisis.

## Bank and IDA assistance

The World Bank and its affiliate, the International Development Association, are providing $30m. to help finance development projects in Ghana, Mali, Niger. The National Investment Bank (NIB) of Ghana receives a loan of $10m. to help finance projects in industry, agro-industry and tourism. The loan will provide foreign exchange for NIB clients mainly in small- and medium-scale enterprises. Mali receives a credit of $10m. for a highway project. The project is the third operation for IDA in the highway sector in Mali. A credit of $10.7m. will finance the Maradi rural development project in Niger. It will help increase agricultural production and raise rural incomes.

## EDF loans and grants

The Common Market European Development Fund has announced loans and grants totalling nearly 14 million units of account ($17m.) to African Caribbean and pacific countries associated with the community. They include: a loan of 270m. CFA francs (1m. UA) for improvements to the water supply at Korhogo in the north of the Ivory Coast.

A loan of 1,200 CFA francs (4.6m. UA), for the creation of a small market gardening area in the Cap Vert region of Senegal.

A grant of 665m. CFA francs (2.5m. UA) for a hospital project at Abomey in Benin (formerly Dahomey).

A grant of 167m. Burundi francs (1.9m. UA) for repairing and surfacing Highway Number One in Burundi, and a grant of 254.8m. Rwanda francs (2.3m. UA) for an electricity transmission line from Kigali to Kigoma in Rwanda.

## Russian 'aid'

Russia has supplied or promised to supply more than US$400,000,000 worth of military equipment, including tanks and MIG fighters, to ten black African countries over the past two years, according to United States intelligence sources.

They also say that Russia has sent at least 1,900 military advisers to African countries, in which it was seeking to exercise influence. A staff of more than 1,000 Russian military personnel was working in Somalia, mainly in naval bases, and there were others in Guinea.

Besides Somalia and Angola, countries on the Soviet military aid list include Nigeria, Congo, Uganda, Mali, Tanzania, Zambia, Equatorial Guinea and the Central African Republic.

## Italy slipping

The Development Assistance Committee of OECD noted that total Italian aid flows in 1974 declined for the third year running and represented less than 0.3 per cent of GNP, even though Official Development Assistance ($218m.) had risen slightly from 0.14 to 0.15 of GNP. It noted also that most Italian aid was in multilateral contributions and technical co-operation.

• Reviewing the aid programme of New Zealand the Development Assistance Committee of the OECD noted with approval that New Zealand's official disbursements in 1974 ($39m.) rose to 0.31 per cent of GNP and that on present indications look likely to rise to 0.45 per cent in 1975 and urged New Zealand to keep going for the target of 0.7 per cent.

## Recession cuts Japan's aid

Japan's overseas economic aid in 1974 totalled $2,968m., nearly half 1973's level of $5,840m., the Ministry of International Trade and Industry announced in an annual report. It said this was the first time Japan's economic aid had shown a decline. The Ministry attributed this to a lack of funds from private industry, now hit by recession.

## Bouncing back quickly

The Japanese economy may be recovering more rapidly than had been thought earlier last year. The Economic Planning Agency has reported that GNP grew one per cent in July-September quarter after growing 1 1 per cent in April-June quarter. The EPA said these figures gave hope of a real growth of 2.5 to three per cent for the year ended next March, hitherto the Government's most optimistic forecast has been 2.2 per cent. Recovery of the Japanese economy has been generally regarded as almost essential to help the world out of its recession.

At the same time the Japanese Ministry of Labour says tht unemployment may rise to 1.3m. during the first quarter of 1976.

• Civil Service statisticians in Britain are at last prepared to back politicians' claims that the British recession has reached the bottom and that industrial production is turning up.

## UMOA to revive development bank

Finance Ministers of the six-nation West African Monetary Union (UMOA) agreed to provide cash to refloat the West African Development Bank, at a meeting in Niamey. The ministers also discussed problems encountered by the West African Central Bank, and how to share out the bank's profits between union members. Ivory Coast Finance Minister Konan Bedie was appointed to replace Mr. Kodjo (Togo) as Union Chairman. UMOA groups Benin (formerly Dahomey), Ivory Coast, Upper Volta, Niger, Senegal and Togo.

## Big water contracts

Ward, Ashcroft and Parkman are to undertake two water supply development projects in Nigeria. A scheme for the North Central State Water Board at Kaduna will involve planning a system to increase the current 14m. gallons a day to 60m. by 1985. The work will include providing treatment facilities, pumping mains and a dozen storage reservoirs. First stage is expected to cost £20m.

The work will include provision of water treatment facilities, additional pumping mains, and 12 storage reservoirs. The first phase of the expansion is estimated to cost £20m.

The North Eastern State Ministry of Water Resources, acting on behalf of the Federal Ministry of Water Resources has asked the firm to undertake an appraisal study, first stage design and full feasibility study for an integrated water resources development of the River Yedseram valley.

This will include identifying 30,000 60,000 hectares of land suitable for irrigation, soils survey and land classification; recommendations for cropping patterns, and assessment of water demand; hydrological studies of the catchment area to determine availability of supplies; selection of a dam site, and irrigation systems; and a cost/benefit analysis of the project.

## Plant for cement works

Three Hawker Siddeley subsidiaries will supply electrical plant and equipment for a cement works being built in Nigeria. They are Brush Switchgear, Brush Transformers and Hawker Siddeley Power Engineering.

The series of orders comes from the Associated Portland Cement Manufacturers — the Blue Circle Group — for a wet process cement plant being built at Shagamu by West Africa Cement, a member of the Blue Circle Group.

The cement works will have an initial capacity of 600,000 tonnes a year. Production is expected to start in mid-1977.

## Sugar refinery

Canada's Redpath Company is to build a sugar refinery complex alongside the existing one at Ferkessedougou, in Northern Ivory Coast. Another is to be developed at Borotou, in the North East, with French aid. Ivory Coast plans to raise sugar production to 600,000 tons by by 1985, 500,000 tons of that for export.

## Rice research

The Advisory Committee of the West African Rice Development Association met in Dakar for its fifth session. Executive Secretary Jacques Diouf said that WARDA had prepared four research projects into rice-growing in the region and increased its research budget to $3m.

• The 12th meeting of experts of the CEAO (West African Economic Community — Niger, Mali, Upper Volta, Senegal, Ivory Coast and Mauritania) discussed co-operation in statistics, fishing and customs duties at their week long conference in Dakar. They also said that they are satisfied that the proposed regional co-operation tax would come into force in the member countries in January next year.

## Airline commission

The 110 member airlines of the International Air Transport Association have agreed that in future the basic commission paid to agents on ticket sales should be 8 per cent all over the world, except in West Africa where it will be six per cent. Chile 6.67 per cent and Malaysia, Brunei and Singapore 5 per cent.

## Special paints

The Scottish firm of Stewart Wales, Somerville sold nearly £200,000 of its specialised liquid plastic dressings and paints to the Nigerian building and civil engineering industries in the year ended October 1975. Orders so far suggest that sales for the current year may go to £500,000.

• British Leyland's Redline light truck won almost 3,000 orders from Nigeria in the year ended September 30, compared with 1,170 sales in the previous year.

• Catering equipment worth £250,000 is to be supplied to 156 Nigerian technical colleges by Britain's Staines Group for teaching domestic science courses.

• Gill and Duffus, who normally mean cocoa to West Africans, are going into tea, forming a company with Matheson and Company. The new firm, Matheson, Gill and Duffus, started trading on January 1.

