

WEST AFRICA

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SOLDIERS, CHIEFS AND POLITICIANS



Men such as Leopold Sedar Senghor whose remarkable address at Ife University is reported on page 1553, are rare in West African politics. For he commands respect not only as a politician but also as a scholar. Yet even he has had to deal harshly with opponents and, as he stood on the platform at Ife, together with General Gowon, to receive his honorary degree, many in the audience must have asked themselves whether the young General whom the public orator rightly called "The Soldier of Peace" was any less entitled than the veteran poet-politician to the title of humanitarian?

If the question can be raised in relation to President Senghor, how much more cogently can it be raised in relation to most other political leaders in West Africa since independence? For one of the saddest comments on the history, at any rate of Commonwealth West Africa, in the last decade is that the military régimes have in many ways proved more tolerant than the allegedly democratic civilian ones. Certainly there has been little resemblance to the régime of the Greek colonels or the Arab military dictators in Nigeria, Ghana, or even Sierra Leone.

If military régimes can be so liberal in these countries, why should civilian ones be so dictatorial? The answer, we suggest, does not lie in the superior virtue of the soldiers or in the incorrigible vice of the politicians. The soldiers, with the unhappy exception in some respects of the former Brigadier Juxon-Smith, are sure of their position. The politicians are not. So the soldiers seem to show the naturally tolerant character of their countries while the politicians distort it.

- Interview with North-Central State Governor
- Kano diary
- Ghana subversion trial verdict
- Diplomacy in the Nigerian war

his difference, however, reflects more fundamental problems about the nature of authority in these countries. The man who naturally accepts the authority of his chief will readily understand the authority of a Colonel. But his acceptance of the authority of a politician, unless he be a patriarchal one like the late Sir Milton Margai or Senghor, will depend on the politician's performance, and that seldom matches his promises, whether or not the lure can be temporarily concealed by appeals to tribal or other passions. The naive enthusiasm with which army rule has been greeted in Nigeria, and, twice, in Ghana shows how fickle political loyalty

Even in Sierra Leone the soldiers might have returned to barracks as national heroes if their leader had not made it plain that he was going to hang on to power indefinitely, whatever his régime's promises.

Is there, then, a crisis of authority? With the present exception of The Gambia, democratic civilian rule seems to have very shallow roots in West Africa. But if we are not to see anarchy — and the position is serious enough to use that word — what is the basis on which authority can be built? Some may argue that you cannot discuss the basis of authority without explaining the purposes for which it is to be used, for against the common interest in preserving a minimum standard of law and order. And that is now the problem which may

arise where military rule is withdrawn.

Over the greater part of West Africa there are so few policemen that people in other parts of the world might ask eagerly what is the secret which still allows law and order to be preserved. The obvious answer is the continued influence of the chieftaincy, whatever changes may have been made in the formal position of chiefs. As was noted in a review in this journal of Ronald Wraith's most recent work on local government in West Africa, politicians regarded the introduction of some kind of European system as a means of curtailing the power of chiefs. Now some of the same politicians, even if now formally excluded from politics, are asking if the process has not gone far enough. In the last analysis you do expect the chief or his subordinates to maintain law and order, but you deprive them of the authority to do this. You cannot have it both ways.

One should, perhaps, go much deeper, and ask — assuming that the maintenance of some degree of authority is to the benefit of all — what are the springs of authority for the average West African? This is what makes of particular importance a research programme of the Institute of Administration at Nigeria's Ahmadu Bello University. For this, at the start, is concerned with the administration of the empires of Sokoto, Bornu, Oyo and Benin. It would be naive to suppose that this research could produce technical answers for the administration

of Greater Accra or Kaduna. It is concerned, as Mahmud Tukur, Director of the Institute, has pointed out, with the ideas behind the administrations of these undoubtedly important polities.

Even some young public men, alarmed by the social dislocation around them, have decided that a return to absolute religious rules is the answer. The object of the Ahmadu Bello research is both more academic and more practical: can we learn from these old administrations anything about the type of administration which the mass of present-day Africans might find acceptable?

The results of the research are far away, and may have no practical significance. The position of chiefs is very different under a military régime and under a political régime where they may curry the favour of a ruling party which can destroy them. But in the transition from military to civilian rule and in the permanent task of government in the villages, the chiefs still have a major role

NIGERIANS ON FERNANDO PO

Several Nigerian workers are reported to have died in a clash with the authorities on the island of Fernando Po. Unofficial reports received in Calabar put the death toll at 50 or 60, but this was denied by the Equatorial Guinea representative in Lagos, Mr. Okorie-Dougan, who said that there had been incidents when Nigerian workers staged a demonstration to a military camp in Santa Isabel, following the arrests of some of their countrymen. All demonstrations are forbidden in Equatorial Guinea, and troops opened fire.

The reports from Calabar quoted Nigerian workers returning from Fernando Po by sea as saying that the clash was due to long standing friction between Nigerian and local workers. A group arriving on a chartered boat said they narrowly escaped with their lives and had to leave their property behind.

About 12,000 labourers were recruited this year to work on cocoa plantations in Fernando Po, following the signing of a new labour agreement to replace an earlier one which had broken down during the war. Nigerian labour has long been working on the plantations on the island, mainly recruited in the former Eastern Nigeria. The new agreement, which was the subject of protracted negotiations between the Nigerian and Equato-Guinean governments, was reported at the time to have secured improved conditions for Nigerian workers.

The new agreement guaranteed a monthly wage of around eight Nigerian pounds and a number of fringe benefits, but there have been signs since then that all has still not been well. In the spring there were reports of friction, and during the Equato-Guinea-Gabon crisis in September, among the refugees arriving in Gabon complaining of molestation were a number of Nigerians.

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Letter from Kaduna

Because it had in this capital of the former Northern Region a ready-made headquarters some leaders in the other five new northern states of Nigeria believe that the North Central State had an easier start than the rest. That is emphatically not the view of the State's Governor, Brigadier Abba Kyari. In his office in the Government House which served as residence for successive British Chief Commissioners and then British and Nigerian Governors, he recalled that when, as a Battalion Commander in Kano, he was appointed Military Governor of the state in June, 1967, he had to use a capital which was both makeshift and temporary. That was Zaria, fifty miles away, because the Interim Administrative Council for the northern states was considering the future of Kaduna Capital Territory and the assets there of the former Regional Government. When the State Government did move to Kaduna it found, the Governor agreed, plenty of buildings "but we had a claim to only 14 per cent by value, our agreed share of the assets of the former region. Anything else we have had to pay for and other states have been under no obligation to let us have first offer of buildings they dispose of". That, and not any Parkinson's Law, was the reason why the State Government was today short both of office and houses even in Kaduna.

Now a "boom town"

The Governor, a gentle soft-spoken man, was mildly reproachful of the expression "ghost town" used of Kaduna in this journal after the exodus of civil servants to the new states, often with their files and furniture. Today I can make amends and call the city "boom town". For even if the new state did not enjoy the advantages alleged it was already, after Kano, the second most important commercial centre in the north and Nigeria's textile capital, with seven plants. Although all the northern states jointly share ownership of the big Hamdala Hotel it happens to be here for the convenience of businessmen. And its change of status has not affected the excellence of the city's location which made Lord Lugard decide to make it the northern capital in 1913. The best comment on its commercial situation today is that the nine storey office block built by the Northern Nigerian Development Corporation and once regarded as a white elephant is now overflowing.

But booms bring problems. The Governor is satisfied that his state has no serious problems of law and order although it recently had its share of kidnappings and kidnapping scares. But Kaduna has always been a cosmopolitan



Brigadier Abba Kyari, Governor of the North Central State.
Below: building a groundnut pyramid.



place and it continues to attract people from all over Nigeria, as well as droves of people from the surrounding area outside the farming season.

One reason why Brigadier Kyari, who was born in Niger, where water is an even greater problem than it is here, is such an enthusiast for irrigation is that it could keep people at work on the land in the dry season — and so out of Kaduna. At present he is particularly concerned about the localised food crop failures in the far north of the state, which runs for some 300 miles from almost the centre of Nigeria to the Niger border. Only a small percentage of the state's 4.5m. people are affected and the situation is much worse in Niger where shortage of rain has particularly affected pasture for cattle which are being prematurely slaughtered. And now that food can so quickly be moved from areas of surplus to areas of shortage you can no longer speak of "famine" in Nigeria.

Concern over profiteering

But the Governor is concerned at the possible profiteering at the expense of the badly-hit areas and is organising direct state help and asking for federal aid. Some people say that this is the worst food crop failure in 50 years; Brigadier Kyari's point is that whether this is the case or not the drier parts of the state are always liable to drought and that irrigation is the best safeguard.

Asked whether the farmers would take readily to irrigation, he answers simply: "they irrigate already". They do, of course, with ingenious individual contraptions lifting water from wells, skins or gourds. But state schemes can ensure a regular water supply and provide pumps to lighten the labour.

The Governor is also satisfied that the objections to irrigation formerly raised by medical men in these parts — that it would spread bilharzia and encourage mosquitoes — are no longer valid in face of modern control techniques.

Everybody in Nigeria now talks about "incentives" for farmers. Brigadier Kyari has no doubt that the main incentive is good prices — but for the state's groundnut farmers, he complained, these are largely controlled by market forces abroad. And it is the sedentary farmers "and the civil servants" who in his view cannot escape the tax net which so many of the richer citizens avoid — and the boom is producing many rich traders, contractors, and professional men. He is sure that the state could raise far more revenue from its own resources. But as a good "one Nigeria" man he is not sorry that no state seems likely to be able to finance more than a proportion of its spending from its own sources. "this dependence on the Federal Government

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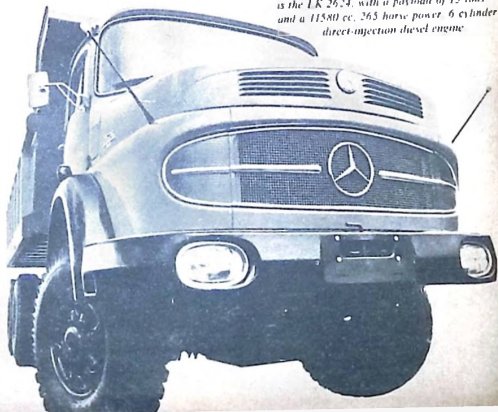
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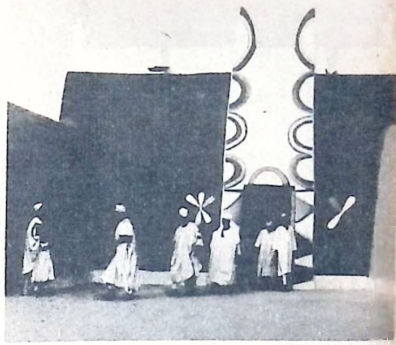
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Contrasts in the North Central State: the Kagom Hills (left) and the Emir's Palace at Daura.

makes for national unity".

The state is based on the two great emirates of Katsina and Zaria, with the important but small emirate of Daura and the group of chiefdoms in the south east. "It is a united state" says the Governor. "Of course you get allegations of favouritism in the civil service on behalf of different groups, but there is no friction among the mass of people. Whatever you do you'll have that civil service problem". The outsider, it is true, hears of rivalry at

the top between Katsina and Zaria men, and of the position of the non-Muslim people in parts of the south-east who have more education but no influence. At first some of the south eastern people asked to be included in the neighbouring Benue-Plateau State whose social composition is closer to their own than is that of the big emirates. The Governor's readiness to acknowledge this feeling is perhaps the best proof that it is not disruptive.

After talking to Brigadier Abba Kyari, indeed, you feel that his real worries lie outside the state — in the world forces which affect prices to his farmers, in the vast smuggling which affects the profitability of his textile industry, even in the cement shortage now affecting the Great Zaria Water Supply Scheme. Above all he can never forget those of his people who are now suffering from the effects of a drought whose causes lie beyond the control of any man.

