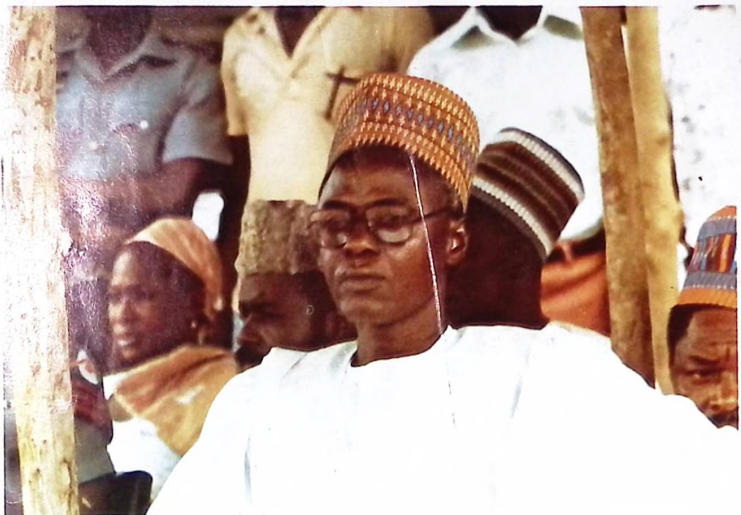


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## Case for Ghana inquiry

IT TOOK a good deal of courage for Captain Boakye Djan and Major Mensah Poku, both formerly leading members of the AFRC, to return to Ghana from Britain and call for a Commission of Inquiry into the facts of AFRC rule, allegations of corruption against some AFRC personnel and into the transitional provisions of the constitution. Inevitably there has been some vigorous reaction. The National Union of Ghana Students, for instance, has said it is part of "a vicious intrigue by reactionary forces to reverse the gains of the June 4 revolution... the latest manoeuvre in a general campaign by imperialists and their agents". The accusation deserves to be taken seriously, though Captain Boakye Djan is not easily cast as an imperialist agent. The fact is, however, that the "gains of the June 4 revolution" are becoming more and more difficult to identify as time goes on: a Commission of Inquiry is perhaps needed to define them more precisely and thus make them more easy to defend. The gains are clearly not material: no one in Ghana would now claim to be better off because of the military action that brought Flight-Lieutenant Rawlings to power on June 4. The gains must be in a more spiritual realm: above all in the strong public statement that Ghanaians would no longer be exploited for the profit of a few and that corruption would not be tolerated. The threat to these inspirational gains (which have had an effect far beyond the borders of Ghana) has come from the stories and rumours that have recently been circulated saying that there was corruption within the AFRC itself, as well as mismanagement and muddle. These rumours and allegations will not go away, however much they are denied by former AFRC members and cursed by students: the only way to kill them is to investigate them thoroughly. Such an investigation, as has been pointed out by the *Daily Graphic* would be within the spirit of June 4. Accountability was one of the key words, and Flight-Lieutenant Rawlings repeatedly said that every Ghanaian had the right to challenge every action by any member of the AFRC.

As well as restoring the shine to the AFRC reputation (and thus defending the gains of the June 4 revolution), a Commission of Inquiry could serve to set right a matter that has been exercising the conscience of many Ghanaians

(and has been mentioned before in *West Africa*): among the many corrupt people who were rightly punished by the special courts set up under AFRC rule, there were also some innocent people wrongly punished. This happened sometimes with the most scrupulously-run courts and there is strong evidence that some of the procedures of the special courts and some of the activities of the pre-trial investigation teams were far from scrupulous. Some people were condemned in their absence, without any testimony being heard, a sentence simply being scribbled next to a name on a list. Under the transitional provisions agreed between the AFRC and the incoming civilian government and written into the constitution, these sentences may not be reviewed. A Commission of Inquiry might devise ways of getting round this and removing a stain on Ghanaian justice. It is possible that a referendum may be necessary and the danger (as has been pointed out) is that such a referendum may be taken as a vote of no confidence in the June 4 revolution and be overwhelmingly defeated. An authoritative report by a Commission of Inquiry, which was backed by all parties, might go far to avoid that.

The big question is what sort of inquiry is needed. Captain Boakye Djan and Major Mensah Poku suggested two commissions, one to deal with alleged corruption by AFRC members and associates and the other to build up facts on AFRC rule generally and report specifically about the transitional provisions. The second one, the two men proposed, should be appointed from outside Ghana and preferably within the Commonwealth of Nations... Others might think that one Commission would be enough to deal with all aspects. The danger illustrated by so many previous commissions is that a mountain of labour can give birth to a mouse of a report. The membership would surely have to be Ghanaians, but it might be possible to find distinguished men who had been out of the country for some time and were not involved in previous administrations. Mr. H. Hannah-Benjamin, the Chief Justice of Botswana, General Emanuel Erskine, Commander of the United Nations Forces in the Middle East, Mr. Kenneth Dadzie, of the United Nations Secretariat, are three names that immediately come to mind. The procedures for such a commission would need to be as simple and swift as possible.

It has been argued that President Limann's Government should be devoting itself to solving the country's economic problems and thus easing the desperate hardships of most Ghanaians rather than dealing with these more abstract constitutional matters. This sounds right, but the truth is that Ghanaians are deeply concerned about these things and will continue to be so until the truth is established. There are questions that must be answered.

This is not to say that the indemnity of AFRC members from prosecution or civil damages need be lifted: there should be no seeking of vengeance. Acts done in the heat of a near-revolution must be judged by their own standards of morality. But, if permanent value is to be gained from the June 4 experience, the truth must be established, the wrongs righted and the suspicions and rumours dispersed.

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## Unanswered questions on Shugaba

THE LEGAL ARGUMENTS that have been produced in a Maiduguri High Court in the case concerning the deportation of Alhaji Shugaba Abdulrahman Darman, the GNPP majority leader in the Borno State Assembly, are of great complexity and are to be argued through higher courts on appeal. The basic dispute, as it affects the ordinary citizen, is whether Chief Richard Akinjide, the Federal Attorney-General, is right in arguing that once the security of the nation was affected individual liberty and natural justice had to give way. Another of his submissions was that the court had no jurisdiction over decisions by the President, who is "immune to all legal proceedings".

The judge of the Maiduguri court, Mr. Justice Ayo Adefila, has ruled against the Federal Government on these matters, and the immediate result is a court order that Alhaji Shugaba may return to Nigeria to help his lawyers defend the man case against him — that he is not a Nigerian. This is a set-back for the Government and some might regard it as a triumph for the cause of human rights. But the legal arguments will continue.

Much criticism has been expressed in Nigeria and elsewhere over the way in which the Shugaba case was handled, in particular, the haste with which he was

handed over the border into Chad seems unacceptable. Chief Akinjide has told the court that as the matter affects the security of the nation he cannot disclose details. There has been some mention of an "assassination plot" and rumours about plans for the bringing of "armed gangs" across the border. Alhaji Shugaba will presumably deny all these accusations when they are made in detail and in the open. The only point that can be made now is that Alhaji Shugaba has the special status of being the elected representative of the people of Borno. In those circumstances the Government owes an explanation to the people of Borno. This obligation remains even if a higher court should rule that the President has in normal circumstances the right to be secretive about matters of state security.

The question of who is a Nigerian is a delicate one in the all the border states of the federation, where ethnic divisions have never coincided with the lines drawn on a map. This is one reason why the Shugaba affair has disturbed many people deeply. It also seems to betray a basic lack of respect for human rights by some of the people behind the President. Once the legal arguments are finally settled, it would seem necessary for an authoritative statement to be made by the government on this matter. The security of the nation must be protected, but so must constitutionality and personal liberty. There is a fine line to be drawn. What the public needs to know is what the Federal Government's attitude in principles on this matter. Secondly, there is a great need for the full circumstances of the

Alhaji Shugaba deportation to be disclosed one day soon. It grows difficult to believe that the security of the nation is served by continued secrecy.

## Saharan nations meet

A TWO-DAY summit meeting of Saharan nations that ended in Bamako may have failed to set up a permanent organisation, as had been hoped for by its Malian hosts, but it did establish a whole list of principles on which the six participants reached agreement.

The six — besides Mali, there were representatives here from Algeria, Libya, Niger, Mauritania and Chad — endorsed the principle of the inviolability of borders inherited from colonial times, already the position of the Organisation of African Unity. They called for the pullout of foreign forces from non-aligned African countries, proclaimed the right of the inhabitants of Western Sahara to self-determination, demanded that United Nations decisions concerning Namibia be heeded by South Africa.

On the organisational plane the conference, the fifth of its kind, agreed to meet again in two years in Nouakchott, Mauritania, at top level, with lower-level contacts to be maintained in the interval among foreign ministers and specialised joint commissions.

What the conference did not achieve was the creation of an actual "Organisation of Saharan States" with permanent headquarters and a secretariat for handling inter-Saharan questions and dealing with the outside world. The Mauritanian President Lt-Col Khouna Ould Haïdala explained opposition to that proposal by saying: "We must get to know each other, meet again and understand each other before setting up a structured organisation". Another Malian idea suggesting the conclusion of a "friendship and non-aggression pact" also came to naught, as did another project stipulating the free circulation of persons and goods among the six countries.

However, the conference did stress in several texts the potential wealth as well as strength of the Saharan group that could be gained by developing "mutually advantageous cooperation".

Relations between the states to the immediate north and south of the Sahara have always been a delicate affair. On the one hand they reflect the deep and old link — of trade and religion — that brought into contact the great and ancient states of the Sahara. On the other hand it is a relationship poisoned by the bitterness engendered from the inheritance of colonial frontiers. The summit has been overlooked by many today as being of limited significance, but there is no doubt that as the potential mineral and oil wealth of the Sahara becomes an object of more intense exploitation, the meetings between these countries will prove to have been important preliminaries.