# SHIPPING News

ELDER DEMPSTER LINES
SOUTHBOUND — From Liverpool:— EGORI sig Dec. 17; ILRI sig Dec. 22.
From London — FREETOWN sig Dec. 18; EBOE due Banjul Dec. 19.
From N. Continent:— MENESTHEUS sig Rotterdam Dec. 22; DALLA sig Freetown Dec. 16; OSTERFEHN arr Apapa Sept. 18.
From Dublin:— EBANI arr Calabar No. 23.

NORTHBOUND — To Liverpool:— FOURAH BAY due Dec. 19; FULANI due Dec. 15
To London:— BHAMO due Dec. 20; DEGEMA due Abidjan Dec. 29; DIXCOVE due Dec. 21; SHONGA due Dec. 24.
To N. Continent:— DUNKWA due Rotterdam Dec. 22
To Avonmouth:— ANTILOCHUS due Dec. 20; AUTOLYCUS due Dec. 21; PEGU due Dec. 26; FALABA sig Apapa Dec. 19.

EASTBOUND — DONGA due Apapa Dec. 22; DEIDO due Dakar Dec. 17.

WESTBOUND — To New York DUMBAIA sig Montreal Dec. 14; DUMURRA due Philadelphia Dec. 30.
Eastern Service:— MYSON arr Apapa May 27, ROSEBANK due Abidjan Dec. 16

BARBER LINES
OUTWARDS — TUGELA sig Monrovia Dec. 28, thence Abidjan, Tema, Lagos/Apapa and Douala; TIJUCA sailing Baltimore Jan. 19, New York Jan. 23 for Monrovia, Abidjan, Tema and Douala.
HOMEWARDS — TIJUCA due New York Jan. 1, thence Norfolk and Baltimore; TUGELA due Lagos/Apapa mid Jan., Douala end Jan. for US North Atlantic.

'K' LINE
WESTBOUND — From Japan via Hong Kong to Lagos, Abidjan, Lome SANSHIN VICTORY sld Japan Nov. 8 due Lagos Jan. 2.
EASTBOUND — GUATEMALA MARU sig Lagos Dec. 23; Abidjan Dec. 24 due Japan Feb. 4.

FARRELL LINES
HOMEWARDS — AFRICAN METRO sig Tema Dec. 11; for Douala, Abidjan, Monrovia, for US Ports; AFRICAN MERCURY sig Tema Dec. 26; for Matadi, Abidjan, Monrovia, US Ports.
OUTWARDS — AFRICAN MERCURY Conakry Dec. 17; for Monrovia Dec. 20; Abidjan, Tema, Dec. 25; Lome 27; Monrovia Dec. 30; and Matadi; AFRICAN COMET Dec. 30; Monrovia Jan 1; for Buchanan, Abidjan, Tema, Jan. 7; Lagos/Apapa, Douala Jan. 9.

BLACK STAR LINE/USNH
WESTBOUND — OTI RIVER Tema Dec. 14; Takadori Dec. 19; Philadelphia Jan. 7; New York Jan. 11; thence Gulf.

BLACK STAR LINE/UK CONTINENT
SOUTHBOUND — DARU Bremen Dec. 18; Hamburg Dec. 16; Antwerp Dec. 22; Rotterdam Dec. 24, Bordeaux Dec. 29; BENYA RIVER Liverpool Jan. 2

NORTHBOUND — KLORTE LAGOON Amsterdam Dec. 22; Rotterdam Dec. 25, OFFIN RIVER U.K. Jan. 1.
020PALM LINE
SOUTHBOUND — ELMINE PALM at Port Harcourt.

NORTHBOUND — ENUGU PALM due Since Dec. 24, LAGOS PALM Takoradi Dec. 25

MITSUI OSK LINE
INWARDS — MARITIME GRACE sig Kobe Dec. 1; due Lagos Jan 28, sig Feb. 8; Tema Feb. 13, sig Jan 16; for Takoradi arr Feb. 21/25; Abidjan Jan. 17, Feb. 28; MARGARET CORD sig Kobe Dec. 27; Lagos Jan. 27; Tema Feb. 7, Tema Feb 9/12; Takoradi Feb. 23/26; Abidjan Feb. 22/28, Monrovia Feb. 17/18; Freetown Feb. 15/16.

THE NIGERIAN NATIONAL SHIPPING LINE
SOUTHBOUND — RIVER GONGOLA Dublin Dec. 31; Freetown Jan 18; Abidjan Jan. 20; Glasgow sig Jan. 9; Takoradi Jan. 22, Lome Jan. 23; Sapele Jan. 26.
NORTHBOUND — CROSS RIVER due Hull Dec. 26, Calabar Oct. 21; Freetown Dec. 17

SCANDINAVIAN WEST AFRICA LINE
SOUTHBOUND — HOEGH HERON sig Sapele Jan. 1/5; Douala Jan. 30.
NORTHBOUND — VIKAREN due Buchanan Jan. 23, Freetown Jan. 24.

WESTWIND AFRICA LINE
SOUTHWIND — Burnside Jan. 4/5, Houston Jan. 7/8.

THE EAC LINES
SOUTHBOUND — SARGODHA Copenhagen Dec. 12; Aarhus Dec. 13; Moss Dec. 14; Bremen Dec. 16; Hamburg Dec 10; Antwerp Dec. 18; Rotterdam Dec. 20; Rouen Dec. 23; Dakar Dec. 30; Abidjan Jan. 4; Tema Jan. 6; Lome Jan. 10; Douala Jan. 12.
NORTHBOUND — SIMBA Cotonou Dec. 7; Douala Dec. 10; Abidjan Dec. 14; Monrovia Dec. 17; Antwerp Jan. 7; Amsterdam Dec. 26; Rotterdam Jan. 9; Hamburg Dec. 30; Copenhagen Jan. 1; Aarhus Jan. 2; Moss Jan. 4;

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### SAMUEL AKINOLA AKERELE

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(b) Nurse Tutor
(c) Charge Nurse
(d) Principal Nursing Officer
(e) Midwifery Superintendent
(f) Senior Nurse Tutor

Candidates for (a) should possess the A.I.M.L.T. or F.I.M.L.T. or equivalent qualifications and have at least 7 or 5 years post graduation experience with special skill in enzymology and protein chemistry. Previous experience is a Teaching Hospital or Medical School an advantage. The successful candidate will be expected to render technical assistance to academic staff in routine diagnosis and in the training of medical students in the discipline of Clinical Chemistry.

Candidates for (b) should possess the B.Sc. (Social Sciences) or S.R.N. or R.N. AND a Nurse Tutor's Certificate, and be a registered Nurse Tutor with the Nursing Council for Nigeria. A good background of general nursing duties in a reputable hospital is required, preferably as a Charge Nurse in charge of ward), with teaching experience of student nurses in a comparable institution. Teaching ability essential. The successful candidate will be required to train student nurses of West African School Certificate standard for the general part of the Register for Nurses as set down by the Nursing Council for Nigeria.

Candidates for (c) should possess (i) full secondary education with either WASC or WASC attempted or GCE O/L in 5 subjects including English Language and at least one science subject obtained at one sitting, OR Teacher's Grade II Certificate PLUS (ii) SRN and SCM for their Nigerian equivalents). Any other nursing qualifications will be an advantage. Candidates must have at least 5 years experience as Staff Nurses/Staff Midwives. Previous experience in a Teaching Hospital an advantage. This post calls for originality and initiative and excellent public and human relations coupled with a high standard of professional discipline.

