

WEST AFRICA

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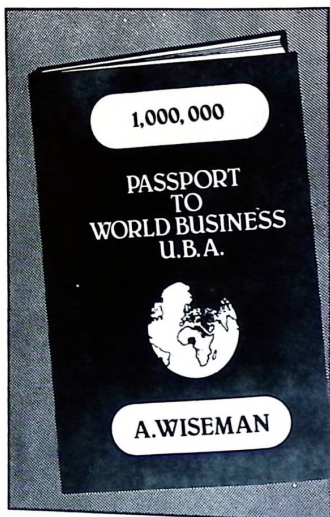


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Political role for Rawlings

A LONG INTERVIEW given by Flight-Lieutenant J. J. Rawlings to the *People's Evening News* of Accra contained this significant paragraph: "I believe June 4 in the Forces will find its counterpart in the civilian sector of society. It will give birth to something new, beautiful and dynamic. Political awakening generated by June 4 will not die and must be sustained. There are new organisations, such as the June 4 Movement and the People's Revolutionary League; workers, students and progressive elements in the parties are determined to protect the victories of the June 4 uprising. My responsibilities in this respect are very clear."

Similarly, in an interview with the British Broadcasting Corporation, Flight-Lt. Rawlings dodged a question about whether he was going to enter into party politics but made clear that he thought he would play a part in the political future of Ghana and was maintaining a close interest in certain pressure groups. This is a matter that needs clarification.

In another part of the interview with the *People's Evening News*, the former AFRC Chairman was asked about the role of the Armed Forces in the Third Republic and the chances of the survival of the Constitution. He replied, with some spirit, "I don't want to sound pompous, but I don't need any lessons about democracy from anybody. Take the facts — one, we came to power as a result of a popular uprising; two, we ourselves limited our rule to about three months; three, we conducted a general election, which all the parties have accepted as being fair and clean; and four, we actually handed over power to the elected government as promised."

These are undoubtedly all major items on the credit side of any balance sheet that may be drawn up on the AFRC rule. Some people also argue that Flight-Lt. Rawlings kept himself out of the limelight after the handover until he was subjected to considerable provocation. He added in the interview quoted above: "One thing you have to realise is that we promulgated the constitution and pledged to honour it. I have never given cause to anybody to doubt my sincerity."

While accepting the Flight-Lieutenant's sincerity, how-

ever, there are real problems that arose from his earlier claims to have the right to monitor, as it were, the acts of the civilian government and pronounce upon their acceptability, and that arise now from his apparent re-entry into a form of politics. Many world leaders find themselves embarrassed by their predecessors: Mrs. Thatcher in Britain finds that the pronouncements of Mr. Ted Heath on the Common Market cause her discomfort; former President Ford has proved on occasion to be a thorn in the side of President Carter. However, Flight-Lt. Rawlings must recognise that his is a special case. He was never elected by anyone; he seized power at the barrel of a gun. In spite of his pledges, there must be in people's minds the possibility that the democratic process could again be disrupted.

What Flight-Lt. Rawlings has never done with any conviction is to acknowledge that the ballot box can give a true reflection of the will of the people. He has in the past given the impression that he had a direct line, as it were, to the mass of the people and could speak with authority about what they wished and how their interests could best be served. Few people would deny that he has an immense popularity in Ghana, but if he is to take part in politics in the Ghana that has emerged after September 24 it is essential (if the constitution is to remain inviolate) for him to be seen to be playing the game of politics according to the rules: that is, for him to join or form a political party and submit himself to judgment of the people at the ballot box.

In the meantime the one area in which Flight-Lt. Rawlings is uniquely qualified to help at the moment is in resolving the crux that has arisen over rectifying the injustices that are protected by the Transitional Provisions. The AFRC had the major responsibility for drawing up the provisions (though the PNP must also accept some blame) and if the former Chairman would clearly state that the provisions could be changed without undermining the "gains of June 4" many of the difficulties would immediately disappear.

Instead Flight-Lt. Rawlings tends to confuse things by implying that injustices are somehow unimportant because of the hardships that Ghanaians continue to suffer. A typical line of argument occurs in the latest interview: "No one can stop the democratic process. It is irreversible and the defence of democracy is not a matter of fine theories from editorial writers but resolving the real problems of the people: food for those who are hungry, and houses and clothes for those who have none . . . I also know that the constitution contains clauses on fundamental human rights and with all the noise that is being made about educating the people to know about these rights. I hope that people will get some food to eat while this knowledge is being fed to them."

Much has been written in *West Africa* and elsewhere about the damage that June 4 did in some areas. But it also needs to be said again that there is cause for gratitude and respect for Flight-Lt. Rawlings — for stimulating moral outrage over corruption and exploitation, and for preventing a real revolution (the so-called revolution of June 4 should be renamed the near-revolution of June 4). He now has the opportunity to do an even greater service to his country.

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Time for UN action on Chad

WHILE SOME AFRICAN leaders are calling for an end to the bitter fighting in Chad, the one symbol which might have given weight to their calls has been removed from Chad. That is the Congolese contingent of some 500 men which was meant to have been part of a peace-keeping force composed of troops from Congo, Benin and Guinea. The last two countries never sent troops and now the Congolese contingent has been evacuated from N'Djamena.

Meanwhile, the fighting rages in the Chadian capital. The city is clearly divided between the supporters of Goukhoum Weddeye, the President of the Transitional Government of National Unity, established in keeping with the Lagos agreement of last August, and those of Hissen Habre, the Defence Minister in the same government. The point has already been made that the fighting this time is between two Muslim factions, thus removing the racial and religious implication which has often been the background to any analysis of this country's problems. Now it is a matter of a blatant fight for power. All is up for grabs and the various parties involved are manoeuvring, forming alliances that are unnatural and most likely, temporary. From

the north, it is reported that Ahmet Acyl, the Foreign Minister, said to be a man of Libya — and known to be supplied by Libya — is reinforcing Goukhoum's side, while Colonel Kamougue is placed south of the River Chan and is bombarding Hissen Habre's position.

It is difficult to say how many people have been killed in over a decade of fighting in Chad. Certainly the deaths and the refugees that have been the issue of this conflict — one which has changed in appearance and nature over the years — make it about the bloodiest and least known of Africa's conflicts. It is a war that deals with Africa's most pressing problem since independence: how to overcome the disadvantages of the artificial boundaries imposed by colonial rule. These disadvantages have included, in the case of Chad, the lack of a cohesive national identity and they have permitted foreign interests to toy with the destiny of this country and its people. The implications of the conflict are frightening for the African continent and perhaps this is why the OAU has been so loth to take any effective action. One assumes that a verbal appeal for peace at this stage of the conflict can scarcely match the persuasiveness of the gun for gaining a political power.

The signatories of the Lagos agreements appear to have hoped that they had washed their hands of the Chadian crisis. Provided the conflict remains localised within the frontiers of Chad, rhetorical concern causes no hardship. Libya's occupation of the Aouzou Strip in the north has met no protest.

It is now time, surely, for the international community, in the form of the United Nations, to show a more active concern. The conditions are there for a decisive initiative by the UN, using the mediating and policing powers that it has at its disposal to impose a peace long enough to elevate Chadian politics from the perennial battlefield to the negotiating table, and to keep them there.

Economic front against South Africa

THE MEETING in Lusaka last week of representatives of nine Southern Africa states may prove to be of historic significance in the struggle to overthrow the apartheid regime of the Republic of South Africa. The main purpose of the meeting was to plan the "economic liberation" of the states from South Africa. A regional transport and communications commission is to be set up, based in Mozambique, a Southern African Development Fund may be established, and there are also plans for co-ordination of aid, a joint policy on food reserves, and pooling of information and resources for mining, energy and agriculture.

Attending the one-day meeting was President Nyerere of Tanzania, President Machel of Mozambique, President Seretse Khama of Botswana, President Dos Santos of Angola, Mr. Robert Mugabe, Prime Minister of Zimbabwe, and ministers from Swaziland, Lesotho and Malawi. President Kaunda of Zambia was host. In addition Mr. Sam Nujoma, president of the South West Africa People's Organisation, was present.

No one at Lusaka underestimated the difficulties that the new grouping will face. Pretoria is so powerful economically that all the states, except Angola and Tanzania, are to some degree dependent on South Africa. President Kaunda, for instance, uses South African railways to export his copper and is at present receiving maize aid from Pretoria to offset serious shortages; Malawi sends a huge number of workers every year to the South African mines; Mr. Robert Mugabe has had to start by stating that he will maintain Zimbabwe's trade links with her southern neighbour, President Machel, in spite of his Marxist beliefs, also retains trade links and depends on South African help to maintain his ports; Lesotho is entirely surrounded by South Africa; and so on.

The meeting is significant, however, because it recognises that this is a state of affairs to be rectified. It is also an answer to the Pretoria dreams of building up these economic links into a "constellation" of states having political relations. The desire of nine states to be free of South African economic dominance poses a challenge to the rest of Africa (and to the world) to help.

Finally, the regular meetings of leaders of the nine states will provide the opportunity for views and strategies to be exchanged for non-economic moves against the men of Pretoria.

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Behind the strike call in Liberia

A correspondent discusses the background to the PPP call for a general strike, the subsequent arrests and President Tolbert's statement

THE PROGRESSIVE People's Party of Liberia has been banned by a joint resolution of the Senate and the House of Representatives after less than four months of legal existence as a political party. Most of the 76 leaders and members arrested last month (according to official figures) have been charged with sedition and treason — the Minister of Justice, Mr Joseph Chesson, has said 25 of them were "likely to be released" since they were the "least involved". The major question that remains unanswered is why the PPP leader, Mr Gabriel Baccus Matthews, found it necessary on March 7 this year to call for a general strike to bring down the government.

In the Christmas, 1979, issue of *The Voice of the Revolution*, the publication of the former Progressive Alliance of Liberia (PAL), there is a discussion on the influence of rumours on government decision-making. One section is called "The nation-wide strike" and reads as follows: "During an open discussion with some PAL members before the organisation's headquarters, one member suggested to the chairman [Baccus Matthews] that a nation-wide strike should be declared to indicate concern about the possibility of the Probate Court recessing until next year without first finalising the registration of the Progressive People's Party PAL's Monrovia branches, one in each of 12 communities in the city immediately supported the idea of a general strike.

However, chairman Matthews indicated that Monrovia is not Liberia, and the recommendation would have to be presented to other PAL members throughout the country with a view to obtaining their impressions. "It is necessary," he said, "that the matter be given thorough study. There must be a clear identification of the goal you wish to achieve, and whether the recommended course of action will, in fact, achieve the desired result. We will also have to review alternative courses of action that may achieve the same objective and determine that which is of lowest political cost. The legal implications should, of course, not be overlooked. What is also important is the significance of the objective in getting you from Point A to B. If all the factors are in our favour, or if we find strong evidence that the [Probate] court is playing a game against us, a general strike would very likely be approved, and the government would be notified. No decision was made about the idea of a general strike."

Nor was it necessary, because before 1979 was over the Probate Court granted PAL/PPP its registration papers, and the stated first goal of PAL since it began operating in Liberia in 1977 was achieved. In view of the events leading to the banning

of the PPP so soon after registration, and given this sound speech by chairman Matthews last December on political senses, two conclusions suggest themselves: either Baccus Matthews and other PPP leaders followed the "December theses" to the letter (legal implications included) with the objective of getting the party banned, or else they all forgot completely about the commonsense of last December, over-reacted to government provocation and did everything necessary to get themselves banned. Either way, it is a strange business which lends force to the comment of the Movement for Justice in Africa (MOJA) that the PPP's actions have objectively discredited progressive work in Liberia.

President Tolbert displayed the political capital the PPP had donated to him when he addressed the first session of the 49th Legislature on March 10. "In reaffirming my commitment to protect the rights of all Liberians and safeguard the sovereignty, integrity and perpetuity of the nation in keeping with my Constitutional Oath of Office, I made it unequivocally clear... in my New Year's message, that we will allow no segment of our society to infringe upon the rights of others, and where such a condition was present, government would not hesitate to bring to justice those who disturb the public peace, commit acts endangering the security of the State, and disrupt in any manner the course of national development and progress.

"Diabolical design"

"Despite our pronouncements, and in brazen defiance of our laws... members of a recently organised political party... led by Mr. Gabriel Baccus Matthews, conspired to overthrow the legally constituted government... In their attempt to implement their diabolical and treasonable design, this group of lawless and criminal-minded citizens, joined by hooligans, came out under the cover of darkness on March 3 and the morning of March 8... to destabilise the Government of Liberia, enthrone anarchy and deprive the sovereign people of Liberia of their inalienable rights and cherished tradition of choosing their leaders through the electoral process.

"It was only a few yards from the Executive Mansion and within the vicinity of the Ministry of Information, Cultural Affairs and Tourism, a strategic government installation, that their movement was timely intercepted and when questioned as to the reasons for their action, Mr. G. Baccus Matthews declared that they had converged to meet with officials of government to express their 'grievances'.

"Their action to convene secret meetings and carry out demonstrations by night in the streets and to converge near strategic government installations cannot in any way be construed as an attempt to dialogue with government... at about midnight when government offices are closed... and when officials were understandably not in office... Mr. Matthews and his atrocious associates seemed determined to enter the premises of the Executive Mansion.

"Intelligence reports revealed that the Progressive People's Party had designed a plan to execute an armed insurrection. Not only does government have in its possession factual evidences, including tape recordings and photographs, but there also exists concrete proof that this lawless group had already commenced implementation of its seditious and treasonable act against the government. Road blocks were mounted at some strategic points in and around the city, and attempts were made to burn down the telecommunications building, destroy the Gabriel J. Tucker Bridge, and seize information services, all with the apparent intention to sever vital communications... to seize strategic installations, thus paralysing the security apparatus of the state, and rendering the people defenceless."

President Tolbert ended the speech with thanks to Almighty God for helping the government triumph over insurrectionary elements who had threatened life, liberty and property in Liberia. "This," he said, "is the time for extreme rigidity, and in the supreme interest of the people, no flexibility whatsoever can, or will be exercised by us. I assure you that the situation is well in hand and the nation is secured. May the Almighty God bless the works of our hands, preserve the unity, stability, peace and prosperity of the Liberian nation and people, and save the State."

One week later MOJA issued a statement expressing grave concern "about the present wave of arrests and detentions and the witch-hunt which is now being carried out by the Ministry of Justice, and the persistent calls in certain quarters for the banning of political activities and the reversal of civil liberties." While MOJA felt that the PPP's actions "were at best infantile and rather ridiculous, it deplores the over-reaction of the Liberian Government and the wanton and unsystematic arrest of people, most of whom are only remotely related to the PPP... if at all."

MOJA immediately called for a fair and speedy trial and an end to the reportedly "meriless torture" of the PPP leaders. "Of even greater concern is the widespread arrest and detention of members of the armed forces. We believe that largely



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because many people know about the torture of those under detention, several citizens have begun to take the law into their own hands by attempting to fire-bomb sites in Monrovia and sabotage public utility installations. As a result of these activities on the part of the government, a state of apprehension, insecurity and panic has developed in our society and the very stability of the state and preservation of the well-being of the people are being undermined and endangered.

The indiscriminate arrest and detention of civilians, the arrest of members of the Army, the reported torturing of those under detention and the resultant bombings in Monrovia are the very elements which are contributing principally to the present destabilisation of the social, economic and political institutions in our nation... The government and the PPP are duty-bound to pursue their stated objectives by reliance on legal methods in order to reduce the present tension and put the Liberian people back on the path of building democratic institutions for the promotion of justice, peace and progress. The Movement for Justice in Africa is in total and uncompromising opposition to any and all attempts to turn the clock back to the terror-stricken days of 1955."

Call for release of detainees

MOJA finally called on the government basically to release without delay all detainees "who were not participants in the decisions which sparked the developments to which the government is now over-reacting", halt immediately the "torturing by flogging and exposure to inhuman conditions" of detainees, "great a speedy and fair trial to those against whom *in this case* case can be established", and "reject all calls for the banning of political parties and associations, and resist all appeals to transform Liberia into a one-party state".

Since MOJA is not a political party Liberia has returned to being a *de facto* one-party state as in "terror-stricken" 1955, in spite of the removal of the property qualification from the franchise. MOJA was careful to state clearly that its press release was "based on our established principle of ensuring the maintenance of democracy in Liberia". Since this March 17 statement, little more seems to have happened than continued government allegations about the PPP's "violent conspiracy", but no sign of a trial yet. Despite the elements of Gothic farce accentuated by the above account, the situation in Liberia is deadly serious. MOJA has offered the only clear voice in defence of democracy in Liberia. The most important missing element in this heated situation is the faithfully recorded voice of the people of Liberia. It remains to be seen if, given a fair chance to express their will, the Liberian people would choose a one-party state as a solution to their problems. Such a state could only be a temporary solution to the problems of the True Whig Party.

Tribute to a leader of the Tiv

Martin Dent describes the qualities and recalls the career of Senator Joseph Sarwuan Tarka, who died in London last week.

TARHUAN VING — all the earth is silent. This is the traditional lament for a great man in Tiv. It is true today, for J. S. Tarka is dead. He fought with wonderful fortitude against cancer for ten weeks and finally passed into a coma and died in London on Sunday, March 30. Nigeria has suffered a very great loss and all we who knew him are bereft. In the last ten weeks, as I visited him, I saw above all his enormous nobility of character and his greatness of heart. We shall not see his like for a long time. He had to a most unusual degree the charisma of the leader and the political skills of a consummate performer in the arena of state.

His career is inextricably bound up with the three great causes which he championed — the fight for the Middle Belt and its consummation in the creation of states, the struggle to preserve Nigeria's federal unity from 1966 to 1970 and to bind up the wounds of war thereafter by welcoming back those formerly in secession, and the formation of the national movement which gave birth to the nationwide party, the NPN.

Joseph Sarwuan Tarka was born about 50 years ago, the son of Tarka Nachi, a grand old man of the Tiv NA, an NA teacher of the old school and later clan head of Mbakor. Sarwuan Tarka was educated at Katsina Ala Middle School, and then took teacher training courses culminating in his attendance at the Rural Education Centre in Bauchi where he became a grade 2 teacher. He returned to join the staff of Katsina Ala Secondary School.

In 1954 he was elected to the Federal House of Representatives for Jembar constituency, and soon made alliance with the Tiv Progressive Union, and became the President of the United Middle Belt Congress formed to fight for a Middle Belt State. He obtained the alliance and support of the Action Group, and initiated a uniquely successful campaign to politicise the Tiv masses.

Household word

Within three years his name was a household word all over the land of Tiv and the movement of opposition to NPC had grown to fever heat. The politics of tribal and religious prejudice were used by some of his followers to an extent that Tarka, who was always remarkably free from any such failing, cannot have approved. The movement did, however, create a real sense of identity within Tiv and beyond its borders in other Middle Belt areas. Tarka and his supporters suffered considerable persecution but none the less Tarka's name and fame were sufficient to sweep UMBC/AG candidates to victories by 62 per cent to 95 per cent majorities all over the seven constituencies



Senator J. S. Tarka

of Tiv Division. In the Middle Belt as a whole the party won 25 seats.

The failure of Tiv local government to adapt to these political feelings, the unfortunate quarrel between Tarka and the late Tor Tiv and the persecution of UMBC/AG followers all over Tiv resulted in the Tiv

riots of 1960. When promised a new deal by the President, Tarka and his lieutenants at once co-operated in the attempt to restore peace to the troubled land. They went out in pairs with their NPC counterparts to preach peace to the people. None the less Tarka and five other UMBC leaders were prosecuted for treasonable conspiracy in 1961, but the case against them collapsed. Relations between parties deteriorated in Tiv and Tarka was imprisoned by the area court for four months. In 1964 far more bloody riots broke out in Tiv and many hundreds of people were killed.

From all this disaster Tiv recovered through a wonderful reconciliation between Tarka and the late Tor Tiv Gondo Aluor at Christmas time in 1965. When the Tor Tiv apologised for past partiality in his attitude to parties and promised to treat all alike as his children in future, Tarka replied with the greeting "Aondo ver Tor Tiv", "May God bless the Tor Tiv". People of all parties rushed to celebrate, and although it was the dry season there was a rain storm. "Aondo nor" ("It has rained and all the bitterness of the past is washed away"). From that time forward the land of Tiv saw no more riots for the act of *tar sanor* (the healing of the

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land) had been carried out, and the quarrels of NPC and UMBC had become a thing of the past. Tarka and Tor Tiv became the closest friends. Tarka outgrew his youthful pugnacity and became recognised as a statesman of national stature, loved and respected in all parts of Nigeria.