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# Matchet's Diary from Kaduna and Kano

THIS IS PRP country and politically one of the most interesting parts of Nigeria. Here the name of Malam Aminu Kano is mentioned with the deepest respect, which is easy to share when one sees the complete simplicity in which he lives, unlike so many other spokesmen of the poor. Kano has one of the most controversial governors that one could interview and Kaduna, with its PRP governor completely out of accord with the NPN majority in the State Assembly, represents the new constitution at its point of greatest tension.

To take Kaduna first, the Governor, Alhaji Abdulkadir Ballarabe Musa, was unable to spare the time to be interviewed, which is hardly surprising as he and his deputy have personally to do the work that would normally be done by about 13 Commissioners. Three times he has submitted his list of Commissioners to the State Assembly, and three times they have all been rejected. In addition the Assembly has refused to pass some of the Bills he has sent to them and he has refused to assent to most of the Bills the Assembly has submitted to him. The Assembly does have the power to make law without the Governor's assent, by passing a Bill a second time with a two-thirds majority — the NPN has 68 seats in the 99-seat Assembly — but this has so far only been done with one Bill, which would delay local council elections until 1981, that is now being challenged in the courts.

The Speaker, Alhaji Mamma Abubakar Danmusa, had no doubt about where the blame for this impasse lay. He told me the NPN majority was quite prepared to compromise. "We do accept like mature politicians that a PRP Governor has been elected, and we are quite prepared to co-operate with the executive. We realise this is not a parliamentary system. There is no way the government can be brought down and an alternative government installed. The only way the Governor can be displaced is by impeachment, and then the Deputy Governor would take over."

Obviously, perhaps, he went on to explain in detail the procedures necessary for impeachment. The Speaker has complete power to rule whether "gross misconduct" has taken place after an application has been made to him. If he decides there is a case, the Governor is given seven days to answer. A resolution may then be put before the House setting up a committee to investigate, members of "high integrity" being chosen by the Speaker to serve on it. If the committee recommends impeachment, this recommendation must be passed by a two-thirds majority of the elected members. No appeal is possible after that.

"One should not try to take extreme measures," the Speaker went on to say. "One must try to explore all peaceful avenues. One would be driven to other measures only when pushed to the wall and left with no room to manoeuvre."

He also said that everyone was continually aware of the disaster that overtook the



The Governor of Kano, Alhaji Abubakar Rimi

first republic. "We know the Army is not far away, watching us," he said. "If we fail this time, God knows when Nigeria will have the right to choose a government again."

The Speaker put the blame for the present state of affairs on lack of experience and a failure to understand how the game of politics should be played. He noted that President Shagari, lacking an absolute majority in the Federal Assembly, had not been unwilling to negotiate and seek alliances. This was the behaviour of a mature politician, as was the decision of the NPN leaders there to help. "They realised there can only be an NPN or a military government — those are the only two choices — and so they reached an accord."

The Kaduna Governor, on the other hand, would only repeatedly insist on implementing the PRP programme. "We ask on what basis were we elected? It was to implement the manifesto of the NPN. If we took this stand what would be the result? What is important is to strike a compromise."

The Speaker claimed that the Governor was treating the legislature "as if we were his servants," he claimed they were always ready to compromise and detailed incidents which he claimed showed the Governor's "bad faith". He was indignant about comparisons that had been made between the Nigerian experience and that of Angola and Ethiopia; this referred to writings by Dr Yusufu Bala Usman, head of the History Department at Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, and a close adviser of the Governor. He is regarded in NPN circles as a spokesman of the extreme left and a principal cause of the difficulties they encounter with the Governor.

The Speaker said that the coming budget which would be presented to the State Assembly by the Governor should cause no difficulty. "Provided his budget is for the betterment of the people, there will be no problem," the Speaker said. "Otherwise we would not deserve to be elected as members."

An entirely different view of Kaduna politics was given me by the minority leader in the State Assembly, Mr. Bitrus Duniya, of the NPP. It is interesting that the NPP should be in alliance with the other parties

in opposing the NPN in Kaduna, whereas in the Federal Assembly the NPP and the NPN are co-operating. The line-up in the Kaduna Assembly is: NPN 68, PRP 12, GNPP 10, NPP 6 and UPN 3.

Mr. Duniya, who is a lawyer, explained that the Kaduna alliance went back to the days before the gubernatorial elections last July. There were fears about the personality of the NPN candidate, Alhaji Lawal Kaita, he said, and a determination to defeat his candidature. In fact, the governorship was the only one of the five elections that the NPN failed to win in Kaduna. Mr. Duniya said there were no regrets and that people at grass roots in Kaduna were happy about the governorship of Alhaji Ballarabe Musa. "He is trying to introduce changes they have been waiting for," he said. The atmosphere in the State Assembly was tense at times but basically friendly, most of the members had grown up together and been at the same schools. "The Speaker was one year ahead of me at law school," he said.

He acknowledged that co-operation was difficult because the NPN and the PRP were diametrically different, at opposite extremes, the NPN being entirely conservative and the PRP being out to change everything overnight. The other parties were in between.

He felt that the NPP-NPN accord on federal level was largely because of the high personal regard that Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe had for President Shagari, and he also thought it was the act of a responsible politician to see that the elected government was able to work. Dr. Azikiwe was so respected within the NPP that no one would oppose him on this. However, Mr. Duniya said it was inconceivable that the NPP and the NPN would fight the 1983 election together. He was also sure that Ballarabe Musa would be re-elected governor in Kaduna.

## President accused

IN KANO, I was able to see the Governor of Kano State, Alhaji Abubakar Rimi, a most lively and controversial man — also young, at 40 he has only the Governor of Anambra State as his junior. He has strong views about what is happening in Kaduna, but he began by repeating allegations he had made in a lecture at Nsukka that the constitution was being "violated" by the President in deporting Alhaji Shugaba from Borno and in appointing liaison officers to the states. This was dangerous. With regard to the liaison officers, the Governor said the Senate had rejected the idea and so had the National Economic Council, which contains all the 19 Governors. The President had nevertheless persisted with it and had appointed his own party men to the posts. There was not a single NPP man chosen. "Another blunder on the part of the President was that some of the people appointed were people of highly questionable character — like the fellow he sent to me here in Kano." The Governor was referring to



political future, and he would be glad to serve again in the Kaduna gubernatorial elections in 1983.

## Spokesman of poor

THE IMPRESSIVE thing about going to see Malam Aminu Kano is the complete simplicity in which he lives. The house in the older part of Kano City is unguarded except for some of his supporters sitting on the pavement who welcome expected guests and would presumably turn away those who were not wanted. One walks through a beaded curtain instead of a front door and the rooms are those of a man without possessions or pretensions. Malam Aminu Kano talks frankly and without reserve. People who come in while the interview is going on greet him with reverence.

He said it was too early to say whether the new constitution was working. Many politicians were totally inexperienced. The notice given by the military men had been so short that preparations were hurried. The constitution was very complicated. Some of the motions before the State Assemblies were just scrambling of ideas. The debate in the Federal Assembly on the budget was likely to be of lower standard than in previous civilian governments, because few members had any experience of politics.

He himself could look back to 1949 for active involvement in constitution-making and political argument. One of the difficulties came from not having ministers in the house proposing their own bills, he said.

Asked about future political alignments, Malam Aminu said: "I don't like alliances. We have suffered from alliances. We are a party of the future, and what we have to do is to nurse the young people with a result that victory for the PRP will come within the next decade. The trouble with alignments is that they quickly lead to compromise. A party like ours should have its own stand on issues. We would rather continue alone on our own feet, no matter how long it takes us to achieve our goal."

He foresees the PRP expanding from its

base into other areas, and being a positive force against the division of people into Hausa, Yoruba, Ibo, etc.

"We have an ideology which will bring about change, not through violence but through persuasion."

He added that they did not believe in relying on oil wells alone to provide riches. "We are not going to eat oil." It was a question of choosing what technology needed to be imported, and what help should be provided by the authorities. He instanced the roadside mechanics who could often repair Mercedes Benz cars better than the big garages. What they needed was some shelter to provide shade, not great technological help.

High technology was needed for students. But intermediate technology was what was needed to eliminate poverty and inculcate pride in being Nigerian.

There was a danger, Malam Aminu said, in the people's expectations in Kaduna and Kano exceeding the PRP's capacity to provide for their needs. But on the other hand the PRP performance might well give inspiration to other parts of the country. He expected to win several more state governments in 1983. A process of education would spread the PRP message of self-reliance and fair shares further in following elections. He believed strongly in encouraging the freedom of women, whose condition left much to be desired in some parts of Nigeria. The revolution that the PRP was to bring would include rights for women.

Concluding, Malam Aminu Kano said he was optimistic for the future of Nigeria, particularly if they placed more emphasis on decency rather than ambition, with fewer large houses and better dwellings for all, eliminated unemployment, reduced huge salaries and ensured that the country's coat is cut according to the cloth. This will take time. But they were encouraged by the response they received. "There is a new generation of Nigerians coming," he said. "I can see a great opportunity because the number of people who are prepared to make sacrifices is so large."

## President Shagari replies . . .

The President of Nigeria answers questions submitted by *West Africa*

**Question:** Some weeks ago *West Africa* reprinted a *Daily Times* article by Stanley Macebuh criticising your administration for "minimal government". Earlier an article in *West Africa* by Martin Dent recommended as little central government as possible, with much devolution to the state governments. May I ask how you react to these two contradictory comments?

**Answer:** Those who use the term "minimal government" in describing my administration are trying to say, I think, that compared with the military administration, there has been a change in style. That was only to be expected. We are a democratically elected Government and feel an obligation to consult the people before decisions

affecting them are taken, and this is naturally a slower process. We do not feel that the people should be pushed around and dictated to as was the case during the 13 years of military rule.

As to the second part of the question, our constitution is clear on the powers of the Federal Government and those of the States. Under our Federal System, the States are already to a great degree autonomous and if the people feel that there is a need to give the States more powers, I am sure that steps can be taken in the National Assembly to introduce necessary changes in the constitution. I personally feel that the present arrangement is adequate and all it needs at this time

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is to give it a chance to work.