Candidates for (d) must have SRN and SCM with at least 10 years post qualification experience at an appropriate senior level, preferably in a Teaching Hospital, and must have a Diploma or Degree in Nursing Administration or its equivalent. The selected candidate will be responsible for the overall direction and co-ordination of nursing services in the Hospital. The post calls for qualities in initiative, drive, managing ability and good public relations.

Candidates for (e) must possess WASC or its equivalent PLUS SRN, SCM, MTD with experience in a maternity department in a Teaching Hospital or General Hospital which is a training school for pupil midwives.

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Candidates resident in the UK should send one copy to the London Representative, University of Nigeria, 56-60 Hallam Street, London W1N 5LH.

Serving staff should forward their applications through their Heads of Department.

SITUATIONS VACANT Cont.

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# Dateline AFRICA

GHANA

## "Another plot" announces Acheampong

Col. Acheampong has announced that another plot to overthrow the government has been uncovered and the plotters arrested.

Col. Acheampong, speaking to a delegation of chiefs from the Volta Region, revealed no details of the plot, which is believed to have been uncovered some weeks ago, or the names and number of those involved, but said they would be prosecuted when investigations had been completed. He stressed that whenever such plotters are arrested it should not be considered an action against one ethnic group — simply that they were persons who wanted to overthrow the government.

Col. Acheampong said that one of the basic aims of the Supreme Military Council was to create peaceful and stable conditions to enable development to proceed without interruptions such as the planned coup.

The head of state also accused a small group of political agitators in the Volta Region of wanting the region to secede and join neighbouring Togo. He told the chiefs that to show the government's desire for reconciliation, irrespective of the past, he was ready to extend until the end of January and even longer the offer of amnesty, which had expired at the end of November, to dissidents living in Togo who returned home.

He recalled the campaign for the secession of the Volta Region to join Togo and said any such secession would not solve any problem. If the agitators had any problem the best thing to do was to petition the government.

Col. Acheampong said the SMC was not a political party government. It was not its policy to neglect any part of the country for any imaginary reason. He enumerated the projects being undertaken in the Volta and other regions and said that these facts and figures showed that no region or area had been neglected. Touching on other projects in the Volta Region, the head of state said that the government had approved the supply of electricity to the region from Akosombo; water projects being carried out would cost over 28m. cedis and the construction of roads in the region would cost about 11.5m. cedis.

His government was out to seek the interest of the people, and would not be influenced by any group, Col. Acheampong stressed. No regional house of chiefs or individual chief had any influence over the SMC. He urged the Volta chiefs not to allow themselves to be led astray by enemies of the state, who chose to misinform about government policies. Some people in the Volta Region, said Col. Acheampong, were deliberately going round misinforming the chiefs and people about government activities.

The leader of the 17 man delegation was Togbe Adeladza, President of the Regional House of Chiefs. He said that they had called on the head of state to reaffirm their support for and loyalty to the government of the SMC. They had also come to express gratitude for development in the region and satisfaction with the government's total involvement in its development.

Col. Acheampong reiterated that his government had no intention of staying in power forever, and would hand over to civilians at the appropriate time.

Last January he said there had been evidence of a concerted attempt to subvert the armed forces in 1974 but he did not elaborate.

In October he reshuffled the National Redemption Council and established a Supreme Military Council as the highest legislative and administrative body. At the time, Col. Acheampong said the reshuffle was designed to inject new blood into the government. He also reiterated that the armed forces did not take over the government to pursue personal interests. Their aim was to give leadership and serve the people.

Three NRC Commissioners, Cols. Agbo, Selormey and Baah, resigned following the creation of the Supreme Military Council because, they said, their positions in the NRC would be subordinate to the new body.

## MPLA recognised

Ghana has recognised the MPLA government of Angola. Announcing the decision Col. Acheampong said that if Ghana had been slow in taking sides over Angola, it was because it had been abiding by the OAU decision to tackle with all seriousness the dangerous situation facing Africa in Angola, and in good time to avert the threat to the peace and unity of Africa posed by the Angolan problem.

He called on all OAU members to recognise the MPLA and find a way to halt the war. While the OAU had delayed its extraordinary summit on Angola until January, fratricidal war in Angola had worsened to a dangerous stage, he said.

In an editorial praising the government for recognising the MPLA, the *Daily Graphic* said Dr. Kissinger spoke about Angola as if it was an extension of the US. The *Graphic* said it failed to understand why the US, whose role in Africa's struggle for freedom and development had been limited compared to the money it had spent on Europe, Asia and elsewhere, should at this very late hour begin to play the role of self-appointed spokesman of Africa.

The *Graphic* also said that Ghana's recognition of the MPLA should not be the end of the matter.

"Ghana should resign forthwith from the membership of the OAU Reconciliation Committee on Angola". The newspaper said it believed that South Africa's involvement in the Angolan war since the appointment of the committee makes any deliberations unworkable. For there could be no reconciliation between the racist imperialist FNLA/UNITA and the socialist MPLA.

Before the decision to recognise the MPLA was announced Col. Acheampong received a delegation from the Nigerian head of state. The Prime Minister of Angola, Sr. Lopo do Nascimento, also called on Col. Acheampong after a visit to Nigeria.

## GHAIP take over

Negotiations have been completed for the government to take full control of the GHAIP oil refinery at Tema from ENI of Italy.

In a letter to the general secretary of the General Transport, Petroleum and Chemical Workers' Union, with copies to the press, the Secretary to the SMC, Mr. E. M. Debrah, said that the negotiations for the complete takeover of the refinery had been completed. This, the letter said, had been explained when the general secretary had presented a resolution by the union urging a complete takeover. The union had said that since oil had become an important economic commodity, it was only proper that Ghanaians should "manage the affairs of the refinery, which contributes so much to the nation's economy".

Commenting, the *Daily Graphic* said it was glad that the government had cleared the air about the union resolution. The marketing wing of GHAIP, AGIP, has been taken over by the government in 1972, it was therefore logical that at some other time the production wing should be taken over also. It added: "We should be very grateful to ENI, the Italian government controlled oil company, by whose assistance the refinery was set up". Since its establishment "ENI has been cooperative in running it and in training Ghanaian personnel to responsible positions."

## Erskine heads UNTSO

Maj. Gen. Erskine has been named as Chief of Staff of the UN Truce Supervision Organisation (UNTSO) in Palestine from January 1, 1976.

He succeeds Maj. Gen. Liljestrand, who last August was appointed Commander of the UN Emergency Force in the Middle East (UNEF) which acts as a buffer between the armies of Egypt and Israel in Sinai. UNTSO was originally established to help oversee the 1949 armistice between Israel and its Arab neighbours. It now comprises some 300 military observers mainly on the Lebanon-Israel border.

Gen. Erskine trained at Sandhurst and Catterick. He held various posts as a signals officer and staff officers until 1970 when he was appointed Director of Communications in the Defence Ministry. He became the Ministry's Director-General for Operations and Plans in December 1971 and served as acting Commander of the Ghana Army in January-February 1972.

He spent the next year attending the Royal College of Defence Studies in London before being appointed Commander of the Army until May 1974 when he was seconded to the UN to serve as Chief of Staff UNEF. Gen. Erskine was promoted to Maj. Gen. in September this year.

• David Poison Kotei must make the first defence of his World Boxing Council featherweight title in Ghana, the Col. Hassine Hamouda, secretary general of the African Boxing Union said. Ghana boxing authorities had ruled that he should defend his title in Ghana and the ABU ruled that he should agree with this decision. The champion is due to defend his title against Shige Fukuyama in Japan on February 29.

In his first fight since he won the featherweight title last September Kotei beat the Mexican David Sotelo on points in a disappointing contest in Accra.