Senghor at Ife

Flying in the early morning from the Harmattan-dried plains of Kano to the tall forests of Yorubaland, President Senghor of Senegal and General Gowon exchanged the horsed pageantry of the previous day for the pageantry of academic robes at the university here. As culmination of the university's tenth anniversary celebrations honorary doctorates were to be conferred on the two leaders. In the assembly hall were not only the gowns of the Ife students and the Ife-qualified staff, but the robes of a dozen other universities from which the international staff are drawn. And in the audience, many wearing the robes of their old or present universities, were the representatives of over forty other universities, ranging from Wisconsin State to Sri Lanka. Most of these representatives were Nigerians, who illustrated the vast experience the country now has of higher education, overseas. They ranged from Professor Jacob Ajayi, new Vice-Chancellor of the University of Lagos, who raised a particular cheer when he delivered his message to Chief Awolowo, Ife's Chancellor, on behalf of the University of Leicester, to the tall

Vice-Chancellor of Ife itself, Professor H. A. Oluwasanmi, representing Morehouse College in the US (in preference to Harvard, where he took his doctorate).

And in any gathering in the Western State the robes of chiefs, not to mention those of ordinary citizens, can always put even the doctors in the shade. All Nigeria's educational life was represented. There were five State Governors, Commissioners, Ambassadors and High Commissioners, and leaders of the Armed Forces and the Civil Service.

The main actors, both quiet men of modest stature, were difficult to pick out as they brought up the rear of the Chancellors' procession in their red Ife doctorate robes. But it was their speeches that everybody had come to hear.

For President Senghor this was clearly a great occasion. Nigeria for him is, as he said at the beginning of his speech acknowledging the conferment of the degree of Doctor of Letters, "the matrix of civilisations, the microcosm of Africa". And Ife is the cradle of one of those civilisations, the Yoruba, for which this is the sacred city where, as the President reminded us, according to Yoruba

a report from our special correspondent

mythology, man was created, and a magnificent tradition of sculpture was born. Speaking in English more perfect and precise than is likely to heard here often again, he paid this complete tribute: "in the sculpture of Ife are depicted all the art, history and philosophy of Africa. And from them Western Europe discovered the forgotten notions of art in prayer, gravity in joy, dignity in suffering, restraint in broad gesture". Yet, he went on, the Ashby Commission had been right to emphasise that Ife should concentrate on technology for Nigerian development. In his own Dakar University they had the same emphasis although they approached technology through mathematics, "the foundation of the exact sciences". Under-development was simply under-industrialisation, but unlike Prometheus they did not have to steal fire. The Ife smiths worked before the invention of blast furnaces and today they had again to bring *négritude* to bear on technology.

Most of the rest of his speech President Senghor devoted to the students among his audience. But by now nobody could have been surprised at the astonishing list of academic distinctions



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Senghor and Gowon.

which had been read out in the public orator's citation of the distinguished graduates career — a citation read, because he could repeat part of it in faultless French, by Doctor Imevbore, Professor of Zoology.

Urging the need for African scholars to be multi-lingual President Senghor used memorable words "the language of Shakespeare and the Elizabethans is no longer only a vehicle for conveying the ambivalent passions of the human heart. It also conveys scientifically established facts and methods". It was still, however, the language of a great literature and at Dakar University they studied the works of English-speaking African writers.

Finally President Senghor, reminding the students that at their age his generation had "protested" and thought their elders "old fogeys" (I wondered how many Ife students ever used the term). But they no longer had to wage a struggle for power but one for unity. Above all he could assert at Ife that the task was to keep African roots while remaining "open" to the outside world. Would that God would "grant to these youths the courage of the Resistance who perished under the guns". Finally he asked God to grant youth the vision of "the man of Ife", he who had created man.

Nobody who heard this speech — unhappily it was sometimes difficult to follow in an auditorium of this kind — can ever forget it. Gowon, in his modest way, made no effort to emulate it. But he immediately attracted the sympathy of his audience by saying that he was not going to discuss controversial matters such as the state quota system for university admission nor urged in some quarters, or staff salaries. He did, however, raise the biggest laugh of the day. Ife was replying to the appeal made by Chief Awolowo to "philanthropic souls" to contribute to the university's £2m. endowment fund, which has already found a response among individuals and firms throughout the country. The Federal Government, he said, would

gladly subscribe if the Western State Government and the University would agree that that would absolve the Federal Government from any further financial contribution to the University's costs. Then, in an unscripted aside, turning to Chief Awolowo, he added "I could never get a penny out of him when he was Commissioner for Finance". He did, however, commend the idea of an endowment fund which could both involve more people in responsibility for an institution and give it some independence. President Senghor himself handed to Chief Awolowo a £5,000 cheque.

One of the greatest achievements of this University is its Institute of Administration under Professor Adejebi, now a Federal Commissioner, which has sponsored much valuable research into Nigeria's problems and provided "staff college" training. General Gowon, for whom the creation of the new states is his great constitutional achievement, particularly commended the University for its contribution to training staff for the states. He finished by promising "soon" for the "expectant" graduates, details of the scheme for a compulsory national youth service corps for them announced in his last broadcast.

For the two leaders this was by no means the end of their day at Ife. With its thirteen thousand acres, including forested hills and magnificent trees, together with much new planting and carefully tended lawns and flower beds, this is one of the finest university campuses in the world. But its building programme is far from finished. It was appropriate that it had been left to President Senghor to lay the foundation stone for a permanent building for the Institute of African Studies which has done so much to foster research and also to stimulate dance and drama. Its director is now Professor Ulli Beier. General Gowon also formally opened the Agricultural Engineering Building — agriculture could be called the main faculty here — and it is the Vice-Chancellor's subject.

There was a postscript. The two leaders went to the small but beautifully kept museum next to the palace of the Oni of Ife which houses not only the magnificent collection of Ife brass and bronze heads but also marvellous terracotta works, quartz stools and other ancient Ife work. In the heads President Senghor detected some of the Egyptian influence said to result from the origin of the Yorubas in that part of the world. But he also detected likenesses to some leading Yoruba of today. General Gowon, unusually speaking in French, pointed to the resemblance between the heads and ancient Greek work.

Finally came the most agreeable ceremony of the day. The two leaders called on the Oni, now almost eighty, but fit enough to lead them down the stairs in the palace to their Rolls-Royce. And even President Senghor must have admitted that the Oni has not lost his touch in selecting champagne.



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VIEW OF
AFRICA : 2

In the second of two articles, Anani Dzidzienyo analyses some of the Brazilian press comments on Africa in the post-1964 period, particularly in relation to Portugal and South Africa, and asks how far Brazil's desire to improve relations with black Africa can be squared with her attitudes on Southern Africa, or, how the people of African descent fare in Brazil (see also "People", page 1563). The latter topic will be the subject of a future article.

The visit of President Senghor of Senegal to Bahia was the occasion for another *Journal do Bahia* editorial comment, on 20/21 October 1964, under heading "The Visit of Senghor". It was said that the historical links existing between Brazil and Africa made it imperative for Brazilians to pay particular attention to events in the new countries of Africa "The black continent contributed considerably to the ethnic formation of Brazil Africa and Brazil both belong to the less developed part of today's world". For these reasons, Senghor's visit was seen as an important event. By this time, however, the progressive governments of the early sixties, which had looked favourably on independent Africa, had been replaced by a conservative military dictatorship which was more interested in maintaining Brazil's traditional links with Portugal. The African continent of the JB stimulated considerably, and what there was reflected a different orientation, as well as strict government control.

On 20 January 1967, the JB reprinted a news item originating in a Portuguese newspaper (*Diario de Noticias* of Lisbon) attacking the joint statement of African diplomats in Brazil criticising Brazil's close identification with Portugal, especially in relation to Africa.

"It is irrelevant to criticise and disturb a friendship which is based on blood, sentiment, and cultural affinities. These "adolescent" countries, against all diplomatic practice, have the audacity to question a friendship which is based not on transient political conventions but on blood, sentiment, intelligence, and affection."

It is not necessary to dwell on this evolution of "kith, kin, and blood" sentiment: suffice it to say the "blood" and cultural formation of Brazil was not solely Portuguese in origin. Yet in matters of contemporary affairs not much is made of the African contribution to that "blood".

While at the level of rhetoric, much is made of Brazil's African connection, there is no practical follow-up. This contrasts sharply with Brazilian-Portuguese relations. Luso-Brazilian Day is commemorated officially. In 1971, there was a Luso-Brazilian week in Rio de Janeiro the former capital of Brazil but still considered Brazil's premier city. The Minister of Education for the state of Guanabara of which Rio is now the capital talked of the "Portuguese Community" as a power in the Southern Atlantic and emphasised to young people the importance of Luso-Brazilian links. The Portuguese Ambassador spoke of the bonds of race, religion, culture, and faith as the landmarks of the Luso-Brazilian community. He also referred to a convention in preparation which would grant common rights to Brazilians and Portuguese. In January 1972, the President of Banco do Brasil Nestor Jost had said that 1972 would be dedicated to the conquest of the African market by Brazilian manufacturers. This announcement had been made before Senhor Jost set out for a month-long visit to South Africa, Angola and Mozambique. His trip coincided with a visit by a South African trade mission to Brazil. In June this year it was reported that Brazil and Portugal were to work out a scheme for setting up a joint investment bank, which would be open to other investors to join, for operations in Mozambique, Angola and South Africa.

Last August, it was announced that the Banco do Brasil was contemplating opening an African subsidiary either in South Africa or in Angola.

After 1964

For the post 1964 period other Brazilian newspapers and magazines tell the story very effectively. Essentially, what has happened is a change in the 1961-1964 attitude to Africa which had been an attempted but abortive effort to look positively at Black Africa. On reflection, however, the effort lacked punch. It appears, therefore that what has happened since April 1964 is much less phoney.

Brazilian newspapers carry vivid advertisements for trips to South Africa. In its issue of April 1, 1971, the Bahian afternoon paper *A Tarde* carried a picture of two chimpanzees wearing bibs with the insignia of the Brazilian National Airlines (Varig) and captioned "South African Attraction". The advertisement noted that South Africa, in addition to its big dynamic and modern cities where progress was being made in various fields, offered a world of tourist attractions. It ended with the announcement of the national airline Varig starting flights to South Africa.

For a country with millions of black citizens it seems very odd that South Africa is so appraisingly advertised. Of course, it can be argued, and correctly so, that the advertisement is directed to Brazilians who are not black and hence would not be inconvenienced by South

African laws. The appearance of such an advertisement does not contradict official Brazil's ritual condemnation of apartheid especially when it is dramatised in a Sharpeville. For black Africa, however, it is not insignificant that rhetoric and action do not coincide, and it is this that, hopefully, African decision-makers will bear in mind in assessing Brazil's "new" interest in Africa.

"Oasis of Peace"

A Diario de Noticias. In 1970 another Bahian daily carried a piece which is illustrative of Brazil's view of Africa. It was a letter written by a Brazilian journalist reporting on a visit to Angola. He described himself as being in love with Africa - not the Africa of assassinations, nor of apartheid, but the Africa the Portuguese created, of love and miscegenation. Angola and Portuguese-speaking Africa were described as "perhaps the only oasis of peace on the black continent".

By peace is meant the fact of Portuguese domination and maintenance of the *status quo* as contrasted with other areas where Africans had, at least formally, overturned the colonial peaceful co-existence.

The weekly magazine *O Cruzeiro* also in 1970 described Angola as "an oasis of racial integration in spite of the guerrilla". The report proudly noted that in Angola it was impossible to find the South African variant of racism, or rebellious blacks, i.e., blacks know their place there and there is no trouble.

When Africans begin to question their place, they are described as terrorists. The widely circulated glossy magazine *Manchete* carried an article in early 1971 about the liberation struggle in Mozambique, which was described as "a Portuguese land with certainty".

The official Portuguese line was presented a full-length interview with the Portuguese military governor was printed. On the freedom fighters, the article noted "the promises of Cobral lose all their power when confronted with the reality of General Spínola".