**Q:** On the matter of relations with the states, were you surprised at the vehemence of the opposition to your proposal for liaison officers?

**A:** The opposition by some States to the idea of Federal Liaison Officers in the States is due to two things. First, there was a lack of proper understanding of the scheme. Secondly, these States which are not states controlled by my party oppose the scheme for purely political reasons.

The Federal Government has considerable development projects in all the States that directly benefit these States, and these projects have suffered in the past from lack of on-the-spot supervision. The Liaison Officers will provide that on-the-spot supervision.

## Good offices

In addition, State Governments which so wish may use the good offices of Liaison Officers to establish immediate, on-the-spot contact with the Federal Government.

At the moment this is done through an elaborate and expensive process of State Liaison offices in Lagos and constant visits to Lagos by State Government officials.

**Q:** Some Nigerian press criticism of your Government has been extremely bitter, unrestrained and divisive. Can there come a point at which some sort of action against the press would be contemplated?

**A:** We are prepared to accept press criticism, however bitter, as part of our new democratic system. They system needs a virile press, but press criticism need not

really be bitter, unrestrained and divisive. I am continuing to appeal for journalistic restraint and to the sense of balance, fairplay and patriotism of our journalists.

**Q:** Your party has often been accused of being the party of rich men. With Senators and Members of the House of Representatives voting to pay themselves so highly, is there a danger that the whole of government will become cut off from the concerns of the poverty-stricken mass of people?

**A:** It is not correct to say that my party is a party of the rich. It is the majority party in the country and in the Federal Legislature. We have far more members than all the other parties and they naturally include some rich people. Whether we have the largest number of these people is, I think, a matter of opinion. But certainly all the parties, without exception, have members who are wealthy. My party has the widest grass-roots support all over the country, and we have people of all ages and walks of life.

About salaries which Senators and Members of National Assembly voted for me and for themselves, you may be aware that I have rejected the suggested salaries as being out of tune with our economic realities and the general wage situation in the country. These salaries were voted not only by legislators from my party who are in the majority in both the Senate and House of Representatives, but also by legislators of all the other parties. I am determined to ensure that this Government will maintain grassroots contact with the entire people of Nigeria.



President Shagari

**Q:** Why is it that Nigerian affairs make so little news in the world's press, and are so often misreported? Does this affect Nigerian influence in international affairs?

**A:** This is a question that we in the Third World have raised at various international conferences. The world press, which is almost entirely controlled by the developed countries, persists in spite of our protests to portray African and other Third World countries in the worst possible light. We are made to believe that the only news of African affairs that is fit for international consumption is news of crises and conflicts.

## Distorted image

We have made efforts, and will continue to make these efforts, to correct our distorted image in the world community, but the enemies of our progress unfortunately control all the channels through which we could hope to make effective impact. One hopes, however, that this state of affairs will change. I am sure that Nigeria's influence in international affairs will continue to be felt, although one admits that a favourable world press might be useful in bringing about a greater awareness of Nigeria's role in international affairs.

**Q:** The military regime was sometimes accused of using Nigeria's oil as a political weapon, of cutting off supplies — or threatening to cut off supplies — to countries in order to make a political point. Would the civilian Government also do this?

**A:** You rightly pointed out that oil has become a weapon in international politics. I am on record as saying that we shall use all weapons at our disposal, including oil if it becomes unavoidable, to pursue and fight for the interests of Nigeria.

**Q:** Taking a long-term view of things, what is one biggest achievement that you would best like the Shagari Administration to be remembered for in the history books of the future?

**A:** I would like Nigerians and the world to remember my administration for the great contribution it has made to the building of national unity, peace and accelerated progress and also for laying the proper foundation for the continuance of our democratic system.

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# Action on the Niger

President Sékou Touré made a speech recently on the implementation of the objectives of the recently created Niger River Commission. Extracts from the President's speech are published here.

FOR SOME YEARS now, the African continent has been confronted with drought, with its numerous negative consequences. Thus, many African states are compelled to import foodstuffs despite the scanty foreign exchange at their disposal. Some African nations have been able to avoid famine only thanks to the generous periodic assistance of Western and Eastern European countries as well as of American, Arab and Asian states. International solidarity is therefore playing a positive role in satisfying part of the food needs of many African countries. However, should we not be aware of the fact that foreign aid will, in the long run, remain insufficient or ineffective, if our peoples fail to adopt a responsible, vigorous and creative attitude in order gradually to control nature by creating the best conditions for the conservation and development of their resources? Africa should not remain a mere object of the benevolent solicitude of other continents. It must not resign itself to living from day to day by relying only on the generous assistance of other people. Africa must adopt a very dynamic and responsible attitude to enable it to control its destiny.

The task before us is to develop the immense natural resources of the Niger River and its tributaries in order to build a vast development organisation, based on an area measuring 4,200 km in length and covering 1,400,000 sq.km. If we add to the river basin the neighbouring and remote zones which belong to it, we will get an area covering more than 2,000,000 sq.km. Let us throw ourselves into the waters of the Niger river and we will land on the shores of prosperity.

The countries bordering the Niger river are perfectly capable of making the necessary effort and demonstrating the required courage in order to ensure that what is now only potential may become a reality. It is left to us to direct our efforts in a sustained, resolute and enlightened manner towards the achievement of well-defined and rational objectives in conformity with the national policy of each country and with the general policy we will have to adopt together to ensure the total and rapid development of our peoples.

The development of the Niger River basin will open bright prospects to our states and to the populations who, for many centuries, have lived thanks to the productive activities made possible by the river and its tributaries. However, we must review our objectives and extend the sphere of activities based on the existence of the Niger river. We must transcend the narrow, though very important, sphere of navigation and hydrology. We must utilise the waters of the river and its tributaries in a more rational manner in order to produce

food crops in very large quantities to feed our peoples adequately.

We must also utilise the river to produce industrial and export products and electricity, to irrigate the land, to fight desert encroachment through intensive reforestation and to supply sufficient water to the people of the area. The Commission, which has now become truly a regional Niger River Basin Authority, should take an effective and concrete part in the establishment of projects sited within the geographical limits of the basin and financed by two or more member states of our organisation. We must develop the resources of the Niger river and its tributaries.

We wish to draw the attention of the member states to the need for each state to continue and intensify its surveys of the resources of the Niger river and its tributaries in its territory and to make a decision on the main hydrological projects it intends to establish so that the executive secretariat may be kept informed about all the necessary data to enable it to prepare global plans of development of the river basin. The execution of this programme demands that the Niger River Commission should — through its technical agencies and

foreign organisations — make on-the-spot appraisals and studies in conformity with the national plans. Ministers, during the present session, your Council should examine this problem so that the tasks of the executive secretariat may be clearly defined.

We must set up a real Niger River Basin Authority through the implementation of the following urgent measures: complete reorganisation of the executive secretariat; preparation of a draft development programme indicating the various projects to be established during the various phases of the programme; review of the personnel statutes including the amendments demanded by the general objective of thorough reactivation of the Commission; rational recruitment of additional qualified staff; and a review of the agreement on the Commission's headquarters in accordance with the new exigencies. The Ministerial Council meeting, which will immediately follow the summit conference to be held in May this year, will examine the proposals of the executive secretariat which will be submitted to the approval of the summit meeting.

Before concluding, we must address a special greeting to the international organisations through their worthy representatives present here. We appeal to them to take particular interest in our problems and to grant us their valuable assistance. We thank the UNDP, the US A.I.D., the EEC, the European Development Fund, the French Aid and Co-operation Fund, OPEC which answered our call.

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Colonial Office and forced it to take steps to protect the only other known Empire source of bauxite in the Gold Coast, particularly since traditional suppliers in France were threatened by German occupation. The Colonial Office had no intention of working the deposits, despite a certain enthusiasm from the colony. Rather it was more concerned to acquire the land on which the bauxite occurred and maintain an adequate supply of the metal after the war. The British were afraid that ALCOA would monopolise all known Empire deposits and then simply close off British access to extract maximum profit.

With the mineral wealth of the colony thus safeguarded for the Empire, Kitson began to push for the development of a local aluminium industry and in 1919 persuaded Governor Guggisberg to devote £2m. to the development of hydro-power. However, financial difficulties in the twenties led to the abandonment of these plans, and for the next two decades no further progress was made. Many speculators tried to get the scheme off the ground but the colonial authorities, while at no stage hostile to the scheme, did not appear to be wholeheartedly behind it. They argued that the main immediate consumers of electricity were the gold mines and that if they did not want to convert to hydro-power then no scheme could be considered a viable proposition. But the real problem lay with the character of the companies requesting the bauxite concessions. Finance houses could not develop an aluminium industry alone. Recourse would at some stage have to be made to the aluminium companies.

Thus, from the very beginning, the realisation of the Volta project was to be directly determined by the needs of the companies and their readiness to pursue these needs into new geographical areas. To safeguard their raw material position the BAC took out the Awaso concession in 1928. The company did not contemplate exploiting the ore, for at this time it was neither an attractive nor a necessary investment.

By 1939, however, this situation had changed and in that year Duncan Rose, a South African speculator and adventurer, began to take an active interest in the potential profits that could be made from war-time aluminium. He quickly presented his proposals to the Gold Coast Government and managed to interest a leading South African finance and mining house in his plans. By the time the war started he had secured concessions covering the dam-site on the Volta, the port-site at Ada and a variety of bauxite concessions. The local chiefs, backed by Dr. J. B. Danquah, protested that the Colonial Government was not protecting their land rights, but under existing legislation, and despite their own reservations, the Colonial Government had little choice other than to validate the concessions. When the outbreak of war led to the suspension of operations Rose continued to press his case and in 1942 contacted the BAC to see if they were interested in the production of aluminium in the Gold Coast.