After the coups of 1966 the old animosities in the North were reconciled. Tarka always a man of rare magnanimity and forgiveness made fast friends with his old enemies of NPC and, together with his fellow radical Ammu Kano, toured the North to preach unity. From this first beginning in one part of Nigeria sprang that marvellous process of reconciliation and coalition building all over the country that gave rise to the "national movement" and ultimately to the birth of the nationwide NPN party.

Meanwhile, however, Tarka had to join the fight to ensure the unity of Nigeria and the creation of states, two aims which in his view went hand in hand. Among the Northern leaders of thought, of whom he was a distinguished member, he found alliance with former members of NPC such as Tanko Yusufu, his close friend, as well as from old UMBC members. Tarka was chosen as one of the three members of the Northern delegation to the constitutional conference and was influential in changing the North's stance from its initial one of an unworkable federalism based on the model of East African Common Service Agency to a position of true federalism. I had the privilege of staying with him on the night before the conference opened and

remember how clearly he understood the necessity for full federal power at the centre and for the creation of states — the dream of the men of the Middle Belt.

Tarka drew very close to the Head of State Yakubu Gowon, both realised that Nigeria must be saved at all costs and that this could only be done by creating more states in place of the old overmighty regions. Both knew that in the North this could be done not in a spirit of enmity, but by agreement to give the strength of a common consent in place of the old Northern "empire". State creation would strengthen them as a whole rather than weaken them.

Master stroke

On the eve of the secession of the east, Gowon, Tarka and all those with them, in the formation of policy produced the master stroke of the creation of 12 states and the incorporation of civilians into the executive council. For the next seven years Tarka served under Gowon. He continued to have an enormous affection and loyalty for him, and at the end of his life it was a great pleasure to Tarka that Gowon was able to visit him frequently in his illness to speak together of what they had done to hold Nigeria together.

During the war Tarka had two objectives, to win victory for the Federal Government and thus keep Nigeria together, and to build a spirit of magnanimity so that those in secession could be welcomed back into Nigeria in a real union as soon as the war

ended. I remember telephoning him from England in the last year of the war to voice my fears about possible closure of routes and food relief for the Biafran "enclave" and finding how strongly he also felt about the need to avoid starvation. He would have nothing of the attitude of "starvation is a weapon of war".

When the war ended Tarka used his great political skills to effect the return of the people to their rightful share of federal jobs and benefits. Every day he would ring Gowon to tell him what new things he had been able to do to help Ibo people through his Ministry.

During his career in the executive council Tarka had held the posts first of Commissioner for Transport and then of Commissioner for Communication. He felt, as all Nigerian political leaders feel, the tension between his own firm loyalties as a Nigerian and the expectations of his fellow Tiv that he would do something to help them in preference to others in obtaining federal jobs or patronage. Not unnaturally his unwillingness to be a mere channel of local patronage earned him some enmity among the Tiv intelligentsia. It must also be admitted that great as were his political skills in alliance building, Tarka at times lacked the temperament to win the loyalty of the new intelligentsia. A number of quarrels broke out between Tarka and former allies and associates that were largely due to misunderstanding and were to have sad consequences for Tarka and for Nigeria.

A further quarrel with a Tiv businessman Godwin Dabo, whom Tarka had helped to

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establish, resulted in allegations of corruption and Tarka's resignation in response to intense criticism in the press.

Tarka now displayed his talents as a businessman and quickly built up a highly profitable enterprise in the difficult field of commerce, manufacturing and contracting. His enormous skill at getting on with all kinds of people and his powers of leadership helped him in this task. Tarka, however, regarded business as a means and not an end. His heart was in politics, and he used to say that he was "a teacher by profession, a politician by choice and a businessman by necessity". Whether or not his political career was helped by his business interests is an open question.

Ibo title

With the return to civilian rule Tarka came into his own. His unopposed return to the Constituent Assembly in Gboko was disallowed by FEDECO on grounds of non-payment of tax. Tarka was thus absent when the tragic quarrel over the "Sharia issue" threatened to break up the constitutional conference. Had he been present he would have been an instrument for reconciliation. He had won his fight for a separate state for Benue and for other Middle Belt peoples and had no quarrel with any other peoples in the former North. Indeed Tarka's relations with leading political figures in Sokoto, Kano, Bornu and Katsina, etc. became very close indeed. Among the Ibos, whom he had done his very best to help after the civil war, Tarka was well beloved and in recognition of his services he was given an Ibo chieftainship title. He remained highly popular with people in the so-called "minority areas". Above all, however, while he recognised the pragmatic need for Nigerian politicians to build alliances, Tarka thought of himself as a Nigerian first and foremost.

Tarka has held some positions of leadership in the steering committee of the national movement, but resigned this position when parties were allowed and the NPN was born in 1978. He contested the Presidential nomination but was disappointed when his real support in Ibo areas and in Kano failed to win him votes from these areas. He came fifth out of the six candidates for the NPN presidential nomination, but immediately he knew of his defeat, he refused to allow himself the luxury of bitterness, went to see the winner Shehu Shagari and gave him unstinted loyalty and support. This he did, not for the sake of winning any patronage (he was ultimately elected Senator through his own immense popularity in Ivo, and took no other office) but from loyalty to the party and all that it stood for in terms of stable government and Nigerian unity.

Perhaps the period of campaign for the elections was too long. Tarka never spared himself during the nine months of campaigning and this may have hastened his end. His skill in keeping the party together was very great, and although there were quarrels about nominations Tarka's great stature brought the state of Benue firmly

into the NPN camp.

Where Tiv Divisions had voted 90 per cent Action Group in 1959, it now voted 70 per cent NPN in the presidential election, the highest percentage for the party in any state in Nigeria. I myself had the privilege to attend an NPN meeting in Gboko where Shagari and Tarka both spoke, explaining how in the past they and their parties of NPC and UMBC had been at enmity but that now they had learned how to end these old quarrels, join hands and unite Nigeria.

Tarka was elected Senator for Jembar by an immense majority and used his great skills to build the alliance between NPN and NPP and, through his warm relations with Aminu Kano, his "beloved adversary" during the election, to produce an understanding with that party. Indeed Tarka's warm personal contacts extended beyond party boundaries and more than once helped to defuse a tricky situation for the NPN leadership in the Senate. He was also adept at helping Shagari to establish the right relations with the legislature on which the working of the Nigerian system depends.

Last illness

During his last illness Tarka spoke with loyalty and affection of his relations with "Turakin Sokoto", his nickname for Shagari. He spoke also with equal loyalty and affection of his relations with Yakubu Gowon, for beneath all the arts of the politician Tarka was a man of a noble simplicity of character. To enter his presence was to experience a lifting of the spirit.

All his many friends will have their own special memories of him. I have known his friendship since I first met him 27 years ago running in the coronation sports which I had organised as a District Officer. Later in 1959 I had the honour to release him from prison in Gboko and to review his case as a "grave miscarriage of justice" when he had been falsely imprisoned by the local native courts and he came out of the cell with perfect calm and proceeded to have a friendly conversation with the judge who had wrongly imprisoned him. He was a man of marvellous magnanimity.

Tarka loved to live surrounded by friends. Although in his earlier days, Tarka had been a devotee of "democratic socialism", politics was to him essentially a practical business concerned with nation building rather than a matter of dogma. *Tahav ka nye? tahav ka tyo* — what is power? power is people! Politics was for Tarka a question of people and of relationships, and beyond the sphere of political activity he cherished so many friendships. He died surrounded by friends, in charity with all and full of generosity. Among the friends and family who looked after him in his last illness special mention must be made of his business associate and beloved friend Bill Rutherford, who was never absent from his side.

Our sympathy goes out to his family in their great loss. For all of us this loss will take a great time to heal. But it is Nigeria that has lost a great son whom she must now mourn.

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Matchet's Diary

THE BLACK POT RESTAURANT of Accra may be reborn in London. Jimmy Moxon, a former Briton who was head of information under Nkrumah, became a Ghanaian after independence and ran the Black Pot for eight years until he was defeated by the Ghana shortages, told me last week while passing through London on his way home to Accra after leave in Britain, that he had considered for some years that there was room in London for another African restaurant. He had been inspired again by the article in *West Africa* of March 31 by Dilhhe Onyema suggesting there were opportunities for African enterprise in the West, particularly in the restaurant business. Mr. Moxon does not want to invest money nor does he want to run such a restaurant himself, but he feels he might provide the franchise of the name Black Pot and some valuable expertise derived from his Accra experience.

At present there is in London the Africa Centre, whose Senegalese chef provides excellent fare, and Toddies, in Brompton Road, Kensington, whose African food derives from Sierra Leone. But that seems to leave room for a place where the Nigerians and Ghanaians would especially feel at home. Perhaps what is needed is a combination of Nigerian money and Ghanaian skill — plus Moxon advice. To

succeed the restaurant would also have to appeal to interested Britons, and to tourists.

Jimmy Moxon is a very well-known and much-written-about character in Ghana, a chief in the Aburi district in which he lives, who takes his chiefly duties most seriously, the author, amongst other things, of a book about the Volta Dam, a new edition of which is to come out (he was most interested in the series of articles *West Africa* is publishing) and as always a rich source of anecdotes and memories about Ghana. The latest plan that is emerging from his fertile mind is one for making vinegar from pineapples and oranges. It sounds improbable but apparently it works in California, and Jimmy Moxon is convinced that it will do great things in Ghana.

Festival of music and dance

CELEBRATE an Afro-Caribbean youth festival of music, dance and theatre, said Drum Arts Centre and the Commonwealth Institute last week, inviting people to come to the Institute for a "rare and perhaps unique opportunity to see the results of a flowering of creativity among Britain's black communities..." The festival gave a welcome chance for young black theatre

groups, reggae, calypso and steel bands come from as far afield as Birmingham, Liverpool, Southampton and other "citadels of Babylon" (as a Rastaman might put it), and join London-based groups performance.

Judging by the enthusiasm of the opening night, the only thing missing was enough of an audience. *West Africa* neglected to preview this festival in last week's issue, and regretted this negative "contribution" from the programme that night were Miss and the Israelites from Birmingham who combined drumming, dance and poetry — there was more power in the words than some of the delivery, while the dancing six young ladies in white cloth and who headties was so West African that I asked them afterwards how they learnt the dancing. "From nowhere in particular, I don't have any teacher or anything. Somebody picks up something here, another finds a step from somewhere, and we put it together," said one. Their poem was naturally angry in parts and as the came off at the end of one piece said: "End-police-brutality", a mustachoe security guard of the Commonwealth Institute joined quite heartily in his applause. He later turned out to come from somewhere Mediterranean, judging by his accent, and was tired from standing on his feet all day.

Bokoer, the Ghanaian highlife band led by John Collins, the English Ghanaian, followed in the theatre. The seven or eight songs I listened to tended to demonstrate the necessity of invention in art if you want

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to capture the audience rather than be vaguely appreciated by it. The band has some very nice songs but performed them unevenly; when the woman singer sang directly into the microphone the music was vastly improved because she had a good voice. But highlife, like other musical genres, sounds very ordinary if it lacks that element of quality which is not merely talent — which the band does not lack — but perhaps the blend of inventiveness and conviction. Nor does it help to have messy endings to your songs. Yet, some of the songs were good, and another security guard from St. Lucia showed his appreciation with a moment of dancing near the door.

Pope to visit Africa

IT HAS been reported from Paris that Pope John-Paul II intends to visit Africa in the near future and has received invitations from five countries, the Ivory Coast, Ghana, Uganda, Senegal and Zaire.

According to the Dakar paper *Afrique Nouvelle*, all five have claims on a papal visit. In the Ivory Coast, the Papal Nuncio is dean of the diplomatic corps in Abidjan, while the Catholic Church in the country is now fully Africanised. Catholics are strong too in Ghana, the paper added, where the Church has "raised its voice for many years against corruption, the ills of Ghanaian society and abuse of power".

Christians and Moslems live together in considerable peace in Senegal which is also the home of Cardinal Thiandoum, a personal friend of the Pope.

Natural rhythm

WHAT PRICE do some talented black artists think they have to pay in order to "make it" in a predominantly white society? During a late-night BBC television programme appropriately called "Saturday Night at the Mill", Nigerian-born Patti Boulaye answered the above question with great style. This glamorous rising star in the star factory of modern entertainment who was launched by winning the "New Faces" talent contest, and recently won an award for Best Cabaret Act, energetically sang and danced a run-of-the-mill version of black American Michael Jackson's disco-hit "Off the Wall". The dance routine ended with her stretched out on the hands of male dancers like a sexy battering ram, her lovely face held in close-up. Her feet back to earth again, she slinked over to the programme's host tying a skirt over her glittering catsuit.

"That looked pretty strenuous," said the host.

"Oh," giggled Patti, batting her long eyelashes and glittering eyelids. "It was fun".

"What is it about black Africans that you all seem to have this inherent sense of rhythm?... You made that look so easy," asked the observant host.

"Well," replied the equally scientific Patti, "you see, we have strange music in Africa, and once you can dance to that, you can dance to anything".

IMPERIALISM AND THE VOLTA DAM — III

Effects of the fall of Nkrumah

The third of a series of four articles

IN HIS LAST YEARS in power, Nkrumah could do nothing to revise the Master Agreement signed between VALCO, an international consortium of aluminium companies and the Ghana Government. The US State Department admitted that there were provisions for a withdrawal of aid in the event that conditions in Ghana did not develop as it would like to see them but its real hope was in the removal of Nkrumah. By 1963, Ghana had become "a decisive battlefield in the Cold War" in which the Volta project was to become a most useful instrument of US foreign policy. External manipulation of Ghana's economy was complemented by foreign intervention in domestic politics. By 1964, far from acceding to local pressure to build an alumina plant, Edgar Kaiser confessed that "under conditions which exist in Ghana today I would not finance ten cents and I simply do not know when conditions will allow the financing of an alumina plant." CIA activity was stepped up in Accra and encouragement was given to Nkrumah's opponents in exile. Dr Busia, for example,



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requested the Americans not to proceed with the Volta loans since this would only serve to prop up Nkrumah's "dictatorship". Finally, only a month after the completion and inauguration of the Akosombo Dam a combined military-police coup overthrew the CPP regime and acceded to Western demands for a complete reorientation of Ghanaian development strategy.

The first year in power of the NLC was to see the completion of the VALCO smelter and the sale, or closure, of many of the Eastern funded development projects. The subordination of the Ghanaian economy to foreign capital was more or less complete. These dramatic political and economic changes had little direct effect on the status of the Volta agreement other than to reassure the aluminium companies that their investment was safe. This reassurance was now more than ever necessary given the significance of the completed smelter to the corporate planning strategy of the multinationals. For Kaiser in particular with a 90 per cent equity holding, the VALCO plant was eventually to become one of its lowest cost producers and the supplier of nearly 25 per cent of its ingot metal. Most of this aluminium was to go to Kaiser's non-US customers, in Europe, Japan and South America.

"Global enterprise" or US profit?

Where exactly does the VALCO smelter fit into the operations of the global Kaiser Chemical and Aluminium Company? The underlying philosophy of the company can be gauged by the following two comments. First, top executive Gene Trefethen, "We don't merely think as an American company with extensions overseas — we think in terms of global enterprise — a company of the world". And secondly, from general manager Openheim of Kaiser Engineers, "The risks are great but we can usually earn a better profit margin overseas than we can in the US". While the second is undoubtedly true, the first comment needs further qualification. Kaiser's multi-nationality, manifested in such ventures as the VALCO smelter, is geared exclusively to the production of bauxite, alumina and aluminium. Profits, on the other hand, flow to the US where ultimate control is based and influence exerted on the state to support production overseas.

Kaiser entered the aluminium industry in 1946 as a one-product, one-country company. By 1974 the company operated in over 25 countries with assets approaching \$2bn. and annual sales of over \$1bn. Throughout the period, control of the company has remained firmly in the hands of the Kaiser family despite massive borrowing to finance plant expansion. After securing adequate bauxite deposits in Jamaica in the early 1950's, to be converted into alumina at US alumina plants, Kaiser began to look abroad for cheap hydro-electric power to supplement its increasingly expensive US smelter facilities. Within the first decade of operations, Kaiser was a fully integrated aluminium company.

From this sound base in the aluminium

industry, strengthened by Cold War stock-piling, the company quickly diversified into other areas such as shipping, insurance, currency exchange and real estate, until by 1976 it ranked number 150 in the list of the 500 largest US corporations. Foreign investment, backed by the belief that the rate of economic growth in many parts of the world would exceed the rate of growth inside the US, was the key to its success. Expansion abroad during recession at home became the company's watchword. Thus the expansion of the strategic VALCO plant took on an added significance during the recession in the US industry in the mid-1970's.

Despite the great success of the VALCO smelter, Kaiser has still not found conditions in Ghana sufficiently to its liking to invest the extra \$100m. necessary for the alumina plant. Instead, and despite the economic nationalism of Jamaica, in raising mining levies on bauxite, alumina is still imported from the US as part of a crazy shipping system which sends Ghanaian bauxite to Scotland, Guinean alumina to the US, Jamaican alumina to Ghana and Ghanaian aluminium all round the world. Such policies only make sense to the corporate investors and stem from the perceived need to avoid integrating the industry with the core capitalist countries. However, taking advantage of the cheap power provided by the Volta scheme (including the Kpong Dam now under construction), VALCO has expanded to the recognised optimum operating capacity by a series of staged expansions.

VALCO's first expansion — the construction of the fourth pitline — was completed in 1972 to take advantage of the installation of the additional generators at Akosombo. The second expansion — the installation of the fifth pitline — was completed in 1977 and now expects to take 40 MW from the VRA generation expansion scheme at Kpong. VALCO's total investment in Ghana is now calculated at \$206m. In the summer of 1973, Mr. Armantrout, the resident manager offered his opinion of the Master Agreement: "All parties must benefit from all agreements. If totally one-sided it won't hold. We have had six good years here. Obviously the agreement has been satisfactory to all parties. There are points in the agreement which they want to change now, for example the price of electricity, but it has been a good agreement. We enjoy doing business in Ghana."

Armantrout continued by saying that he thought Ghana likewise enjoyed doing business with Kaiser, and while many individual Ghanaians have benefited and will continue to benefit from the development model of external dependency established by the Volta scheme, and the subordination of the state to foreign capital, it is by no means clear that the majority of Ghanaians have gained anything from the arrangement established by the Master Agreement. We thus have cause to look at the wider implications of the Volta project on the political economy of Ghana. We will first consider moves towards the forwards and backwards integration of the industry in Ghana.

The absence of an alumina plant, process-

sing local bauxite, has resulted in the throttling of a potentially dynamic transformation of the economy. Aluminium is one of the few industries capable of acting as a catalyst of further industrialisation. Industries linked to an integrated aluminium industry include alumina, cement, pig iron and steel for construction; Chlorine, caustic soda, cryolite, fluoride and starch for the chemical industry; while the end product itself can be fabricated to serve the electrical, transport and machinery industries. Import substitution programmes can provide some of these products but lead to negligible linkage effects and inhibit the development of a more appropriate technology. Nkrumah's strategy emphasised heavy industrialisation as a basis for further growth and he clearly intended the aluminium sector to occupy the central position in this strategy. Yet 12 years after his overthrow, no progress has been made towards implementing existing plans for an alumina plant. VALCO's dominance of cheap power, distorting the very infrastructure of further development, and the most accessible bauxite deposits, has so far prevented interested Japanese, Iranian and Hungarian investors from proceeding with plans for new aluminium facilities. The most recent casualty — the BASCOL consortium, involving Kaiser — collapsed in 1976 when it became clear that sufficient power was available, although doubts about the country's stability and its attitude towards nationalisation undoubtedly also frightened potential investors.

Ghana does, however, already mine and export bauxite from the large deposit at Awaso. Mining was started in 1942 to supply Britain's war time demand for bauxite and was indeed stepped up after the end of the war. The rate of extraction, while not spectacular, has been maintained at a fairly steady level since the war and reached a high of 350,000 tons in 1972. The bauxite is all exported, unprocessed, and hence with no added value, to the BAC alumina plant at Burntisland in Scotland to be converted into metal at the Invergordon smelter. This arrangement has led one commentator to view Scotland as an underdeveloped economy where the power of the aluminium companies was sufficiently great to secure state loans and below-cost power for the smelters. British taxpayers will pay more than £300m over the next 20 years to provide electricity below cost at BAC to smelt Ghanaian bauxite in Scotland. Kaiser also benefits from a very similar deal with the Government of New Zealand.