The February 13, 1971 issue of *Manchete* carried a lengthy pictorial essay on contemporary Africa. It was titled "Revolution within the Revolution" and was a rehash of something the American Magazine, *Time*, had carried discussing the turbulence which had marked the 21st decade of African independence, 28 first coups in 10 years "Economic Chaos!". There was no comment from *Manchete* itself. From this, it can be seen that there does not appear to exist any real interest in trying to understand black Africa's own point of view.

A very recent example which could also be considered a good illustration of Brazilian attitude towards Black Africa is contained in a letter to the publisher of the influential pro-régime paper *O Estado de São Paulo*, to the Brazilian Minister of Justice complaining about the widening of censorship laws. Senhor Mesquita, the Publisher, complained about the image of

Brazil which was being reduced to "a Uganda". The above reference needs no comment.

Ultimately, whatever Brazil officially and unofficially says about wanting to improve relations with Black Africa has to be assessed in the light of Brazil's attitudes to South Africa. Portugal's conduct in Africa and, what is even more important to Africans, how the people of African descent fare in Brazil. There is nothing unusual in Brazil wanting to improve its trade with African countries but this should not be confused with Brazil and Africa sharing historical and cultural communalities because, as this article has attempted to show, the historical and cultural links by themselves lack any meaning unless they are linked with the realities of contemporary Africa.

It will require much more than a whistle-stop trip by the Brazilian Foreign Minister through some African countries to convince black Africa that Brazil and Brazilians have come to grips with the realities of Black Africa.

In last week's article, a number of words were left out of the bottom of column three on page 1532. The sentence which reads "He observed that there was 98 per cent of the total population" should read "He observed that there was 98 per cent illiteracy in the Portuguese colonies in Africa and that there were hardly any secondary schools for the African population who formed 98 per cent of the total population."

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Books and Publications

The Cronje Chronicle

The World and Nigeria, by Suzanne Cronje (Sidgwick and Jackson, £5.90).

To her friends Suzanne, or Sue to her enemies "The Cronje (pronounced Cronge, or should it be Cronde?) to the staff of the Ivory Coast Embassy in London in those days, Madame Cro-Cro. In the period of the Nigerian war she was one of the bulwarks of the Biafra lobby in Britain, doggedly hardworking, a tireless telephoner (sometimes to the point of infatuation), with an endless capacity for assimilating information. The vision is with me still. Mrs Cronje, plugged into her shortwave radio up there in Platts Lane, a round-the-clock, one-woman monitoring service. On the evidence of her book, she even taped some of the broadcasts, too.

She, I suppose, falls into the category of "passionate whites" (a phrase wrongly attributed by Tony Kirk-Greene to me). Certainly her devotion to and personal involvement in the cause of Biafra seemed boundless, greater almost than the Biafrans themselves. It was probably this passion that aroused such strong emotions of reaction to her on the other side. It is a pity that her book gives so little inkling of her own role, for she has her place in any "Diplomatic History of the Nigerian War 1967-70" or their own sub-title. One could wish, indeed, that she had devoted a little more space to the Biafran side of the diplomatic operation, and the way in which the Biafra lobbies in a number of countries worked. Not that she ignores them, or pretends they did not exist, but she was well placed to give a well-informed account of their operation, as some of her sources, such as unpublished memoranda, seem to indicate.

The reason may partly be that, in *The World and Nigeria*, Mrs Cronje is earnestly trying to repress anything that can be construed as her "strong personal views" on the matter. She has achieved the blatant polemic of *Biafra Britain's Shame* and sought objectivity. "It is important", she says "to examine world reactions to such situations, to analyse the motives and the manner in which political decisions bearing on such problems are made. For the lesson to be learnt, however, the truth must be established — a considerable task in view of the official attempts in most major capitals to conceal the facts. This book was written in the hope that it will help to put the record straight."

Unhappily she does not always live up

to her own laudable intentions, partly, I suppose because she is by nature a crusader and the robes of academic detachment do not sit easily on her. She is still too anxious to pursue her conviction that the British government and Foreign Office were the villains of the piece, and devotes too much of the book to going over all the minutiae of the old arguments about what was or was not said by some unfortunate Labour minister (how hard it is, incidentally, to recall that Michael Stewart was once Foreign Secretary). This creates a certain imbalance in the book, as she admits she had to leave a lot out: "there was no space to say much about the important political role of the Vatican" and some other countries, such as the Netherlands and Scandinavia are subjects that could be treated in detail. There was also more to say, surely about Israel, even if only in terms of Nigerian suspicions.

Of course, since the war, new material

affecting the case against the UK has come to light, such as the Nigerian Trade Summary figures (which somebody discovered in January 1970) were freely available in Lagos) revealing that British arms exports to Nigeria were more than the 15 per cent so often claimed. This, not unnaturally, she makes a great deal of, as she does with the awkward stance of the International Observers, and bizarre utterances of Major Walsworth Bell. But one gets the feeling that the old investigative is dying to burst through the restraint.

Also, the number of times she is actually prepared to criticise Biafra, or Ojukwu, are still very few. She admits that in believing that the British would send troops to Nigeria (especially under a Labour government) Ojukwu's political judgment was "curiously at fault". She also accepts that some of the Biafran claims (faithfully transmitted by Markpress) "verged on the ludicrous". She mentions in this context charges by Dr. Eke, Commissioner for Information in Biafra, that Britain had despatched a thousand troops to help in the attack on Bonny and Port Harcourt (Sir David Hunt said this was a confusion over 700 schoolchildren who had sailed from Liverpool), and later that Britain had sent seventy paratroopers "disguised" as members of the Hibernian football club. Most of the time, however, her old reflexes still seem to be at work, if muffled.

Likewise one feels that, on occasion she is doing her best to be fair to the

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Nigerians (in keeping with her view that the British were the mam ogres) as when she says they cannot be blamed for wanting to deny food to the enemy army. However, if she wanted to be objective in this way she might have accorded some credit to the Nigerians for the way the war ended, without any of the feared massacres, in spite of anything that may have happened before. This was when reputations were salvaged, or, for that matter, burst. Elsewhere, however, she suddenly comes out with totalling damning references to Nigeria's "inherent inability to unite its people in a common purpose."

One of Mrs. Cronje's problems is that she cannot stop herself from being astonished at self-evident truths, and putting them in such a context as to make them sound somehow sinister. For instance, she quotes the *New York Times*, two days before Biafra's surrender, as saying: "The end of the war will make it possible to reopen oil fields disrupted by the fighting", the inference being that it was oil policy that kept Nixon muted although he had uttered pro-Biafran sentiments before his election. But in itself, the statement was one which any journalist (who knows, even Mrs. Cronje) might reasonably have written at that time. Likewise the Foreign Office were observed in their inquiry in June 1967 studying a map of the twelve states. Surprising, or normal? This is the sort of allusion (and there are many other examples) that in the end makes one suspicious of the whole of this book as a reliable guide to the complexities of the diplomatic situation.

This is unfortunate, as she has amassed a great deal of genuinely useful information. Her analysis of the policies of both France and the USSR for instance are informative and, on occasion revealing. She is objectively right to play down the extent of Soviet influence in Lagos, although one feels sometimes she does it to play up the extent of British wickedness. She has some useful original material in the shape of material from a Scandinavian diplomat on the thoughts of Soviet Ambassador Romanov, which certainly tie in with what one knew of the Soviet attitude to Nigeria at the time. On the evidence, her view that the extent of French assistance to Biafra was exaggerated, especially by some rather dubious reports in British newspapers, seems the correct one. The Biafrans were right to be annoyed with the inadequacy of French help. She provides a telling quotation about the French from a Biafran representative after the war. "I wish they had never opened their mouth. They did not help us much, and it only annoyed the British".

Her analysis of African attitudes is also useful, especially for the part in which she recounts what was told her of a possible change in the OAU line by Mr. Sahnoun, OAU Assistant Secretary-General, in late 1969. This is the kind of personal interview of which the book needs much more.

Mrs. Cronje is also keen to disprove

that there was any real South African assistance to Biafra, although in a way she seems to be calling for further evidence, and it is true the hard evidence is scanty. Of the Portuguese complicity there is no doubt, however. Although Nyerere, as Mrs. Cronje mentions, was prepared to ignore it, there was no doubt that the help from known enemies of Africa helped to turn many progressives off the Biafran cause. It was a major distraction from the struggle in the south. One main factor was the absence of ideology from the struggle. This she mentions, but she could pursue the argument into whether, if Biafra had consciously espoused revolution, it might have succeeded, or perhaps even succeeded in the first place.

It is easy to be bewildered, too, by Mrs. Cronje's use of footnotes. Of these there are a plethora, all stocked up over several pages at the end, rather than handy at the bottom of pages, or even at the end of chapters. This makes it a difficult book to read if you want to check her sources. It is clear that there are far too many useless footnotes, alluding to matter that needs little checking. Some of her more controversial material, however, has no footnotes at all. Out of curiosity I totted up some of her footnotes, and discovered that Hansard came top with 102 references, the BBC Monitoring Service second with 64 references, narrowly beating *West Africa*, with 62.

She has a habit of putting some vital item in quotations, and then not saying where such a quotation comes from. For example, it would be nice to know who, in which British circles, and at what time openly expressed the fear that "the Ibos might get away with the oil" (page 10).

There are also a number of points on which she contradicts herself. At one point she has Sir Francis Cumming-Bruce alone influencing Gowon away from secession in August 1966 later she acknowledges the US Ambassador and a number of Nigerian permanent secretaries also played a part, then later still she again attributes it to Sir Francis alone. Again, she says at one point that Sir Louis Ojukwu was advising his son at one stage in dealings with oil companies, and then doubts it in a footnote.

This book, then, is not the definitive study of the international relations surrounding the Nigerian war. Because of Mrs. Cronje's sheer slog it is a useful reference compilation, for such details as the fact that Lord Goodman and Sir Louis Mbanefo were at school together. Some of her analysis may be more confusing than enlightening for future scholars, so they may need an "annotated Cronje" that we may need in the manner of some of the more unreliable medieval chronicles. One ends up almost nostalgic for her old battling self, tempted to say to her, as De Gaulle once said to Queen Elizabeth II, "he what you are, Madame".

K.W.

Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, report of activities 1971-72.

The period reviewed, says the report,

represents a peak in SIPRI's activities so far. "Five major books on the arms race and disarmament have been published in this period together with several research reports; there has been a meeting with the Scientific Council and a change in directorship plus a considerable turnover in research staff. Several more publications will be issued before the end of 1972".

SIPRI is an independent, international research institute set up in July 1966 as a foundation by the Swedish Parliament.

Israel's Oriental Immigrants and Druzes, by Alfred Friendly. Report No. 12 of the Minority Rights Group, price 45p.

Who Cares? The Poor World and the Enlarged EEC, by Peter Kenyon (Voluntary Committee on Overseas Aid and Development, 20p.)

Those befogged by all the talks of association and reciprocity, of Yaounde and Arusha, could do worse than cast an eye on this little pamphlet, which summarises with the aid of tables and relevant quotations from a number of publications the broad picture of the attitude of the enlarged EEC to the developing world. While presented most objectively, the author argues that there is much complacency in EEC circles at the moment about what they are doing for the developing world, and are even at the moment formulating policies which are conspicuously cutting off opportunities for poor countries to accelerate their own development.

G.K.

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People



Our picture shows Sierra Leone's new High Commissioner in Britain, Jacob A. C. Davies about to enter the coach to go to Buckingham Palace to present his credentials to Queen Elizabeth II. At his side is the marshal of the diplomatic corps. Mr. Davies has been for the last two years Sierra Leone's Ambassador to the United States. He was educated at the Prince of Wales School in Freetown, and the University of Reading, where he studied agriculture, and obtained a B.Sc. He then followed courses at Selwyn College Cambridge and the Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture, between 1950 and 1952 before returning home to work in the Ministry of Agriculture and Natural Resources. He worked in the ministry in various capacities, both in Freetown and up-country, ending up as Permanent Secretary. On retirement in 1967 he became project co-manager of the UNDP/SE/FAO Project for two years before becoming Chairman of the Public Service Commission.