Unfortunately for Rose, who desperately needed an operator for his scheme, the BAC declined to take up his offer. They did not want to enter a scheme in which they would be junior partners and, in any case, were already involved in the mining of bauxite at Awaso, in the western part of the colony, and at Ejuanema, where the Ministry of War Production had requisitioned Rose's concession. Once again it was the exigencies of war and the threat to French bauxite supplies which directly stimulated the British to invest in the colony. Yet the BAC was clearly only interested in the mining of bauxite while the Colonial Government, unwilling to invest substantial amounts in a infrastructural scheme in a tropical African colony, declared that the colony was not suitable for the cheap production of hydro-power. This was only three years after Rose's plan to dam the Volta and produce 120,000 tons of aluminium per year for only £3m.

## Demand by mining companies

By 1944, however, the Colonial Government had changed its mind. Looking to the future and stimulated by the economic boom of organised war production, the Governor canvassed the mining companies to determine their post-war demand for electricity. Direct contact was established with the BAC to see if it would be interested in extending its mining operations to the smelting stage. Rose's scheme was conveniently forgotten. The BAC's reply went straight to the point. If plenty of cheap hydro-power could be provided then it would certainly be interested. The gold mines with their own private generators displayed no interest in a local hydro-scheme.

The BAC, however, was definitely interested in the Governor's proposition and hoped to utilise his enthusiasm to establish a privileged position in the local economy. In return for considering an expansion of its operations in the colony it demanded the reduction of local freight and port charges. It hinted that the mining of bauxite could be stepped up to half a million tons a year if taxes were reduced. The Colonial Office in London stepped in to back the company, feeling that the expansion of mining activities in the colony was in keeping with its new policy of encouraging the development of secondary industries in the Empire. It even suggested that if the company did expand to the smelting stage then a loan could easily be arranged under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act to finance the hydro-electric works.

Thus the bargain was struck. For the venture to be competitive, particularly against the new American giants, the colony would have to subsidise the operations of the company. But everyone had forgotten about Rose. He still held all the key concessions and could not be legally deprived of them. In the period of rivalry which was to develop between the BAC and Rose's South African backers over access to the resources of the Gold Coast, African

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interests were almost completely forgotten. The only exception lay in the area of power generation and distribution. The Colonial Office thought that it would be politically indefensible to allow the important responsibility to fall into the hands of private enterprise. The real problem now lay in what was to be done with Rose, now that he was in a position "to exercise some kind of blackmail".

Rose maintained that he was only interested in the production of aluminium but when in 1946 he contacted the American company, Reynolds Metals, alarm bells began to ring in the Colonial Office. Once again the crisis of production brought by the War had hastened the process of geographical expansion within the industry as well as directly leading to the emergence of two new producers. Kaiser and Reynolds, to challenge ALCOA's pre-war monopoly.

The war had led to the exhaustion of domestic deposits of bauxite in the US. The tremendous increase in demand for the metal, subsequently maintained by the Cold War, had left ALCOA unable to supply enough metal to the armaments industry and this, accompanied by vigorous anti-trust activity by the state, resulted in the artificial creation of competition and the sale of government-owned plant to the newcomers. By 1946, both companies were scouring the world not only for their own supplies of bauxite but also for cheap power facilities to escape from ALCOA's domestic monopoly. Huge deposits of bauxite were quickly secured in Jamaica

(the companies being strongly supported by the US government, itself anxious to maintain a good supply of the most strategic of the new metals) but the objective demands of the new oligopoly compelled the companies to seek control over resources wherever they existed, including the Gold Coast.

## Conflict of concessions

In the Gold Coast, the BAC and the Colonial Office continued in their attempts to exclude Rose from the scheme. He retaliated by inviting Unilever to take out an interest in his company. In this situation of tangled concessions and conflicting interests a stalemate developed which the Colonial Office admitted could only be resolved by legislative interference with the rights of chiefs as grantees of concessions. Yet by 1946 this was no longer a feasible option given political and constitutional developments in the colony. The BAC tried desperately to discredit Rose in the colony but this only served to drive him further into the arms of the Americans. By this time the Governor was convinced that the three rival groups would never be able to work together, despite the fact that the UK was now desperately short of aluminium and did not want to rely on dollar sources of the metal. The new internationalism of the Americans with regard to access to mineral resources was clearly a much stronger force than British attempts to revive the old pre-war monopoly of the Empire.

Rose continued with his investigations while the BAC, unable to come to terms with him and facing growing financial difficulties at home, eventually dropped out of the race. Then, in 1949, a new twist was given to the project when the Aluminium Company of Canada (ALCAN), a subsidiary of ALCOA, took out five of the eight bauxite concessions at Nymahin. That same year, they also acquired a 25 per cent interest in WAFAL. Rose's company, and declared its interest in participating in the development of an integrated aluminium scheme based on cheap Volta power.

The political turmoil of the 1948-51 period, had, however, added a further political dimension to the Volta negotiations. Responding to nationalist agitation, the Watson Report of 1948 had suggested that the Volta scheme, as the colony's largest project, should now be considered a national scheme, with substantial local equity investment and ultimate local ownership. This new formulation, in contrast to the private enterprise of Rose and the UK-subsidised proposals of the BAC, naturally appealed more to the new nationalist party of Kwame Nkrumah, the Convention People's Party. It also set the scene for a show-down between the CPP and ALCAN and the BAC who now, more than ever, were on the search for a new sterling source of aluminium. The British government was particularly interested in building a new smelter somewhere in the Empire. By the early 1950s Britain was almost unique among the Western industrial nations in not being



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self-sufficient in aluminium. Imports of metal from Canada were costing the dollar equivalent of nearly £18m a year and this constituted a significant drain on the country's foreign exchange reserves. In this situation of high unemployment, the UK government in association with the BAC and ALCAN agreed to underwrite a joint production scheme which would guarantee the British industry at least 75 per cent of the metal to be produced.

The two companies decided to investigate jointly two potential schemes, one in North Borneo and one in the Gold Coast. The subsequent Report of 1951 favoured the Volta scheme but clearly stated that "without the support of the UK and colonial governments and due to doubts over stability of conditions, any scheme, as envisaged in this report, could not be financed at this stage". The British White Paper of the following year made it clear that Britain was only interested in securing aluminium from a sterling source. The huge bauxite deposits of the colony were not really essential to the project — cheap hydro-power for smelting was. The White Paper's proposals would have meant that 90 per cent of the generating capacity of the dam would go to aluminium smelting.

This conflict between the development requirements of the colony and the strategic needs of British industry posed problems for the Gold Coast Government. Because of local political pressure, the British felt bound to accept the 1948 recommendation that the scheme be a national one yet the aluminium companies, whose participation

was necessary, had indicated that they did not favour the idea of mixing private and public funds.

The CPP, for its part, had included the immediate realisation of the Volta scheme in both its election manifesto and its first development plan. Yet it was equally clear that it would not be content with the 1951 White Paper proposals, which were regarded locally as merely a blueprint for yet another colonial raw materials scheme. Nevertheless, negotiations between all the interested parties did start in London in 1951. Despite minor revisions, it quickly became clear that agreement could never be reached on the basis of these original plans.

## Increase in estimated costs

A massive increase in estimated costs was partly responsible for the eventual breakdown of negotiations but more significant was the growth of local criticism from the opposition and from the more radical elements of the ruling CPP, which eventually led to a hardening of its bargaining position. In a three-day parliamentary debate in 1953, local critics of the scheme gave full vent to their feelings. One CPP member was greeted with cheers when he rose to call for changes in the financial arrangements. He suggested that the Volta project, as then conceived, "might mean economic enslavement". A second member pointed out that "you will find that we have been asked to bear the whole burden in the non-economic sections

of the scheme but we are asked to have only 10 per cent of the equitable (sic) capital of that section which will bring in revenue. The UK will have a greater hold on the economic power of the country". The persistent Dr. J. B. Banquah repeated an earlier warning: "I said in 1943 and I say it again in 1953 — that the Volta project is not for sale".

But, unfortunately, it was. Nkrumah was under considerable domestic pressure to launch the scheme and, while it was clear that agreement would not be reached with the British and Canadian companies, the option of dealing with the new American companies had still to be considered. Indeed, in the summer of 1951 Nkrumah opened up secret discussions with two leading American companies. The mediator in these negotiations was Dr. Horace Mann Bond, the former President of Lincoln University and a distinguished Afro-American educationalist. The Anaconda Corporation was at one stage interested and, later, Reynolds Metals joined the consortium set up by Bond to challenge British control of the main economic assets of the colony. Plans for American capital to finance and construct the Volta scheme were eventually discussed by Eisenhower's Cabinet, and Vice-President Nixon took a personal interest in the efforts of the management consortium. It was through John Foster Dulles, Secretary of State, and legal and political advisor to the Kaiser group of companies that details of the enormous investment potential of the Volta scheme came to the



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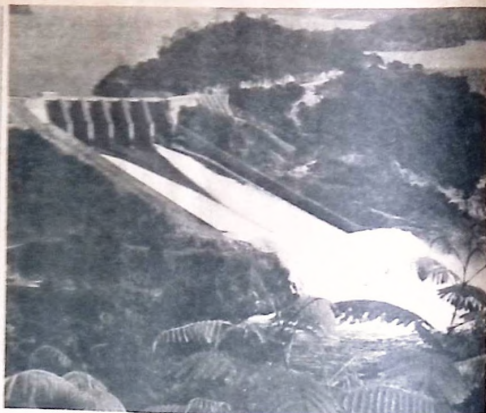
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notice of the second of the new aluminium plants — Kaiser Aluminium.

This challenge to the monopoly position of the British was something understood and encouraged by the leaders of the CPP. By July, 1952, according to correspondence between Nkrumah and Bond, "Nkrumah had informed Bond on several occasions that he wanted him to encourage American interests to assist in economic development of the Gold Coast, especially the Volta River project, in order to prevent his being forced to negotiate with various British interests, of which he was most anxious to become independent". Yet in 1953, these negotiations eventually petered out. Nkrumah could not afford openly to challenge British interests in the colony by seizing the concessions held by the BAC and ALCAN, particularly since it was widely felt that the British would much rather deal with the more conservative opposition party led by Danquah and Busia. The CPP were also well aware of the events of that year in British Guiana where the British had revoked the constitution and delayed the granting of independence following the electoral victory of the radical nationalist party of Dr Cheddi Jagan.