## BHC profit

The Bank for Housing and Construction (BHC) which started operations in December 1973 with 2m. cedis capital, has made a net profit of 714,957 cedis in its first 18 months, said the Chairman, Gen. D. K. Addo, at the first Annual General Meeting of Shareholders.

BHC intends to set up a company to start housing estate development, initially in Accra and Kumasi. It has also invested 1m. cedis in five joint projects; Plant Pool Ltd., Ready Mixed Concrete Ltd., Saltpond Ceramics Ltd., Fulguni Asbestos Co. Ltd., and Precast and Spun Concrete Ltd.

The Bank has granted 6.4m. cedis as long term loans to 35 projects including hotels, a resort centre and schools, and plans other projects totalling 12.2m. cedis.

• Two Fanti carols were sung by the Ghanaian choir at the Anglo-Ghanaian carol service held at Regents Square United Reform Church in London. Organised by the Ghana Chaplain, the Rev. Ben Tettey, the service, on December 21, was attended by many of the student service officers who had participated in his course on "Understanding and Appreciating the Cultural Background of African Students", held recently at London University (See Matchet's Diary, December 1).

## Briscoe appeal dismissed

The Appeal Court has dismissed an application by R. T. Briscoe (Ghana) Ltd for an order of a stay of proceedings against the Joe Appiah Committee probing the affairs of the company.

The application was seeking the court's order to stay the proceedings of the Committee pending the hearing of an appeal against a High Court ruling that the Committee could proceed with its work.

Mr. Justice P. D. Anin, reading the unanimous ruling of the three member panel, said the court had given a careful, anxious and sympathetic consideration to the "interesting arguments" advanced by both counsel.

## Cannabis haul

Three hundredweight of cannabis, worth over £170,000, has been seized by customs at Gatwick Airport. It was found in crates of handicrafts from Ghana bound for Newcastle. Customs men hoped to find at least one more similar consignment. The week before 1 cwt of cannabis was found by customs officials when they seized ten crates of handicrafts from Ghana on delivery to a Liverpool import-export firm. One man was arrested.

## Rice smugglers warned

Maj. Zumah, Northern Regional Commissioner, has warned that the government "will not look on unconcerned while a few unscrupulous individuals indulge in smuggling paddy rice across the borders." Maj. Zumah said that following speculation over the possible increase in the minimum guaranteed price most farmers had not been sending their rice to the mills but selling to middlemen who offered slightly higher prices and could store the rice until the new price was announced. This, he said, was criminal and unpatriotic.

• The World Bank is prepared to send an expert to assist in designing low cost houses under the government's housing programme, the leader of a three-man delegation visiting Ghana told the Commissioner for Works.

• Col. Kutin, Commissioner for Mines and Mineral Resources, has inaugurated the Geological Society of Ghana.

NIGERIA

## NLC formed — four unions probed

The administration and finances of the four central labour organisations will be probed the Labour Commissioner, Brig. Adefope, announced at the launching of Nigeria's new central labour organisation, the Nigerian Labour Congress. Brig. Adefope said the enquiry was part of the Federal Government's efforts to clean-up the country and rid it of bribery and corruption.

The enquiry will cover the United Labour Congress, the Nigerian Trade Union Congress, the Nigerian Workers Council and the Labour Unity Front.

Brig. Adefope blamed the prolonged disunity in the Nigerian labour movement on interference by international union organisations.

"It is shameful for those who have assumed responsibility for leading the workers of this country to rely upon foreign sources of finance and material support in order to carry out their responsibility to the Nigerian workers," he said.

Brig. Adefope complained that local trade union leaders, rather than dedicate themselves to promoting workers' welfare, had engaged in "unwholesome rivalry, based upon foreign ideology, and inspired by the lust for financial and material reward, which foreign governments and their agents are prepared to offer for the sake of establishing their influence over the social, economic and political policies of Nigeria."

Mr. Wahab Goodluck, president of the NTUC, which was affiliated to the World Federation of Free Trade Unions, recently prescribed by the Government, has been elected leader of the NLC.

Several trade unionists, including Chief Emmanuel Odeyemi, who was elected General Secretary, were arrested in police raids, but released shortly after.

The raids were on the Trade Union Institute, where the police seized documents and held about 100 unionists. This delayed the launching of the NLC for a day. The TUI is owned by the United Labour Congress, headed by Chief Odeyemi and the Academy by the Nigerian Trade Union Congress.

The idea of a central Nigerian Labour Congress had been mooted in 1974 at a meeting of representatives of the four major unions at Apena Cemetery. And at the meeting to form the NLC the Apena Declaration was read.

• Dr. Tunde Otegbeye, Mr. Wahab Goodluck, the newly elected national president of the Nigerian Labour Congress, and Mr. Kunle Oyero, appeared before a Lagos magistrate's court accused of transacting banned political party business in 1966. They were remanded on bail until January 30.

• The Federal Government has accepted the recommendations of the Commission which investigated the shortage of petroleum products. Its findings show that the shortage of petroleum products from October 10 this year was not due to insufficient supply, but to the unco-operative attitude of some oil marketing companies who failed to follow official directives. To improve the situation the Government has ordered the establishment of two new refineries at Warri and Kaduna. Storage depot installations are also to be set up in all state capitals and a pipeline project is also being considered by the Government. Directives have also been given on the work on the Atlas Cove project, designed to facilitate the berthing of heavy laden tankers.

On the distribution of petrol, the Government directed that repairs be carried out on back roads, especially in the three eastern states. The Government would also render substantial assistance to indigenous bulk lorry owners by making available to them the facilities provided by the Nigerian Bank for Commerce and Industry. The Federal Government has also decided to build a fleet of Government owned road tankers which would be made available to State Governments to ensure efficient distribution within each State. The Federal Government has imposed a penalty of 5,000 naira for failure by oil companies to register stock each day. A penalty of 100 naira per tonne has also been imposed on any oil company which borrows products and fails to repay such borrowed stocks within a fortnight.

## Killings at Ugep

Thirteen people, including three soldiers, were killed and 100 others seriously injured in clashes between soldiers and civilians in the South East State town of Ugep on Christmas Day. About 600 houses were destroyed and 30,000 people fled the town. Reports in the *Daily Times* said the trouble started when soldiers went on a rampage to avenge the killing of a colleague. Some of their victims had hands chopped off, heads slashed and bones broken by machete blows. A photograph in the newspaper showed a man sitting looking at the stumps of his left arm and right leg.

The *Daily Times* quoted the Military Governor, Col. Paul Omu, as saying that the soldiers used machetes and clubs when they could not get into their armoury.

Order was restored when more troops and police were rushed in. Soldiers based in Ugep were disarmed and confined to barracks, and their battalion commander dismissed, according to reports.

Recently the headless bodies of three soldiers, apparently victims of ritual killings, were discovered at Ikot Ekpene. Brig. Emmanuel Absoye, Commander of the Third Division, had then told a news conference that the military had lodged a complaint with town chiefs. He warned that if such "barbarous acts" continued the army would be forced to defend its men.

A three-man tribunal, headed by the High Court Judge, Mr. Justice S. . Okunbido, has been appointed to inquire into the clashes.

The death toll rose to 18 with the deaths of five other victims in hospital. Brig. Mohammed has extended his sympathy to the bereaved and injured and those who lost their property.

The Federal Governor has made a 1m. naira grant to the State Government to enable it to pay compensation to the victims, and the Governor, Col. Paul Omu, has directed that all funds set aside for the government end-of-year party be used for rehabilitation.