The new American giant, Reynolds, took over the BAC in 1959 in the "great aluminium war" yet despite owning mining and smelting interests in Ghana, the company made no attempt to rationalise its buildings in Ghana. The Awaso mine remained under BAC management and continued to operate as part of the BAC's vertically integrated network. A further change in ownership took place in 1974 when the Ghanaian government took a 55 per cent share in the mine and renamed it the Ghana National Bauxite Company. This partial nationalisation had as little effect on the operations of the mine as the earlier Reynolds takeover.

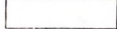
As a direct result of its failure to finance and construct an alumina plant in the country, the Aluminium Industries Commission (AIC) was forced to redirect its attention from backwards to forwards integration; that is, to the local fabrications of the ingots produced by VALCO. In the early 1960's it had been widely but incorrectly assumed that the ingots produced at Tema would be made available to local fabricators at reasonable prices and that a range of "spin-off" industries would be established in accordance with the Seven Year Plan. In 1965, Kaiser produced yet another feasibility study for the project but concluded that the low annual demand for aluminium, approximately 14,000 tons, characterised as a "pots and pans market", was insufficient to justify the investment. And there the matter ended. All of VALCO's production was either sold directly to customers abroad or sent directly to the parent company. Clearly the linkage effects from such an arrangement were minimal. Yet by 1966, the local fabricating industry was expanding rapidly to meet the development plan targets and hopes were even held out of developing an export market in other West African states.

Aftermath of the 1966 coup

With the coup of 1966, however, the industry virtually collapsed and 12 years later had still not recovered to the levels of 1966. Today in Ghana the fabrication of aluminium is dominated by nine companies manufacturing a limited variety of kitchen utensils and construction materials. Of these nine companies, only two are fully Ghanaian owned, while the largest fabricator — Ghana Aluminium Products — is jointly owned by the government and ALCAN, who were encouraged to invest in a factory following their inability to participate in the bigger smelter project. By 1977, because of import restrictions, most of the fabricators were operating at only 25-30 per cent of capacity. The ingot metal required by the companies continued to be supplied by traditional trading partners in the UK — the BAC and ALCAN.

A 1974 market survey by the AIC identified a potential market of 10,000 tons and on the strength of the negotiations were resumed with VALCO to see if the metal produced in Ghana could be supplied to Ghanaian fabricators. The principle demand within the country for rolled aluminium products would be for roofing sheets yet when an American company — Hunter Engineering — agreed to construct and operate the rolling mill they pointed out that since the VALCO ingots would have to be paid for in foreign exchange then the new mill would have to be "significantly export orientated". The mill is to be financed by an EXIMBANK loan with Ghana contributing 10 per cent of the foreign exchange component. The VALCO smelter is itself now looking to the wider West African market and, having been approached by the ALCAN mill in Nigeria, may well eventually create and supply its own local market. Thus while Ghana may soon play host to a

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rolling mill, the prospects of proceeding to an integrated industry are minimised by the export orientation and foreign ownership of the venture.

Finally, what can be said about the operations of the VALCO smelter itself. What has been said above might lead some people to conclude that the factory is a virtual island in the local economy, utilising only the necessary labour and paying only for the required power. Yet it would be a grave mistake to assume that such a large enterprise could be so isolated from its environment. VALCO is very much concerned with other political and economic processes in the country and this concern has led the company to adopt a number of protective and even pre-emptive strategies.

Controlling the labour force

The company has tried to buy the acquiescence of labour with a policy of paying higher wages than other enterprises in Ghana. Yet the hourly rate is only a quarter of the rate of smelter workers in the US and the smelter has clearly failed to create a labour aristocracy in Ghana. Kaiser stipulated that all workers should belong to one union, affiliated to the GTUC, in the belief that this would make labour control easier. Empirical study has however shown that the higher educational level and organisational potential of VALCO workers has led to the development of "incipient working class consciousness." VALCO has tried to maintain the traditional internal division of

labour by recruiting unskilled labour mainly from the northern region, the most underdeveloped part of the country, while draining the skilled labour of the southern regions with promises of high wages and job security. Koenings, in his study of VALCO workers, concluded that the workers demonstrated a strong feeling of exploitation based on low wages for the nature of their work, the high profits made by the company, strict supervision, high temperatures and the threat of dismissal for refusing to work overtime. Their dissatisfaction has been manifested by actions like sabotage, restriction of output absenteeism and strikes.

At the management level we find a number of Ghanaians leaving government service to take up more lucrative positions with VALCO. These "compradores" with their contacts in the state machinery help lubricate possible points of friction between company and country. This only serves to integrate VALCO and its staff into Kaiser's global planning strategy. At this level, the training of Ghanaians for management has succeeded in "denationalising" executive level staff. This is wholly in keeping with the company's ethos of multinationality and clearly undermines VALCO's contention that the promotions of local staff in some way "Ghanianises" the company.

More direct intervention in Ghana politics has, however, occurred on a number of occasions. Edgar Kaiser himself intervened a number of times to soothe Nkrumah, "the prickly foreigner", when relations between Ghana and the US were in danger of break-

ing down completely. Tours of Kaiser facilities in the US have also been organised to demonstrate concretely the sheer size of the company and hence the need for continued co-operation. Following the overthrow of the Busia regime in 1972, VALCO was directly represented on an economic advisory committee set up by Acheampong in the first few days of his regime. Within three days it was disbanded following heavy public criticism of its reactionary character. VALCO is, of course, directly represented on the board of the VRA. VALCO's contribution to Operation Feed Yourself consisted of a joint venture with the government in a C25m. rice and soya bean project in the Volta region. Kaiser has always maintained that it prefers a joint approach to foreign investment, provided, of course, that this remains in such non-strategic areas as agriculture. Much publicised projects such as this serve to enhance the company's reputation while providing additional security for its other operations.

Finally, we should note that in 1977 VALCO was awarded the first annual prize for contributions to an underdeveloped economy by OPIC, the Overseas Private Investment Corporation. VALCO's award was based on its contributions to the finances of the VRA and "... for assuring low cost electricity to Ghana's other infant industries, homes and other institutions". In the final part of this study of VALCO we shall look at the other side of the VRA coin — the local distribution of power and the effect of the high VALCO demand on Ghana's industrialisation.

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Conservation means development

By John Madeley

THE World Conservation Strategy, which has just been launched by the United Nations Environment Programme and other organisations, is likely to have a considerable influence on the way that people and governments think about development. The aim of the strategy is to "help advance the achievement of sustainable development through the conservation of living resources".

Development and conservation have often been considered opposites — do we conserve this forest for example, or do we develop it? Now the two are firmly linked together. The new strategy points out that development of the type that will yield sustainable benefits will come only if the resources on which life depends are conserved. There can be no worthwhile development unless life support systems themselves are maintained.

The strategy is the result of three years preparation by the International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources, the World Wildlife Fund, UNESCO and the UN Food and Agricultural Organisation. Launched simultaneously in 30 capital cities across the world, the strategy has the support of nearly 500 non-government organisations. The

sponsors of the strategy hope that governments will now act on its recommendations before it is too late.

The need for a strategy of this kind has become increasingly clear during the last decade. Living resources essential for human survival and sustainable development have been destroyed or depleted at an alarming rate. Human demand for those resources is at the same time growing fast.

If present trends continue then within the next 20 years about one-third of the world's arable land will be destroyed, half the earth's tropical rain forests will have disappeared, the deserts will have spread further and many of the world's fisheries will have been seriously depleted. The World Conservation Strategy is the clearest warning so far that man is in danger of destroying the very system on which his life depends.

Conservation is defined in the strategy as the management of the human use of the biosphere so that "it may yield the greatest sustainable benefits to present generations whilst maintaining its potential to meet the needs and aspirations of future generations".

That conservation and sustainable development are mutually dependent can be clearly illustrated by the plight of the

rural poor. The dependence of rural communities on living resources is direct and immediate. For the 500 million people who are now malnourished or the 1,500 million people whose only fuel is wood, dung or crop wastes, conservation is the only thing between them and at best abject misery, at worst death. Unhappily, people on the margin of survival are often compelled by their poverty to destroy the few resources available to them.

In widening circles around their villages they strip trees and shrubs for fuel until the plants wither away and the villagers are forced to burn dung and stubble. The 400 million tons of dung and crop wastes that rural people burn annually are badly needed to re-generate soils already highly vulnerable to erosion now that the plants that bind them are disappearing.

The vicious circle by which poverty causes ecological degradation, which in turn leads to more poverty, can be broken only by development. But if it is not to be self-defeating, it must be development that is sustainable. The development efforts of many developing countries, says the report, are being slowed or compromised by the lack of conservation.

But development is extremely difficult for poor countries to achieve. Poverty tends to reinforce poverty and poor countries lack the resources to break out of the vicious circle. The World Conservation Strategy goes a long way beyond purely conservation measures. It stresses that a new international economic order and a fairer sharing of the world's wealth is needed so



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that poor countries have a chance of more resources and be able to develop in a sustainable way.

Poor countries need more resources for development; their citizens need more jobs and greater earning power. Then they will have less need to ravage the environment.

There is no doubt that one of the most worrying aspects of present day environmental damage is the loss of trees. Forests have been called "the lungs of the biosphere". They help to preserve a balanced climate, they protect the soil from erosion and they protect downstream areas from flooding. Trees are also a valuable energy source for many millions; but if trees are to continue as that source of energy then forests need to be well managed and replanted.

But there is serious cause for concern about the trees of West African countries. The strategy estimates that between 1975 and 2000, some 50 per cent of West African trees will disappear — if present trends continue. It estimates that in the Ivory Coast only 50,000 square kilometres of forests remain out of the 150,000 square kilometres of forests thought to exist at the beginning of the century.

In developing countries the heaviest demand on forests and woodlands is for fuel. More than 1,500 million people depend on wood for cooking and keeping warm. Their annual consumption of wood is estimated to be more than 1,000 million cubic metres, well over 80 per cent of developing countries total wood use.

In Africa the contribution of trees to total

energy use is as high as 58 per cent (In South-east Asia and Latin America it is 42 per cent and 20 per cent respectively). The effect of such intense demand is to denude the land of wood over wide areas. Around one fishing centre in the Sahel region where the drying of 40,000 tons of fish consumes 130,000 tons of wood each year, deforestation extends as far away as 100 kilometres.

Fuel wood is now so scarce in The Gambia that gathering it takes 360 woman days a year per family. So if there are three economically active woman in a family, each of them spends one-third of her life simply gathering fuel wood.

As forests disappear so people are having to walk further and further in the search for fuel. The problem is severe now — it could, unless urgent measures are taken, become worse in the future.

West Africa is picked out by the strategy as one of the regions where action over deforestation is urgently needed. It suggests that fuel-wood plantations and industrial plantations be established. Also that administrations responsible for the protection and managements and forests are strengthened. It stresses that one of the most important needs is for "reforestation including well designed and strategically located forests to meet immediate needs for raw materials, to serve as model examples for the development of neighbouring areas, and to replace areas of forest already destroyed".

Wildlife makes an important contribution to the livelihoods of people in Africa.

Many wild plants and animals are important renewable resources and sources of food, particularly for rural communities. In parts of Ghana and other regions of West Africa, says the strategy, up to three quarters of the animal protein comes from wild animals. But many wild plants and animals are now in danger of extinction.

International trade has become a threat to many species of animals. Commercial enterprises are attempting to supply an expanding market with wildlife commodities from Africa and other developing regions. The trade includes hides and skins for the luxury fur and feather industry, exotic meat and fish for luxury food and a wide range of animal and plant products for pharmaceuticals and perfumes.

Not all of the trade is legal. "A significant part of it", says the strategy, "takes place illegally often through channels and by methods not unlike those of the drug traffic". Clearly there is an urgent need for developing country governments to exercise a much tougher control over the activities of foreign traders and investors if this illegal trade is not to harm local people.

Mismanagement of grazing land is causing the desert to spread in many areas of the world, says the strategy. There is a serious danger that the encroaching Sahara Desert will threaten the livelihoods of over 100 million people in the Sahel region. World wide, some 600 million people are threatened by the spread of deserts.

The World Conservation Strategy contains practical proposals for national conservation measures. It proposes that governments review their development objectives in the light of whether those objectives are sustainable. Whilst change at the international level are needed to give developing countries more resources for development, there is much that governments of developing countries can do.

They could examine, for example, the timber concessions given to multi-national firms and require those firms to manage the forests to a high standard and to "plant as they fell". They could examine development planning is looking to the long term and taking conservation factors into account for the future.

In too many countries there are projects where the short term benefits are outweighed by long term harm. Lack of conservation-based rural development policies are today all too common. As a result of this, many countries are experiencing soil erosion, deforestation, desertification and serious damage to crops and wildlife. All of these factors are damaging to people's chances of achieving development for themselves.

The World Conservation Strategy will have done a service if it helps to sway governments and public opinion to the serious damage that can be caused by not taking conservation factors into account when deciding development projects. After the publication of this report, a government can plead that it doesn't know what steps it needs to take to achieve sustainable development.

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Camara Laye: an imagination attuned to the spiritual

Dr Abiola Irele writes a tribute to the Senegalese writer who died last January

SHORTLY AFTER the publication in 1954 of Camara Laye's autobiography, *L'Enfant Noir* (*The African Child*), a review signed by a certain Alexandre Biyidi appeared in the journal *Présence Africaine* in which Laye's work was attacked and its author taken to task for turning his attention away from the exactions committed by the French under the colonial system and escaping into a world of African innocence. To Biyidi (none other than Mongo Beti, writing under his real name and at that time, the very beginning of his career, as a novelist of the colonial situation), Laye's book appeared as a futile diversion from the necessary political and social role of the African writer in the historical context of colonialism.

Beti's reaction needs however to be considered in the light of the circumstances which attended the reception of Laye's book at the time of its appearance to be properly understood. For what appears to us today to be a surprising lapse of judgement in a fellow writer was in fact conditioned by the deliberate will of the French colonial administration to turn Laye's book into an instrument of official propaganda. Not only was the book immediately awarded a prize, Laye himself became the object of special consideration in official circles and was even given a special reception by the Governor-General of the former A.O.F. in Dakar. Presumably, the apparent ecstasies of the book and the total lack of mention in it of the realities of the colonial situation made it a comforting book to the French. It was at any rate the propaganda value which Laye's work had been made to assume in the circumstances that Beti's review was intended to question.

The irony was that, far from being an endorsement of colonial rule, with its specific French justification as a "civilising mission", Laye's book was in fact a form of denial of the assumptions and explicit ideological outgrowth of the French colonial enterprise. For against the idea of a primitive order of life in traditional African society by which the coloniser sought to justify his presence, Laye's autobiography presented an image of a coherence and dignity which went with social arrangements and human intercourse in the self-contained African universe of his childhood. Investing that image with a warmth that gave his book a special appeal as a literary work, Laye also gave it an ideological implication as an ardent defence of his African antecedents against European denigration. For if Laye's book cannot be construed as an explicit anticolonial statement, its whole meaning tended towards the same end, so that its position in the

development of a modern African expression gives it a historical value of the first importance from both a literary and ideological point of view.

It is primarily this feature of the work that accounts for what is now regarded as its excessive romanticism. In his book, *An Introduction to the African Novel*, Eustace Palmer, indulging despite himself in sociological criticism, sums up the current attitude to Laye's work in this observation:

"When we look at the actual details of Laye's society, we wonder whether idealisation has not taken over from reality" (p. 91).

The short answer to that is that Laye was not of course concerned with "reality" in the narrow sense of Palmer's statement. The relevant consideration here is that the literary as distinct from the documentary significance of the book is inseparable from the writer's point of view and deep purpose. For the whole bent of Laye's stylistic effort — even with its lapses, understandable in a first work — is specifically the evocation of a particular atmosphere with which his imagination has endowed the life and soci-

ety he experienced as a child. And it is through this evocation that we are able to participate with our emotions, rather than with our heads, in the quality of life he recreates. Laye's purpose in his autobiography is thus at the opposite pole to that of Maxim Gorky or Ezekiel Mphahlele, for example, whose explicit intention is to present the hard and even sordid conditions under which they did their apprenticeship of life.

It has often been remarked that the dominant feeling in *The African Child* is the pervasive nostalgia determined by its theme, but this element of Laye's autobiography has no real meaning unless taken in its close association with his sense of profound attachment to the world of his African childhood and to its values, a sense which the book evinces so distinctly and with such convincing charm. The human significance of the book resides in its record of the process of development of an individual personality within the living context of a social and cultural environment which defines ultimately a moral and spiritual universe.

It is in this respect that *The African Child* points to the matter and spirit of the two novels that follow. Laye's three imaginative works are in fact organised around his historical personality and express through this organisation his individual understanding of the world as conditioned by his early experience. His preoccupation with the possibilities of a deep spiritual experience which the African world seemed to him to offer constitutes the unifying point of view

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of all his work, which finds its supreme expression in *Le Regard du Roi* (*The Radiance of the King*).

As Wilfred Cartey has suggested (in his study, *Whispers from a continent*) Clarence, the white hero of this novel, can be taken as a reversed image of the African Child of the autobiography, the embodiment of Laye himself in his spiritual self at the end of the process it describes. The adventure of Clarence becomes in this light the return movement of Laye's alienated consciousness towards an original "realm of infancy" (*le royaume d'enfance*, to use Senghor's term for the poetic focus of the African's sense of cultural and spiritual rediscovery). The wider meaning of Laye's symbolic novel is of course clear — the journey motif immediately calls attention to the archetypal dimension of Clarence's adventure and experience. But if the significance of the novel at this level is large enough not to be missed, it remains clear that its theme is rigorously particularised, related directly to the historical situation in which Laye's imagination is operating. The allegorical reference is thus not to some abstract universal of human consciousness, but rooted in the historical and racial dialectic of the colonial relationship. In other words, the novel prolongs the theme of the autobiography and accomplishes in a symbolic register its implication: for Laye, it is as much a question of projecting a visionary ideal of African spirituality as making a statement upon man's eternal quest for fulfilment and illumination.

The impressive achievement of *The Radiance of the King* has raised two problems which it is necessary to consider for its proper appreciation. The first concerns the extent of Laye's indebtedness to Kafka in the novel. The mazes and labyrinths, the enigmatic characters and the atmosphere of moral oppressiveness that marks the human situations at many points in the novel can certainly be ascribed to the influence of Kafka. But to fasten upon these details is to disregard the important fact that the symbolic scheme of the novel and its very spirit owe nothing to Kafka, but issue directly out of an indigenous African tradition of symbolic narrative. It is enough here to compare the initiation tale, *Kaidara* presented by Hampate Ba and published by Editions Julliard in their "Classiques Africains" series (an initiation tale that comes from Laye's own Manding area of cultural expression), to realise that Laye's novel ought more properly to be considered a transposition, into a Western mode, of an imagination whose inspiration and modalities are truly African. In this respect, he can be compared to Amos Tutuola who, as far as I know, has never been thought to have derived his inspiration and essential elements of his material from any but an African source.

The other problem concerns the rumour that has been growing in scope and volume and tending to cast doubts on Laye's authorship of the novel, as indeed *The African Child*. This rumour has been given a new edge by Mongo Beti's report, in a recent number of his review *Peuples Noirs, Peuples d'Afrique*, of its having once been

publicly affirmed as a fact by Lilyan Kesteloot, the well-known critic of African literature. As with the affair of Sholokov's *Quiet Flows the Don*, the literary argument is based on the fact of a subsequent disappointing performance which is employed to cast doubts on an earlier achievement. In the case of Laye, the feebleness of *Dramovous* (*A dream of Africa*) is taken as an indication of his fundamental incapacity to produce a *tour de force* of the order and quality of *Radiance of the King*. The weakness of this argument lies in the well-proven fact that even the greatest writers have been known to produce work of indifferent quality in their "nodding moments". It was the same Conrad, for instance, who wrote masterpieces like *Nosferatu* and *The Secret Agent* who went on to write the feeble melodrama of *Chance*.