Instead a policy of neo-colonial accommodation was adopted whereby a Preparatory Commission was created to examine every aspect of the scheme and prepare new estimates. The Report was not ready until 1956 by which time the CPP had won two more general elections and independence had been promised for the following year. By this time, the BAC, faced with growing financial difficulties at home, had dropped out of the scheme while ALCAN had begun to investigate the possibility of investing in another West African colony — Guinea.

Ghana's independence in 1957 cleared the way for a dramatic reorientation of economic relations away from Britain and the Empire and towards the US and the

international financial institutions. American aluminium companies in particular were now searching the world for new sources of bauxite and electric power. Kaiser Aluminium, for example, having already experienced a decade of rapid growth was planning an even bigger burst of building for 1958-60 and despite a massive debt of \$300m, could still raise money quickly and easily through its "minister of finance" — George Woods of the First Boston Corporation.

The Americans wasted no time. Following Nixon's visit in March, 1957, and his undertaking that the US Government would encourage US private investment in Africa, several speculators with industrial connections arrived in Accra to try and pick up the Volta contract. The State Department was at first cautious about these unofficial approaches to the Ghana Government, but when the major companies followed up this initiative, both the State Department and the Embassy in Accra realised that such a golden opportunity to consolidate American influence in Ghana should not be spurned.

## Interest kept hidden

Reynolds Metals, working through Adlai Stevenson and Sir Robert Jackson, approached the Ghana government directly while Kaiser kept its interests hidden until State Department support could be secured. Kaiser was at this stage mainly interested in the construction contract and only later extended its brief to cover the aluminium sector. Nkrumah expressed a desire to have further discussions with leading American companies and this encouraged Bond to contact Anaconda again. The only stumbling block appeared to be the concessions held by ALCAN, since it was clear that the scheme could not proceed without its participation or its

willingness to relinquish control over its interests.

Bond felt that "this situation may well develop into a test case of how far the Ghanaian government is prepared to go in the face of possible opposition from the British government". By this time Nkrumah had pinned all his hopes on getting the Volta scheme started and was prepared to appropriate the holdings of ALCAN if they adopted a dog-in-the-manager attitude. The Second Development Plan was thus deferred in an effort to get the financial arrangements settled. For the first time the threat of Soviet aid for the project was mentioned if the West delayed in investing in Ghana.

In December, 1957, Eisenhower contacted Nkrumah and laid down the basic condition for American financial help. The scheme was not viable without an aluminum smelter to consume most of the power produced, and Ghana would have to come to terms with the companies before any official backing would be made available. The US was, however, prepared to act as a catalyst for this deal and agreed to send a team of investigators to Ghana to see what help could be given. Faced with an apparent coincidence of interest between US foreign policy and Kaiser's own corporate investment logic, the company began to lobby the US agencies involved. The hurdle of ALCAN's monopoly position in Ghana was cleared in 1958 when the Canadian company withdrew to exploit the bauxite of Guinea. ALCAN had no real need of additional smelting capacity but this was exactly what Kaiser and Reynolds, with ample bauxite in Jamaica, required. Reynolds takeover of the BAC towards the end of 1958 then cleared the way for total American domination of the project.

Ghana was now in an extremely weak bargaining position. Financial backing for the scheme depended on reaching an agreement with the two aluminum companies. Moreover, they were now in a position to extract fairly onerous terms and, by early 1959, had devised what was to be the final formulation. The US Government and various international lending institutions would lend Ghana the money to construct the power facilities while private enterprise would own and operate the smelter. Ghana's original intention of acquiring 40 per cent of the smelter's equity was to be sacrificed for the loan of the money to build the dam.

The aluminum companies thereafter concentrated on keeping the cost of the scheme down to ensure that a low price for power could be secured. The integrated aluminum scheme was scaled down by the omission of the alumina plant, and other "frill" facilities were abandoned as the project began to lose its original multi-purpose character. Kaiser's dual role as both consultant engineer for the power project and main consumer for the power thereby produced contributed in no small way to the subordination of the Volta scheme to the interests of the American producers. At one stage, Kaiser even managed to have their own banker, George Woods, act as advisor to the Ghana

Government. Edgar Kaiser continued to entice Nkrumah with promises of eventually investing in an alumina plant, a cement plant and other development projects, but the key reason for Nkrumah's acceptance of the Kaiser package lay in Kaiser's domestic power consumption projections. These proved to be totally unrealistic. By stripping the Volta scheme of all the ancillary facilities which could have stimulated a Ghanaian industrial revolution, Kaiser and Reynolds succeeded in creating the conditions for one of the most profitable aluminum smelters in the world. This was achieved principally by negotiating what was then the lowest power rate in the world. The real cost of the Volta scheme was thereby passed on to the Ghanaian state and, indirectly to the Ghanaian consumer.

## Certain tax concessions

The terms and agreements outlined above were finally put together and in September, 1959, the Principles of Agreement were signed in Accra. Ghana undertook to offer certain tax concessions to the new smelter company and to facilitate all its foreign exchange transactions. By this time the strategy of the smelter consortium was clear. It consisted of eliminating or at least reducing the effect of the interposition of the national state across the control relationships of vertical integration. The Volta scheme was to be an integrated scheme, but integrated within the corporate boundaries of the American companies and not the local economy. The World Bank initially hesitated to back such a clearly exploitative agreement but, faced with growing Soviet influence in Ghana and the possibility of working in the interests of US foreign policy, finally relented and agreed to underwrite the scheme. The rationalisation offered for this decision was that, contrary to all previous conceptions, the success of the scheme now depended not on the smelter load and its payments for power, but on the non-smelter demand. This was only one year after the Bank had indicated that "... at 2.5 mills, power revenues from the smelter alone would never be large enough to cover debt service" (A US mill is the unit used to calculate power payments and is equivalent to one tenth of a cent). Yet this was exactly the rate that Kaiser managed to secure in 1959. It was, as we have noted, the lowest rate in the world.

In the next article the terms of the Master Agreement of 1962 and the subsequent operations of both the smelter and the Volta River Authority will be examined. But we should conclude this historical survey of the development of the Volta scheme, the greatest of Ghana's development projects, by noting that, in 1961, the Americans believed Ghana to be a "decisive battlefield" in the cold war. Kaiser, for his part, wondered "Where else could we get a 120,000 ton smelter, costing 150,000,000 dollars, of which 85 per cent was supported by debt and 90 per cent of that covered by the American government".

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# King Hassan's Saharan setback

by a correspondent

THERE IS now sufficient evidence to point towards a severe Moroccan setback in the fighting that took place in southern Morocco in the first two weeks of the month. A speech by Moroccan officers by King Hassan ten days ago in which he exhorted the armed forces to make the necessary sacrifices "for the defence of the territorial integrity of the country" was the first suggestion that the fighting in the area near the Algerian border had not gone the Moroccan way. Subsequently, Moroccan broadcasts confirmed that a major battle had taken place in that region. The Polisario Front meanwhile has claimed a major victory — a turning point in the war — which has cost some 2,000 Moroccan lives.

## Latest encounter

The latest encounter occurred when a Moroccan force of over 5,000 was ordered to clear the zone which stretched from Oued Draa in the north to the Western Saharan frontier and destroy the Polisario units which recently have been operating with impunity in that area. The second part of their task was to relieve the garrison at Zag where some 4,000 Moroccan troops have

been encircled since last Autumn. The Moroccan force consisted of several units from the Ouhoud column, formed last year by King Hassan to control the Western Sahara, and the other half was supplied by men from the Zegalla column, more recently formed and said to be ill trained.

The plans of advance and composition of the force are known publicly because the Polisario Front managed to capture the car which contained several documents on the present operation.

Polisario's description of the fighting is that on March 1, they attacked and routed units from the Zegalla column. It is reported that most of the new recruits in the Zegalla column were Sahrawis. The force regrouped at Djebel Ouarkiz and six days later after being harassed by Polisario guerrillas along a 120km front. Polisario says that another column, which had come from Zag to meet the relief forces was also attacked and suffered severe casualties.

After reorganising the column, General Dlimi proceeded, on March 9, to the second part of the mission, the relief of Zag. As the armoured column passed through the N'Guech pass — the supply route to Zag —

they were attacked in the plain of Tighzert and forced to withdraw again to Djebel Ouarkiz.

In the past there has been some scepticism concerning the claims of the Polisario Front, though their overall strategic success has never been doubted. This time however, several journalists were taken to the area and their reports of large numbers of Moroccan dead and considerable damage to Moroccan equipment confirm that the Polisario Front has inflicted the severest defeat, so far, on the Moroccans in the war for the Western Sahara.

## The military implications

On several counts, the defeat will be seen as a dangerous development in King Hassan's commitment to retaining the Western Sahara. General Dlimi, who commanded the force, is a close military adviser to the King. Just before the operation, the King had paid his first visit to the Western Sahara when he went to El Aiun. But most significant will be the implication of the defeat of an armoured column of over 5,000 men many of whom were considered to be among Morocco's finest troops. The strategy, instituted with the Ouhoud column, of motorised and armoured columns sweeping through the desert clearing it of guerrilla units has been seriously compromised. The news of the extent of the losses in life cannot be contained in Morocco which will bring additional domestic pressure on the monarch.

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# BOOKS and Publications

## Nigerian indicator

*Nigeria's Leadership Role In Africa* by Joseph Wayas (Macmillan Press, £10 hardcover, £4.95 paper)

FEW NEW names become prominent in Nigeria's politics since the return of civilian rule. Dr. Joseph Wayas, President of the Senate, and a leading figure in the National Party of Nigeria, was previously little known as a politician outside his own Cross River State, although he was increasingly prominent in commercial circles; but now his is one of the best-known names in the country. His book was prepared before he was elected a Senator and should not be regarded as an official statement of policy for his party or the President. It offers nevertheless an indication of some important trends in political thinking in Nigeria.