## ₦13m. for MPLA

Nigeria has given 13.5m. naira to Angola's MPLA government. The presentation was made by Brig. Murtala Mohammed to the Prime Minister, Sr. Lopo do Nascimento.

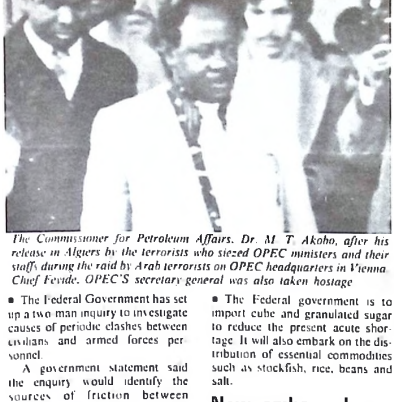
Sr. do Nascimento was in Nigeria at the head of a mission bringing two South African soldiers captured in the Angolan war.

Before leaving Luanda Sr do Nascimento told Radio Nacional that though Nigeria's policy was not exactly the same as more progressive African countries, it could maintain the balance of power in Africa.

Sr do Nascimento told reporters in Lagos that South Africa had about 1,000 regular troops in Angola and the numbers were rising. The South African forces were based as far north as the Port of Novo Redondo only 160 miles south of Luanda. MPLA he said would accept offers of troops from any friendly African country in view of increased South African involvement. But the OAU had shown "scandalous passivity" while Angola was being occupied by South Africa and the MPLA would not accept troops offered through the OAU. "We do not see how we could accept troops from the OAU — but it does not mean we cannot accept troops sent by friendly African countries" he said.

Two captured South African soldiers were paraded at the news conference — Cpl. Hannes Gerhardus Terblanche, 21 and Pte. Robert Wiehahn, 20. The two South African army mechanics, were part of a recently infiltrated group of 200 and were captured 600 miles beyond the South West African border, said Sr. do Nascimento.

• The US Ambassador, Mr. Donald Easum, has denied allegations that the American radio station in Kaduna is a CIA hideout. The Ambassador, who was on a tour of the North Central State, said the station was open to inspection by anyone at any time. It was a receiving station which monitored public open broadcasts from Nigeria and other countries. The information was available to anyone.



*The Commissioner for Petroleum Affairs, Dr. M. T. Akobo, after his release in Algiers by the terrorists who siezed OPEC ministers and their staffs during the raid by Arab terrorists on OPEC headquarters in Vienna. Chief Feyide, OPEC'S secretary general was also taken hostage*

• The Federal Government has set up a two man inquiry to investigate causes of periodic clashes between civilians and armed forces personnel.

A government statement said the enquiry would identify the sources of friction between civilians and soldiers and recommend ways to improve relations.

It referred to a recent clash between journalists and members of the armed forces at Lagos International Airport and said such incident need not happen if there were mutual understanding.

Members of the panel are the former Attorney General of Lagos State, Mr. F. A. B. Oki, and an officer in the Nigerian army, Lt.-Col. Ampo Oshe.

• In an interview with the *Daily Times*, Mr. Aper Aku, the educationalist, said that he needed no compensation for what he suffered for exposing the alleged wrongdoings of the former Governor of Benue Plateau State, Police Commissioner Gomwalk. His vindication by the findings of the Belgore Commission against Mr. Gomwalk was enough compensation, he said. Mr. Aku was detained for four and a half months by the previous regime after swearing affidavits alleging corrupt practices against Mr. Gomwalk.

## Soyinka returns

The playwright Wole Soyinka has returned home after three years of self exile in Ghana.

Wole Soyinka called for equitable distribution of national wealth in Nigeria. "Our ideology must ensure the liberation of every Nigerian from exploitation", he said in a lecture at Ibadan University.

Mr. Soyinka said that despite Nigeria's oil wealth there has been no discernable changes in the pattern of economic development. He criticised agricultural policies placing greater emphasis on production of cash crops than of food and urged diversification of the country's economy in order to achieve an egalitarian society.

Mr. Soyinka said that the new government was making good progress so far.

• The Federal government is to import cube and granulated sugar to reduce the present acute shortage. It will also embark on the distribution of essential commodities such as stockfish, rice, beans and salt.

## New ambassadors

New ambassadors have been appointed to Sweden, Canada, Ethiopia, Rumania, Poland and India.

Mr. G. Dove-Edwin, deputy permanent secretary, External Affairs, has been appointed ambassador to Sweden with concurrent representation in Finland. He replaces Mr. M. J. Etuk.

Mr. A. M. Bello, director of the Asian Department, moves to Canada in succession to Mr. P. A. Afolabi, while Mr. A. B. Ayodele, High Commissioner to Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland, moves to Ethiopia. The High Commissioner in Kenya, Mr. L. S. M. Osobase, has been posted to Rumania, and Mr. U. W. Sada, ambassador to Cameroon, to Poland. Mr. A. G. Gobir, ambassador to Togo, is appointed High Commissioner to India in succession to Mr. Soji Williams.

• Col. Jemibewon, Governor of the Western State, has called for execution of corrupt civil servants. In a television interview in Kaduna, Col. Jemibewon said serious cases of corruption and malpractices should be punished by death. "If I have been involved in removing people from office for corruption and I am found to be corrupt myself, I think I should be shot" he added.

The commander of the third infantry division, Brig. Abisoye, recently called for execution of corrupt public officers, saying they did more harm to the national economy than armed robbers.

• The method adopted by the government in purging the nation of undesirable elements was not ideal, Prof. Sam. Aluko of Ife University told a symposium at Ife. It should have done two things, he said: first, dispossess those found with ill gotten gains of everything so that they would start afresh, and second, redeploy everyone, including those retired.

• The owners and captains of ships which enter Nigerian waters without permission will face prison terms and heavy fines under a draft decree. An official statement said the proposed law was aimed at controlling the influx of ships carrying cement to Nigeria.

Under the draft the government will be able to fine ship owners 10,000 naira or two years in jail for every day an unauthorised vessel spends in Nigerian waters. Captains will also be liable to two years imprisonment.

The decree will be reviewed as soon as the situation at the ports improves.

• The Chief of Air Staff, Col. John Yisa Doko, has said that there are no plans for any demobilisation in the Air force; it was only 13 years old and demobilisation would not be in the interest of the country.

Col. Doko was addressing a news conference at Port Harcourt on arrival to begin an inspection tour of Air Force formations in the Rivers State.

Col. Doko said that the major problem facing the Air Force was shortage of accommodation. He announced that five bases were being developed in parts of the country to provide accommodation for about 2,000 Air Force personnel and their families before the end of the current period. The Chief of Air Staff also announced that the reorganisation of the Air Force has been completed and that a new Department of Information had been created.

More sophisticated weapons and jet fighters will be acquired by the air force on completion of modern airfields being built in some parts of Nigeria, Col. Yisa Doko, said at Makurdi.

## Volkswagen strike

A strike by 1,000 workers over demands for better conditions halted production for a week at the Volkswagen car assembly plant in Lagos.

The 11.5m. naira plant, jointly owned by the Federal Government and Volkswagen opened in March and recently produced its 5,000th vehicle.

• For the first time since its inception the University of Nigeria, Nsukka, did not award any honorary degrees during its annual convocation ceremony. Altogether 819 graduates received their first and postgraduate degrees, the highest number in the history of the University.

• The special panel set up to determine the location of an ideal federal capital has submitted its report.

• The panel set up to investigate the possibility of the creation of more states has presented its report to Brig. Mohammed.