It is sad to record the death of the black South African writer and teacher Alfred Hutchinson at the age of 48. He was best known for his book *The Road to Ghana* in which he described how he had been arrested in South Africa following taking part in civil disobedience campaigns, how he was put on trial and subsequently made a dramatic escape. He fled across the Rhodesias and Mozambique to Tanganyika, where he was helped by Julius Nyerere and Canon Collins to fly to Ghana. He settled in Britain as a teacher in the Brighton area, and later took an MA at Sussex University. *The Brighton and Hove Gazette*, in an obituary notice said that his colleagues in Brighton secondary schools called him "Alfred the Great" (he was 6ft 4in tall). The paper also notes that he was shattered by the prejudice that he found among the pupils in the schools, although he blamed the "big shots" rather than the children. He died in his sleep of a heart

attack just after he had returned to Africa, as an Education Officer in Kano.

Anani Dzidzienyo author of the two articles on Brazil's view of Africa in this week's and last week's *West Africa*, is a political scientist cum sociologist who spent a year at the Centre for Afro-Oriental Studies in Bahia studying the position of blacks in Brazilian society. Born in Ghana in 1941, he was educated at Mfantsum school, and then went on a New York Herald Tribune Course in the US, a year after Fifi Hesse (see last week's *West Africa*). He went back to the states to Williams College in Massachusetts, where he graduated in Political Science. He then went to the University of Essex to do a Masters degree in Latin American politics. In 1970 he was appointed a research fellow at the Institute of Race Relations, under those auspices he went to Brazil. Earlier this year he produced an initial report on his work in Brazil called *The Position of Blacks in Brazilian Society* (published by the Minority Rights Group Report No 7, 30p). This was a scathing analysis of the disadvantaged situation of the blacks in Brazil, a situation made worse by official pretence that it does not exist and that Brazil is a perfect multi-racial society. He has now almost completed his book on the subject for the Institute of Race Relations.

Mali Education Minister Yaya Bagayoko said after a visit to North Korea that the educational system there was the most complete he had ever seen. "I have known several teaching systems, but I have never seen any which is so rarely complete as the Korean one". It is teaching which "strives for an integral promotion of the citizen, which on the one hand includes theory allied to practise and production, and on the other hand the forming of a civil allegiance and artist talent which is quite complete".



Schweitzer's grave at Lambarene

One for the odd connections department when visiting Gabon, the Director General of the International Monetary Fund, Pierre-Paul Schweitzer took time off to pay a pilgrimage to the tomb of his uncle, Dr. Albert Schweitzer at Lambarene. The sort of link one had always wondered about, but never bothered to find out.

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Ghana's Subversion Trial

The defence and the prosecution at the subversion trial have ended their closing addresses and the military tribunal has passed its verdict. Eight of the nine accused have been found guilty on all three counts and sentenced to death by firing squad in accordance with a decree on subversion published earlier this year. The other accused, David Afful Bimpong, who was charged only with concealment of subversion, has been sentenced to 25 years imprisonment. The sentences are subject to confirmation by the Head of State. (Full report of verdict on p. 1573.) Below we end our extracts from the proceedings with evidence given by Mr. George Ofosu-Amaah.

Opening his defence, Mr. George Ofosu-Amaah, head of the Special Branch under Dr. Busia, said that on July 12 his cousin, Lawrence Ofosu-Amaah, told him that he had been contacted by some army officers who had plans to restore the constitution of 1969. His cousin had asked if he, as a lawyer would visit the officers and give them advice on the constitution. He learnt, he said, that they were "Major Zumah, a Sergeant Major that my cousin couldn't readily mention his name as well as Nyantakyi."

But he was reluctant to go because he had heard that Major Zumah was second in command of the troops commanded by Major Selormey "who from all accounts was a leading member of the NRC."

The first he heard of the coup attempt, he said, was at a meeting on July 12 at his cousin's house. There Major Zumah, he alleged, told him that a group plotting to restore the 1969 constitution planned to seize power on Friday July 14. After considering the plans of the army men involved in the plot, said Mr. Ofosu-Amaah, he came to the conclusion that the army officers would not be able to carry out their plan and that they were running the risk of exposing themselves. Present at the meeting, he said, were Maj. Zumah, Capt. Baiden, W/O Kwadzode and S/Sgt Opon-Nyantakyi. His cousin had told him, continued the accused, that he had agreed to give the soldiers 3,000 cedis and type a statement for them and to supply with food soldiers who would man vital points during the operation. Mr. Ofosu-Amaah said that he had told his cousin that it was strange that he had committed himself so much without knowing the exact details of their plans. He alleged that at the meeting Sgt Opon-Nyantakyi said "These officers have plans to restore the Constitution and we have been told that we can ask you some questions on the Constitution and anything that will be said at this meeting will not be revealed." He replied that they should tell him about their plans before talking about the Constitution. Maj. Zumah, he alleged, then said "We have 120 men and vehicles and ammunition from my own dump and by six o'clock on Friday morning we will seize power". During the meeting, he said, he had concluded that Capt. Baiden was "an informant", and seemed only to be interested in what he, the accused, was saying at the meeting.

Continuing his evidence Mr. George Ofosu-Amaah said that he had telephoned Dr. Busia from Geneva on June 16 during

a trip there at the invitation of the Kennedy Endowment. He had gone to London but had not met the deposed Premier there. He had had a brief conversation on the telephone from Geneva, during which he was asked about how the ministers in detention were faring. Dr. Busia had told him that "he would very much like to come to Ghana to see what he could do about my career which had been disrupted". Dr. Busia had also spoken about his trips from London to Paris for eye treatment, said the accused.

Questioned about his job as Director of the Special Branch Mr. Ofosu-Amaah said that he had reluctantly accepted the appointment after the deposed Prime Minister and Dr. Kwapong, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Ghana, had persuaded him to accept it until such time as somebody could be found to replace him.

In his closing address counsel for Mr. Ofosu-Amaah, Mr. J. R. Harvey, QC, called upon the tribunal to reject any hearsay evidence. Even if the prosecution's evidence was accepted, he said, there was no evidence to discharge the burden of proof in respect of any of the charges against his client.

The nine persons, four civilians and five soldiers, accused of conspiracy to commit subversion, subversion, and concealment of subversion are Mr. Emil Adzima, former press secretary to Dr. Busia, Mr. George Ofosu Amaah, director of the Special Branch under Dr. Busia, Mr. Daniel Owusu Darkwa Attakora, Mr. David Afful Bimpong, Sgts. Kwaku Nimako, Wilberforce Agyare, Sandys Johnson Opon-Nyantakyi, Ptes. Charles Adu Boateng and Kwaku Oduro. It has since been decided that David Afful Bimpong has no case to answer on the first two charges. The trial is being held in public before a military tribunal at Burma Camp. Members of the tribunal are: Col. C. R. Tachie-Menson (president of the tribunal), Maj. R. K. M. Dzakpasu, Maj. G. N. Goumit, Lt. Col. E. K. Uruka, Mr. Justice D. F. Annan (Judge Advocate), Maj. Tern-Addy, Lt. Col. C. G. Lokko and Maj. Y. M. K. Adu.

Correction: The Mr. Owusu Sekyere referred to in our report of the trial last week was not once head of C.I.D. under Dr. Nkrumah as we had stated.

Letters to the Editor

Food supplies in Ghana

SIR—I wish to comment on the suggestion made by Mr. J. Aekah-Yankson (October 30) that the State should make itself supplier of the commodities badly needed until Ghana is self-sufficient. Present arrangements for importing and distributing food items are similar to what Mr. Aekah-Yankson suggested. Briefly, basic foreign food items, such as sugar, corned beef, baby foods, milk, koko (codfish), matchets and sardines, are imported by a Central Depot set up by the NRC and a Logistics Committee is responsible for their country-wide distribution through the principal firms.

The main problems leading to the occasional artificial shortages are hoarding and smuggling which have been with us for many years. In keeping with its policy of relieving the suffering of Ghanaians, the NRC subsidises most of the imported food items and some of them are cheaper in Ghana than in their countries of origin. As a result, some of these items are smuggled across Ghana's borders into neighbouring markets.

With a view to eliminating smuggling, hoarding, black-marketing, profiteering and other malpractices which have characterised the distribution of these foreign foods and commodities, arrangements are being made for all ministries, Government departments, corporations, educational institutions, industries, bakers, canteens, hospitals, government and private organisations, etc., to receive their supplies direct from particular sources. It is hoped that this system will ensure the direct supply of these goods to the ultimate consumer to such a level that what will be left in the hands of store-keepers, shop-owners and traders will not be worth smuggling or hoarding. More important still, the system should ensure that consumers benefit directly from the subsidy.

JOSHUA AMARTEY
Public Relations Officer,

Ghana High Commission London

Dahomey's latest coup

SIR—The first question everybody seems to ask whenever there is a new *coup d'état* in Dahomey is "how many so far?" This is followed by other questions concerning both the timing of the *coup* and the personalities involved. Such personalities sometimes include the "gods", both divine and human, that control or wish to control the Republic's destiny. This has led to one amusing question being raised in France on the day the latest *coup* was announced. It was suggested that the Presidential Triumvirate of Ahomadegbe, Apithy and Maga had been overthrown because they could not agree on who should play the chief host to President Pompidou on his scheduled visit to Dahomey. Since President Ahomadegbe was the current "Chief President" and since his term was going to cover the next two years, it is obvious that the disagreement could not have been about who should be chief host to the French President but about whether

President Ahomadegbe should or should not be.

It is, however, the effect of these *coups* on the politico-economic situation of the turbulent Republic, more than their causes, that seems to pose the more pressing problem. One suggestion has been made quite often about the good effect that the *coups* might have on the people of the country. In it the former is presented as a means to political maturity (a quick alternative to the slower means that are available to other African countries?). This maturity is sometimes compared to the one that was supposed to have been achieved by certain older republics through frequent "revolutions" in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. A fairly close look at the subsequent history of such republics might provide an insight into the kind of politico-economic situation that can develop from a series of *coups* and "mini-revolutions". The problem of economic and political backwardness, which leads to the kind of malaise that causes frequent *coups* in Dahomey, was not resolved in the older republics by sporadic uprisings against their governments, even when such uprisings were said to have been carried out by the mass of underprivileged people.

Sporadic *coups*, even when planned and carried out by ideologically orientated politicians, are likely to create as many problems as they solve, when they are the handiwork of politically inexperienced "soldiers, the result could be catastrophic. Instability is one of the thorny problems that plague the political and economic situation in post-colonial Africa. It can only be aggravated by spurious *coups d'état*. On the one hand there might be progress towards political maturity, especially if it means the constant questioning of the political decisions which are being taken on the people's behalf and the resort to expelling from power by force the few people who are responsible for taking these decisions. But, on the other hand, the state of the nation might be deteriorating, if the

economic situation has been so badly damaged from lack of serious and continuous attention that the political maturity that is being acquired can no longer save it.

OLUSOLA OKE

Boardeaux

Mother Catherina Labouré

SIR—Everyone who knew Mother Catherina Labouré must be grieved by the news of her sudden death six weeks ago. She was an energetic, pleasant missionary who came to Nigeria in 1938 and settled in the heart of Iboland. Her eight years of good work at Onitsha was the talk of some of our mothers, many of whom were her students. She spent about the same period of time at Aba combining missionary and educational work. She arrived at Owerri in 1954 to open a new secondary school—Owerri Girls' Secondary School. It was here that I first met this wonderful woman in 1959 as a "freshet".

A great teacher, she exacted high standards, moral and educational from her pupils. Her last station was in Diobu near Port Harcourt, where she continued her good work.

Throughout her long adventure in Nigeria, she identified herself with the local population and even spoke different Ibo dialects. During the civil war, she stayed on to do relief work and offered spiritual comfort to the people. She so endeared herself to local population that many were saddened to see her return to her native Ireland after the war.

I am happy to say that I am one of her ex-students and that she chatted with me on the phone a few days before her sudden death on September 16, 1972. She was 59 years old. May her good soul rest in peace.