What is more, any sensitive reader ought to be able to discern the remarkable continuity of Laye's style in all his writing and which comes through in James Kirkup's splendid English translations: a style distinguished by its naive-like pattern of repetitions, as characteristic of Laye's manner as the delayed cadence in Mozart's music. A manner moreover that is immediately recognisable in Laye's *normal habit of speech*. As I was to discover in a two-hour discussion with him only three days before his death.

It is true that *A Dream of Africa* must be counted largely a failure, yet it is bound to the earlier works in the sense that it carries forward Laye's preoccupation into the post-colonial situation. Laye's imagination is clearly not a political one, of the order of Ngugi's, for example, in its immediate social and political reference, the last novel does not manifest an intelligence of the realities of contemporary Africa comprehensive enough to sustain a statement as compelling, in its own terms, as that of the preceding novel. Nonetheless, it represents an effort to situate the historical evolution of the continent in the perspective of the spiritual ideal elaborated in *Radiance of the King*. To that extent, it is the same imagination at work in both novels, an imagination attuned to the spiritual, and bent towards an exploration of the deep recesses of the human mind in its responses to the elemental, to the whole compass of human experience and possibility.

And it is especially in Laye's effort to derive a live sense of this dimension of human life and consciousness from his understanding of and feeling for the spiritual potential of our ancestral culture that, I believe, the value of his achievement will be seen to reside.

*The discussion took place on the night of February 1st in the novelist's modest residence in Dakar, and in the company of Younoussé Seye the Senegalese actress and artist and Olabisi Ya Dahomean scholar and lecturer at the University of Ife. Camara Laye talked mainly about his on-going research at IFAN into traditional literature, the first results of which he presented in his last book, *Le Maître de la Parole*, published last year by Plon. The book contains a translation into French of a version of the Sundiata epic as recited to Laye by a Manding *griot*, with an introduction and commentary by Laye himself. It is of interest to report that Laye also expressed his desire to write his next novel in the Manding language.

BOOKS and Publications

The importance of African music

African Rhythms and African Sensibility by John Miller Chernoff (University of Chicago Press, £12)

I OFTEN USED to meet John Chernoff in Ghana when we were both musicians there. I read the manuscript for this book in 1975 and am therefore very pleased to review it in its completed form.

The introduction opens with a quote from the German philosopher Nietzsche, who points out that the ancient Greeks not only gave us rational philosophy, but also ritual dramatic art. Only an understanding of both gives an understanding of their society.

This idea is linked by the author with the concept of studying other societies in general, other than one's own, by participant observation. This approach combines the analytical study of a society as an outsider looking in (be the classic experimental approach) with one where the researcher becomes an insider. This is the phenomenologic approach where the researcher swings from the objective and analytical to the subjective and personal.

Mr. Chernoff describes his own participation in two drumming cults from Ghana. There are the Yeve cult of the Ewes of south-east Ghana and the Takai dance of the Dagomba people of northern Ghana. He not only learnt the Ewe talking drums and the Dagomba pressure drum but also underwent the full initiation ceremonies associated with them. This gave him a deep insight into the music as he had to lay aside his analytical mind and enter into them with his whole spirit. The four chapters, that make up the bulk of the book, describe these insights he gained.

Chapter one is called "The study of African music" in which the author generalises on the different role of music in Europe and in Africa. European classical music tends to be isolated from the situation from which it is produced with the main concern being purely aesthetic. This music withstands the test of time and transcends the limitation of its particular historical and cultural location. African traditional music, on the other hand, is fully integrated into the various aspects of social, economic and political life (songs connected with work, rites of passage, protest, etc.) and is embedded in everyday life. Quite different from Europe where music is seen as an interlude or distraction.

Also in the West, musical enjoyment focuses on the greatness of the virtuoso and

the most the audience can do is clap at the end of the show. In Africa however, music is a group activity with little separation of performer and audience.

In the second chapter, "Music in Africa", some of the main differences in the music itself of Africa and Europe are discussed. He notes that in the West the creative part of the music is primarily based on tone; various tones together producing harmony, and separately producing melody. Rhythm is simply something secondary that the musician follows, as in following the conductor's baton. In African music the main emphasis is on the creative possibilities of poly-meter and cross-rhythm.

Another difference is that in European music the beat followed is the main beat (i.e., the first and third in 4/4 time and the first in 3/4 time). So a European marks a beat where there is a stress in the sound. In African music it is the off-beat that is important (i.e., the second and fourth in 4/4 time and the second and third in 3/4 time). So Africans mark the beat where the least sound is heard. In other words silences are as important as the accents. These silent main beats in African music are filled in by the listener who therefore is actively engaged in the music, not only by clapping and dancing, but also by a sort of mental dance. This hidden rhythm is what musicologists have called the "metronome sense".

So when an African hears music he hears at least two rhythms — the overt rhythm or rhythms of the various instruments and the subjective or hidden beat. So when a European listener is tied to the thump-thump of the main beat, the African listener is interested in the relationship of the various cross-rhythms to each other and to the totality. The author also points out that amongst the players themselves a similar process occurs, with the soloist rather than emphasising his own rhythm to the exclusion of the others, drawing attention to the various rhythms of the ensemble and dancers.

This chapter ends by discussing the talking drums, which follow the tonal direction of the language they talk. In this context he mentions that the Ewe drum can create 19 distinct sounds.

Whereas in the first two chapters, rather generalised and abstract models of African music are presented, the last two deal more

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with what that African musician actually thinks about his music, knowledge enhanced by Chernoff's studies as participant and musician. In these two chapters John includes lengthy quotes from the author's drumming masters.

In chapter three, "Style in Africa", Western musical time is described as being one-dimensional as there is a strict ordering of sound through time. African music, on the other hand, with its poly music and dance rhythms and subjective beat he calls multi-dimensional: it creates a dynamic tension between the various rhythms that comprise the total beat. And each total music/dance beat has its own specific name. So the concept of excellence in African music involves the ability to distinguish total beats and the ability to balance their various overt and hidden rhythms, including knowing when to change the emphasis of the beat from one of its inside rhythms to another.

Here Chernoff allows his Takai drumming master from Tamale, Ibrahim Abdulai, to speak. Ibrahim calls the detached ability to balance rhythms "Baalim" which means cool or gentle. Its opposite is "Yiri" or "by heart" which means an unnecessarily forceful and stylish drumming, without a sense of control. Baalim also implies an ability to cool the heart in order to identify or hear the hidden rhythm or "seed" of the music. Rather like the stillness at the heart of a tornado. Finally Ibrahim advises the author to play "with respect", that is with a sense of appropriateness and not in a self-centred

and flashy way. Music cools the heart and coolness involves group communication rather than concentrated attention, collectiveness of mind rather than self-abandonment. So the author had a lesson in spiritual wisdom — a fundamental aspect of learning the Takai drum.

Flexible rhythms

The last chapter is called "Values in Africa" and here music is treated as a microcosm, reflecting the more general features of African life. For a start the polyrhythms of African music reflects a flexible and pluralistic sensibility amongst Africans in contrast to the overspecialised one of westerners. There is the emphasis on the silence between the notes which encourages an active and creative response by the African listeners and dancers. Compare this to European dance music where the main beat is so emphatic that it leaves little room for the dancers to improvise. This mechanical situation may often lead to its extreme opposite — complete abandonment and frenzy. African music on the other hand encourages composure and poise.

The reciprocity found in African music between the various rhythms of the players, listeners and dancers is again a feature of social life in general — with interdependence rather than solitary specialisation being favoured.

The creative possibilities within African music also shows the ritualised behaviour does not necessarily preclude individualism

and spontaneity. In Europe social institutions and more have become so rigid that freedom has become associated with extremes of individualism and what would be called "by heart" behaviour in Africa. In traditional African life and music the contradictions between structure and freedom are resolved by a ritual that actually fosters creativity and spontaneity.

African music shows that the elder (master drummer) should be honoured, as creativity, beauty and freedom are seen as attributes of maturity and experience. In Europe it is precisely the opposite where childhood is seen as the period of unsocialised innocence and freedom, a reaction to the rigidity and overspecialisation of the adults.

Finally Chernoff mentions that African music is ultimately spiritual. A religious leader is a specialist in cooling down "hot" people with the help of music. Also particular gods are associated with particular music and dance-beats and persons possessed by them "ride" the rhythm of the particular god. Finally just as the African musicians create tapestry of sound around the silent beats and hidden rhythms, so the Supreme God whom we all revolve around, is the silent note of the universe. For God beats the note that is never sounded.

It is the spiritual wisdom and message of African music, that makes this book particularly important for anyone who is trying to understand modern Africa and the modern rootless world.

John Collins

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A dictionary of modern idioms

Longmans Dictionary of English Idioms (Longman, £5 50)

THIS IS a remarkable compilation covering more than 4,500 idioms, and possible variations on them, which are in more or less everyday use. Most of the examples of their use taken from newspapers and periodicals seem to have been picked out from a couple of months in the autumn of 1974: this compact time-span testifies to the currency of the idioms in question. Some of the books from which illustrative quotations are taken are rather older but they should all be available in any average book-shop and most of them in Penguin editions as used by the editors.

All of which demonstrate the editors' aim to select and record idioms in use in modern written and spoken English — examples are also taken from advertisements and from broadcasts. The meaning of each idiom is clearly explained and this is done generally in a limited vocabulary of some 2,000 words (themselves listed at the back of dictionary) which just occasionally leads to some infelicitous definitions. In some cases, too, the explanations of the origins of the phrases which are offered are unsatisfactory.

The book may initially seem a little formidable but in fact is very easy to use and if at first one is a bit put off at being so often

redirected to another entry this soon becomes easy and remarkably informative. Indeed, a little practice by oneself is probably a good idea before reading the introduction which explains the rules on which the Dictionary was compiled and the rules applicable to idioms and their analysis. As often happens with a game — and surely idioms are word-play — the rules are harder to explain than to use; not that the editors deserve other than praise for the formulation they offer.

The idioms listed run from "the A to Z of" to "from A to Z" (which has a reference back to A). As this appears to be a rather limited gamut take the next examples inwards at each end of the book and it then runs from "A1 (at Lloyds)" to "Up yours!", which carries the warning *impolite* meaning impolite slang. These two examples really do hint at the breadth of coverage. There are one or two phrases included which were distinctly startling at first blush, but as they are in everyday usage the dictionary is probably obliged to deal with them, even if it does have the kindness to add a courteous warning to non-English users of the dictionary — it does have foreign students and teachers of English very much in mind throughout the book.

It is also slightly surprising to find some well accustomed phrases described as old fashioned, perhaps that is why the idiom used above "at first blush", is not included, having been adjudged as too old-fashioned. But the last few days have surely delivered to the painstaking (page 245) editors something of a turn-up for the book

(page 351) by making now highly apposite and topical the phrase "I should Coco!" which was listed as rather old fashioned meaning "No! Certainly Not!". A footnote adds that this phrase is not recommended for use by foreign student. Hear, hear (page 157) but then you can't win them all (page 367).

P.S.

New booklet on international aid

The ABC of Aid and Development. (Overseas Development Administration, free).

ENTRIES from 'ACP countries' to 'Yaounde Conventions' — show the range covered by the 1980 edition of "The ABC of Aid and Development", issued by the Overseas Development Administration, London.

With three hundred and seven entries, this booklet offers an extensive guide to national and international terms and institutions concerned with overseas aid and development. Despite its compactness many entries contain extensive historical and organisational detail. For example, under the heading 'Lomé Convention' can be found a succinct description of the origin and nature of the comprehensive aid and trade agreement (successor to the Yaounde conventions) between the European Economic Community and countries in Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific (the ACP countries).

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As well as describing organisations, the 'ABC' also carries definitions of widely-used economic concepts such as 'counter-part funds', 'grant equivalent' and 'official development assistance'. A list of abbreviations is included.

D. E.

A strong, unsentimental and moving portrayal

Ba Ye Zwa... the people live by Judy Seidman (South East Press, \$4.50; distributed in Britain by Third World Publishers, £2.95)

IN RECENT MONTHS, the South African Prime Minister, Mr. P. F. Botha, has been attempting some cosmetic modifications of apartheid in recognition of the increasing pressure on the racist white minority from the potentially overwhelming millions of oppressed Africans. But Afrikaaner hardliners are feeling more threatened than ever before in the aftermath of Mr. Robert Mugabe's victory in Zimbabwe which has only served to reinforce the "final laager" idea. The *verkrampste* faction has therefore been opposing fiercely even these small bits of makeup on apartheid's ugly face.

Judy Seidman has assembled newspaper stories and advertisements, cafe signs, poems by herself, Dennis Brutus and Oswald Mbuyischi Mtshali, and appen-

dices of historical chronology, demographic data, and figures of US investment, to give a picture of daily life under apartheid. The whole is usually placed starkly on the pages surrounded by empty whiteness, and on most facing pages, there are her excellent drawings, mostly in charcoal. The overall effect is heightened by the simplicity of presentation. There is relatively little commentary by the author on the facets of daily life seen, and this goes to show very economically that beyond the minor contradictions of the white rulers, the daily hell of South Africa's oppressed cannot be "improved".

The hell is made by the whites for the blacks and for themselves. Consider this comment by Judy Seidman: "White South Africa is nervous. Those who can, consider leaving. Those who must stay, buy guns. Following the 1976 riots, gun sales (restricted to whites only) became phenomenal. At the University of Zululand, white staff members bought for their own use \$17,250 worth of guns. Newspapers report that one can no longer safely get into an argument at a traffic light — if the other guy is white he is likely to start shooting. Women's pages in white newspapers carry articles on a new design of bra made to carry a pistol while maintaining sex appeal." This uplift to white confidence can only sag in the future.

Basil Davidson is quoted on the back of the book expressing admiration and respect for Judy Seidman's "strong and unsentimental and therefore moving portrayal of

the human truths of South Africa today". The book does serve as a memorable introduction to what life is like under apartheid. And Judy Seidman's drawings really are memorable.

P. F.

The Golden Fleece

*Ohuola, when you left
A golden fleece you promised
Scores of laurels to capture
And bring wealth of knowledge
To improve my lot and my offspring!
Lotty ideas to make my ancestors smile
And dreams of rescue from foreign yoke.
But never did you allude to
The new tongue - pidgin Yoruba
Nor this hand stretching
Instead of prostrating
You deride my ignorance
And sneer at my filth
The filth that nurtured your bath.
I should not shy away, you say
From this rope around your neck
Well, did you trade in your huhu
For honours devoid of wisdom?
The gourd is broken now
My Ohuola is no more.
From the pact you are freed
These laurels you may return
An orishé-ooké is no good
To me and my children
Nor is he to my ancestors.*

Olu Sanya Adeyemi-Doto

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LETTERS to the Editor

Has Africa a future?

SIR: I found it most interesting reading what Chinua Achebe had to say about why Afro-European dialogue fails, until I came to the last paragraph, in which he concludes: "... until Europe is ready... to concede total African humanity. 'We are the white man's rubbish', says an Athol Fugard character, "... his rubbish is people'. When that changes, dialogue will have a chance to begin" (*West Africa*, February 25). What was most striking was the impression created by Mr. Achebe that the responsibility for this change rests wholly with the white man, and that he will have to make this choice without being forced to. Although I know very well that the white man is not ready to start any dialogue with the black man, I believe that, if this most desired change is to take place, Africans have to bring it about.

One of the reasons I decided to come to Europe was to find out why the white man looked on us the way he does. I have, in the course of my stay here, discovered that we Africans brought this about, and are still in the process of making the "African image" permanent. Until we reverse this tendency, the white man will not have any cause to have a meaningful dialogue with us and be prepared to treat us as anything other than subhuman.

Before the Second World War, the white man never at any time thought that there were any other humans, apart from his own kind, anywhere with whom he could engage in any form of dialogue or partnership. To him the world was "human" where "civilisation", "education", "technology", political maturity, the will to survive, etc., were to be found. That is why the Chinese, the Japanese, the Africans, etc., were all subhumans, even beasts. It shouldn't be surprising that the Japanese, in particular, are now accorded all respects, partnership, humanity and "dialogue-worthiness" in all white circles. The Japanese made up their minds, not waiting for the whites to come to them, to strive for all that goes to make a beast, or savage, human, but at the same time preserving their culture and realising its importance in keeping their Japanese — their identity as a human group. Unfortunately, this sort of evolution has not taken place in Africa after over 20 years of independence.

It is true that the white man has tried for over 400 years to dehumanise us. And there is no indication that he is going to back away from this cherished pursuit. But have we as Africans, humans, tried to prove to him in any way that we are humans so that he will be forced to see us as humans? I am afraid the answer is no.

The African sold his brother to someone he never knew. He didn't even stop to think where the man (or was he also a beast to him?) he sold was being taken, or what might happen to him. Should we blame someone who bought an animal (because that is what we were to the slave buyers) to work for him for 40 years just for a mirror? With great shame we all know that it was not the African, but the same white man who had to make us realise that what we were doing to our kind was subhuman. The white man told us that our culture was savagelike. Without a word (beasts are dumb), we accepted his categorising us as such and readily accepted his "civilisation" in order to shade our African nature and in our turn, termed those Africans likewise, who did not

become European. By so doing we went to such an extent that we are now neither Africans nor Europeans — a people without a base, with no reference, no place — trying to become white — a futile endeavour.

What Mr. Achebe or Mohammed or myself do counts very little in influencing the thinking of the white man about the African. The collective body of those who hold the reins of power, the diplomats, the businessmen, the Africans on the streets of Europe and America struggling to remain there — these are the people who are the yardstick with which the African mentality and humanity are measured, the so-called leaders, the so-called keepers of the African, the African who feels that Africa is not the place for him, the African who sells his land and people. The ability of the African, his worth, his humanity is measured not by what goes in but by what comes out of Africa. Now, tell me: when the African continues falling at the feet of the white man begging for food, aid and support to stay in power; asking Paris, Washington, Moscow, etc., to tell him what to do, taking sides with Europeans against fellow Africans for small benefits (in other words still selling his own kind), telling the white man directly or indirectly that he does not trust his fellow man and cannot work with him, that the black man is not capable, when we are not yet sure of ourselves, how then can we expect partnership?

One has to bear in mind that the attitude of the white man towards the African is not just that we are simply black, however our being black makes it more so — the Japanese were termed yellow, it is because we have not woken up. The white man will always strive to maintain his "superiority" and will continue to do everything possible to keep us where we are supposed to be as long as he can and is allowed to. And if we are hoping that the white man's curiosity will make him listen to us (he is curious to show our "savagery"); if we think that the white man will cease to think of us as anything other than rubbish without our own total and determined effort and will to show the world that we as Africans have a culture, values, taste, purpose and capability, Africa indeed has no future.

Partnership goes hand-in-hand with equality. Equality cannot be bestowed onto a would-be partner. He has to show that he is equal. He has to demonstrate his equality. Then and only then can he attain partnership. And partnership — we must attain.

Hannover, W. Germany

E. K. DZUNGWE KYOIKAA

Rawlings and tribalism

SIR: I wonder whether Mr. Kofi Owusu (*West Africa*, March 3) understood what he read in the *Guardian* of February 15, 1980. No open-minded reader of what he saw in that paper can be led to the conclusion that Flight-Lt. Rawlings was engaging in tribal politics, the kind of thing one would associate with the late Dr. Busia and his present-day followers. It is true that there has been a vicious campaign against Ewes by certain people who apparently have some axe to grind. All that Rawlings did was to expose it, and warn his compatriots about the dangers of such activities to the peace, stability and unity of Ghana. Secondly, I do not see how by calling attention to that vicious campaign, Rawlings can be said to be preparing a base for himself among the Ewes for political activities of some sort.

These illogicalities apart, I see no reason why Rawlings should not create a base for himself among the Ewes if he wants to be a politician. Can Mr. Owusu tell me of any Ghanaian politician apart from Nkrumah who did not start politics from a firm home base? Mr. Owusu implies that if the Ewes are wise they will reject

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Rawlings. What nonsense! Of course the Ewes are wise, but the average Ewe is also a radical in politics, and Rawlings signifies radicalism. However, I do not believe that Rawlings needs tribal support as a springboard to national politics. He enjoys nationwide popularity, and if he wants to enter politics he can find a base anywhere.