• Polytechnic students are to take part in the National Youth Services Corps, which was instituted for university graduates in 1973.

• Last week's caption on page 1592 should have read: "Sir Martin Lequesne, British High Commissioner . . .

### West

The Western State Government has set up a small scale industrial loan scheme which can lend up to 20,000 naira to an industrial concern which can produce a thorough feasibility study for its project.

• Seven villages in the Western State have been formed into a new town called Idashin.

### East Central

Mr. Justice Anthony Anaemezie Aniagolu has been appointed acting Chief Justice of the East Central State. Until his appointment Mr. Justice Aniagolu was a High Court judge at Umuahia. He succeeds Mr. Justice Balonwu who has retired from the public service.

### South East

A Committee has been appointed to investigate the affairs of the South Eastern State Newspaper Corporation, printers and publishers of the *Nigerian Chronicle*.

• A maximum security prison is being planned for Calabar and a 60-acre plot has been made available to the Prisons Department at Otop-Otop.

• The first batch of 31 trained farmers have passed out of the vocational training centre at Abak, South East State.

### Kwara

The Federal and Kwara State Governments have begun an 80,000 ha. oil palm project in Idah division of Kwara State. The plantation is expected to produce palm oil in five years time.

### Kano

Final year students at technical schools in Kano State are to construct primary school buildings. Contracts for the building of classrooms, dormitories, kitchens and dining halls will no longer be awarded to private contractors.

### North Central

The North Central State Government has set up a committee under Alhaji Amadu Coomassie to review local government machinery.

• Rent Control Edict for the Kaduna and Zaria Divisions has been promulgated in the North Central State.

### Mid West

Ughelli Glass Factory, owned by the Mid West State government is due to reach full production in 1978, when it should be producing 6,500 tons of glass sheeting yearly.

The factory, which has lain dormant for eight years, is due to begin production this month, with an initial output of 5,000 tons. Reactivation began last March.

• The Odje Commission which investigated the operations of 74 statutory corporations, boards and government sponsored companies in the Mid West State, has submitted its first report to the military governor.

Col. Innih, the Governor, said that at the start of the exercise

some people were sceptical and doubted whether the Commission could enquire into 74 companies its speed and efficiency in producing its first report on 18 companies had proved them wrong.

• Some farm settlers at Mbiri in Ika Division earn an average of 200 naira a month and the more industrious up to 500 naira, the State Commissioner for Agriculture told farm settlers at Utagba-Uno. He said that he was disturbed to learn that the average earning per settler at Utagba Uno was only 67 naira a month.

• Rumour-mongers in Western Urhobo division have been warned to stop spreading false reports that the government has abolished the payment of flat rate tax.

• The Mid West State Government has ordered 6m naira worth of equipment for road construction.

## THE GAMBIA

# Groundnut Meeting

The Gambia's Minister of Finance and Trade, Alhaji Ibrahima Garba-Jahumpa was elected Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the African Groundnut Council at the council meeting in Bamako last month. The meeting also endorsed progress so far in plans to launch a sales promotion campaign in Western Europe this year.

The Ministers said that they felt the stringent Aflatoxin regulations proposed by the Common Market authorities could amount to non-tariff barriers to members' trade and urged the EEC to postpone introducing the regulations. The Ministers also noted the progress being made towards creating a special fund to finance buffer stocks.

• Mr Fafa M'Bai who was called to the Bar of the Middle Temple in London last November has piled up quite a string of qualifications in the past five years — he went to Britain in 1970 on a Government scholarship under the British Technical Assistance Training Scheme. In addition to being now a barrister he has a BA and an MA from the University of Keele, and LLB from London University and is working for an external LLM (doing research on customary law of The Gambia) and also an M.Phil from LSE.

• The Gambia Utility Corporation raised the prices of water and electricity last month. Water charges for hotels and commercial consumers went up by 50 per cent and by 20 per cent for all other consumers. Electricity tariffs went up 30 per cent for hotels and commercial consumers and 15 per cent for everybody else. The Corporation said that the rises were the result of the increased cost of oil and oil products over the past three years.

• The Attorney General, Alhaji Lamin Saho, has announced that America has offered The Gambia two scholarships.

## LIBERIA

# Tolbert Inaugurated

Mr. William Tolbert was formally inaugurated as President of Liberia at the weekend to serve an eight-year term in his own right. For the past four years Mr. Tolbert has been serving out the four-year term to which President Tubman was elected, with Mr. Tolbert as his Vice President, in 1971 but died before inauguration. Under Liberia's constitution the Mr. Tolbert has since been sworn in.

• The Argentinian firm PASA is to export meat to Liberia. The contract with the Slaughter House starts at 50 tons a month but PASA's president, Mr. Paul Beamonte, believes that there is potential to raise this to 100 or 150 tons a month. The agreement requires the Slaughter House to distribute the meat at low prices. If this is not done the Argentinian Ambassador told President Tolbert that his government will apply to the Liberian Government for similar tax exemptions to those enjoyed by the Slaughter House and undertake distribution itself.

The meat will be delivered by the ship which calls every month at Abidjan in connection with a 10,000 tons a year agreement to sell meat to Ivory Coast.

• The Government has bought from the East Asiatic Company of Denmark the 50 per cent (2,500 shares) of the Liberian Produce Marketing Corporation which it did not already own. This ends a 13 year old partnership between the Government and the EAC, who will nevertheless continue to provide management for LPMC and act as LPMC's principal selling agent abroad.

• Liberia was the only country to support Israel in voting against a United Nations General Assembly resolution on the Geneva Convention and civilians in the Israeli occupied territories, the resolution was carried by 112 votes to 2, with seven abstentions. In another vote about religious sites Israel and Liberia were joined by America, Costa Rica and Nicaragua; the resolution was passed 82 to 5.

President Tolbert has since recalled Liberia's Ambassador to the United Nations and explained to the UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim that the votes do not reflect Liberia's policy.

• President Tolbert's son Adolphus Benedict Tolbert married Mlle. Marie Suzanne Dolafisse, daughter of the first chairman of the Ivory Coast's Social and Economic Council, President Houphouet Boigny, of Ivory Coast, and Dr. Jonas Savimbi, leader of the Angolan independence movement, Unita, were among the guests.

• The Liberian Development Corporation is considering plans to set up a vehicle assembly plant for half ton General Motors' trucks.

# Mano River meeting

Presidents Tolbert, of Liberia, and Stevens of Sierra Leone, formally inaugurated the Mano River Bridge — the visible symbol of their efforts to bring their two countries closer through the Mano River Union — shortly before Christmas. This was their first joint visit since they both broke the ground for the construction in October 1973.

Each President made a ceremonial crossing of the 580-ft long bridge, soon to be completed and opened to the public, in his own car and then a second crossing in President Stevens' car. They embraced in the middle of the bridge and took the salute as the two national anthems were played and a 21-gun salute was fired. Afterwards the two men lunched together at Boa in Cape Mount County, Liberia.

## SIERRA LEONE

# BCAL takes over new hotel

A subsidiary of British Caledonian Airways is to take over, open and manage the half-completed Bintumani Hotel at Cape Sierra, eight miles from Freetown. The planned opening date for the four-star hotel is October, 1976. It will have 150 bedrooms plus five family suites in five low blocks around a central building containing the public rooms, bars and restaurant. The hotel will have access to two adjoining beaches and will have its own swimming pool, tennis courts and probably a casino. There will also be a fully equipped conference centre capable of accommodating up to 600 people.