M. O. NUOTUNE (Mrs)

Glasgow

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Matchet's Diary

Kano

Opposite the Emir's Palace in the centre of this ancient city stands Gidan Makama, the traditional house of the Makama of Kano, in earlier times the state's chief armourer, and the title of one of the Emir's most senior councillors to this day. Although it is substantial rather than palatial in size, it is said to have housed the first Fulani Emir of Kano over 150 years ago. Even then it was a hundred years old, and the official notice erected outside it by the Federal Antiquities Service, in whose care it is, cautiously suggests that parts of the wood and mud fabric, repaired over and over again down the years, may be 250 years old. But now it is taking on a new lease of life, and performing a very modern function.

It has for some time housed a small museum, although no exhibits could equal the appeal of the house itself, with its rich brown colour, its decorated walls and its vaulted ceilings and arches. But now it has become part of the "campus" of Ahmadu Bello University, whose headquarters are at Zaria but which also includes Abdullah Bayero College and some other institutions here. Gidan Makama is now headquarters of Abdullah Bayero's Centre for Nigerian Cultural Studies, established last July. Until then Ahmadu Bello (with the new Benin University) was the only Nigerian university without an African Studies programme. Now it has a very lively one, which includes open-air theatre in the courtyard of Gidan Makama, using the old walls as background and the museum was graced by a visit from President Senghor of Senegal, while he was in Kano a few days ago.

The new centre is headed by Professor

Michael Crowder, now Professor of History at Abdullah Bayero College but well-known for his association with Institutes of African Studies elsewhere in West Africa. He rightly boasts that the centre's Executive Secretary, Musa Baba Idris, speaks nine Nigerian languages, apart from that he is doing pioneer research for his doctorate into the pre-colonial history of his own Borgu — that fascinating emirate on the Dahomey border whose close association in the past with Nikki in Dahomey was shown last year by the presence of the Emir of Nikki at the investiture of the Emir of Borgu.

It is with Nigerian culture, and particularly the infinitely varied culture of the northern states with which Ahmadu Bello is associated, that the centre is particularly concerned. Its archaeological programme is being developed by Mr Ade Ohayemi, who is at present conducting excavations in the Kabba Division of Kwara State. The musicology programme is headed by an American, Dr Fremont Besmer, who has already made a study of the royal musicians of Kano and is now making a comparative study of the musical styles of Kano and Bornu. The theatre programme is being developed by Dexter Lyndeersay, the Trinidadian former acting Director of the School of Theatre Arts at Ibadan, assisted by his wife, Danielle and by Umaru Ladan, the Nigerian actor and playwright who is well-known to television audiences in Kaduna, Zaria and Kano. Together they are preparing a stage version in Hausa of *Shahin Umar*, by the late Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, which, in an adaptation by Umar Ladan, will be presented as part of the celebrations of the tenth anniversary of the university in December.



A view of old Kano

Commercial News

Vest African Cocoa Production down

Present indications seem to show that cocoa production in West Africa this season will be lower than last season, and in Brazil somewhat higher, says Gill and Duffus' latest Cocoa Market report.

The consumption trend has been firmly upward during the past year and is likely to continue into 1973, although the increase is not likely to be at the same rate because higher prices. But here is every likelihood that a new consumption record will be set next year. Gill and Duffus forecast 1972 consumption at a peak of 1,528,000 long tons. Present preliminary indications suggest that there will be a deficit in the 1972-73 year.

It is rather dubious as to whether the International Cocoa Agreement can come into force by the agreed date of June 1973, says the report, because of the refusal of the US and West Germany (who together account for about 35 per cent of world cocoa bean imports) to approve the text.

The prospects for the new season in Ghana are still reasonably encouraging says Gill and Duffus, although the rather dry weather in the southern growing areas during September has caused further wilt in the Cherelles and small pods and, therefore, the potential in the Eastern and Central Regions, particularly the latter, has been still further reduced. "The crop in Ashanti is reported to be patchy but the outlook for Brong Ahafo is still said to be good and it may be that this year Brong Ahafo will overtake Ashanti for the first time as the major producing region. Reports indicate that in the Volta Region the purchases are significantly

higher than last year and this no doubt reflects the efficient action being taken by the military authorities who have taken control of the anti-smuggling measures on the Ghana/Togo border.

"Purchases announced by the Cocoa Marketing Board up to 26th October totalled 66,592 long tons. No directly comparable figure is available for last year. An unofficial figure circulating in the London market at the time suggested that the corresponding purchases last year totalled about 90,000 tons, although this figure was believed to include quite heavy over-declarations.

"Even at this stage, there is still a fairly wide divergence of opinion in the estimates of the new Main Crop, continues the report, which individual figures ranging from 360,000 up to 425,000 tons. On the basis of the best information available at the moment, it seems possible that the Main Crop could reach 400,000 tons. This preliminary estimate takes into account the probably reduction in smuggling.

"The Cocoa Marketing Company have made further sales in the past two months and the total to date is estimated at 180,000 long tons - this figure representing either direct export sales or sales made on a price fixation basis. It is expected that a further 50/55,000 tons at least will be needed for the processing factories at Takoradi and Tema during the course of the next season, so total commitments to date are put at 230,000 tons."

In Nigeria, the 1972-73 season commenced on 22nd September, which was rather later than usual. Prior to this, the Western State Marketing Board had announced that

the Cocoa price for the farmers would be unchanged at N£155 per long ton for Grade I Cocoa and N£140 for Grade II Cocoa. The usual Local Produce Sales Tax of N£4 per ton would be in force.

The new crop in Nigeria was particularly early this season and the initial harvesting has been exceptionally heavy. No official figures had been released but an unofficial estimate of gradings up to October 19 was 38,000 tons. This figure did not really reflect the extent of harvesting. At approximately the same date last season, gradings had been estimated to have totalled about 39,000 tons. The prospects for the new crop were good and a rather higher out-turn than last year was anticipated. Present indications were that the crop could out-turn at around 275,000 long tons - possibly slightly higher. The dry spell in July and August has helped to keep down the incidence of black pod. The condition of the new farms is particularly encouraging and the young cocoa on these farms will certainly give a boost to production this season. Indeed one can say that the extent of plantings over the past few years has been so great that within a few years the average level of annual production in Nigeria could well be up to 300,000 tons.

The prospects for the new Main Crop in the Ivory Coast are frankly disappointing, continues the report. "The weather during July and August was drier than normal and during September although there was some rainfall, the dry spell was prolonged. It was to be hoped that the large areas of young cocoa would help to make up for losses in the older-established areas but even on these new farms, particularly in the central and west central areas, the crop is likely to be well below last year and the range of pods on the trees is disappointing. The farmer price for cocoa for the new season is unchanged at 85 CFA francs per kilo, naked ex-estate."

Reports on the prospects for the new crop in Cameroon are pessimistic says Gill and Duffus. Official sources have indicated that the crop could be as much as

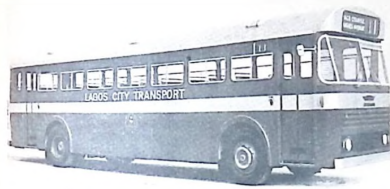
30 per cent down and this has been confirmed by other independent sources. The crop is said to be late due to a prolonged dry spell and has consequently suffered drought damage. The rains now, however, are reported to be fairly heavy but what effect these are having on the incidence of black pod is not precisely known at present. On the basis of such preliminary reports as have been received, one could expect the Eastern Region Main Crop to be in the region of 70/75,000 metric tons and taking into account an arbitrary estimate for next summer's Intermediate Crop of 10,000 tons and allowing for a Western Region crop of 10/15,000 tons, an initial indication of production for the entire new season would be 90/100,000 metric tons. The farmer price for cocoa for the new season is unchanged at 90 CFA francs per kilo, naked ex-estate.

• Turnover for the 1971-72 financial year was over £49m. says the annual report of Paterson Zochonis. Good results from manufacturing subsidiaries in Ghana, and, more especially in Nigeria, helped boost profits, before and after tax to record levels of £2.46m (£2.11m the previous year) and £1.212m, respectively.

In the year under review, says the report, a new subsidiary, Thermocool Engineering Company Ltd, was formed in Nigeria to manufacture domestic and commercial refrigerators and allied products. Since May a major expansion programme has been under way at Associated Industries Ltd, near Lagos, to cover the production of detergents.

Following Nigeria's indigenisation decree Paterson Zochonis completed the sale to Nigerian directors through the Lagos Stock Exchange of 40 per cent of the capital of Associated Industries Ltd. The price obtained, however, was not as high as had been hoped.

Since the end of the financial year, concluded the report, a clear picture of the current year's prospects had not emerged. The results of the first two months trading were less profitable than those of the previous year due to reduced margins of profit.



The first of the buses to be delivered to Lagos.

British Leyland has announced orders for over 750 buses and commercial vehicles worth £4m from the Nigerian Government — including 100 Leyland Worldmaster buses worth over £1.5m which will be used to transport athletes and officials at the second all African Games to be held in Lagos next January.

Also included are orders for 540 Land Rovers and a wide variety of medium and heavy trucks.

After the Games the buses will join the fleet of Leyland buses in operation with Lagos City Transport.

EEC and the Third World

Dr Sieco Mansholt, President of the Brussels Commission, has called for changes in the pattern of EEC farm production to enable it to grant preferential access to agricultural products from developing countries.

For example, farmers in France, Germany, the Netherlands and Belgium should be encouraged to lower their vegetable oil output so that the frontier could be opened to similar products from the Third World. Dr Mansholt said. In the longer term, sugar beet production in the EEC could also be reduced to stimulate the developing countries' exports of cane sugar.

In a joint press conference after talks with Senor Perez Guerrero, Secretary-General of UNCTAD, Dr Mansholt said it would be a disgrace if the industrial countries did not all sign the draft of the new international cocoa agreement, which he described as a vital test case of whether the rich nations

were prepared to fulfil their commitments to the developing world.

Future talks on world trade should cover much wider areas to help developing countries, said Senor Perez Guerrero. UNCTAD countries would press hard to be fully represented in next year's planned round of international trade negotiations in GATT. But GATT talks should be much wider than under the Kennedy Round, which had mainly concerned trade in industrial products.

If developing countries were to be helped, then the commodities and agricultural products on which many of them based their economies had to be included, and the delicate problem of textiles had to be tackled more directly, he said. He reminded that their interests must not be neglected as they were in the Kennedy Round. In addition to negotiations on industrial tariffs, the UNCTAD countries wanted non-tariff barriers, agricultural products and textile problems to be fully treated in the new round of talks.

Dr Mansholt added that EEC policy on development was restricted by GATT. It did not, for example, really allow for countries with young industries to protect their growth.

Oil Ministers meet

Oil Ministers of the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) have approved the draft agreement on participation reached on October 5 in New York between five Gulf producer States and western oil companies. A communiqué published at the close of the minister's two

Shipping News

TILDER DEAMPSTER LINES
SOUTHBOUND — From Liverpool: DUMBAIA slg. Nov. 30; DUNKWA slg. Liverpool Nov. 24. EBANI sid. Port Harcourt Nov. 18.
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From Middlebrough: DALLA sid. Nov. 16. EGORI slg. Nov. 30.
From Continent: FREETOWN due Dakar Nov. 24.
From Dublin: KUMBA due Monrovia Nov. 17.

From Puerto: CLEARWAY due Appa Nov. 28.
From Southampton: AUREOL slg. Nov. 19.
NORTHBOUND FOURAH BAY due Nov. 26. DEGEMA sid. Luanda Nov. 18.
To London: BHAMA due Freetown Nov. 17; FORCADOS slg. Pointe Noire Nov. 18.
To Continent: KAMALA due Freetown Nov. 17; MACHAON due Bakara Nov. 17.
To Birkenhead: KOHIMA sid. Takoradi Nov. 18.

EASTBOUND — From USA/Canada: AKOSOMBO due Chicago Nov. 21. DARU due Dakar Dec. 24. YUJARRA sid. Philadelphia Nov. 17. MORIAS slg. Port Harcourt Nov. 17.
Eastern Service to West Africa: FIBANK due Douala Nov. 18.