I do not agree with Mr. Owusu that soldiers, whether retired or not, should get off Ghana's back. Mr. Owusu has a very short memory. It is not only soldiers who have brought confusion and misery to Ghana. Civilians have done probably worse. The Nkrumah and Busia days were not days of glory for ordinary working Ghanaians. They were days of large-scale robbery by civilian politicians. It was they, the CPP and PP politicians who set the corruption record which Acheampong and his gang attempted to excel. It is therefore absolutely wrong for anybody to deduce from our present plight that on no account whatsoever should the military intervene in politics.

Can Mr. Owusu say today that it was wrong to topple Nkrumah in 1966? Can he say that it was wrong to overthrow Busia's corrupt, inept, and tribalist administration? No! Did he watch the mood of Ghanaians on both occasions? Can he say Ghanaians were fools because they rejoiced on those two occasions? No! Let us face facts; it may be necessary from time to time for the soldiers to step in to clear the mess.

One reason normally given by people who are against military intervention is that it destroys the country's stability, and inhibits foreign investment. This is false consciousness. In the best and calmest of times, we do not attract foreign investment; stability can be a cloak protecting corruption. Corrupt politicians may be induced by the calm to believe that nothing drastic will ever happen to destabilise the constitution, and expose their misdoings, so they

may feel free to dissipate our resources.

Following the conservative estimates of Professor Jean Ziegler in a recent book, it appears that between 1970 and 1978 our politicians diverted into their Swiss bank accounts two-thirds of all the aid we received. In addition, they diverted into the same accounts monies from national sources which he estimated to be five times all the aid we received. Professor Ziegler, himself a Swiss MP and a prominent researcher into Swiss banking methods, deserves credibility. Now, this is the amount of robbery which stability is intended to conceal and protect, and this is why politicians preach stability from the roof-tops.

In the circumstances therefore, if the democratic process fails to topple a corrupt government, somebody, for God's sake, ought to take the risk. There ought not to be stability at all costs. Should corruption return, the majority of Ghanaians will again give a hero's welcome to the soldiers.

The Limann government, unfortunately, is seemingly dogged by a terrible death wish. I believe that he who destroys freedom destroys himself. By appointing a supervising editor for the *Daily Graphic*, contrary to the constitution, they are trying at this early hour to muzzle the freedom of the press. If they were intelligent persons they should know that by closing the open market for information, they are encouraging the opening of a quagmire for speculation, prevarication, and rumours; a filthy quagmire in which they, the government will sink. Let the hungry Ghanaians at least express themselves freely, read the truth about their plight, and see what hope they can glean from current developments. They made serious misrepresentations about the Nigerian aid, not only doubling its value, but also claiming that they had paid for it. Party bosses are said to be allotted the lion's share of import licences. Have

they not yet learnt that the marriage of politics and business breeds corruption? Ghanaians who are honest, competent and open government. If they are denied this package, they will be right to rejoice again when the soldiers gate-crash the party and rudely bring it to an end.

Bristol

DR. SETH C. K. AGODZ

Reason for fierce attack

SIR: My initial reaction after reading Martin Dent's first letter on Gowon was that his action was likely to jeopardise his cause. His second letter (*West Africa*, February 25) has not changed my opinion. The point of my letter is not to question the need for an urgent appraisal of the "case" of Gowon — which I feel in the interest of justice no one will — but to express concern at the revelations Mr Dent was able to make in his second letter.

The fact that a foreigner — no matter what compassion he helped in our exploitation — can still have access to highly confidential information, even to the discussions of the Supreme Military Council, which is not normally available to ordinary Nigerians is to say the least very disturbing, and when such a privilege is held by an "outsider" or should I call him, "insider", based on his knowledge and intimacy in public discourse, I feel it is rubbing acid to injury. This attitude in my view, is what has provoked fierce attack on Martin Dent and not his subject matter.

My sincere desire is that when this issue is finally discussed at the relevant quarters it will be without the emotions aroused by events in the post-Gowon era that tend to blur the significance of his having been at the helm at a crucial time in our history. I am sure a lot of people will remember when the slogan "To keep Nigeria is a task that must be done" was an answer to a real threat of disintegration of the country.

London

B. GYAN



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ECONOMIC and Business NEWS

Approach to science

from a correspondent

AS AFRICA went into the Third United Nations Development Decade last month's meeting in Addis Ababa of the Intergovernmental Committee of Experts for Science and Technological Development provided an opportunity to reflect upon African issues and to delineate an explicit Africa strategy for the 1980s.

Dr Adebajo Adebajo, Executive Secretary of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), told the delegates that while the UN Conference on Science and Technology for Development in Vienna last August had represented another attempt by the United Nations to bring together the nations of the world to debate issues of science and technology, it did not go far enough towards redressing the imbalance in the scientific and technological relations between the advanced countries and the Third World.

He said the developed countries had yet to subscribe positively to the need for changing the old international economic order which dictated in large measure the manner in which science and technology was transferred to the Third World, and also the consequences of those technological transactions.

He reminded the meeting, however, that the old order and its technological dimensions would not be changed solely by the actions of the industrialised world. The anticipated change would have to be achieved through "the aggressive accumulation and wielding of technological power by the Third World".

Among some of the urgent things that had to be done to bring about the desired change was the training of scientific and technological manpower. "The curricula and approach to skill acquisition whether through formal or informal education", he said, "has to emphasise the importance of education for innovation rather than imitation".

There was need to introduce programmes to develop local technical entrepreneurship and, following the example of countries like Japan, China and others, there was much to be gained from establishing the engineering equivalents of the "teaching hospital", where experienced practitioners, researchers and students intermingled and exchanged ideas to bring about changes in real situations.

Dr Adebajo stressed the importance of women in the unfolding programmes for science and technology in Africa and the Third World. Everything had to be done, he said, to introduce measures "to train and encourage more women in careers in science and technology". When the role of women in traditional African life was taken into account, consideration had to be given to innovations to minimise the drudgery in the chores performed by women.

Developing low-cost technologies would help greatly in improving the quality of life of the 80 per cent of the people who lived in the rural areas, and among such technologies are those dealing with solar energy, bio-mass and harnessing wind power.

Governments had to take the necessary measures to find the money to fund science and technology activities. Some of the methods Dr Adebajo suggested through which funds could be raised were in taxes on specific imports, requiring major investors to devote part of their expenditures on training of technical personnel, or in subsidising a research fund, and in imposing special taxes on food imports to be directed to promoting development.

➤ Inadequate allocation of resources to science and technology could keep development in Africa far below the critical level for a long time to come, and this had to be avoided.

The Executive Secretary went on: "The acquisition of the technological capability we are advocating will, above all, depend on the level of investment and priority our governments are prepared to accord to the development of this very crucial factor."

"The current awareness of the importance of science and technology to development will remain illusory without considerable increased investment on manpower and institutional development which will enable our countries to play a more respected role in the world of technology".

The action programme that would be finally evolved would show the way towards mobilising science and technology for the effective development of the Africa region, having due regard to the economic, social, cultural, physical and environmental conditions of these countries.

Cocoa's collapse

The International Cocoa Agreement died last week (*writes a correspondent*), because the producers and the consumers could not reach agreement on the floor price for the operations of the buffer stock. However, the manner of the Agreement's ending suggests that that is not a full explanation, though money has been the major stumbling block during the past year of negotiations for a new Agreement.

The producing side had gradually hardened its position until there was no hope of making any progress at any floor below 120 cents (US) a lb. The consuming side, which has been pretty disunited, finally moved towards this level and came to the final talks with an offer to discuss a floor price somewhere between 110 and 120 cents, the precise level depending on negotiation of certain other points in the Agreement. Having been brought this far there is little doubt that they could have been talked into accepting the 120 cents price, had there been any real desire to negotiate on behalf of the producing side. It is worth noting that at the last session of talks in London, Ghana, which is as experienced as anyone in the cocoa business, urged this position. But the producers' side stuck to a demand for a firm consumer commitment to 120 cents before discussing anything else. Their blunt case was put in language that shocked many of the delegates — and indeed may have been deliberately intended so. There is no doubt that the atmosphere at the final talks, which were extended beyond their original schedule in an endeavour to reach some accord, was uncomfortable to a degree never before experienced in the many meetings of the International Cocoa Organisation. (The most charitable suggestion is that most participants were unused to the *macho* ideals which seem so important in South America and perhaps misunderstood the style of expression adopted by messrs Pinto and Rio Branco of Brazil who expressed themselves forcefully and personally.)

In the circumstances it may have been the ill-feeling aroused which prevented the consuming side from accepting the proposal put forward by the International Cocoa Organisation's Secretariat (*West Africa*, March 24) and apparently agreed at the recent summit meeting in Yamoussoukro of the Cocoa Producers' Alliance, to continue the 1975 Agreement without its economic clauses.

This would have maintained the ICCO in being whilst allowing the producers to receive back the funds, of some \$220m, which have been built up over the years to support the operations of buffer stock — to many people it seemed as if this was the main object of the majority of producers. Now the producers will get their money,

about 40 per cent in June and the rest as money on longer term deposit with various banks becomes available over the next year: Ghana will receive the most (not surprisingly) at about 28 per cent of the total, the Ivory Coast and Brazil will be about 21 per cent each, Nigeria about 18 per cent, Cameroon about 9 per cent which accounts for most of the fund. Whether the money will go into a fund organised by the Cocoa Producers' Alliance to support the market price of cocoa, as has been suggested, is a very uncertain matter.

What is more sure is that the CPA is going to find managing the marketing of cocoa at a favourable level a lot harder than it might seem at first blush particularly without, for example, the ICO certificates which have enabled some firms to apply to smuggling. Without this sort of policing it is going to be harder to prevent low cost producers from selling at marginal prices especially, when market prices are likely to be weak because of a combination of inflation lowering demand in the industrialised countries who are the principal ultimate market for cocoa and a surplus of cocoa overhanging the market — with most of the overhanging coming from the plantations of the more modern and expensive producers. At the end of March the Ivory Coast was estimated to have brought about 305,000 tonnes of cocoa (compared with about 276,000 at the same time last year) and sold about 130,000 tonnes excluding allocations to local industry. Unfortunately local industry in the producing countries is not yet a very important customer for cocoa beans and it may be that the demise of the International Cocoa Organisation, with its various discussion bodies and its information services, will hinder these nascent industries.

Lomé II talks

Ministers from 68 nations will meet in Nairobi on May 8-9 to discuss European Common Market aid to African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) nations under the Lomé trade and aid pact, which was renewed in March.

The ACP countries want to discuss the application of the old Lomé Convention, transitional measures to cover the period until the new one is formally ratified, and the creation of an Agricultural Co-operation Centre.

Uranium deal

South Korea's state-run Korea Electric Company (KECO) will jointly mine uranium with Cogenia of France in the Lurderville region of Gabon, a KECO spokesman said in Seoul.

KECO will hold 41 per cent of the shares in the venture and will have priority when uranium is sold to a third country, the spokesman said. Gabon and Cogenia will hold 10 per cent and 43 per cent of the shares respectively.

Fewer HPS groundnuts

In their latest report on the edible nut Menkal Gill & Duffus forecast that Senegal's exports of Hand Picked Selected groundnuts is unlikely to be much more than 3,000 tonnes, out of a total crop of about 55,000 tonnes. (Some observers feel that these estimates may still be rather high). Gill & Duffus observe that the reorganisation of Senegal's ONCAD — Office Nationale pour la Co-operation et Aide au Développement (*West Africa*, March 10) should greatly improve the marketing of groundnuts, saying that it is expected that in future buying and exporting of groundnuts will be in the hands of commercial companies, either government or (at least partially) privately owned.

The Gill & Duffus estimate of the Gambia's 1979/80 crop has been reduced to 80,000 tonnes, with about 1,000 tonnes of HPS probably being offered this month on a market which is likely to hold its prices for a while as it seems uncertain whether supplies over the next six months will match demand.

ECGD first for Benin

The Export Credits Guarantee Department has guaranteed the repayment and funding of a \$55m project line of credit which Standard Chartered Merchant Bank Limited, acting on its own behalf and for Standard Chartered Bank Limited, has made available to the Societe Suciére de Save SA (SSS), of Benin.

The loan will enable SSS to place contracts in the UK for the supply of goods and services for a complete sugar factory to be erected at Save capable of processing 3,750 tonnes of sugar cane per day together with refinery and cube production plant.

The project is a joint venture between Benin and Nigeria who have established SSS to implement the sugar factory. The total value of the project is \$193m and the non-UK finance is being provided by Belgian and French consortia of banks.

This is the first ECGD-backed line of credit for Benin.

Angola-Spain fish deal

Spain and Angola have agreed to set up a joint commission to work out a bilateral agreement on fisheries. It will cover conditions under which Spanish trawlers would be allowed to operate in Angolan waters, as well as Spain's aid in training Angolan fishermen and improving their facilities.

Spain has also opened a \$15m credit line to Angola to buy Spanish goods, mainly industrial spare parts.

● The Arab Development Bank is to lend Angola \$10m. to improve the Benguela Railway.

● The European Common Market has announced a \$264,000 emergency aid grant and an additional \$435,000 in food aid for war-stricken people in Angola.

An EEC spokesman said there were about 300,000 refugees and displaced persons needing food and living in difficult sanitary conditions in central Angola following recent fighting between government troops and guerrillas. The grant is part of a \$2m. aid programme of the International Red Cross Committee, the spokesman said.

Retiring from UAC

Mr. J. E. Sunderland retired from the board of UAC International on March 31. A member of the company since 1959, Ted Sunderland started his career as motor sales manager in Tanzania and, after a period with Motors in Uganda, returned to become Chairman of UAC Tanzania.

He later spent three years in Appa as General Manager of Niger Motors and FMI before returning to London to become managing director of UAC Motors Division and was appointed to the board of UAC International in 1977 with special responsibility for UAC Motors Division and Unamec Division.

Railway specialists

Hawker Siddeley Group has formed two companies in the rail-

way engineering field — Hawker Siddeley Rail and Hawker Siddeley Rail Projects. Hawker Siddeley Rail, will be the policy-making unit co-ordinating all the activities of Hawker Siddeley companies involved in railway engineering.

Hawker Siddeley Rail Projects, will undertake composite railway projects, including appropriate financial arrangements. It will carry out overall project management, including studies, tendering, design, sub-contracting, site installation and commissioning for new main line and mass transit railways and for re-equipping of existing systems.

Hawker Siddeley Rail Projects is fully supported by the companies in the Group already in railway oriented markets. The new company may obtain equipment or services from these and other companies both within and outside the Group, as may be appropriate.

Brazil approves alcohol cars

The Brazilian Government has authorised the sale of cars driven by pure alcohol to private citizens.

The Industry Minister Camilo Penna said that Brazil produced 732m gallons of alcohol distilled from sugar cane last year and that 330,000 cars would be running solely on this fuel by the end of this year.

Until now only official vehicles, and a few hundred taxis, have relied entirely on alcohol although all petrol stations in the country pump out a mixture of alcohol and petrol fuel.

IM(N)L expanding local services

International Messengers (Nigeria) Ltd — IM(N)L — has appointed Mr. George Hillier to the new position of Sales and Development Manager for Northern Nigeria, based at the company's air cargo and air courier office at Afrijet House, Sarkin-Yadi Road, Kano.

Mr. Hillier, will be working alongside IM(N)L's Kano manager 35-year-old Mr. Senumo Asani, to improve worldwide business communications for companies throughout Northern Nigeria.

Mr. Asani said: "We already provide a daily air courier service whereby urgent documents and

business materials can be delivered almost anywhere in the world within 24 hours. We wish to expand because we are keen to provide our existing customers with a better service by opening offices wherever businessmen have a need to communicate quickly with the outside world."

IM(N)L already operates from offices in downtown Lagos (Ikoyi), Murtala, Muhammed Airport, Kano, Port Harcourt and Kaduna, with more offices or representative agencies planned which will make it an important internal courier as well as being Nigeria's leading external air courier.

Mr. Penna said alcohol production would amount to 2,400m gallons by 1985 which should mean \$3,000m. saving in oil imports.

Diesel facility

A project to set up re-manufacturing diesel engine plant for West Africa will be forward by Perkins Engines during the Agricultural Engineers Association trade mission to Nigeria next month.

Perkins Engines Area Manager West Africa, Mr. J. Windsor, hopes to make a presentation on the project, still at the exploratory stage, at a meeting of ECOWA (Economic Community of West African States) Ministers during the course of the mission.

He explains: "We believe there are a lot of diesel engines in the region but that there is no servicing capability available to make maximum use of them. When an engine breaks down, it is repaired as well as possible before long a new engine has to be bought.

"If a remanufacturing plant is established, it would be possible to refurbish the engine so that it can have a longer useful life," he adds.

Perkins Engines, the company, are specified as engine equipment by more than 600 of the world's leading manufacturers of vehicles, agricultural machinery, construction machinery, industrial equipment and marine craft.

Renault reshuffle

The French motor firm Renault is reported to have established a new outlet, Renault Vehicules Industriels, to take over from old Berliet and Saviem networks in Africa, most of whose activities local assembly of French parts.

In Senegal, Renault has invested a further \$1m. to boost production at the Berliet-Senegal plant in Dakar from 500 to 750 vehicles annually. The Senegal Government has a 30 per cent stake in the plant, which employs 120 people. The new investment is expected to provide another 50 jobs.

Peugeot airlift ends

The daily airlift of parts for Peugeot cars and other industrial equipment from Lyons in central France, to Kaduna in Northern Nigeria has ended after four years.

Peugeot components and spare parts for the assembly plant at Kaduna are now being shipped by sea to Marseilles in Lagos and from there to Kaduna by rail.

The Peugeot plant, assembling an average of 200 Peugeot 504's a day, hopes to boost production to 240 and in 1979 to reach a daily target of 300. ICI exports to Nigeria from the United Kingdom were worth £23m. out of £112m. to all Africa (and £1.254m. world-wide) in 1979.



SHIPPING News

BARRIER LINES

EASTBOUND — TEXAS slg Monrovia Apr. 8, then Apapa, Douala, Tema and Abidjan TAMPA due Tenefé Apr. 11 then Dakar, Freetown, Monrovia, Abidjan, Tema, Apapa and Douala.
WESTBOUND — TEXAS due Ibad/W African ports as above Apr. 17-23, for Norfolk, Baltimore, Philadelphia and New York. TAMPA loading W Africa ports as above May 4-14, for Norfolk, Baltimore, Philadelphia and New York.

BLACK STAR LINES

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

E.A.C. LINES

SOUTHBOUND — BORINGIA Oslo Mar. 31, Copenhagen Apr. 5, Aarhus Apr. 10, Hamburg Apr. 12, Bremerhaven Apr. 15, Rotterdam Apr. 13, Antwerp/Zeebrugge Apr. 14, Rouen/La Havre Apr. 15, Tenefé Apr. 18, Dakar Apr. 20, Freetown Apr. 21, Monrovia Apr. 22, Abidjan May 1, Tema May 26 (with transhipment), Lome May (with transhipment), Lagos/Apapa May Apr. 25, Douala Apr. 29.
NORTHBOUND — FIONIA Port Harcourt Apr. 7, Lagos/Apapa Apr. 10, Cotonou Apr. 8, Lome Apr. 11, Tema Apr. 12, Abidjan Apr. 13, Monrovia Apr. 16, Dakar Apr. 18, Tenefé Apr. 20, Amsterdam Apr. 23, Antwerp Apr. 23, Bremen May 8, Hamburg Apr. 25, Aarhus Apr. 28, Copenhagen May 3, Oslo/Mow May 5, Le Havre May 11.

ELDER DEMIPSTER LINES

SOUTHBOUND — DUMBAIA due Matadi Apr. 8 SOKOTO slg Gilagow Apr. 12.
NORTHBOUND — SHERBRO due Liverpool Apr. 7 SHONGA slg Apapa Apr. 10.
EASTBOUND — BLUE AKEISHI due Apapa Apr. 9.

FARRELL LINES

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

K LINE

WESTBOUND — IBERIA MARU from Japan, via Hong Kong and Singapore to Abidjan, Lome, Apapa/Lagos, Port Harcourt, Douala, Matadi, slg Japan Apr. 3 due Apapa/Lagos May 10.