The Bintumani will be managed by CHM (Caledonian Hotel Management), which is part of the British Caledonian Group. Mr. Pedro Prats, Managing Director, of CHM, said: "We are pleased to have reached agreement with the Sierra Leone Government to run this important new development in an area which is becoming increasingly popular for Europeans."

• The Sheraton Hotel Group is believed to have agreed to provide management and other services for the 250-bed luxury hotel being built, at a cost of $11m., at Lumley Beach by Sierra Leone Entertainment Co., which already manages Casino Leone at Lumley Beach.

• The Libyan Government has given 16,000 Leone to help to build headquarters for the Sierra Leone-Arab Friendship Society. Colonel Gaddafi of Libya has agreed to become honorary Grand Chief Patron of the Society.

• An EEC Programming Mission, led by Mr. Maurice Foley, has visited Sierra Leone to assess priority projects.

• The Government is planning to establish an 18,000 acre coconut plantation in the Banthe District.

## BENIN

# Togo-Benin Border Open

The border between Togo and the People's Republic of Benin (formerly Dahomey) has been reopened. The border was officially reopened on December 24, after a call for the blockade to cease made by President Eyadema of Togo and Brig. Mohammed of Nigeria from Lagos. The border had been closed since October 18 and caused serious inconvenience to many thousands of people and the distruption of trade along the West African coast.

Commenting on the incident, Nigeria's *Daily Times* said that "no useful purpose can be served by border feuds whose disastrous effects on the well-being of millions of people run counter to the avowed goals of the rulers themselves." There was cause for hope, however, since the solution of the problem "had shown that the ingredients for successful interstate cooperation among West African states are present, it augurs well for ECOWAS."

• M. Abel Zinsou, brother of the former President of Dahomey, Dr Emile Zinsou, has begun a new job in Paris at the headquarters of a business owned by another relative. M. Zinsou was allegedly the victim of a kidnap attempt in Lagos last month, when he was taken from his house by persons claiming to be Dahomean security officers. M. Zinsou, who worked in the Dahomean embassy in Lagos, escaped while being driven out of Nigeria and the Benin embassy in Lagos denies knowing his present whereabouts. The Nigerian police are believed to be investigating the alleged kidnapping.

## ZAIRE

# New Concordat likely

President Mobutu has reinstated Cardinal Joseph Albert Malula, the Archbishop of Kinshasa, as Grand Officer in the Order of the Leopard, the country's highest honour. The ceremony took place on December 17, when several prominent Zaireans were so decorated.

Cardinal Malula, *writes a correspondent*, had been demoted from the Order in January 1972 when he, and the Catholic Church as a whole, had protested against what they saw as the excessive secularism and cult of the personality of Mobutu in the "authenticity" movement. MPR Youth Movement cadres drove the cardinal from his house and the clergy were attacked in other parts of the country. Criticism of the Church continued unabated until the summer, when, faced with extreme opposition to the decree banning religious education in schools, and disturbances within the armed forces, President Mobutu returned

to a policy of pacification. The reinstatement of Cardinal Malula, in a country where half the population is Catholic and more than two thirds Christian, is being taken everywhere as a sign of a new "concordat" between the President and the Church, at a time when the President's troubles are growing on all fronts.

• President Mobutu has thanked the Italian government for providing aid in the training of Zaire pilots for military aviation duties over the last twelve years. "Despite his preoccupation", said the radio, the President personally bid adieu to Sr. Stefano Battero and the members of his delegation as they departed from Kinshasa.

• The Zaire ambassador to Ghana has been explaining his country's position on Angola to the "*Daily Graphic*", in reaction to the recognition of the MPLA government by Ghana. The ambassador, M. C. Kitshodi Dimbu Nzekele, said that "Zaire, as a sovereign state, is entitled to its own choice — to support any political party she wishes to." The ambassador denied CIA aid to Zaire, saying that "since it had not been confirmed by the US Senate, the report is incredible and untenable."

## Petrol from Pretoria

South Africa has confirmed that her state Railways Corporation is sending petrol to Zaire to make up deficiencies in that country. Rolling stock marked "*Petro Zaire*" had earlier been seen near Johannesburg and official sources confirmed that the sale of a strategic good such as petrol could not take place without high-level approval.

• Attempts to secure the release of a British businessman, Mr. Jim Martin, held in Zaire after overflying that country's airspace from Angola continue without success.

CONGO

## New Government Named by Goma

Capt. Louis Sylvan Goma, the Congo's new Prime Minister, has announced his choices for the government, in which the number of ministries has been reduced from 18 to 14. Only three former ministers are included, Theophile Obenga in Foreign Affairs, Alphonse Poaty in Finance and Mamadou Diop at Planning. National Defence will continue to be the responsibility of the Revolutionary High Command led by Major Ngouabi. Other posts are held as follows:— Alphonse Boudo-Nesa (Mines and Energy), Abel Wilson Ndessabeka (Information & Sports), Louis Zatonga (Posts and Telecommunications), Saturnin Okabe (Trade and Industry), Daniel Kouka Mbemba (Health), Marius Moua Mbenga (Rural Affairs), Pierre Ngaka (Labour and Justice), Francois Okoko (Education), Jean-Jacques Antsonta (Higher Education) and Jean-Baptiste Taty Loiard (Arts and Culture). M. Paul Okanza, the former Foreign Minister, and earlier declared a trusted member of the PCT Central Committee, is unexpectedly absent from this cabinet list.

Major Raymond Ngollo, a member of the Central Committee of the PCT, has been appointed as Chief of General Staff of the Congolese armed forces, replacing Maj. Louis Sylvan Goma, who is now Prime Minister. Majors Pascal Bima and Antoine Makouangou, along with Lieutenant Nicolais Okongo, are also appointed to the Staff.

Maj. Denis Sassou-Nguesso, the former security chief, is to be council of state delegate for defence.

• All political meetings and trades union discussions are forbidden during working hours.

*Pies Robert Wichahn and R. Hannes of the S. African Defence Force, captured in Angola, are displayed in Lagos by the Angolan Prime Minister, Sr. Lopo do Nascimento.*

ANGOLA

## OAU Preparations Set the Pace

While there has been no Christmas truce in Angola, *writes a correspondent*, there has been a definite lull in the fighting, with both sides reporting preparations for offensives doubtless timed to impress the OAU meeting in Addis Ababa, now scheduled to begin on January 10. Attention on the OAU conference is also apparent in other countries, not least in South Africa, which now seems to be regretting her interventionist stand and has offered to withdraw her forces in exchange for a reciprocal act by the Soviet Union and guarantees over the supply of water from the Calecque dam to Namibia. The United States, too, has been busy, with Secretary of State Kissinger calling for an "African solution" and despatching his Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Mr. William Schaufele, on a tour of Zaire, Gabon, Cameroon, the Ivory Coast and Senegal to test support for his policies in those countries. Some observers have expressed surprise at this significantly selective itinerary.

Dr. Kissinger's hands, however, have been somewhat tied by the US Senate, which has refused to sanction that part of the 1976 Defence Appropriations Bill concerned with finance for covert operations (i.e. those without the support of Congress). Although the CIA will be able to continue its present airlift of supplies to the FNLA for at least two months under present circumstances, the episode makes presidential policy less than credible. Indeed, Congress seems determined to use Angola as a stick with which to beat the executive, whatever the merits of the case and, with the CBS news agency publicly vowing to keep the issue under the spotlight of public attention as a sort of penance for the mistakes of Vietnam. American domestic as well as foreign policy seems now thoroughly embroiled in the Angolan question.