BARBER LINES
OUTWARDS FERNLAND slg. New York Nov. 21 for Monrovia, Abidjan, Tema, Lome, Lagos, Appa, Warri, Douala; FERNLAND slg. New York Dec. 6 for Monrovia, Abidjan, Tema, Lagos, Appa, Douala.
HOMEWARDS — FERNGATE idg. Monrovia for New York; FERNLAND idg. Lagos S. Bound Dec. 9, Warri Dec. 11, Sapele Dec. 14, Douala Dec. 15, Takoradi 3rd week Dec. 18, Abidjan/Monrovia 4th week Dec. 18.

'K' LINE
WESTBOUND — From Japan via Hong Kong to Lobito, Luanda, Matadi, Port Harcourt, Lagos, Monrovia, Freetown, Abidjan. TEXAS MARU sid. Japan Oct. 9 due Lagos Nov. 16.

EASTBOUND — From Lagos, Abidjan, Freetown, etc.: TEXAS MARU slg. Lagos Nov. 20, Freetown Nov. 24, Abidjan Nov. 28 due Japan Jan. 1.

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NORTHBOUND — BIA RIVER Rotterdam Nov. 10, Bremen Nov. 11, Hamburg Nov. 16.

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WESTBOUND — BELGIAN slg. Matadi Dec. 14, Lobito Dec. 19 due Luanda Dec. 20.

PALM LINE
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N.Y.K. LINE
WESTBOUND — SAITAMA MARU Lagos/Appa Dec. 14/17,

Douala Dec. 18/19, Abidjan Dec. 25/26, Takoradi Dec. 27/28, Tema Dec. 29/30.
EASTBOUND — SAITAMA MARU Lagos/Appa Dec. 14/17, Douala Dec. 18/19, Pointe Noire Dec. 21/22, Abidjan Dec. 25/26, Takoradi Dec. 27/28, Tema Dec. 29/30, Cotonou Dec. 31.

PHILIPPINE MARU sid. Kobe Nov. 19 due Lagos Dec. 23.
HOUSTON MARU slg. Kobe Dec. 4 due Lagos Jan. 11; HODAKASAN MARU slg. Kobe Dec. 19 due Lagos Jan. 22.

MAERSK LINE
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OUTWARDS — From Matadi, Lagos, Tema, Monrovia, Freetown, Bathurst, Abidjan, Takoradi; MAREN MAERSK slg. Tema Nov. 21 due Monrovia Nov. 23.

NEDLLOYD — SWAL JOINT SERVICES
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OUTWARDS — STRAAT FREMANTLE from Nigeria/Ghana to Singapore opt., Hong Kong, Japan, Shanghai Nov./Dec.

FARELL LINES
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OUTWARDS — AFRICAN STAR due Monrovia Nov. 20 for Buchanan, Abidjan, Tema Nov. 27, U. S. ports Dec. 1, Port Harcourt, Matadi, Luanda, Lobito. AFRICAN MERCURY due Dakar Nov. 30 for Freetown, Monrovia, U. S. ports Dec. 1, Takoradi, Tema Dec. 17, Lagos, Appa Dec. 14, Port Harcourt, Douala.

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2nd Vice-President
General Secretary
Asst Secretary
Social Secretary
Financial Secretary
Treasurer
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Welfare Officers

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Post to be contested
Princess E Akenzua
Mr S O Idada
Mr LeO Imaragba
Mr O Idemudia
Mr C Aworo
Mr I Ogunleye
Mr J Okundaye
Messrs G Odegbbe,
J Erhabor, Idenen,
Arhuode, Edosa and Agbayere,
Messrs B E Wogheron,
A Idusohan and F B Omoregie
(King of Boy)

Ex Officio Members

SPECIAL ATTENTION!!!

There will be a general meeting of the Union on Sunday, November 26th at 2pm prompt at Africa Centre, 38 King Street, London, WC2 Nearest Underground - Strand, Charing Cross and Leicester St

AGENDA

- Minutes of the last meeting
- Introduction of Representatives from various branches
- Distribution of the first BINI Christmas Cards
- Group photograph for the first BINI Union's 1973 Almanac
- Xmas dance being arranged for 30th December, 1972
- Finance and any other business

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DEATH NOTICE

Chief L. R. NABENA

Lagos based business man died suddenly on 11th October 1972 at P. H. Rivers State. He was 58.

His body was taken to his home town of Abari Mid-western State for burial. The States have lost one of their able freedom fighters and this loss would be long remembered especially by those who had moved closely with the late chief Nabena. Publication by his cousin S. D. Ayaga Esq., 18 Strahan Rd., London, E3 5DB.

MEETINGS

THE NIGERIAN LAW SOCIETY of G.B. & Ireland
Annual General Meeting
Nigerian Law Society
All Nigerian Lawyers and Law Students are hereby invited to the Annual General Meeting of the above honourable society.
Meeting Place: Friends International Centre, Torrington Place, London WC1 (Near Senate House - Univ London)
Time: 2 p.m. prompt.
Date: 26th November, 1972
Agenda: 1. Reading last minutes etc. 2. Finance/Auditor's Report 3. Presidential Report 4. Election of Officers and A.O.B.
W. A. Olu Mafo, General Secretary - Tel: 01 720 5473

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Dateline Africa

GHANA

Tribunal verdict

The military tribunal has declared a verdict of guilty against all nine of the accused in the subversion trial (see page 1564). Mr. Emil Adzima, Mr. George Ofosu-Amaah, Mr. Daniel Darkwa Attakora, S/Sgt Opon-Nyantakyi, Sgt Kwako Nimako, Sgt Wilberforce Agyare, Pte Charles Adu-Boateng and Pte Kwaku Oduro have been found guilty of conspiracy to commit subversion, subversion and concealment of subversion and sentenced to death by firing squad. Mr David Afful Bimpong has been found guilty of concealment of subversion and sentenced to 25 years imprisonment.

All sentences are subject to confirmation by the Head of State, Col Acheampong. After hearing a plea for mercy from the defence counsel, the chairman of the tribunal, Col Tachie-Menson said that the tribunal had decided unanimously to make a case for clemency to the Head of State.

One of the accused, Mr. Ofosu-Amaah, said that he was dissatisfied on legal grounds, with the verdict and that the tribunal had no jurisdiction to try him on a charge of conspiracy. Claiming that the verdict was against the weight of evidence, he said that he was convinced that between January 13 and July 17 this year, no law in force in Ghana covered offences for which they were tried.

The accused were tried and sentenced under a decree published in July which made certain offences, including any attempt to overthrow the government, punishable by death by firing squad. (*West Africa*, August 4).

The International Commission of Jurists in Geneva has cabled the NRC asking it to relieve the men condemned

to death. As we go to press Col. Acheampong has not yet taken his decision on the tribunal's verdict.

Developing nations should adopt a dynamic policy to rediscover the strength which is derived from fruitful ties in economic co-operation, the Commissioner for Foreign Affairs, Maj. Gen. Aferi, said at a dinner he gave in honour of the Brazilian Foreign Minister, Sr. Mario Gibson Barboza. At present their vision was myopic, their aims parochial and their policies outdated. "It is high time we loosen our intellectual chains and reject the uninspired advice that would have 'hurland' see its economic salvation and in diversification from cocoa into rubber and 'drabland' from rubber into cocoa".

Gen. Aferi said that it was dangerous "at this time" even to rely on indigenous economists who did not question the economic order round them. "We want revolutionaries in all spheres of intellectual activity", said the Commissioner, adding that the Third World should not wait to have all the raw materials within their own borders before they undertake an industrial venture.

During a visit to Kumasi, Sr. Barboza told Asantehene that the Brazilian government was prepared to sponsor a number of Ghanaians to study building technology in Brazil to assist Ghana's low-cost housing programme.

In an editorial *The Daily Graphic* said "Brazil has got to very much more to do to prove that these natural factors for cooperation between her and Africa mean more to her than her present relations with her former colonial master Portugal." Since 1964 the relationship between Brazil and Portugal

had been such that "one may be excused for suspecting that Brazil's cooperation with Africa could be misused as a means of softening Africa's fight against Portuguese colonialism and imperialism on that continent."

The Ghana Cocoa Marketing Board does not intend to move its marketing post from Ghana to London, Mr. B. A. Forson, the Board's Director of Operations has announced.

The Director said "since the removal of the marketing post from London to Accra was initially ordered by the Government, it is only the Government which can order the Cocoa Marketing Post back to London if it found it necessary". His statement follows rumours that the Board would move its offices to London.

The statement issued by the Board also said although the Board sometimes faced communication problems in its transactions with overseas buyers no concrete decision had been taken by the Government to return the post to London.

Chocolate manufacturers on tour

Ghana hoped that the International Cocoa Agreement recently reached in Geneva will help to avoid the extremes of low and high prices, to the advantage of consumers and producers, Major Felli, Commissioner for Trade, told chocolate manufacturers from western Europe who visited Ghana during a tour of cocoa-producing West African countries. He said that the agreement, if supported, would bring about a transformation in the cocoa industry.

It would provide the conditions under which the producers could take a long-term view of the industry and be enabled to adopt policies to control diseases and other conditions which adversely affect the crop, thereby ensuring staple supplies.

Major Felli said such a situation would be to the advantage of consumers because the assurance of regular supplies at prices within a predetermined range would enable them to "conserve some of the

energies which are now wasted in the fight against widely fluctuating prices, for the planning of production targets".

The group was led by Dr. Caesar Del Boca, President of the International Office of Cocoa and Chocolate. The members held talks with officials of the Cocoa Marketing Board and visited a cocoa product factory at Tema and the Cocoa Research Institute at Tafo.

The International Office of Cocoa and Chocolate is to finance research into black pod disease and pest control in a number of cocoa-producing countries, including Ghana. Dr. Caesar Del Boca announced during the visit to the Cocoa Research Institute. He added that a Cocoa Research Centre would soon be established in Nigeria to work with the Tafo Cocoa Research Institute to find effective means of controlling cocoa diseases.

Another international team would arrive in Ghana next month to familiarise itself with the country's Cocoa industry, said Dr del Boca.

Mr. Justice Coussey, Chairman of the Commission set up to enquire into chieftancy matters in Brong Ahafo, pledged at the opening session: "the committee will do its work with honesty and justice". He said that chieftancy, as the politics of localities, "transcends all party politics and their ideologies, if any, it is the fountain of honour and symbol for law and order". It was because of the importance that the government attached to the chieftancy that the committee had been appointed "to enquire into a matter so delicate as the Brong-Ahafo question which has engaged the attention of successive governments".

Ghana will not import any rice by 1974 Col. Acheampong has announced. He had ordered the Ministry of Agriculture to ensure that Ghana was self-sufficient in rice by 1974. "How they do it, I don't know, but I must repeat that by 1974, we should stop importing rice". During a visit to some farms Col. Acheampong stressed that the country should be able by 1974 to produce all the staple food and raw

materials needed for the local industries.

Col. Acheampong declared at he was highly impressed with the results of Operation Feed Yourself, adding that most regions had greatly exceeded their targets. This was "an indication that the self-reliance philosophy of the government would succeed".

The Greater Accra Region has exceeded its set targets by increase as well as tonnage in its production of maize, cassava and vegetables under Operation Feed Yourself. The long range fishing fleet operating from Tema, said the Regional Commissioner, Col. Acquaye-Nortey, had made great efforts to reach their target. To show that the spirit of Operation Feed Yourself had caught on, he said, from March to September indigenous fishermen had purchased from the Fisheries Department 308 outboard motors. Their catch had been a bumper one.

Each of the nine regions is to be provided with an initial capital of 5m. cedis for the setting up of regional corporations to undertake industrial and farming projects. The corporations, which are expected to be established before Christmas, are to operate on a commercial basis. In addition to direct participation in projects, they will also aid individuals or co-operative to undertake industrial and farm projects.

On his return from a two-month overseas tour Mr. Joe Appiah, Ghana's roving ambassador, claimed that Dr. Busia and his supporters had been alleging that armed soldiers had been posted at ports to search and seize the luggage of all Ghanaians returning from overseas. Apparently this was to subvert the NRC's efforts to bring qualified Ghanaians home to help put the economy on a sound footing, he said. But in spite of this, Ghanaians were prepared to come home to help in the war on the economy.