The book's title explains its intention. Dr. Wayas deplores what he sees as the failure of pre-1966 "moderate" Nigerian governments, and to a large extent that of Gowon,

to seek *real* independence for Africa, in contrast to Dr. Nkrumah, or President Modibo Keita of Mali. There is an interesting discussion of the philosophies of such men and of the nature of African socialism, which he seems to prefer to what he calls the "decadent" socialism of European social democrats, while emphasising the gap between theory and practice in Africa.

The turning-point in Nigeria came, Dr. Wayas believes, with the 1975 administration of the late General Murtala Muhammed. Specifically he sees Nigeria's backing of the MPLA in Angola and her rebuff to the US over this matter as the turning-point (at the time Nigeria's decision to abandon the idea of a government of the three parties in Angola in favour of the MPLA government seemed somewhat

belated).

Clearly he hopes that the government which he now supports will carry on the Murtala Muhammad tradition. He explains, without arrogance, why that should be possible. First is Nigeria's economic situation, which needs no emphasis (although Dr. Wayas is somewhat out-of-date in his discussion of the importance of Nigeria's foreign exchange reserves for sterling). But Nigeria is also a bridge between Black Africa and OPEC, and between Arab and African members of OAU. He wants in his book to examine what other problems might call for Nigerian leadership, of which he puts the nature and organisation of the OAU itself in the forefront. The liberation of Southern Africa is the second problem. African-Arab relations is another. Finally he discusses international aid organisations.

Dr. Wayas sees much to criticise in the objectives and organisation of OAU. He emphasises its obvious helplessness in matters such as the Chad-Libya dispute, questions the automatic right of any state which happens to be in Africa to be a member, and criticises the impossibility of expelling any state. But the weakness which he emphasises most strongly is the dual loyalty of Arab members, who belong to Arab organisations to which Black African states cannot belong. He even suggests the possibility of a new OAU comprising Black states alone, although maintaining that this could ensure with the Arab states even closer economic co-operation, for which he offers some recipes. He criticises, too,

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OPEC's poor record of aid to Black Africa, and the Arab's inability to assist Africa's industrialisation.

The book also discusses the imperfect co-operation which Dr Wayas believes some Francophone states offer to OAU, and the rivalry between them and Anglophone states. He is particularly critical of Senegal, and of French activities in Africa.

Brazil, with whom Nigeria's trade is growing, is criticised, with other Latin American countries, for her developing trade and other links with South Africa. But Dr. Wayas sees "the West" as the main enemy of OAU with regard to southern Africa; he is particularly scornful of "dialogue" with South Africa — an idea recently championed, to a huge outcry, by one of Dr. Wayas's own members, Senator Jaja Wachuku. France is, he says, "a perfect target" because of her shameless military co-operation with South Africa and her pervasive economic ties with other parts of the continent: "economic reprisals against France should send signals also to other western nations." The suggestion that Nigeria should replace with aid the employment South Africa offers to workers from neighbouring states is idealistic, but unlikely to appeal to these states. It is also doubtful if South Africa's neighbours, particularly now Robert Mugabe's Zimbabwe, would welcome Nigerian troops on their soil as part of the campaign against South Africa.

Dr. Wayas, one of whose aims is to "clear away illusions", would not expect all his judgements to gain complete acceptance.

When the emphasis in Nigeria's development plans is moving towards the welfare of the individual and away from great projects, his complaint, in his discussion of international organisations, that the World Bank is avoiding industrial projects and is interested instead in "projects of limited social value, such as rural clinics, schools, rural lighting and population control", is unexpected. Nor, at a time when the UN's World Health Organisation has been able to announce the elimination of small-pox, once a scourge of Nigeria, could everyone agree with his assessment of the complete worthlessness for the poorer countries of the international aid organisations.

Since he regards "aid" as worthless, and even harmful, it is surprising that he also complains that the amount has dwindled — while rightly asserting that it could never solve the problems of the poor countries.

## International suggestions

Although he claims that the international organisations really help only the richer countries because their staffs are largely drawn from these countries and are not neutral, his assessment is close to that made of these organisations by certain people in the richer countries normally held to be backward-looking. The Federal Government, ready though it is to exert the leadership in Africa to which Nigeria's resources and population entitle it, is unlikely to follow up the suggestion, with

which Dr. Wayas concludes his book, that Nigeria should establish a "separate, independent institute" to monitor the work of the international agencies and advise other African governments about their relations with them. He also urges African governments to ignore their membership of the World Intellectual Property Organisation, which protects copyrights, and to pirate such books as they need.

Dr. Wayas criticises the OAU preoccupation with the preservation of national sovereignty and territorial integrity, a criticism many echo. But he denounces the Eritrean nationalists for "waging war" against the Ethiopian government, somewhat unconvincingly urging these brave and resolute freedom fighters — whose struggle, he says, is due "only" to the encouragement of Arab states — to work "to make Ethiopia as a whole a more viable country". Nor will the Gambia's leaders, of any party, be enthusiastic about Dr. Wayas's evident support of Samir Amin's case that international aid (surely, in this case, at least, effective?) for their country is misdirected since it helps to keep in existence a "non-viable" state which otherwise "might have been forced to seek closer links with Senegal, or even to accept economic union". But have not ECOWAS, to which Dr. Wayas pays little attention (he calls it "Commission" instead of "Community"), and in whose creation Nigeria played a leading rôle and the Lomé Conventions, in which again Nigeria played a leading rôle but which are not mentioned at all, made such views obsolete?

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The book's appearance is welcome, whatever controversy it may arouse. Dr. Wayas thrives on debate in the House over which he presides with such distinction. He will equally welcome any debate to which his book gives rise. D.W.

## Military policies in Asia

**Military Power and Policy in Asian States: China, India, Japan** edited by Onkar Marwah and Jonathan D. Pollack (Dawson Publishing, Westover Press, USA, £9)

JAPAN, whom many suppose to have remained virtually unarmed and dependent on US protection as a result of her defeat in the second world war, has in fact the fourth biggest number of military aircraft of any country. Although her "Ground Self-Defence Forces" (GSDF) are relatively small in numbers they possess greater fire power than the "entire Imperial Japanese Army of World War II", says the Japanese commentator, Yasuhisa Nakada, in his contribution to this collection of studies of "secondary powers" which might transform the international system. Moreover, an abnormally high proportion of the strength of the GSDF are officers and NCOs, which suggests that the forces could be rapidly expanded.

Current Japanese defence spending is over \$10,000m a year, making Japan seventh among military spenders. So far from wanting to restrict Japan's defence expenditure, the US urges its increase. And, says Mr. Nakada, during the 1980s Japan will be in the first rank of "conventional" military powers.

Racked by the Western World's second biggest Gross Domestic Product (GDP), and the potential for a self-sufficient indigenous arms industry, her forces already make Japan an important factor in the Asian and world military balance. Her defeat in the war, and her general sense of security in the years which followed, made the Japanese reluctant to accept any international commitments, while many were hostile to the idea of attempting to recreate their country's military might — hence use of the term "Self-Defence" in the titles of all three armed services. But, says Mr. Nakada, all that is changing, particularly in view of the intended withdrawal of US ground troops from South Korea. And if there is no intention at present of producing nuclear weapons — widely viewed with particular horror in Japan because of her people's unique suffering from these evil contrivances — there is no doubt about her ability to do it.

India, however, about whose defence capabilities Dr. Onkar Marwah, a former member of his country's administrative service, contributes a well-written study, has advanced nuclear, rocket and space technology which, although at present used commercially, has military possibilities: India organised her first nuclear explosion in 1974. Compared with her small and ill-equipped forces in 1947, India now has the world's third largest standing army, the

fifth largest air force and the eighth largest navy, with a substantial air arm.

These forces are backed by an armaments industry which is the biggest in the Third World non-communist states "in value, volume, diversity of manufacture, and research and development facilities": produces tanks and aircraft, and is beginning to export arms. While India's GDP or economic efficiency cannot compare with Japan's, her industry is the eighth in the world in the volume of output. Dr. Marwah's brief comments on the Indian approach to the "mixed economy" are valuable. She can also command the services of enormous numbers of technically skilled people.

Nehru and his colleagues originally wanted to minimise the status of the armed forces, which should be limited to an ability to resist Pakistan — it was wrongly assumed that this was easy "Non-alignment", it was thought, would steer India through the international minefield, although from an early stage the Indian leaders sought a degree of self-sufficiency in armament manufacture. The unhappy experience of the 1962 war with China changed the emphasis, since then defence expenditures have been "unquestionable elements" in India's budgets and development plans — but without, as Dr. Marwah maintains, taking much more than 3 to 3.5 per cent of GNP or 16 to 20 per cent of the federal recurrent budget (lower proportions than in Nigeria in some recent years). The pursuit of complete self-reliance in armament production will continue. "Non-alignment with military power" will make India, says Dr. Marwah, "a future major-power contestant".

India's rise to such status, Dr. Marwah concludes, will have been "relatively painless", and will take place with the support of existing superpowers, and in a "relatively open political system". Very different is the condition of China, the third country studied in this book.

Dr. Pollack, whose essay, far fuller of American sociological jargon than the others, is more tentative and "exploratory" than they are because of the difficulty of securing information in China, says that the Chinese communist leaders have never questioned the need for "military power". They maintain the world's biggest ground forces, even if their equipment is weak. But the nature of this power, and the purposes to which it should be put, are subject to argument. Earlier dependence on Soviet aid for armaments and for developing the local armaments industry has given way to the need for self-reliance, and more recently a readiness to make armament purchases in western countries.