MEDAFRICA/GOLDEN EAGLE

NIGERIA LINE
EUROPE/WA — FORUM SKY Hamburg Mar. 26-27, Tromsheim Apr. 2, Christiansand Apr. 4-5, Antwerp Apr. 7-8, Lagos Apr. 25-30, Port Harcourt May 1-5.
MEDITERRANEAN/WA — GOOD

TRADER Manilles Mar. 7, Manna Carrara Mar. 12, Livorno Mar. 16, Barcelona Mar. 18, Valencia Mar. 20, Lagos Apr. 1, Port Harcourt Apr. 6, Wars Apr. 13.
USA/WA — MANTHOS Lagos Mar. 27-Apr. 2, Luanda Apr. 5-8, Abidjan Apr. 12-14.
FAR EAST/WA — Lagos Apr. 28-29, Port Harcourt Apr. 30-May 4.

MIITSUI O.S.K. LINE

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

NIGERIAN NATIONAL SHIPPING LINE

SOUTHBOUND — RIVER OGUN Lnerpool Apr. 11, Dakar Apr. 19, Banjul Apr. 20, Monrovia Apr. 25, Abidjan Apr. 28, Takoradi May 1, Cotonou May 5, Matadi May 10, RIVER ANDONI Hamburg Mar. 27, Rouen Apr. 1, Apapa Apr. 12.
NORTHBOUND — RIVER NIGER Apapa Mar. 23, Wars Apr. 3, London Apr. 14.

OT AFRICA LINE AB

SOUTHBOUND — VALLMO Felixstowe rec'g from Mar. 31, slg Apr. 8, Birmingham and Manchester (via Felixstowe) rec'g from Mar. 31, slg Apr. 8, Zeebrugge rec'g from Mar. 31, slg Apr. 9, Wallihan (via Zeebrugge) rec'g from Mar. 31, slg Apr. 9, Grangemouth rec'g from Mar. 31, slg Apr. 9, Rotterdam rec'g from Mar. 31, slg Apr. 9, Le Havre rec'g from Mar. 31, slg Apr. 10, for Lagos/Apapa, Tema, Abidjan, Dakar and Monrovia.

PALM LINE

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

S.C.A.D.A.

SOUTHBOUND — NAVIRE A DESINGER Dunkirk Apr. 5, Rouen Apr. 9, Le Havre Apr. 12, Bordeaux Apr. 17, Cotonou Apr. 28, Apapa Apr. 29.
NORTHBOUND — VILLE DE BORDEAUX Apr. 7, Abidjan Apr. 9, Dakar Apr. 13, Le Havre Apr. 26, Dunkirk Apr. 29.

SCANDINAVIA WEST AFRICA LINE

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

UNITED KINGDOM WEST AFRICA LINES

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

WESTWIND AFRICA LINE

EASTBOUND — JOHN C Houston ETA Mar. 20, ETS Mar. 22, Abidjan ETA Apr. 6, Lagos ETA Apr. 10, SOPH C Houston ETA Mar. 25, ETS Mar. 27, Abidjan ETA Apr. 11, Lagos ETA Apr. 15.

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Qualifications: (Name of institution attended, degree or diploma obtained and dates). **Experience:** Posts held, duration and salaries earned. **References:** Name and addresses of three referees two of whom must be in a position to supply academic/professional references.

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In the issue of West Africa January 28, 1980 under an advertisement for non-Academic Staff Vacancies the salary grading for the positions of PRINCIPAL ENGINEER and SENIOR ARCHITECT was incorrectly published as grade level 14 (N9,168 — N10,128).

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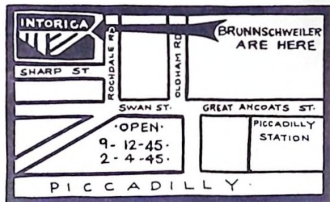
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(6) Students who previously applied before this adver-
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TABLE 5
LAGOS/PORT HARCOURT/ENUGU/CALABAR/DOUALA VV
ECONOMY CLASS ONLY

F28					F27					AIRCRAFT TYPE					F28					F27				
WED	DAILY EXC WED	DAILY	DAILY	DAILY	WED	DAILY EXC WED	DAILY	DAILY	DAILY	FREQUENCY					WED	DAILY EXC WED	DAILY	DAILY	DAILY	WED	DAILY EXC WED	DAILY	DAILY	DAILY
WT952	WT151	WT153	WT611	WT613	FLIGHT NUMBER					WT953	WT152	WT154	WT612	WT614										
0800	0800	1530	—	—	d	LAGOS	a	1300	1030	1845	—	—	—	—										
—	—	—	0825	1135	a	PORT HARCOURT	d	—	—	1750	—	—	—	—										
—	—	—	0855	—	a	PORT HARCOURT	a	—	—	1725	1110	1420	—	—										
—	—	—	0920	—	a	ENUGU	d	—	—	—	—	1350	—	—										
0900	0900	1630	1005	1215	a	ENUGU	a	1200	0930	1655	1030	1325	—	—										
0930	—	—	—	—	a	CALABAR	d	1130	—	—	—	—	—	—										
1000	—	—	—	—	a	CALABAR	a	1100	—	—	—	—	—	—										
—	—	—	—	—	a	DOUALA	d	—	—	—	—	—	—	—										

DOMESTIC TIMETABLE EFFECTIVE 1st APRIL, 1980
TABLE 6
LAGOS/KADUNA/KANO/MAIDUGURI/NAIMEY V V
ECONOMY CLASS ONLY

B737					B707					F28					AIRCRAFT TYPE					B737					F28					B707					F28				
DAILY	DAILY	DAILY	DAILY	DAILY	DAILY	DAILY	DAILY	DAILY	DAILY	MON	FREQUENCY					DAILY	DAILY	DAILY	DAILY	DAILY	FRI DAILY	DAILY	DAILY	DAILY	DAILY	DAILY	DAILY	DAILY	DAILY	DAILY	DAILY	DAILY	DAILY	DAILY					
WT30	WT30	WT30	WT30	WT30	WT30	WT30	WT30	WT30	WT30	WT30	FLIGHT NUMBER					WT302	WT304	WT302	WT304	WT306	WT316	WT316	WT312	WT312	WT314	WT314	WT314	WT314	WT314	WT314	WT314	WT314	WT314						
0730	1030	1230	1710	1820	0730	1500	1730	1915	1000	a	LAGOS	a	1010	0335	1310	1810	1950	2220	1310	1820	2050	1000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—					
0935	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	a	JOS	d	0905	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—					
—	1135	1315	1815	1925	—	—	—	—	—	a	KADUNA	d	0730	1205	1405	1845	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—					
—	—	—	—	—	0850	1620	1850	2035	1120	a	KANO	d	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—					
—	—	—	—	—	0530	—	—	—	1220	a	KANO	d	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—				
—	—	—	—	—	1070	—	—	—	1330	a	MAIDUGURI	d	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—				
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	a	NAIMEY	d	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—			

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TABLE 7
LAGOS/ENUGU/KADUNA/JOS/KANO/MAIDUGURI/YOLA/SOKOTO VV
ECONOMY CLASS ONLY

F28					AIRCRAFT TYPE					F28					F28				
DAILY	DAILY EX SAT	MON THU	TUE FRI	WED SUN	FREQUENCY					DAILY	MON THU	TUE FRI	WED SUN	DAILY EX SAT					
WT551	WT651	WT352	WT354	WT356	FLIGHT NUMBER					WT552	WT351	WT353	WT355	WT652					
0730	—	1315	1315	1315	d	LAGOS	a	1425	1225	1225	1225	1225	2000	—					
—	—	—	—	1410	a	ENUGU	d	—	—	—	—	—	—	—					
—	—	—	—	1435	a	ENUGU	a	—	—	—	—	1105	—	—					
0835	—	1420	—	—	d	KADUNA	a	1320	1120	—	—	—	—	—					
0900	—	1445	—	—	d	KADUNA	a	1255	1055	—	—	—	—	—					
—	—	—	—	—	a	JOS	d	—	—	—	—	—	—	—					
—	—	—	1445	—	d	JOS	a	—	—	—	1055	—	—	—					
0930	—	—	—	—	a	KANO	d	1225	—	—	—	—	—	1840					
1000	0730	—	—	—	d	KANO	a	1155	—	—	—	—	—	1810					
—	0825	—	—	—	d	MAIDUGURI	a	—	—	—	—	—	—	1715					
—	0850	—	—	—	a	MAIDUGURI	d	—	—	—	—	—	—	1650					
—	0935	1540	1540	1540	a	YOLA	d	—	1000	1000	1000	1000	—	1605					
1045	—	—	—	—	a	SOKOTO	d	1110	—	—	—	—	—	—					

The following are the new proposed routes by Nigeria Airways in the near future for the DOMESTIC SECTOR

- 1 Port Harcourt — Enugu
- 2 Port Harcourt — Benin
- 3 Port Harcourt — Makurdi
- 4 Calabar — Enugu
- 5 Ilorin — Kano

- 6 Lagos — Ilorin
- 7 Ilorin — Kaduna
- 8 Ilorin — Jos
- 9 Enugu — Jos
- 10 Makurdi — Jos

continued overleaf

NOTICES Cont.



NIGERIA AIRWAYS LIMITED

- 11. Yola — Maiduguri
- 12. Yola — Jos
- 13. Yola — Kaduna
- 14. Yola — Enugu
- 15. Yola — Kano
- 16. Benin — Kaduna
- 17. Ibadan — Kano
- 18. Calabar — Libreville
- 19. Accra — Monrovia
- 20. Lagos — Calabar
- 21. Lagos — Jos

TABLE 2
LAGOS/KANO/ROME VV

		ALL TIMES LOCAL				
TUE THU	SUN	↑		MON SAT	THU SAT	
WT840	WT842	FLIGHT NUMBER		WT843	WT841	
F/Y	F/Y	CLASS		F/Y	F/Y	
B707	B707	AIRCRAFT TYPE		B707	B707	
2230	1130	d	LAGOS (Int'l)	a	1700	0525
2350	1250	a	KANO	d	1540	0405
WED FRI 0340	1335	d	KANO	a	1455	0332
0605 WED FRI	1900	a	ROME	d	1130	0332 THU SAT 2355 WED
					MON	B707

INTERNATIONAL TIMETABLE
EFFECTIVE 1st APRIL, 1980, UNTIL FURTHER NOTICE
TABLE 1
LAGOS/KANO/LONDON (HEATHROW) VV

		ALL TIMES LOCAL				
DAILY	FRI SUN	FREQUENCY		DAILY	THU SAT	
WT800	WT802	FLIGHT NUMBER		WT801	WT803	
F/Y	F/Y	CLASS		F/Y	F/Y	
TUE ONLY 0C10 B707	B707	AIRCRAFT TYPE		TUE ONLY 0C10 B707	B707	
1100	2345 SAT MON	d	LAGOS (Int'l)	a	0600	1920
1220	—	a	KANO	d	0440	—
1315	—	d	KANO	a	0335	—
1900	0605	a	LONDON (Heathrow)	d	2700 MON 707	1300 THU SAT
MON ONLY						
2005	—	d	LONDON (Heathrow)	a	2000	—
2200	—	a	AMSTERDAM	d	2005	—
					TUE ONLY	

NOTE: 1 From 1st — 5th April and 27th September — 31st October, 1980 times in Amsterdam are 1 hour earlier.
2 From 25th — 31st October, 1980 times in London are one hour earlier.

NOTE: From 1st — 5th April and 28th September — 31st October, 1980 times in Lagos and Kano are 1 hour later.

JEDDAH AND NIAMEY INTERNATIONAL TIME TABLE UFN*
EFFECTIVE 1st APRIL, 1980
TABLE 3
LAGOS/KANO/JEDDAH

		ALL TIMES LOCAL			
THU	FRI	FREQUENCY		SAT	
WT900	WT901	FLIGHT NUMBER		WT911	
F/Y	F/Y	CLASS		F/Y	
B707	B707	AIRCRAFT TYPE		B707	
2110	—	d	LAGOS (Int'l)	a	0650
2230	—	a	KANO	d	0530
2315	—	d	KANO	a	0430
FRI 0545	—	a	JEDDAH	d	0200
					SAT

NIGERIA AIRWAYS LIMITED
WEST COAST TIMETABLE EFFECTIVE 1st APRIL, 1980 UNTIL FURTHER NOTICE

TABLE 5
LAGOS/COTONOU/LOME/ACCRA/ABIDJAN/ROBERTSFIELD/FREETOWN/CONAKRY/BANJUL/DAKAR

		ALL TIMES LOCAL								
MON THU	TUE FRI	WED FRI	THU SAT	SUN	FREQUENCY	MON THU	WED SAT	WED FRI	THU SAT	SUN
WT900	WT902	WT904*	WT906	WT908	FLIGHT NUMBER	WT901	WT903	WT905*	WT907	WT909
F/Y	F/Y	F/Y	F/Y	F/Y	CLASS	F/Y	F/Y	F/Y	F/Y	F/Y
B727	B727	F28	F28	B727	AIRCRAFT TYPE	B727	B727	F28	F28	B727
1100	1100	1005	1330	1100	d	1340	1820	1515	1850	2100
—	—	—	1350	—	a	—	—	1455	—	—
—	—	—	1420	—	a	—	—	1425	—	—
—	—	—	1350	—	a	—	—	1305	—	—
—	—	—	1420	—	a	—	—	1235	—	—
1050	1050	—	—	1050	d	1150	1630	—	—	1910
—	1130	—	—	1120	a	—	1600	—	—	1840
—	1215	1020	1535	—	a	—	1615	1120	1635	—
—	1245	—	—	—	a	—	1445	—	—	—
—	1400	—	—	1310	a	—	1330	—	—	1650
—	1430	—	—	1340	d	—	1300	—	—	1620
—	1620	—	—	1430	a	—	1210	—	—	1530
—	1550	—	—	—	d	—	1140	—	—	—
—	1620	—	—	—	a	—	1110	—	—	—
—	1650	—	—	—	c	—	1040	—	—	—
—	1730	—	—	—	a	—	1000	—	—	—
—	1800	—	—	—	d	—	0930	—	—	—
—	1830	—	—	—	a	—	0900**	—	—	—

NOTE: 1 No traffic to be carried ABJ/DAK VV COO/LFW VV
 *2 WT905 extended to Douala on Wednesday as WT910 and to Douala and Libreville as WT912 on Friday
 3 On Thursday WT911 from Douala and on Saturday WT913 from Libreville extended to Cotonou/Lome/Abidjan as WT906 from Lagos
 **4 Due runway maintenance in Dakar departure from Dakar on Wednesday Only has been advanced to 0630LT. departure time from Banjul remains unchanged

NOTICES Cont.



NIGERIA AIRWAYS LIMITED

TABLE 4
LAGOS/KANO/NIAMEY
ALL TIMES LOCAL

MON THU	FREQUENCY			MON THU	
WT982	FLIGHT NUMBER			WT983	
Y	CLASS			Y	
F28	AIRCRAFT TYPE			F28	
	d	1000	LAGOS (Dom)	a	1800
	a	1120	KANO	d	1640
	d	1220	KANO	a	1540
	a	1330	NIAMEY	d	1430

UFW — UNTIL FURTHER NOTICE

WEST COAST EXTENSION TIMETABLE
EFFECTIVE 1st APRIL, 1980 UFW

TABLE 6
LAGOS/CALABAR/DOUALA/LIBREVILLE VV
ALL TIMES LOCAL

WED	FRI	FREQUENCY		THU	SAT
WT910	WT912	FLIGHT NUMBER		WT911	WT913
Y	Y	CLASS		Y	Y
F28	F28	AIRCRAFT TYPE		F28	F28
1555	1555	d	LAGOS (Int)	a	1135 1230
1655	1655	a	CALABAR	d	1035 1035
1725	1725	d	CALABAR	a	1005 1005
—	1755	a	DOUALA	d	— 0935
—	1825	d	DOUALA	a	— 0850
1830	1915	a	LIBREVILLE	d	0900 0800

NOTE: 1 In Lagos, both WT911 and WT913 become WT906 and operate to Cotonou, Lome and Abidjan.

2 On Wednesday and Friday, WT905 links with WT910 and WT912 to operate to Libreville and Douala.

UFW — UNTIL FURTHER NOTICE

INTERNATIONAL TIMETABLE EFFECTIVE 1st APRIL, 1980
UNTIL FURTHER NOTICE

TABLE 7
LAGOS/CALABAR/DOUALA/NAIROBI VV
ALL TIMES LOCAL

MON THU	FREQUENCY			TUE FRI	
WT950	FLIGHT NUMBER			WT951	
F/Y	CLASS			F/Y	
B727	AIRCRAFT TYPE			B727	
1100	d	1200	LAGOS (Int)	a	1710
1200	a	1245	CALABAR	d	1510
1245	d	1315	CALABAR	a	1440
1315	a	1400	DOUALA	d	1410
1400	d	2000	DOUALA	a	1325
2000	a		NAIROBI	d	1100

INTERNATIONAL TIMETABLE EFFECTIVE 1st APRIL, 1980
UNTIL FURTHER NOTICE

TABLE 8
LAGOS/ROBERTSFELD/NEW YORK
ALL TIMES LOCAL

TUE FRI	FREQUENCY			THU SUN	
WT850	FLIGHT NUMBER			WT851	
F/Y	CLASS			F/Y	
DC10	AIRCRAFT TYPE			DC10	
2220	d	2310	LAGOS (Int)	a	1010
0035	a	0035	ROBERTSFELD	d	0700
WED			ROBERTSFELD	a	0600
SAT					
0605	a		NEW YORK (JFK)	d	1700
WED					
SAT					

NOTE: From 1st—26th April and 26th—31st October, 1980 times in Lagos and Robertsfield to read one hour later.

SITUATIONS VACANT Cont.

THE WEST AFRICAN EXAMINATIONS COUNCIL

STAFF VACANCY

The West African Examinations Council hereby invites applications from suitably qualified persons to fill the vacant post of LONDON REPRESENTATIVE in its Office in London. The London Representative who is of Principal Assistant Registrar rank, is the Head of the Council's UK Office and in that capacity he represents Council's interests to its various customers there.

Qualifications:

The Council is looking for persons of good standing, preferably citizens of any of the member-countries of Council who should be holders of good University degrees and who should have held responsible senior administrative positions, for at least seven years. They will be required to have good knowledge of Council operations.

Conditions of Service:

The successful candidate will be on contract for three years in the first instance. Besides, he will enjoy the same conditions of service as are applicable to Council staff of comparable rank in his home country. He will have furnished accommodation, the usual contract addition to his salary, a London allowance and regular home leave.

The Salary Scales for the post in the member countries are:

Nigeria: N10,296 x 516 — N11,328

Ghana:

£ 9,462 x 418 — £ 12,388

Liberia: \$10,404 x 520 — \$11,964

Sierra-Leone: Le6,251 x 312 — Le8,440

The Gambia: D17,580 x 600 — D19,380

or the appropriate point on the scale £8,427 — £10,484, whichever is higher.

Method of Application:

Applicants should write for application FORMS from:

The Chief Personnel Officer,
The West African Examinations Council,
P.M.B. 1022,
Yaba, Lagos, Nigeria.

Completed FORMS should be received by May 21, 1980.

V. J. UFFEN,
CHIEF PERSONNEL OFFICER.

Dateline AFRICA

CHAD

No lull in N'Djamena fighting

The fighting in N'Djamena continues in spite of the appeals from African heads of state, the International Red Cross and other bodies. Thousands have died and many more are streaming into Cameroon as refugees. What remains of the diplomatic corps, especially the French, has been moved to the French army base. And the Congolese contingent, which arrived as the first, and belated, contribution towards the African peace-keeping force in Chad, has now been evacuated.

The fighting had lasted over ten days, as of last Wednesday. By then, the fourth attempt at a ceasefire had failed, breaking down almost immediately after the two leaders of the warring factions, Goukhoum Woddeye and Hissen Habre, respectively the President and Defence Minister in the Transitional Government of National Unity, had telephoned to arrange a ceasefire. Similarly, the Red Cross attempts to establish a semblance of a ceasefire to allow time for the collection of the dead and injured has met with little success.

It is estimated that at least 2,000 people have died in the fighting so far in N'Djamena. The medical facilities in the capital are rudimentary and tragically overcrowded. Foreign aid workers are reported to have set up crude dispensaries and operating theatres in some parts of the city, including the university.

It is now thought that some 100,000 refugees have moved from Chad into Cameroon during the fighting. N'Djamena is almost entirely denuded of its civilian population. Quite how many of them have lost their lives is impossible to calculate at the moment.