An unemployed person who forged the signature of Maj. Roger Felli, Commissioner for Trade to secure employment, has been sentenced to two years imprisonment with hard labour.

SIERRA LEONE

Wage increase for miners

The Mining Trade Group Negotiating Council has held a five day meeting in Freetown during which it considered increases in wages and salaries for all workers in the mining industry below the level of supervisor.

The Council, which was established in 1971, reached agreement on an increase of 12 cents per day on wages of all daily paid workers in industry. An increase of Le 46 per annum for all monthly paid employees below supervisory level was also agreed. Two extra paid statutory public holidays in all the mining companies except Diminco making a total of seven for all mines, were also announced.

These awards are effective as from November 1 this year until June 30, 1975 for daily paid workers, and until December 31, 1975 for monthly paid workers.

Provisional trade figures for September show that total imports were valued at Le 7.8m. whilst total exports were Le 3.7m. Cumulative figures for January to September this year were total imports Le 68m and exports Le 65m.

Corresponding figures for the same period last year were imports Le 68.6m. and exports Le 60m. On last year's figures, imports were Le 600,000 down and exports were Le 5m up. The cumulative trade figures now show a visible trade deficit of Le 3m., the first since the end of February.

IMF head in Freetown

Experience had shown that some of the large international bodies tended to treat the affairs of developing nations in isolation, President Stevens told the IMF Director-General, Mr. Pierre Paul Schweitzer. In his reply, Mr. Schweitzer said that he supported the idea of regional co-operation in Africa, and the IMF would do its best to encourage such co-operation



Mr. Schweitzer with President Stevens

as it would be advantageous both to Africa and to the IMF. There was no problem, he added between the IMF and "this very friendly country".

African countries have an important role to play within the IMF because no monetary reform can take place without the concurrence of the developing countries. Mr. Schweitzer later told a press conference.

Mr. Kamara-Taylor, Minister of Finance, has launched a campaign for public subscription to Government Development Loan Stocks and Treasury Bills shortly to be floated by the Bank of Sierra Leone. He recalled the current development estimates provided for expenditure of Le14.9m. of which Le7.1m. should be provided from domestic sources. This could not be done by taxation alone, he said.

Development loan stocks will be issued as medium or long-term investments in multiples of Le10, Treasury bills as short-term investments in multiples of Le50 with a minimum subscription of Le100.

Sierra Leone's New High Commissioner in London, Rev. J.A.C. Davies, was the guest of honour at a Government lunch given by Lady Tweedsmuir, Minister of State in the Foreign and Commonwealth Office. The guests included Sir Philip Oppenheimer, Chairman of the Diamond Corporation, and Sir Maurice Dorman, President of the Anglo-Sierra Leone Association (see also "People" on page 1563).

Two specialised doctors from West Germany and Spain are to help to fight leprosy in Sierra Leone. According to World Health

Organisation figures, Sierra Leone accounts for £100,000 of all the lepers in West Africa although its population is less than 3 million. The doctors are sponsored by the German Leprosy Relief Association and by a Spanish religious body.

A Central Planning Unit has been set up in the Ministry of Development with UNDP assistance. It is at present engaged in studies preparatory to the formulation of a comprehensive medium-term plan.

The Chinese Ambassador, Chao Cheng-yi, has presented tractors, lorries, insecticides and fertilisers to Sierra Leone on behalf of his government.

West Germany is to grant Sierra Leone a soft term loan of Le1,080,000 for the re-construction of Congo Cross Bridge and an access road from Brookfields to Technical Institute.

The Vice-President and Prime Minister, Mr. S.I. Koroma has been assigned the portfolio of Finance during the absence from Sierra Leone of Mr. Kamara Taylor with effect from November 3.

LIBERIA

Minister dismissed

President Tolbert has dismissed his Minister of Planning and Economic Affairs in the first cabinet change of his 10-month rule. The Minister, Dr. Cyril Bright, tendered his resignation after the President requested it because of loss of confidence.

An Information Ministry statement said this loss of confidence stemmed from Dr. Bright's "gross mishandling of rice importation".

Dr. Bright, who was Chairman of the Rice Committee, had held the planning portfolio in President Tubman's administration and had been re-appointed by President Tolbert.

The statement said the President had decided to review the entire operation of the Rice Committee. He had also asked Foreign Minister Rochelort Weeks to take over Dr. Bright's portfolio until further notice.

• During a dinner given by the Finance Minister, Mr. Schweitzer, IMF Director-General, gave assurances that the IMF would take no decisions on world monetary problems without the agreement of the developing countries. He also described the role the IMF would play in the forthcoming talks on monetary reforms organised by UNCTAD with the participation of developing and industrialised nations.

Mr. Schweitzer left for Sierra Leone after a two-day visit.



President Tolbert, with the Emperor on his recent visit to Ethiopia.

• An old age pension scheme is being set up in Liberia. A committee, which includes the Minister of Health and Welfare and the Minister without Portfolio, has been formed to prevent abuse of the scheme. Earlier this year the President halted the Public Relations Officers Scheme for the aged and disabled because of widespread abuses.

According to the new scheme all indigent disabled Liberian citizens aged 65 and over are eligible for a pension of up to \$300 per month. Government employees not already covered will be entitled to a pension of 33 per cent of their last salary received if they have served 25-30 years unbroken service.

• President and Mrs. William Tolbert have officially inaugurated a \$8,000 youth playground presented by the Israeli Government. The playground has been named after the President's recently deceased daughter, Victoria.

• The first "Donors Conference" in which international participating donors review a \$38.4m proposed 5 year development programme for Liberia, has taken place in Monrovia.

• President Tolbert will make a state visit to Tanzania in early July, 1973.

ENTENTE Mali in meat market

Mali has been admitted to full membership of the Economic Community in Meat and Cattle of the Council of "the Entente". The decision was taken at a summit meeting of the Council, where the heads of state also agreed to admit Zaïre to membership of the Lomé-based Regional Training Centre for Highway Maintenance. Following the one-day summit, the first for almost 18 months, a communiqué said the heads of state reviewed world developments since their last full meeting and discussed the five nations' own policies. They decided to exploit tourist resources by relaunching the Inter-State Technical Committee on Tourism set up in Niamey in 1968, and organising periodic meetings of officials concerned with tourism.

The meeting was attended by President Houphouët-Boigny of Ivory Coast, President Hamani Diori of Niger, President Lamizana of Upper Volta and President Eyadéma of Togo. Dahomey's new army régime was represented by its Foreign Minister, Mator Michel Alladaye. The meeting had been due on October 28 but was postponed because of the Dahomey coup of October 26.

GABON Dispute for OAU

Following a meeting of the four Presidents of Gabon, Equatorial Guinea, Congo and Zaïre in Brazzaville agreement has been reached between Gabon and Equatorial Guinea to end their two-month old dispute over offshore islands. The dispute is to be referred to the OAU who will set up a commission to delineate the offshore boundary between the two countries. OAU Secretary-General Nzo Ekangaki was also present at the meeting.

President Bongo of Gabon declared that peace and dialogue had once more triumphed in Africa following the solution of Gabon's

dispute with its neighbour. In a broadcast over Radio Libreville, he said: "Thanks to the good offices of President Nguoubi and Mobutu the misunderstanding was dissipated and once again Africa has triumphed and dialogue, peace and tolerance have prevailed".

On the future of relations between Gabon and Equatorial Guinea, President Bongo said that besides discussing the dispute the Brazzaville Summit had also discussed strengthening relations. "In the time to come these will be consolidated by the work of joint commissions which we have set up," he said.

UN Key vote on Portugal

The UN General Assembly has approved by 98 votes to six with eight abstentions a new call on Portugal to open independence negotiations with the nationalist movements in her African territories. The resolution also affirmed that the "national liberation movements of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde are the authentic representatives of the true aspirations of the peoples of those territories". It said all governments and UN bodies should ensure their representation "in an appropriate capacity" when questions concerning the territories were discussed. One immediate effect of this is expected to be an invitation to representatives of the freedom fighters to participate in the Security Council debate on Portugal which was due to begin as we go to press. The resolution also requested all NATO members to prevent the sale or supply of arms to Portugal that could be used to perpetuate her "colonial domination".

The resolution was introduced by Mrs. Fahm Joka-Bangura of Sierra Leone and sponsored by 45 countries.

The six who voted against were the US, the UK, Spain, Portugal, Brazil and South Africa. Among those who abstained were France, Italy, Belgium and Luxembourg. All the Nordic countries, Canada, the Netherlands, Ireland, Israel, Australia and

New Zealand were among those who voted for the resolution.

The resolution had been passed on from the Assembly's Decolonisation Committee where it was passed by 103 votes to five.

EEC Association meetings postponed

Two meetings due to have been held in December to discuss the enlargement of association with the European Common Market have been postponed. They were a meeting of Commonwealth trade ministers which would have been held in London on December 4-5, and a meeting of ministers from the 19 countries eligible for association with the EEC, and the 19 members of the existing association, for which invitations had been issued for December 7-8 in Brussels. The aim of the second meeting would have been to discuss a common stand of the 38 countries in the coming association negotiations due to begin in the autumn of 1973.

The decision to invite the Commonwealth states to the Brussels meeting was taken at the last meeting of the Council of Association in Luxembourg on October 10. It has been clear for some time that there was Commonwealth reluctance to comply with that date principally for reasons of time. A number of states have expressed the desire for more time to prepare their dossiers for the Commonwealth meeting, which they feel must take place before any meeting between associables and associates. No date has yet been mentioned, although late January has been suggested.

The December 7-8 ministerial meeting had itself been put forward at a meeting between Arnold Smith, Commonwealth Secretary-General and President Senghor of Senegal in Paris in September, following the breakdown of attempts to hold a meeting at official level in Geneva early that month.

AEROON ews of operation

France's Co-operation relay of State, Pierre Lecocq has been visiting Cameroon as part of a series of visits to familiarise with the African countries which he will under his ministry. He received his appointment in July, succeeding M. Yvon Bourges, he has visited eight African states. Before leaving Yaoundé, he told newsmen that France could use its links to attract investment by other countries in



President Ahidjo

Cameroon's development. During his visit he discussed the projected reform of the 1961 co-operation agreement, which Cameroon had requested. It was not a question of repudiating the past, but of giving "a more human touch to our relations with our African partners". France's new approach should be better adapted to development needs, he added.

Observers understood this to mean that French aid would now not be total in any particular sector, but would rather try to act as a generator for new sources of external finance.

In an interview with the Director of the Cameroon News Agency, Engelbert Ngoh Hob, President Ahidjo said that in asking for revision of the cooperation agreements with France "it is not our intention to question a cooperation which has been shown to be so useful and effective... it is a question of looking again at aspects which have become out of date due to circumstances". The President did not doubt that the French leaders were alive to Cameroon's preoccupations, and he was

therefore persuaded that the negotiations would proceed without difficulties. Contrary to certain well-advertised opinions, co-operation with France had never been for Cameroon "any" handicap to the free exercise of its sovereignty" he said.

- From November 30, the two regional assemblies of East and West Cameroon are to cease to exist. This is the final action under the provisions of the new constitution of June 2, 1972 instituting the unitary state.
- Cameroon may be forced to cut back by ten per cent on its contracts for overseas cocoa sales because bad weather has hit harvests. Specialists of the Ministry of Industrial and Commercial Development estimate that lack of rain throughout the cocoa growing region during July, August and September will cause a 30 per cent drop in the crop. The 1972-73 commercialisation campaign only opened on September 18 and this is merely an estimation. But by precaution foreign buyers have been sounded out on the possible cancelling of ten per cent of orders. A definite decision will be taken at the end of this month. Cameroon is one of the world's top five producers. In 1971-72 the harvest was 126,000 tons, of which about two thirds went for export.