The army and civil government are intertwined in China in a way now unthinkable in Japan and unacceptable in India. The emphasis has always been on mass ground forces, and on the role of the whole population in defence. Dr. Pollack suggests, and the Chinese invasion of Vietnam in 1979 confirms, China may not be able to reject the label "superpower" which Teng Hsiao Ping (or Deng Xiaoping) defined at the UN in 1974 as "an

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independent country which everywhere subjects other countries to its aggression, interference, control ...". The most populous country in the world must one day match its population with military might, and in recent years there has been public support in China for the idea that priority must be given to the independent development of defence industries, which should not await the development of the economy as a whole.

In their introduction the editors conclude that the "middle-rank states" could now be seen not as "prizes in a contest" between superpowers but as "autonomous actors" in restricted spheres. They may no longer have to bargain for the superpowers' favours; and it is to be hoped that the superpowers will recognise their new status, even if such recognition of them as "emerging great powers may tempt them to reach beyond their capabilities".

N.D.

## Brandt's Commission reports

**North-South: A Programme for Survival:**  
*The Report of the Independent Commission on International Development Issues under the Chairmanship of Willy Brandt (Penguin Books, £1.95)*

INTERNATIONAL relations are replete with nations doing to their neighbours what they would not like done to themselves. Wars are, directly or indirectly, some of the destructive consequences of the operation of these double values. The Kellogg-Briand treaty, over fifty years ago, aimed to outlaw all wars, had it succeeded the task of the international blue-ribbon commission headed by Herr Willy Brandt would have been of a totally different nature. The commissioners said the principal motives for their proposals "are human solidarity and a commitment to international social justice". In a very passionately written introduction the Chairman says: "If reduced to a simple denominator, this report deals with peace."

It is observed that "current trends point to a sombre future for the world economy and international relations; a painful outlook for the poorer countries with no end to poverty and hunger; continuing world stagnation combined with inflation; international monetary disorder; mounting debts and deficits; protectionism; major tensions between countries competing for energy, food and raw materials; growing world population and more unemployment in north and south; increasing threats to the environment and the international commons through deforestation and desertification, overfishing and overgrazing, the pollution of air and water; and overshadowing everything the menacing arms race."

But this trend need not continue. Even if not acknowledged, a world community has emerged in the last decades, and there is a framework for working for a better future of mankind, after all human efforts have achieved the same in individual nations, and

peace "is the great desire of all races, nations and creeds".

The emphasis of the Report is on the North-South relationship which has deteriorated since the oil crisis of 1973. It is noted that the rich, industrialised North with only a quarter of the world population accounts for four-fifths of the world's income. In the poor, developing South—most of Africa, Asia and Latin America—800m. people are destitute, each year more than 30m. children under the age of five die of starvation. The growth of disparities poses a threat to world stability. The oil crisis has increased the debts of the Third World countries, sapped the recession-ridden North of its ability to provide, and put the world monetary system in mortal danger.

Tackling these problems effectively requires fundamental change in attitude towards the North-South dialogue, whose impotent existence has suffered from "the atmosphere which has prevailed in the past of Southern 'demands' and Northern 'concessions'". In its prescription of new international priorities the Report calls for an immediate five-year programme whose main items are: massive transfer of resources to developing countries, an international energy strategy, global food programme, and reform of the international monetary system. The long-term aims contains cures for most afflictions of mankind, including elimination of hunger and ending of the arms race.

Very few of the observations, analyses, conclusions and recommendations of the Report are new: they have all appeared in one form or another in the innumerable international resolutions on development. But the approach certainly adds some freshness and dispels much of the feeling of flogging a dead horse.

To start with, the eloquent prose transcends the gobbledygook of international resolutions whose wording, as Herr Brandt observed, is so ambiguous that only the participants know what they are all about. Secondly, with concepts such as 'human solidarity' and 'compassion', the Report brought a moral dimension to the bargaining table which has till now been cluttered with hard facts based on statistical analyses. Then there is the appeal to survival, that basic instinct of all species.

The commissioners are convinced that a world which carried out their recommendations "would be more just, safer, and more prosperous". However, it is admitted that "the picture as a whole may be more inviting than some of its details". This separation of the whole from its parts throws out targets for criticism of the Report. One look at the picture of the existing world shows why. It is pointed that, "all the fuel used by the Third World for all purposes is only slightly more than the amount of gasoline the North burns to move its automobiles". Energy is one of the diminishing commodities used to maintain the high standard of living in the North. Will the plea for better use of such resources make the North take a cut in the standard of living of its peoples so that the poor of the South could attain a decent standard?

The recommendations place the responsibilities for action on the more powerful North which is also expected to share power with the South. True, some power has already passed to the South, as in OPEC, for example, but none of this was achieved by negotiations based on mutuality of interests, and even now the North is not happy about being vulnerable to South. It is, surely, rather ambitious to expect the North voluntarily to relinquish its position of privilege.

As for transfer of resources to the South, this involves banks, if not romantically it is difficult to see how concepts like human solidarity, compassion or mutuality of interests satisfy banking criteria — how much can they cover risks and yield profits. Assuming the money does manage to reach the poor countries what are the chances of it alleviating poverty? According to the Report: "People are poor in two sets of circumstances, in countries which have reached relatively high levels of income where the income is not well distributed and in countries ... where there is little to distribute."

The South is urged to introduce social, political and agrarian reforms. But the most crucial is political reform, and it is acknowledged that there is abuse of power by the elites in the South. However, if the same elites are the participants in the North-South Dialogue then there is the possibility that the outcome of the negotiations may not improve the circumstances of the powerless poor.

It is easy to imagine that focus on these discordant details would have led the commission into a situation of Chekhov's characters discussing insoluble problems, a situation which one of the commissioners did warn against. Prescribing on the details would have amounted an ideology — with a specific definition of the kind of man that would make the Commission's vision of the world feasible. Although the Report contains no such ideology, and it is in several aspects quite sterile in its immediate impact on world problems, it does contain virile seeds for awareness which should lead to improvement of life on earth.

Ad/Ohe Obe

## Mombasa's Muslim women

Muslim Women in Mombasa 1890-1975 by Margaret Strobel (Yale University Press, £12.30)

KENYA'S second city and major seaport has some affinities with Lagos. It was an ancient city, with 750 years of recorded and independent history, before the British, through the Imperial British East Africa Company, secured the concession in 1895 of a 10-mile coastal strip — including Mombasa — of today's Kenya and Tanzania, from the Sultan of Zanzibar. Mombasa was already then a cosmopolitan trading city, with immigrants from the Arab

countries and Asia as well as from its hinterland and the Somali coast.

Apart from a brief period of Portuguese rule, the city had long been dominated by a Muslim elite, and came under the influence of the trading system of the Sultans of Oman, whose move to Zanzibar in 1840 made Mombasa a flourishing sub-port of Zanzibar. The Omani connection also brought new people to Mombasa — Baluchi soldiers from the northwest of the Indian sub-continent, and Hindu as well as Muslim Indian traders.

British rule ended the political domination of the Muslim elite, who found that mission-educated Kenyans and even Indian entrepreneurs exercised more influence. Slavery, a vital support of the Muslim elite, was abolished in 1907, although the position of slaves was not immediately changed, and the population was swollen by thousands of up-country immigrants who shared neither the religion, language nor culture of the older inhabitants. By 1975 the population had grown tenfold, to over quarter of a million.

Between 1890 and 1930 Mombasa's Muslims, says Professor Strobel, "wrestled with the tension between reality and ideological prescriptions of behaviour". In the next 45 years no change so significant as the abolition of slavery occurred "but the undermining of the patriarchal form of life increased as secular education and employment for women further threatened this fundamental institution of Muslim life." In this readable and sympathetic study of those who, to a large degree, are "the inarticulate and the invisible", based mostly on personal relations and interviews with women of the "Old Town", she concludes that "class differences" have persisted within the "female sub-culture" which she examines.

In the 1950s "women predominantly from the upper class combined British models and Islamic aims to form institutes and associations that would equip them with skills they perceived to be essential for living in a transformed Mombasa. They felt a need to mix with men and women from other ethnic groups, to educate themselves and their children in religion and English literacy alike, and to represent their interests in a limited way in the political jostling that preceded Kenya's independence."

Now within Kenya, Muslims, a small minority (less than 10 per cent in the country as a whole), have "less control and influence than the previous generation over the forces that change their society". The considerable autonomy Muslim women in Mombasa achieved during the unsettling changes of almost a century reflects their particular sub-culture, developed largely through the dance associations and groups concerned with puberty rites which Professor Strobel describes. Later they developed improvement associations. All the time Professor Strobel clearly links their position today with their history in Mombasa. And she calls for further research into the pattern of continued female subordination.

A.M.

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## LETTERS to the Editor

### Dumping Toxic Wastes in Africa

SIR: A recent report about negotiations between the Nedlog Technology Group and certain African countries for toxic industrial waste-disposal sites once again raises questions about the accountability of foreign companies operating in developing countries.

According to the report, Sierra Leone was apparently willing to consider the toxic waste dumping in return for much-needed foreign exchange. Sierra Leone and Liberia, the other African country mentioned in the report, are probably unaware that the dimensions of the hazardous industrial waste problem and the impact on public health of past disposal practices are only beginning to be understood here in the United States. They must realise that Nedlog and other companies like it are out seeking overseas dumping sites because of the expense of meeting stringent new disposal requirements imposed on American industry by the US government. Without the trained manpower and equipment to monitor and regulate effectively the activities of these companies, countries like Sierra Leone and Liberia would be leaving their environments wide open to unrestrained abuse.

It is clear that profit is the sole objective of the companies seeking overseas disposal sites. In the absence of effective controls, therefore, one would expect corners to be cut in the disposal process at the expense of the environment and public health in the receiving countries. Given the widespread use of untreated stream water for domestic purposes in the developing areas of the world and the poor sanitation that invariably prevails in most of these countries, leachate from the disposal sites and other disposal process residues that reach local water resources, could result in public disasters much more serious than the Hooker Chemical Company's notorious Love Canal problems in New York State.