There is now a clear line dividing the two forces in the city. The northern part of N'Djamena which includes the French air base is controlled by Goukhoum's Forces Armées Populaires. The rest of the city, the south and the east is in the hands of Habre's Forces Armées du Nord. This includes much of the African quarter of the city. Despite reports to the contrary, it is certain that there has been no sign of pillage by troops in this sector and that FAN have set up a police force to preclude this eventuality.

More of the factions are becoming directly involved in the fighting. Colonel Kamougue's Forces Armées Tchadiennes are camped some five kilometres south of N'Djamena, on the other side of the River Chan — they were repulsed by FAN with heavy losses when they tried to cross the Chagoua Bridge a few days ago. They are now content to make their presence felt by shelling Habre's sector of the city.

Meanwhile, more reports, substantiated by French intelligence sources, say that Ahmet Ayl, the Foreign Minister in the government and a member of the FAC, the Front d'Action Commune, an alliance of several factions formed after the Lagos agreement last August, is moving reinforcements down from the North.

These are alleged to be supplied by bases in Libya. Ahmet Ayl has been regarded in the course of the last year as being very close to Libya. Hissen Habre and his supporters have claimed in the last few weeks that Libya has been interfering in the internal affairs of Chad. The complaints coincided with confrontations outside of N'Djamena between the FAC and the FAN forces.

Ahmet Ayl is bringing his troops in to back Goukhoum Woddeye. There is now a loose alliance between all the factions aimed at containing Hissen Habre. At present he is almost surrounded. However, most observers agree that his troops have proved to be the most disciplined in the struggle. The positions are the same in the city, though they have been held after some very bitter and bloody fighting in the centre of N'Djamena around the cathedral and the French Embassy.

While the French troops remain in their air base, guarding the last few civilians left in the city and under strict orders not to become involved in the fighting, the Congolese contingent of 500 men has been evacuated. They had become increasingly exposed in their barracks at the former gendarmerie. Habre allowed them to be evacuated provided they left their heavy armour behind.

In Nigeria, President Shagan has already called for a truce. He has ordered the Nigerian Minister of External Affairs, Professor Ishaya Adu, to go to N'Djamena to establish contacts with all the parties in the conflict. Consultations have also begun with some of the other countries which were participants at the last Lagos conference. There has, however, been no further development in this area. President Shagan has emphasised that he is placing his good offices at the disposal of all the parties to come to a solution in the conflict. Mr. Salim Salim, the Tanzanian President of

the UN General Assembly, on a brief visit to Ghana, has also called on the factions to end the fighting. However, as the fighting continues there seems to be little hope, at present, of establishing any real contact with all the parties even to arrange a brief ceasefire.

MALI

Arrested students to be released

President Traore has announced that all the students, schoolchildren and teachers arrested during the recent disturbances will be freed. No figure was given of the number of students under detention, though Amnesty International said that several hundred had been arrested.

The human rights organisation had made an appeal a little over a week ago appealing for the release of students under arrest and alleging that students and teachers in police custody had been tortured (*West Africa*, 31 March, 1980).

The President, speaking at a news conference and in the name of the UDPM, the Union Democratique du Peuple Malien, the country's only party, expressed his regret to the family of the student leader Abdoukaram Camara, known as Cabral, who died in police detention. Amnesty alleges, and the evidence has been corroborated, that he was severely beaten while under arrest. The authorities have been very reluctant to release his body. The President also said that three teachers who had been arrested over two weeks ago (see last week's issue) have also been released. There has been no confirmation of this move.

A correspondent writes: While the President spoke as if he were

responding to a party appeal, the announcement of the release tantamount to the government bowing to public pressure. Protests in Bamako, which surprised at the fervour of the student protest, were horrified at the brutality of the police reaction. There is little doubt that the President has called for a severe repression of the disturbances when the students demonstrated outside the Hotel l'Amitie on March 8, during a meeting of the heads of state of the Saharan States. The President said in his news conference that he has been very embarrassed by this. It is also clear that the women organisations, especially the market women of Bamako, were opposed to the police repression.

Open discontent in Mali has been limited to the student camp. Little has been done to allay the student complaint, similar to that in a number of neighbouring countries: that the educational system is so inflexible that it is destined either for the service as a functionary or unemployment. The government, nevertheless, must have sufficient danger to the stability of the regime as a result of the student demonstrations and the subsequent repression to announce the release of all those arrested.

ANGOLA

Dos Santos at summits

President Jose Eduardo Dos Santos has been on a two-day visit to Maputo, Mozambique, to attend a summit of the former Portuguese colonies in Africa.

ANGOP said that President Dos Santos was accompanied by President Luis Cabral of Guinea Bissau and President Pinto da Costa of Sao Tome and Principe. The first of these summits took place in Luanda last June. President Dos Santos and President Machel attended a summit of the front-line states which supported the guerrilla struggle in Zimbabwe, after the Maputo summit.

The Angolan head of state was accompanied by a political team which included Alexandre "Kito" Rodriguez, Deputy Minister of Internal Security and member of the Political Bureau of the MPLA Workers' Party and Afonso 'Mbinda' Van-Dunen, Secretary of the Party's Central Committee in charge of External Relations.

● Angola may break off relations with Portugal if Lisbon continues to meddle in its internal affairs, the Commerce Minister, M. Lopo do Nascimento, is quoted as saying

during a visit to Madrid accused Portugal of maintaining links with UNITA.

"Our government will immediately begin importing Spain what we have imported from Portugal and export to Spain what we have exported to Portugal," told the Madrid daily *El Pais*.

CAR

Ministers compromised

The recent dismissal of the Minister of Justice, M. F. Gueret, has revealed the degree to which continuity from the Bokassa regime remains very much the order of the day, writes a correspondent. President Dacko was himself an adviser of the Emperor, and being installed, with assistance and prompting, by the Presidency after the overthrow of Bokassa.

However, a report, presented to a ministerial meeting in mid-January, links a number of the members of the present government to the repression of early 1977 which led to the downfall of Bokassa. It is also thought that the report is linked to the dismissal of M. Gueret.

One part of the report, presented to the President General Bokassa, currently delegated to the Pr

responsible for national defence, was actually seen shooting people during the demonstrations of January, 1979, when his car was stopped by crowds. The report also alleges that the massacres in the suburbs of Makina, Fou, Gombogo and Boy-Rabe in Bangui, were carried out by men under the command of General Bozwe.

Two other senior members of the present regime has also been compromised by the report. The first is the Vice-President, M. Henri Madio, the Emperor's Prime Minister during the events of last year. He is alleged by witnesses to have ordered the arrest of the schoolchildren and their imprisonment in April, 1979. It was then that almost 100 of them died of suffocation in the cells of Ngaragba Prison, in Bangui. The report also states that the former Prime Minister could be of great assistance to the government in its investigation of embezzlement of state funds under the imperial regime.

It also suggests that M. Alphonse Koyamba, the vice-Prime Minister, and the Emperor's Minister of Finance, could also be helpful in these investigations.

The country's supreme court had demanded that the report be presented to the Council of Ministers which should give permission for these ministers to appear before court to give evidence. It is still not known whether the Council responded favourably to this request. Senior judges have appealed against the dismissal of M. Gueret.

THE GAMBIA

Hawker Siddeley win contract

Hawker Siddeley Power Engineering has won a contract to supply and install mechanical and electrical equipment worth £2.44 for The Gambia Utilities Corporation. It covers two 4.3mW diesel generating sets with associated ancillary equipment, bulk fuel storage, switchgear, transformers, etc. for the new Kotu power station which is being built to ensure continuity of electrical power supplies. The new power station will become the main generating station for the Banjul system and the equipment being provided will also control the operation of the existing power station at Hall Die.

Sulayman Jack in Zaire

The Speaker of the House of Representatives, Alhaji Sir Aheu Sulayman Jack, was elected Vice-President of the Executive Committee of the Union of African Parliament (UAP) at the 4th conference held in Kinshasa, Zaire.

NIGERIA: BUDGET FIGURES

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT BUDGET PROPOSALS, 1980 SUMMARY OF REVENUE HEADS OF THE ESTIMATES, 1980

Details of Revenue	Estimates	Revised	Approved
	1980 (9 months)	Estimates 1979-80	Estimates 1979-80
	N	N	N
Customs and Excise	1,055,996,630	1,439,798,323	1,240,639,190
Direct Taxes	7,226,014,400	7,139,498,824	5,325,969,220
Licences and Internal Revenue	132,910	182,010	182,010
Mining	3,125,856,000	2,771,473,460	1,780,400,160
Fees	5,353,920	5,611,580	5,611,580
Earnings and Sales	21,659,814	27,897,370	27,807,370
Rent on Government Property	1,916,085	1,454,810	1,454,810
Interests and Repayment General	232,358,768	285,657,770	285,657,770
Interest and Repayments State Governments	178,610,851	121,763,660	121,763,660
Reimbursements	3,655,450	4,246,770	4,246,770
Armed Forces	389,670	519,680	519,680
Miscellaneous	3,257,000	11,010,090	11,010,090
Total	11,859,824,789	11,809,114,347	8,805,262,310

SUMMARY OF RECURRENT EXPENDITURE HEADS OF THE ESTIMATES, 1980

	Approved Estimates 1979-80	Personal Emoluments	Other Charges	Special Expenditure	Total
	N	N	N	N	N
National Assembly	8,717,230	9,849,000	67,125,000	12,104,000	89,108,000
Presidency	—	27,773,870	261,217,300	4,481,830	293,473,000
Police	197,845,540	121,971,000	62,665,000	8,509,000	193,145,000
Police Force Service					
Commission	146,390	251,000	68,000	120,000	439,000
Ministry of Agriculture	34,347,200	17,206,000	6,087,000	1,135,000	24,428,000
Audit	3,445,840	2,055,000	803,000	286,000	3,144,000
Ministry of Civil Aviation	28,326,650	9,414,000	16,559,000	2,116,000	28,089,000
Ministry of Communi- cations	831,010	592,000	310,000	1,000	1,003,000
Ministry of Defence	521,500,000	288,000,000	160,000,000	18,000,000	466,000,000
Ministry of National Planning	27,638,750	9,855,000	13,138,000	1,637,000	24,630,000
Ministry of Education	368,933,020	20,472,000	31,283,000	2,620,000	454,375,000
Federal Capital Development Authority	—	338,000	10,269,000	192,000	10,799,000
Ministry of External Affairs	37,107,030	19,175,000	18,175,000	1,976,000	39,326,000
Ministry of Finance	73,501,554	33,663,080	48,928,070	6,852,850	89,444,000
Ministry of Health and Social Welfare	97,176,930	9,011,000	103,911,000	3,529,000	116,451,000
Ministry of Industries	7,491,650	4,324,000	3,847,000	182,000	8,353,000
Ministry of Social Development	—	2,928,000	75,342,000	604,000	78,874,000
Ministry of Internal Affairs	58,654,380	31,843,000	27,027,000	2,075,000	60,945,000
Judicial Service					
Commission	4,857,640	16,000	14,000	22,000	52,000
Ministry of Justice	4,314,950	1,620,000	2,382,000	10	4,002,000
Ministry of Employment Labour and Productivity	63,349,110	6,750,000	4,243,000	831,000	11,824,000
Ministry of Mines and Power	7,548,400	4,180,000	1,792,000	1,109,000	7,081,000
Ministry of Science and Technology	—	1,290,000	45,760,000	658,000	47,708,000
Federal Ministry of Hous- ing and Environment	—	7,750,000	33,035,000	5,031,000	45,816,000
Public Complaints Commission	2,330,420	2,500,000	863,000	215,000	3,578,008
Federal Civil Service Commission	3,157,950	952,000	2,749,000	121,000	3,822,000
Ministry of Commerce	11,897,080	6,979,000	3,877,000	508,000	11,364,000
Ministry of Transport	14,508,940	6,718,000	4,722,000	3,320,000	14,760,000
Ministry of Water Resources	—	1,697,000	1,859,000	167,000	3,723,000
Ministry of Works	105,625,590	29,448,000	120,141,000	7,900,000	157,489,000
Federal Electoral Commission	26,324,090	1,514,000	1,395,000	4,998,000	7,907,000
Consolidated Revenue Fund Charges	3,988,161,670	4,385,000	3,615,826,722	2,003,000	3,622,214,722
Non-Statutory Appropria- tion of Revenue	651,446,800	—	446,462,000	—	446,462,000
Contingencies	30,295,220	—	150,000,000	—	150,000,000
Contribution to Develop- ment Fund	4,353,452,566	—	5,340,000,000	—	5,340,000,000

Ministry of Establishment and Service Matters	20,442,570	—	—	—	—
Ministry of Economic Development	—	—	—	—	—
Ministry of Trade	—	—	—	—	—
Ministry of Works and Housing	—	—	—	—	—
National Science and Technology Development Agency	—	—	—	—	—
Ministry of Labour, Youth and Sports	—	—	—	—	—
State House/Dodan Barracks	1,358,730	—	—	—	—
Cabinet Office	41,252,680	—	—	—	—
Total	10,829,019,580	684,519,950	1,108,168,092	92,685,780	1,859,828,722
Less (Part IX) Statutory Appropriation of Revenue to State Governments	3,137,992,437	—	2,229,371,000	—	2,546,834,390
Statutory Allocation to Local Governments	300,000,000	—	277,994,000	—	277,994,362
Contribution to Development Fund	4,353,452,566	—	5,340,000,000	—	5,340,000,000
Total Recurrent Expenditure	3,037,574,577	—	—	—	3,700,000,000

EXPENDITURE

NON-STATUTORY APPROPRIATION OF REVENUE

Details of Expenditure	Provision 1980	Provision 1979-80	Actual Expenditure 1978-79
Grants to States for UPE Schemes	N 412,630,000	N 548,186,800	N 95,524,941
Vocational and Citizenship Training Centres grants	3,000,000	4,000,000	4,250,250
Indigent Students (Scholarship and Bursaries) grants	832,000	950,000	950,544
Grants to States for Secondary Education	30,000,000	40,000,000	—
Total	446,462,000	593,136,800	100,725,735

STATUTORY ALLOCATIONS TO STATES AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS 1980 LOCAL GOVERNMENT FINANCES 1980

State	Allocation 1979-80 N Million	Allocation for 1980 N Million
Anambra	15,872	17,124
Bauchi	16,622	12,790
Bendel	14,267	12,873
Benue	13,569	12,748
Borno	16,894	14,875
Cross River	16,337	16,688
Gongola	16,013	13,414
Imo	16,776	17,417
Kaduna	18,070	19,003
Kano	22,299	25,278
Kwara	13,762	10,078
Lagos	12,857	9,058
Niger	11,377	8,138
Ogun	11,843	9,475
Ondo	14,901	13,874
Oyo	20,240	23,173
Plateau	14,695	11,244
Rivers	15,080	10,097
Sokoto	18,526	20,647
Total	300,000	277,994

STATUTORY ALLOCATIONS TO STATES AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS 1980 STATE GOVERNMENT FINANCES 1980

State	Share of 1979-80 Statutory Appropriation N Million	Statutory Appropriation 1980 N Million
Anambra	114,448	130,683
Bauchi	111,887	107,376
Bendel	175,144	107,950
Benue	99,054	107,275
Borno	115,738	118,648
Cross River	115,918	128,332
Gongola	110,109	110,862
Imo	131,011	132,243
Kaduna	126,040	140,725
Kano	151,788	174,265
Kwara	96,424	93,007
Lagos	91,341	87,551
Niger	84,685	82,651
Ogun	87,626	89,789
Ondo	106,143	113,311
Oyo	140,415	163,022
Plateau	102,577	99,211
Rivers	172,748	92,888
Sokoto	130,034	149,522
Total	2,263,130	2,229,371

Ministers complain

Ministers appearing before various standing committees of the House of Representatives have complained that the money allocated to their respective ministries is insufficient. The ministries are: Education, Defence, External Affairs and Internal Affairs.

The Minister of Defence, Professor Iya Abubakar, arguing for his ministry, said Nigeria must

be able to spend money on the country's security in view of her bold foreign policy and in preparation for any eventuality. "We cannot fight a war with matchets, we need sophisticated weapons and these things cost money."

Twenty-four standing committees of the House of Representatives have begun scrutinising the 1980 Budget presented to the National Assembly on March 18, by President Shagari (see page 557). According to the Constitu-

tion the Budget is subject to the approval of a joint session of the Senate and the House of Representatives.

The committees began their work following the adoption of the Appropriation Bill to authorise the expenditure of N9,040m. out of Federal consolidated revenue funds for the period of nine months commencing on April 1. Subsequent budgets will run from the beginning to the end of the year.

● The Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN) has praised President Shehu Shagari on his budget proposals. The party's Director of Research and Publicity, Chief C. K. Ajuluchukwu, said the President borrowed the UPN programme in his budget proposals. "The case of minimum wage, which he has stipulated N200 a month, he has borrowed 50 per cent from us."

Labour responds

The Presidential Liaison Office for the National Assembly has expressed optimism that the draft budget would be approved by the Assembly without delay. Dr. Mbadwe described the minimum monthly wage of N100 for all workers as a step forward and a scientific approach which should help bridge the gap between the rich and the poor. He noted that the lowest paid workers formed the bulk of Nigerian workers. "When they don't move, nothing will move."

The Nigerian Labour Congress (NLC), in response to the budget proposals, has reaffirmed its demand for a N300 minimum monthly wage, saying that President Shagari's offer of N100 was far below expectations. The NLC also suggested that the issue of minimum wage should be determined collectively by the government, employers and the congress.

Commenting on President Shagari's budget proposals, Speaker of the House of Representatives, Mr. Ebu Urne Ezeoke, noted that all motions passed by the House were reflected in the budget. He warned that the committees may be handicapped by lack of off-accrual accommodation in completing their task within the seven-day deadline given them by the National Assembly.

The missing billions

The \$2 800m (more than 10 per cent of the national budget) said to be missing from the accounts of the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation has now been found. Senate Leader, Dr Sola Saraki, told the senate that he was informed that the money had been inadvertently paid into someone's private account in Britain.

The money was found to be unaccounted for last year by a firm of auditors which looked into the NNPC accounts, but the management denied that any money was missing. Dr Saraki also revealed that the NNPC had no audited accounts since 1973-74 financial year. "It's just now that they are auditing their accounts"

The disclosure drew angry responses from senators, one of them pointed out that robbers were publicly executed because of N5. The matter will be investigated by a senate committee.

Texaco registration call

The Chairman of the Nigerian Petroleum Corporation (NNPC), Mr A K Hart, has called for the removal of Mr. Herbert Bush, the American director of the majority state-owned Texaco Overseas, in connection with the recent Fumina explosion which polluted the Niger River Delta with 15,000 tonnes of oil.

In a letter to the representatives of Texaco International summoned to Lagos, Mr Hart made it clear that the Federal Government held the company responsible for the gross ineptitude and consequences that resulted. It was urged that Mr Bush be replaced immediately with "someone who would have the proper make-up and authority to handle the statutory and human problems created by the blowout and spillage"

● There are conflicting reports on oil spillage in Bendel State. A five-man committee set up by the State House of Assembly to investigate the alleged recent oil spillage has reported that there was no recent oil spillage in the state. The State Governor, Professor Ambrose Alli, however, has told newsmen that there was oil spillage affecting eight towns in the state. The Governor also claimed that N500m would be required for rehabilitation of those affected by the spillage.

Demob figures

The Defence Minister, Professor Iya Abubakar, has disclosed that about 100,000 soldiers have so far been demobilised from the Nigerian Army. This reduction in the strength of the army was reflected in this year's budget allocation of N966m to defence, a decrease of more than N306m compared with the 1978/79 figure. Commenting on the relatively high

defence expenditure, with education having the only higher amount, Professor Abubakar said: "We demobilise so as to get a strong arm. It is one thing to reduce the personnel but it is another thing to have a well equipped army."

Lagos storm

Lagos has experienced its worst storm for 20 years. Winds of up to 150kph and torrential rain swept through the capital, damaging thousands of houses and extensively disrupting electricity supplies and the already chaotic communications. Maroko region between the lagoon and the sea was completely flooded and all the main roads were cut off by felled trees.

Uranium priority

Chief executives of parastatals and heads of department of the Ministry of Mines and Power have been asked to give "priority attention" to the development of uranium deposits in Benue, Niger, Sokoto, Cross River and Bauchi states.