DAHOMY Posts for senior officers

The new military régime has appointed a number of senior officers to key posts in Dahomey's state corporations and organisations. Colonel Amadou Alphonse Alley has been appointed Government Commissioner at the Dahomey National Oil Producing Company (SNADAH). He was head of the army from 1966-7, and was President from December 1967 to July 1968. In October 1969 he was jailed, but was released following the coup of December that year, and in the summer of 1970 he became Secretary-General at the Ministry of Defence.

Colonel Paul-Emile de

Souza has been appointed Government Commissioner at the Company for the Commercialisation of Agricultural Credit (SOCAD). He was the Chairman of the military triumvirate which was in power from December 1969 to 1970, and then, when the Presidential Council came to power, was made army Chief of Staff.

Colonel Benoit Sinzogan, a former Foreign Minister and member of the military triumvirate, subsequently head of the Gendarmerie, has been appointed Commissioner at the National Company for the Development of Forestry Products (SNAFOR). Major Jean-Baptiste Hachème, briefly Chairman of the Revolutionary Committee in December 1967, later head of the Service Civique, and Chairman of the Military Tribunal which sentenced the army plotters last May, has been named Commissioner at the National Company for Ceramic Crafts and Dahomeyan Industries (SONAC). Major Wallis Zoumarou, Commander of the North Zone has been named as Commissioner for the National Cotton Company (SONACO), while retaining his army position. Major Richard Rodriguez, former Commander of the mortar company at the Paratroop unit at Ouidah, has been named Commissioner at the National Office for Port Cargo Handling (ODAMAP). Major Ferdinand Johnson, at one time variously head of the gendarmerie and head of security, has been named Commissioner for the National Lottery.

All the Commissioners are to be directly responsible to the government for the operation of the companies and will also adjudicate in any disputes between employees and management.

- In an interview with French TV, Major Kerekou said that he had not seized power, he had simply "collected" it. "The ousted civilian leadership held its power from the army. The army has taken back what it gave". He denied that he was a dictator. "Look at my escort, just a chauffeur and a gendarme to carry a briefcase. The ousted politicians never budged without a throng of motorcycle police."

NIGERIA

Pacts signed with Peking

China and Nigeria have signed trade and co-operation agreements at the end of a 10-day visit to Nigeria by a 10-man Chinese trade delegation, led by the Minister of Economic Relations, Mr. Fang Yi. Under a first five-year accord for economic and technical co-operation, specific development projects and other forms of co-operation will be undertaken. Under the trade agreement, which comes after a great increase in commerce between the two states, China is to provide capital and consumer goods in return for a variety of Nigerian agricultural, industrial and mineral products.

Both accords were negotiated by the Nigerian mission which visited Peking in August. The Economic and Reconstruction Commissioner, Dr. Adebayo Adedeji, said before the signing that the co-operation agreement provided for identification of projects which would contribute to the economic development of both countries. It also provided for the exchange of experts and technicians. Signing for China, the Minister for External Economic Relations, Mr. Fang Yi, said the accord marked a new stage in the development of friendly ties since diplomatic relations were established between Peking and Lagos last year.

A talk on Lagos radio welcomed the signing of the agreements and said it marked a significant turning point in the growing cordial relations between the two countries. Friendly relations had begun only two years ago - the result of Nigeria's non-alignment policy and China's emergence from "the shell of isolation she went into at the beginning of the cultural revolution". Trade between China and Nigeria had increased from under £3m. in 1969 to over £10m. in 1971 - with the balance in China's favour. Both countries were leaders in the Third World and it would be an advantage to them both if they moved closer. China was relatively advanced in science

and technology and her experience in medicine and the petrochemical and textile industries could benefit Nigeria. Nigeria could help China with livestock and "above all China can buy Nigeria's rich mineral resources, especially oil, for the development of her economy".

During the visit the delegation toured parts of Nigeria, including Maiduguri, Jos, Benin and Port Harcourt.

Arikpo on Zaire

Nigeria will not tolerate any more expulsions of Nigerians from Zaire, the External Affairs Commissioner Dr. Okoi Arimpo has declared.

Problems caused by the expulsions so far — more than 300 this year — had still not been resolved, he said. "We hope it will not be necessary to take this matter to the World Court". The Federal Government has been trying to recover the expelled Nigerians' seized assets said the commissioner in Lagos before leaving for Ghana. It is understood he is due to pay an official visit to Britain before the end of November.

• Commenting on the "success" of Uganda in enforcing its deadline for the expulsion of Asians, Lagos Radio said that General Amin's broad objectives were, in the main, the goals of many other African countries, although their methods varied. Although one may not agree with Gen. Amin's approach there was one lesson which one could learn from his experiment concerning the attitude of the western powers to the development strategies of under-developed countries. "Britain withdrew her financial and military assistance to Uganda over the Asian immigration issue. On virtually the same issue, the US suspended her own loan offer. This collusion of western interests to influence the decision of an African government illustrates the worst aspects of the politics of aid".

• Sir Ellis Clarke, Governor-General Designate of Trinidad and Tobago, has paid a short visit to Nigeria

during which he had discussions with General Gowon.

Sir Ellis said his country plans to establish a permanent diplomatic mission in Nigeria soon. The accredited High Commissioner is presently resident in Addis Ababa. He announced that Trinidad and Tobago will be sending a large contingent to the 1974 World Black Festival and Culture in Lagos.

• Beggars and other destitutes found on the streets of Lagos after December 10 will be detained, the Federal Government has warned. The move is designed to clear the city of beggars before the start of the second All-Africa games to open on January 7. A statement warned all beggars and destitutes to return to their places of domicile before the December deadline in their own interest.

• Nigerians should try to evolve a political system that would minimise the possibility of coups and counter-coups. Kano State Information Commissioner, Alhaji Maitama Sule, has said. He was commenting on the call by Dr. Azikiwe for army-civilian rule after 1976. Alhaji Maitama advocated a four-tier federal government: a Supreme Military Council, an all-civilian executive council, a council of chiefs and elders and an elected parliament. The future Prime Minister, he said, should be a civilian, while the president "may be from members of the Supreme Military Council with defined ceremonial functions". The functions of each tier should be spelt out and the council of chiefs should be capable of intervening constitutionally if there was disagreement between military and civilians.

However, Alhaji Maitama Sule said that he agreed in principle with Dr. Azikiwe's suggestions, but disagreed with his political expositions on the issue.

• The students union of Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, described the call by Dr. Azikiwe for army-civilian rule after 1976 as "uncalled for, pretentious, blind, hypocritical in nature and a political statement during a military rule".

• Nigeria's changeover to the metric system is to begin on January 1, it has been announced officially. From then anything marked in imperial units should also be marked in metric units. The imperial measure ceases to be legal a year later, on January 1, 1974.

• Canada will finance and supervise a \$1,410,000 project to build a 450-mile power transmission line from Kainji to Niger's capital of Niamey.

The agreement covers the Nigerian section of the power line from the hydro-electric station at Kainji to the border with Niger. A similar agreement has been signed between the Canadian Government and the Niger Government.

The construction of the power line follows an agreement under which the Nigerian Government will sell cheap electricity to Niger.

Ogbemudia and Witnesses

In a crack-down on "unqualified and negligent teachers" in the Mid-West Military Governor, Colonel Ogbemudia, went on a tour on a campaign to "know your teachers and brief the people". He ordered the expulsion from one school of 30 pupils who were Jehovah's Witnesses because they refused to sing the Nigerian National Anthem. When the Governor launched his operation he ordered that the Anthem be sung twice a week. Some 200 school teachers were dismissed, around 23 are under police investigation and a further 200 are considered to have "withdrawn their services". Some teachers are reported to have forged certificates, some believed to have been stolen during the Nigerian Civil War.

• Only efficient headmasters in the Mid-West will retain their positions, the State Commissioner for Education, Mr. Tayo Akpata said during the current "operation know your teachers" exercise. Henceforth salary rises would depend on performance he added.

The Commissioner said that since the start of the operation nearly everywhere the team visited they found

"teachers" who were perhaps less literate than the children they taught.

About 250 teachers have been sacked since the exercise began and over 50 old ones retired.

• A committee to review the salary structure and conditions of service of Mid-West State teachers has been appointed. Headed by Dr. B. J. Dudley of Ibadan University, the committee has been appointed because of the State's decision to set up a unified service for teachers after the take-over of all private schools by April 1973.

• Some foreign firms are trying to sabotage implementation of the indigenisation decree, but if Nigerians did not co-operate with them they would not succeed, said the Federal Commissioner for Industry, Dr. Adetoro.

• One of Nigeria's main problems at the moment is the shortage of men and women in the private and public sectors capable of taking quick decisions, the head of the civil service, Mr. Charles Lawson, declared.

• The fate of ex-employees who returned to the Nigerian army after the civil war will soon be announced, said Army Chief of Staff, Maj. Gen. David Ejoor, told men of the 147 infantry battalion during a visit to Nnewi. It was his first trip to the East Central State since the end of the civil war.

• The Civil Aviation training centre in Zaria is to be completely Nigerianised next January after the Federal Government completely takes over the project from the United Nations.

• The East-Central State has made grants totalling nearly £200,000 to state and voluntary agency hospitals to enable them to improve their services. The State Commissioner for Health and Social Welfare said the State Government was determined to restore medical and health facilities which had existed before the civil war.

• Ten armed robbers have been executed in the South-Eastern State.

• Rivers State Governor, Lt. Cdr. Diète-Spiff, has toured the North Central State.

• The South Eastern State has closed down 11 commercial schools operating in Calabar Division. The closure was ordered by the State Commissioner for Education, Mr. Emmanuel Essien, following a report by his Ministry on the "fate of schools operating illegally in the State".

• Five agents from the Rivers State Abandoned Property Authority had petrol thrown at them and set alight when they went to serve an eviction notice. One of the men is reported to have since died in hospital.

Faruk and expatriates

Expatriate officers working in the North-Western State have been assured of full protection and co-operation as long as they abide by government rules and regulations. The assurance was given by the State's Military Governor, Assistant Police Commissioner Usman Faruk, when the Egyptian community in the State called on him. The Governor asked them to feel at home

and maintain excellent relationships with the local people and other foreign nationals.

• Over 100 senior civil servants in Sokoto have been asked to vacate the quarters where they have been living since the North Western State came into being, to provide accommodation for expatriate officers employed by the state. The government explained that 34 expatriate officers had been residing at the Catering Rest House in Sokoto, which was causing them "great inconvenience".

• Kano State has awarded 35 scholarships to students of the state to study at foreign institutes of higher learning for the 1972-73 academic year.

The State Government has also taken over all scholarships awarded by the various local government authorities in the State. This year's award, which is less than the awards of the previous years, will cost about £492,000 as against £405,000 in 1970-71 and £131,417 in 1971-72. The decline in the number of awards was due to the availability of more courses in



From left are Bob Martin, Acting Head of BBC African Service; Christopher Kolade, Director-General, NBC; Mr. Akadiri, Deputy High Commissioner for Nigeria, and Bruce Oubiagole, London Representative, NBC (see below).

Nigeria than there were last year, explained the Education Commissioner.

• Alhaji Sakari Mohammed, former Secretary of the Bank of the North, has been appointed Kano State Attorney General, and a member of the State's Executive Council.

• More than a hundred wild animals are to be flown from Kenya for Kano Zoo.

• 100 medical personnel including 10 doctors are to accompany the expected 60,000 Nigerian pilgrims to Mecca on the coming Hajj.

• The Director-General of the Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation, Mr. Christopher Kolade, has been in Britain with his Chief Engineer, Mr. J. S. Sotunde, to order special outside broadcasting equipment for coverage of the All Africa Games, due to take place in Lagos on January 7. Mr. Kolade has just attended the Commonwealth Broadcasting Conference in Nairobi, which he described as "the most successful ever".

• The Rivers State is to set up a loans board to assist the state's businessmen.

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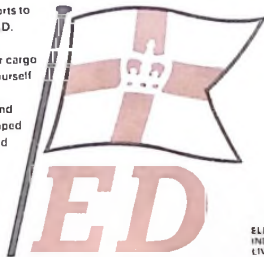
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