OAU members, however, are increasingly disturbed at the evidence of superpower involvement in the continent. The list of countries which support the MPLA is impressive and growing daily. At the present, some 20 African states support MPLA and others have made conciliatory statements in her favour. There can be no doubt that it was Nigeria's recognition of Dr. Neto's government which was responsible for bringing much support into the open, and for dispelling lingering doubts about the "Communist" connections of the MPLA. Ghana's recognition on December 23, quoting the "open military intervention" of South African forces in the conflict as the prime determinant of her recognition, however, perhaps sums up the feelings of a majority of the African states.

All the same, the OAU conference is expected to be stormy, and will inevitably be marked by several notable absences. With Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde, Sao Tome e Principe, Mali, the Congo, Guinea, Equatorial Guinea, Nigeria, Togo, Benin, Algeria, Somalia, Mauritius, Madagascar, Tanzania, the Sudan, Ethiopia, Ghana and Burundi all supporting MPLA, an attempt to have the People's Republic of Angola recognised officially by the African organisation seems likely, and will inevitably be fiercely resisted. All the same, the South African intervention has made it very difficult for supporters of FNLA and UNITA publicly to display their partisanship, and even President Amin of Uganda has come out in favour of the MPLA. Recognition of MPLA by Burundi, a country close to both Zaire and Uganda in other policies, may be a sign of the way the wind is blowing for FNLA and UNITA now, even in Central Africa.

Angola's economy meanwhile, is suffering badly from the war. An FNLA doctor has been touring African capitals petitioning for relief of the "critical shortage" of food and medical supplies in FNLA areas. Red Cross aid is already arriving in many parts of the country but in the Central Highlands, occupied by UNITA, both relief work and the harvest are being further hampered by fighting between FNLA and UNITA forces. Writing from Luanda, Michael Wolfers reports that Radio Huambo has been appealing for a cease fire between these organisations, believed to be locked in a struggle for leadership of the Ovimbundu tribes between Jonas Savimbi of UNITA and Daniel Chipenda's men, who are loosely allied with FNLA.

In Cabinda, Gulf Oil has withdrawn its ex-patriate personnel and is closing down its operations, after finding itself unable to pay taxes to the MPLA government. The *Washington Post* alleges that White House pressure is behind the shutdown, though this has been denied. On the other hand, Diamang, the diamond mining company, though deciding to reinvest this year's profits rather than pay a dividend, has not halted production in Lunda province.

Despite Dr. Kissinger's threats to detente with both Russia and Cuba over Angola, there seems more hope that the US at least will be kept out of Angola if the OAU can thrash out a credible and realistic policy for the territory and stick to it. Few now doubt that then MPLA will eventually succeed in controlling Angola, the only question is how many obstacles will be put in its way, either at the OAU or afterwards.

At present, however, the OAU Secretary General, Mr. William Eteki Mbuumona, and his staff, are concentrating on denunciation of South Africa and avoiding more delicate issues. This approach is natural enough and, indeed, the OAU can be expected to try first of all to find common ground in condemnation of Pretoria. On the other hand, such a stance represents an implicit condemnation of UNITA and, though less surely so, FNLA, despite Dr. Savimbi's recent disavowal of his South African connection.

## MAURITANIA
# Opposition Leader Returns

M. Bakar Ould Ahmadou, one of the leaders of the clandestine Mauritanian Justice Party, which opposes the rule of President Ould Daddah and the Mauritanian People's Party, has determined to return to his country to support the government. M. Ahmadou, who admitted that the western Sahara crisis had prompted his return, said that he considered "my duty is to put myself at the disposal of my country." The return of such a prominent opposition figure at such a time is felt by observers to underline the seriousness of the crisis now facing Mauritania over the Sahara.

▪ Guerilla forces backed by Algeria have cut the 600 mile railway that takes Mauritanian iron ore out of the desert to the Atlantic port of Nouadhibou, according to reliable reports.

The reports said traffic has been halted on the railway used to transport 9.5m tons a year of iron ore out of deposits at Kedia d'Idjil in north Mauritania.

However, Mauritanian troops now occupy Guera, after "unidentified aircraft" bombed POLISARIO positions in the town. The cutting of the railway at Ilna and elsewhere is a serious blow, especially, *writes a correspondent*, now that POLISARIO claims support from certain Mauritanian tribes and that Mauritanian soldiers have deserted to the Front.

POLISARIO fighter seem to have been cleared from the coast and refugees are pouring into Tindouf in Southern Algeria, but with the Algerian and Moroccan ambassadors recalled, and troops massing, war is now a grave possibility. Mauritania is especially vulnerable and the fragile water supply to the capital, Nouakchott, is an obvious target for sabotage.

## CHAD
# Malloum sees French Minister

The French Supply Minister, M. Galley, has held talks with the Chad Head of State, Gen. Felix Malloum, in Ndjamena. The French Minister was accompanied by M. Paul Okamba d'Okwatsaque, the Gabonese Minister for Foreign Affairs, who has been acting as mediator in the case. Interviewed afterwards, M. Galley said that he accepted that the Claustre Affair was one to be settled by Chadians but that the fact of the meeting was a good sign for negotiations.

Gen. Malloum, *writes a correspondent*, has lately been trying to placate the bandit leader, Hissene Habre, who holds M. and Mme. Claustre captive. Habre has been publicly praised as "a great patriot" and otherwise lauded, although there is little sign that these compliments have had the desired effect. No immediate results are thus expected and Mme Claustre's captivity, despite the continued "rallying" of many former rebels to the Malloum regime, is likely to be prolonged.

## IN BRIEF
# OAU Final Dates

Official OAU sources in Addis Ababa now confirm that the OAU heads of State meeting to discuss Angola will be held between January 10 and 12, after a preparatory ministerial meeting on 8 and 9. There may be opposition, say observers, to President Amin's taking the chair, not only because the meeting will not be in Uganda, but also because many states are uneasy at the Chairman's partiality on Angola. A more "neutral" figure is thus likely to be suggested.

• M. Jacques Ferrandi, the Director General of the EDF (European Development Fund), confirmed earlier expectations of his departure from the job by announcing his forthcoming resignation in Dakar last month. M. Ferrandi has been expected to resign for some time now (See Matchet's Diary 24 November 1975), along with M. Claude Cheysson, the Commissioner for Development and Cooperation, who was expected to return to French government service. However, M. Ferrandi, who had been given considerable autonomy in running EDF, has not revealed his own future plans.

• At the recent OMVS meeting in Nouakchott, President Senghor has urged the mobilisation of the necessary political will to get the project off the ground. Cooperation was assured, President Senghor insisted, and finance was generously available, but the document of 11 November 1972, which created the organisation, must be reviewed to "restructure" the body. In accordance with this spirit, M. Mamadou Aw of Mali was elected to the new post of "High Commissioner" for the OMVS, with M. Ely Ould replacing his countryman Ould Amar of Mauritania as Secretary-General. These two positions now constitute "the executive" of the OMVS.

• The OCAM meeting in Kigali, *writes a correspondent*, ended on a note of uncertainty as the organisation had failed to define the new role which it had promised itself both before and during the conference. All the same, much detailed work was done, ranging from the creation of a statistical college to the provision of an approved guarantee fund with some 50 b. frs. CFA capital to help the poorer members of the organisation. Even here, however, there was disagreement to the end on the subject of whether the fund should be exclusively available to OCAM members. Indeed, with 17 separate specialised agencies now set up inside it, the impression is that OCAM is now too tightly stretched to serve much more than a coordinating role for its specialised commissions. Any hope for a positive political lead from the organisation has therefore been apparently deferred.

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