The directive was given in Lagos by the Minister for Mines and Power, Alhaji Muhammad J. Hassan, at the first quarterly meeting of these senior executives.

Alhaji Hassan also asked them to give attention to the gold deposits in Ilesha and Ishekiri: the coal deposits in Lafia, Benue and

Gombe; and the lead and zinc deposits in Abaka Iki and Zurak areas.

The minister also asked them to advise his ministry on reactivating the departments of geological survey in the states and on the need for more departments in new and mineral-rich states like Niger, Benue and Bauchi.

Pilots were pushers claim

The Operations Department of Nigeria Airways has petitioned the Senate alleging that among the pilots of the airways there were "drug pushers, drug users and drug carriers". The Chairman of the Senate Committee for Transport and Aviation, Senator Uba Ahmed, gave assurance that a thorough investigation would be conducted into the allegation, which, he said, if correct "is dangerous to the passengers' security, dangerous to the country and dangerous to the airline itself".

In another petition to the Senate, the Operations Department alleged that the Airways had a breakdown in leadership which has led to lack of discipline and continuity in the airline.

NPN patron dies

Alhaji Aliyu Makama Bida, national patron of the National Party of Nigeria (NPN), is dead. Alhaji Aliyu, who was 73, died at

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the Ahmadu Bello University Teaching Hospital Kaduna.

He was born in Doko town, Bida emirate, Niger State in 1907. He attended the Bida Middle School and the Katsina College, where he qualified as a teacher.

Thereafter, young Aliyu worked with the now defunct Bida Native Authority in many positions, before he joined the banned Northern People's Congress (NPC) in 1947.

In 1954, he became Minister of Education and later the Minister of Finance for the former Northern Nigerian Government until the January 1966 military coup.

Last year, after the ban on politics was removed, Alhaji Aliyu launched the NPN and later became its national patron.

He left four wives and five children. One of these is the Niger State Commissioner for Youth, Sports and Culture Alhaji Abubakar Danya.

In a statement in Lagos yesterday, the NPP said Alhaji Aliyu was one of the early pioneers of national-building who contributed his quota to the development of the former Northern Region.

A statement by the Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN) described the late Alhaji Aliyu "a great patriot whose honour and integrity could not be faulted."

Nujoma talks

The leader of the South West African Peoples Organisation (SWAPO), Mr. Sam Nujoma, has held a series of talks with President Shehu Shagari and senior govern-

ment officials in Lagos. The talks concerned Nigeria's aid to SWAPO to help in its struggle for the liberation of Namibia.

Mr. Nujoma told the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations that Namibia would be liberated in 24 months if it got the support it deserved from Africa and the international community. The SWAPO leader said his visit was also to urge Nigeria to influence the imposition of economic sanctions on South Africa.

● A Nigerian, the Rev. Dr. S. Ckukukanne Ekanam, who is pastor at the Sound View Presbyterian Church in New York City, was among more than 100 clergymen from the United States invited by President Carter to the White House to discuss domestic and foreign policy. The ministers raised questions on Namibia, Palestine, Trans-national Corporations in South Africa, and problems of the Third World in general.

● Mr. Abu Momodu, Assistant Superintendent at Kirikiri prison, Apapa, and head of the Nigeria Prison Service Dog Section has been spending a month with the Lancashire Constabulary in North West England, visiting prisons in the area and looking at dog-training methods.

Correction

A report in last week's issue was incorrectly headed "Two directors for the UBA". The story had nothing to do with the UBA but concerned new directors appointed to the Union Bank of Nigeria.

New DTN board of directors

A NEW board of directors has been appointed for the Daily Times of Nigeria Ltd.

The five-man board is headed by Alhaji Magaji Dambatta, (chairman), who succeeds Alhaji Aliko Mohammed.

The other directors are Chief Abiola Ogundokun (Oyo), Dr. Aliya Yahya (Bauchi), Mr. Nwadike Oko-ye-Ere (Anambra) and Mr. S. Shango (Benue).

President Shehu Shagari has also approved the appointment of the Deputy Chief Executive of the company. Mr. Emmanuel Adagogo Jaja, as the new Managing Director.

Mr. Jaja succeeds Dr. Patrick Dele Cole. The appointments took effect from March 14.

A professional journalist, Alhaji Magaji Dambatta retired voluntarily from the public service in 1978 as the deputy director of the old Federal Ministry of Information and Minister-Counsellor (Information) at the Nigerian Embassy, Washington, United States.

Mr. Jaja was educated at Edo College, Benin City. He joined the Daily Times in 1956 as a journalist becoming Editor of the Sunday Times before transferring to general management in 1964, serving

as personal assistant to the managing director.

He was appointed executive manager responsible for the Group's magazines production. He became director and chief executive of the Group's newspaper division in 1970, assistant managing director: Daily Times in 1975, and deputy Chief Executive in 1976.

President Shehu has also dissolved the governing boards of three other media organisations.

They are the New Nigerian Newspapers Ltd, the Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria, (FRCN), and the Nigerian Television Authority, (NTA).

The new chairman of the New Nigerian newspapers is Chief J. J. Murphy, a former commissioner in the former South-Eastern State.

Chief Murphy was also a former chairman of the Cross River State Agricultural Development Corporation.

No new boards were announced for the NTA and the FRCN.

The executive office statement said: "Until new board members for the two bodies are appointed, the President has directed his special adviser on information, Chief Olu Adebajo, to take over the functions normally discharged by these boards."

Sierra Leone

Steady progress for Mano River Union

Sierra Leone is so far "reasonably satisfied" with the Mano River Union and the progress it has made. This was stated by the Second Vice-President, Mr. C. A. Kamara-Taylor when he officially opened the combined sixth and seventh session of the Union's annual Ministerial Council Meeting in Freetown. Mr. Kamara-Taylor observed that apart from trade, where over 80 per cent of the common external tariffs and the common excise rates have been harmonised, the Mano River Union has made steady progress in several areas. These areas include training programmes, in the field of communications, marine, forestry, customs and curriculum development.

Referring to the joining of the Union by the Republic of Guinea, Mr. Kamara-Taylor stated that countries in the West African sub-regional zone, can no longer continue in isolation, but must unite and tap the vast potentials of their human and material resources for their mutual benefits.

In his annual major policy statement, the Secretary-General of the Union, Mr. Ernest Eastman told the meeting that the construction of the proposed Freetown-Monrovia Highway would cost in the region of Le57m. Already, he said, the Secretariat had received a substantial commitment towards the project from the government of the Federal Republic of Germany, and as soon as the final report of the project study is ready, the Secretariat would convene a meeting of donors such as the European Economic Community whose interest in the project, he said is "considerable."

Dr. Eastman also revealed that the MRU Secretariat team would visit what he described as "possible donors" amongst which would be the Sudan based Arab Bank for Development in Africa.

Terror gang arrested

A gang which has been terrorising citizens of Freetown, and which, it is alleged, has been responsible for the recent wave of armed attacks, has been apprehended by the Police. Already, eleven suspects, one believed to be an ex-Police Constable, are in custody. Revealing this at a Press conference, the Acting Commissioner of Police, Mr. Eric Musa, said that for some time there has been a series of attacks by armed gangs alleged to be members of the SSD Police Unit. The dimension of the attacks, the Police Commissioner said, and the publicity put his force in a position where people would not

know whether or not to trust the police.

The Police, he said, doubt their effort in order to apprehend the culprits and restore their name, and as a result they have been able to arrest a number of suspects. He said they have evidence to prove their suspects and disclosed that they have discovered certain articles which have been identified by police from where these armed gangs had taken place.

The arrests were made mainly in Kissy, Kalaba Town and at Fair Street, also at Kissy.

The Commissioner said that the Police have been organising blocks at night in order to prevent further attacks and appealed to general public to be patient and co-operate with his force.

Mugabe invited to OAU

President Stevens has invited the newly elected premier of Zimbabwe, Robert Mugabe, to attend the OAU summit in Freetown in July when Zimbabwe will become a full member of the Organisation.

The invitation was despatched by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Abdulai Conteh, who was to Salisbury by a special air.

President Stevens. Mr. Mugabe described President Stevens' message as "inspiring" and recalled with appreciation President Stevens' relentless advice and support throughout the struggle to achieve genuine majority rule. He recalled President Stevens' interventions at Lusaka during the Commonwealth summit, during the Lancaster House talks. He requested Dr. Conteh to convey the president of his appreciation for the summit.

Dr. Abdulai Conteh became new Prime Minister on December 14 which led to the 14th extra-ordinary session of the OAU Council Ministers on the 22nd elections and of the decision to set up a task force within the secretariat to co-ordinate assistance to Zimbabwe.

He confirmed Sierra Leone's offer of bilateral assistance to new government in its efforts at reconciliation, reconstruction and rehabilitation.

The matter of assistance readily taken up with the details were subsequently set out at a meeting between Conteh's delegation and officials in Zimbabwe. Mr. Conteh further examined inclusion and training at all attachment of Zimbabwean servants in Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Interior and Transport and Communication.

● The Algerian newspaper, *Mudjamec* has said that Sierra Leone had recognised the Saharans Republic proclaimed by Polisario Front guerrillas.

This would bring the number of countries recognising the Western Sahara Republic to 37, including 21 African states.

Polisario, which has been fighting Morocco to achieve independence for the Western Sahara, has said it would seek the Republic's admission to the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) at this year's OAU Summit in Freetown.

April visit to Germany

President Siaka Stevens, accompanied by Mrs Rebecca Stevens will pay a five-day State visit to the Federal Republic of Germany. The visit will begin on April 14 and end on the 18th, and is in response to an invitation extended by President Karl Carsten of the Federal Republic of Germany.

In the President's party will be the Foreign Minister, Dr. Abdulai Conteh, the Minister of Development and Economic Planning, Dr. S. S. Banyo and the Minister of Trade and Industry Mr. S. A. J. Pratt.

Sierra Leone's ambassador to France, Mr. E. E. Mbayo has been accredited to the People's Republic of Algeria.

Austrians to reactivate iron mines

"Austro Mineral", a mining subsidiary of Austria's state owned Iron and Steel Industry has signed an agreement with the Sierra Leone government to reactivate and manage the iron ore mines at Marapama. Total investment on the mine will be Le22m. The Austrian government will provide a loan of Le16m payable over eleven years after a grace period of three years. Sierra Leone government which will hold 100 per cent shares valued at Le22m will put in Le6m to augment the loan from Austria.

Reactivation is expected to commence within the next three months, and Austro Mineral will act as managers and sales agents on behalf of government.

Until 1975, iron ore was mined in Sierra Leone, and was the country's second largest foreign exchange earner. The iron ore mining company, DELCO, ceased operations in October of that year for reasons which were described as "technical". Over 3,000 workers were laid off with full retirement benefits. After the liquidation of DELCO, government bought over what was left of the company's assets including DELCO's shares in Mining and General Services, and the machinery and equipment at the mine.

Gola Forest call

Sierra Leone and Liberia have been urged to preserve the Gola Forest which has a great ecological significance. This was one of the recommendations at the six-day international Conference on the

Conservation of Nature which was held in Ouagadougou, Upper Volta recently. The conference was convened by various bodies to discuss among other things, the state of conservation of biotic communities, for example natural areas like mangrove, forest, savanna together with the indigenous fauna living in them.

Sierra Leone, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Liberia, and Equatorial Guinea were named as states in the sub-region where much more stringent action was needed to protect natural areas of conservation.

An Institute of Public Administration is to be established in Sierra Leone by the Canadian Government. The institute, which will be attached to the University of Sierra Leone, will co-ordinate administrative management and development planning activities which are at present much diversified, and help to improve administrative management skills in the country. It will be involved with development projects towards the benefit of the country.

Dr George Haythorne, a Canadian expert, visited Freetown recently to assist in the planning of the institute.

Anti-squatter drive

Government has embarked on a drive to rid state lands of squatters by demolishing shanty houses built on them.

This follows a month's notice in the media warning squatters to quit state owned lands or face the full penalty of the law. This drive is believed to be part of government's effort to "clean up" the city for the OAU.

Commercial Bank to open

The imposing ten-storey building of the Sierra Leone Commercial Bank is expected to be officially opened on April 11.

The Bank is situated at the junction of Siaka Stevens and George Streets opposite the Law Court Building, about one hundred yards from the Cotton Tree.

Father Rocco Serra to leave

Father Rocco Serra, director of the national Leprosy Control programme, has left Sierra Leone after 22 years service in the country.

Father Rocco Serra had spent over seven years with the programme and developed it to become the largest leprosanarium in Africa. He was also involved with primary health care, and did a lot in helping to set up the Ministry of Health's primary health care pilot project in Mapaki, Bombali district.

Father Rocco Serra has been succeeded by Father Franco Fion as director of the National Leprosy programme.

GHANA

Export earnings lost

Ghana loses more than £20m, 25m CFA francs, and 1m deutschmarks every year through non-repatriation of export earnings. "This is because the law dealing with commercial exports is so lax that anybody can sidestep it", said Dr. E. E. Mensah, director of the Export Promotion Council, in an interview with the *Ghanaian Times*. He said that "since 1974, when the Imports and Exports Decree (NRCD 260) was passed, not a single exporter has been prosecuted for failing to repatriate proceeds of the sale of the exported goods in foreign exchange within two months after the date of exportation as stipulated in part three, subsection four of the decree".

Dr Mensah said the Bank of Ghana had no machinery for monitoring the repatriation of foreign exchange export earnings. He called for the necessary legislation to allow the Export Promotion Council not only to promote Ghana's export programme, but also to monitor repatriation by both Ghanaian and foreign exporters.

The *Ghanaian Times* said that its own investigations showed that the Ministry of Trade had no up-to-date register of exporters. It said that every year, foreign sailors take out of the country hundreds of rare Ghanaian birds and animals such as parrots and monkeys which they sell abroad. Cash crops like cola nuts are also exported by Malians and Nigerians to their countries. This produce is then re-exported to the West Germany, Mexico, France and the US. Dr. Mensah confirmed the cola story, adding that through that trade alone, Ghana loses about \$2m, and 1m deutschmarks a year in under-invoicing and non-repatriation of foreign exchange earnings.

Halting police corruption

The Director of the National Police Force, Mr. Vanny Dempster, has announced tough measures to eradicate corruption by police officers. He said that police officers were not revenue collectors for the government, and warned that any attempt by officers to collect money from the public would be punishable by drastic measures. Mr. Dempster said any member of the public who was molested by a police officer in an attempt to collect money should immediately note the badge number and report the matter to the proper authority at the central police headquarters on Capitol Hill. ELWA radio said this followed growing public outcry over alleged extortion by certain

law enforcement officers, who reportedly made arrests for "crimes" that had not been committed. It was further alleged that some officers even connived with dishonest accusers to extract money from innocent people.

Oil talks with Nigeria

Nigeria and Ghana may be jointly involved in oil exploration depending on the outcome of bilateral talks between President Hilla Limann and President Shehu Shagari in Lagos, reported the *Nigerian Daily Times*. However, the final joint communiqué did not specifically mention such an agreement, but said the two countries pledged their determination to continue work together at all levels. They agreed to re-activate the joint co-operation commission. Earlier, President Shagari had told the *Daily Times* that the two countries were considering a joint aluminium project. "Nigeria and Ghana have maintained close cordial ties since the colonial era and today, both Ghanaians and Nigerians feel at home in each other's country", President Shagari said. The Ghanaian President said his visit was not only to talk on economic, social, political and technical matters, but also to thank Nigerians and President Shagari "for their relentless co-operation and assistance in times of need." Lagos radio reported that the supply of Nigerian oil to Ghana had been one of the issues discussed at the final talks between the two leaders.

Kotoka boycott threat

Ghana Airways pilots and the International Civil Aviation Organisation (ICAO) have threatened to boycott Kotoka International Airport unless more effective navigation equipment is installed there. A Ghana Airline Pilots Association source told the *Daily Graphic* that the boycott threat followed years of silent protest. Pilots are not happy about the breakdown of airfield lighting equipment and telecommunication aids. Continued breakdowns have made take-off and landing risky. For instance, the important Visual Approach Slope Indicator (VASI) which guides aircraft for landing, has not been working for almost three years. Other lighting fixtures on runways and taxiways are also broken down or have never been installed.

The *Graphic* said the ICAO was threatening to strip Kotoka Airport of its international status possibly as a result of complaints from foreign pilots. An official of the Civil Aviation Authority readily agreed when contacted by the *Graphic* that the pilots had a "strong case" and described

navigational aids at the airport as "totally inadequate and unsafe". He said the best thing to do would be to close the airport and upgrade the facilities.

About £2.5m of airfield lighting equipment has been stored in Hangar No. 3 ever since it was delivered over two years ago by the British Insulated Callenders Construction (BICC). The company did not complete the contract to upgrade the airport facilities.

Water shortages

Namumba Traditional Area has been facing acute water shortage. The *Daily Graphic* reported that a barrel of untreated water was selling for £14, and workers and children were travelling long distances for water. This followed the breakdown of a pumping machine at Bimbila. Mr. Nsor Nyabire, the District Chief Executive, warned workers against taking advantage of the situation to report late for duty, and said absentees would be punished.

An acute water shortage was also reported in Akim-Tafo, old Tafo, Kukuruntumi and surrounding villages in the East Akim District. As a result, thousands of fish being reared by the Cocoa Research Institute of Ghana had died in the waters behind the dam — the only water source for the towns — and the water level had gone down from 15 to two feet.

● Mr. Narley Samadju, Eastern Regional chief farmer, has urged the government to release for immediate sale to farmers two million cutlasses reportedly stockpiled at the Bibiani machet factory. He said prospective buyers could provide wooden handles for the cutlasses themselves. The *Ghanaian Times* recalled that the director of Agriculture, Mr. A. B. Williams-Baffoe, had recently told an agricultural extension officers' seminar in Kolondua that 2m cutlasses were lying idle at the Crocodile Machet factory in Bibiani because there were no wooden handles. Mr. Narley Samadju said it was unthinkable that such an enormous quantity of cutlasses should be allowed to pile up at the start of the farming season.

● Five transmitters worth thousands of cedis imported by the Posts and Telecommunications Corporation have been idle for the past five years, reported the *Ghanaian Times*. The Kokusam medium-wave transmitters, and two Siemens short-wave transmitters were ordered from Japan and West Germany in November 1975 for the Takoradi station to communicate with ships at sea. Posts and Telecommunications sources said the corporation had since been unable to send Japanese and German technicians to install the equipment. The station was experiencing difficulties in com-

municating with ships owing to the obsolete transmitters currently in use. Most of them were broken down, the sources said. The neglect of the station was also regretted since the station used to be a "very good source of foreign exchange because all our services to ships are paid for in foreign currency". The sources said work on a new coast receiving station at Takoradi which began about four years ago had also been abandoned for unknown reasons.

Inflation statistics

The Government Statistician, Mr. O. A. Y. Jackson, has announced that Ghana's rate of inflation fell from 116.5 per cent in 1977 to 47.7 per cent at the end of January 1980. He said that in 1970, inflation rose from three per cent to 17.7 per cent in 1973, to 56 per cent in 1976, reaching a peak of 116.5 per cent in 1977. By 1978, this dropped to 73 per cent, dropped further in December 1979 to 54.4 per cent. Mr. Jackson said the fall to 47.7 per cent this January was due to a relatively good harvest in 1979. Although fuel shortages had contributed to the unavailability of foodstuffs like yam and plantain, these were now readily available in the market. He said sustained effort to grow more food and evacuate the harvests would keep prices down and relieve the pressure presently

felt in the economy.

The Government Statistician said all the rates were measured on the national consumer price index. This, he said, took account of prices in shops, markets, and areas before arriving at overall inflation rates. Despite the fall in the wholesale price index and the prime building cost index, he showed much lower rates of change compared to the consumer price index at the end of 1979. The three indicators of inflation were all in the region of 50 per cent. Jackson said the mess Ghana was now in was partly due to the fact that economic data were not available to show where the country was heading. Relevant to this was the scarcity of professional statisticians at the Central Bureau of Statistics due to poor salaries.

On the population census, he said "emphatically" that it could not take place this year. The *Graphic* reported that he could now say when it would occur. He explained that under abnormal conditions the census took about two years to prepare and its preparation had been done in such reasons as lack of printing materials, vehicles and even accommodation for the Area census office. He said the UN had kindly donated some vehicles, and that his office was determined to speed up preparatory work. The last census was held in 1970 under UN supervision.

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