The leaders of Sierra Leone, Liberia, Chile and other developing countries who might accept other people's poison and endanger the lives of perhaps several generations of their countrymen, should take a second look at their priorities.

New York KWAKU MENSA NUNYUIE

### "Destructive transaction"

SIR: The article on the proposed disposal of dangerous waste in West African countries (Matcher's Diary, *West Africa* February 11) brings to light one of the most disastrous and destructive transactions any African state would ever enter into. It also exposes both the Americans' total disregard for Africa and the ignorance of some of our leaders.

The proposal by an American company to establish an industrial waste recycling and residual disposal site in Sierra Leone is by far the most single blatant effort by the western world to totally eradicate Africans. As a Sierra Leonean living in the so-called developed world where there are very strict regulations about the disposal of poisonous waste, I feel compelled to register an immediate warning to President Stevens and his counterparts to avoid getting into any such transactions. The US has a land space that is over 100 times that of Sierra Leone or Liberia. If the Americans cannot find dumping sites in their vast continent, I fail to understand how tiny and spaceless Sierra Leone can serve as their site. Of course, we are not to be blind to the

fact that the Americans would prefer "poisonous" rather than their people.

The problems of dumping hazardous waste, the greatest single consequence of advancement that troubles all western states today. They are desperately searching for a solution and here again poor Africa appears to be their sacrifice. Yes, it is true that other "wastes" from the developed world have found comfortable homes in Africa — modern weapons to encourage us either continue fighting or to begin an expensive drugs not used in the western world and which have no remedial value at all. African diseases — fortunately, however, "wastes" of these nature are temporary, but we have to stand up against them.

Stockholm, Sweden SOULAIMAN DARAW

### How did Bangura die?

SIR: The death of Mr S. L. Bangura, the Governor of the Bank of Sierra Leone, has been described as "mysterious" by the President, Siaka Stevens. The Governor was found dead in his official residence on 22 December, 1979. His body was found on the floor, below the balcony, his bedroom, mutilated and ice cold. The death was monstrous and ghastly.

The Governor's death was indeed a mystery. The most crucial question is, how did he meet his death? Two theories have been advanced. One is that he committed suicide. The second is that he was murdered, a victim of circumstances complex for sane minds to comprehend.

For those of us who knew the late Governor and had the good luck to work with him, the suicide theory should be dismissed with contempt it deserves. Such a theory is nothing but a figment of infantile and unproductive imagination. Why should a man of Samuel Bangura's stature, intelligence and psychological balance, contemplate, let alone commit suicide. He was a peaceful man, sociable, likeable and helpful to many and sundry. At 49, he had an enviable record as a public servant, a record of us would like to be associated with. He was well off materially and loved his family and relatives. Why then should such a man commit suicide? His reputation locally and internationally was equally enviable and worth emulation.

Now, assuming that he wanted to commit suicide for whatever reason one may find convenient to contrive, one point is clear, he could not have subjected his body to the wretched condition we saw. The man was intelligent to know that there are many dignified ways of taking one's life in our modern world. He could have died more honourably, rather than subject his body to a condition of physical mutilation and molestation. Assuming that, in fact, he committed suicide, another crucial point of evidential value emerges. Why was it only when the security heard the heavy fall of the subject, and found out that it was the late Governor's body, the body was ice cold. I can imagine a man falling from any height, to be frozen minutes later without any show of struggle. This is indeed mysterious. The fact invalidates any attempt to whitewash the death as suicide. What crime could Samuel Bangura have committed in Sierra Leone that should have led him to commit suicide?

The second theory, which sounds more plausible, is that Samuel Bangura was murdered, but by whom? This final question should be considered by the state and those who purport to be investigating the matter. It will be a precedent in the history of our country if Samuel L. Bangura's death is not investigated to the satisfaction of the nation. Only a public inquiry will reveal the culprit of that cowardly act. The act was carried out with brutal efficiency. Let us hope that the death of such a distinguished member of the nation will not go undetected.

Let us hope that our beloved country will not get to the point of Idi Amin's Uganda where

public figures disappeared unceremoniously and were never heard of again; where no one dared to utter sane opinions that amounted to dissent.  
*Dakar, Senegal* **BAI SAIDU KARGBO**

## Cosmetic solution for Ghana

SIR: Dr. Glah (*West Africa*, February 11), posed a question which he failed miserably to answer. He reckoned with a nationwide electrification and water supply, Ghana's problems, both political and economic, would be solved leading to buoyancy of our agricultural and manufacturing industries.

There is a flaw in this assertion; you just have to look at some of the development economics textbooks, and then look at the whole of Africa where all these theories have been practised and you would be confounded with failures. Dr. Glah seems to be quoting from one of such books. The overriding keystone programme for recovery does not lie in Dr. Glah's thesis but rather in Ghana's ability to seriously look at the neglected agricultural sector of the economy. For a long time, Ghanaians have not been encouraged to go to the farm. Lip-service was paid to the so-called "Operation Feed Yourself". The late General Acheampong used farming as a means of punishment for students who challenged his authority. In this situation agriculture was relegated to a position of irrelevance in our economy. Until such a time it is impressed on Ghanaians, both the so-called elites, academics and even the self exiles that no amount of rural on our going back to the land, no amount of rural electrification or water supply would solve our numerous economic and political problems.

Dr. Glah did not tell us how we could pay for the infrastructure he proposed except, perhaps, to go cap in hand to borrow which would lead to more balance of payments problems. Until we

are able to grow enough to eat and have a surplus to export then his so-called scientific solution to our problems would continue to elude us.

We must encourage the youth to go to the land and replace our dying stock of farmers. It is about time we had our priorities right once and if we fail this time, as somebody said, a new generation of boat people would emerge from Ghana, not as a result of coup or civil war, but as a necessity because of failed economic policy and the need to try their luck elsewhere.

*Aberystwyth, Wales*

**JOSEPH ADE**

## Hiring Nigerian expatriates

SIR: Dr. Chukuma I. Okadigwe (*West Africa*, January 14) raised a homely question about the importance of qualified Nigerians abroad. Although he had pointed to some of the important reasons and the alleged excuses for which these Nigerians remained abroad, there are many more reasons why these qualified individuals consciously or unconsciously choose to remain in self exile.

It is true that after one returns home, he faces the terror of our bureaucratic derelictions and/or "initiative-killing bureaucracy", to quote Dr. Okadigwe. But the first thing and very important does, how does he return home, and when one finally which he had left some ten or so years before. It is lacking in the government's efforts to attract our qualified men and women home.

Early in the current period of oil boom, Nigerian government rightly or wrongly responded to the calls of news media, both locally and internationally, by recruiting qualified Nigerians from abroad. The procedure was that, individual, a bachelor or spinster, is given a plane ticket value of N900 (I use Naira to ease the

analysis), and N400 to transport from North America to Nigeria. A candidate is offered plane tickets for family plus N650 to ship his belongings.

This appears to be a step in the right direction but it is short of a deep analysis of most Nigerians abroad. In place, most Nigerians went over their personal efforts. These people their ways up through economic hard working and going to school and have no savings of any kind.

On arrival back to Nigeria, they are expected by the government to allowance of N180 per month for year and pay one year's rent in advance of government. A person undergraduate degree who is employed by government will earn a year approximately N3,360 which give per month, which is a chicken feed.

It is needless to continue quantum in Naira and Kobo. But our men's authority at home should realize qualified Nigerians abroad have a minimum cost. If they choose to hire expatriates instead of qualified Nigerians, they are the Nigerian government to hire expatriates instead of qualified Nigerians. But the cost to the government in Nigeria is approximately ten times what it is for an average Nigerian of the same qualifications. However the cost in quantifiable terms but is also in political and moral terms which are not easily but are definitely more dangerous long-term.

The Government should therefore to help our qualified Nigerians to and settle down comfortably as opportunities now. Hiring expatriate guise of "experts", will not help the development of Nigeria.

*Ontario, Canada* **J. O. OL**

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# ECONOMIC and Business NEWS

## Fateful days of cocoa

from a correspondent

SOME SHARP skirmishes are impending in the world of cocoa and if the outcome from them is not satisfactory they could lead to some major battles in the years ahead.

The recent meeting of the International Cocoa Council in London failed to resolve the problems delaying negotiations on a new International Cocoa Agreement and it now looks as if the current agreement will expire on March 31. The council has called a last ditch meeting for March 26 and 27 to see if it is possible to breach the impasse between the producing and consuming countries, which is essentially about money, about the price range for operations of the buffer stock manager. The producing side was seemingly firmly united on a floor price of 120 US cents a lb, the consuming side might have been prepared to be a bit flexible had it not been for a hard line taken by Britain, which alienated some of her Common Market colleagues, led to some acrimonious words and effectively destroyed any hope of progress.

The outlook for the March 26 meeting is not very bright since the Cocoa Producers' Alliance has already arranged for a summit meeting to be held on March 30 and 31 to discuss the next steps. Experts from ten producing countries have been invited to the Ivory Coast on March 28 and 29 to prepare the agenda for the summit, which is likely to deal with the Alliance's stockpiling policy and creation of a producers' fund, rather like the coffee producers' Bogota Group fund, to support market operations. Significantly, the meeting is to be at Yamoussoukro rather than in Abidjan. It is felt that the Ivory Coast's campaign for a higher price range is dear to President Houphouët Boigny, who, it will be remembered (*West Africa*, December 10, 1979) kept in very close touch with the last set of negotiations in Geneva last year.

The possibility of setting up a producers' fund to operate in the futures markets and hoist the price of cocoa is obviously tempting, quite probably the cocoa producers can hope to make use of the experience of the Bogota Group over coffee and avoid some of the more obvious mistakes which have made coffee support operations more expensive than the coffee growers had expected: the sophis-

tication which the Bogota Group is now showing has been dearly purchased and it is not certain that all those who contribute to the fund have had to bear the losses equitably. It should be remembered that many people operating in the futures market are not in the business of selling and buying cocoa but in that of calculating supply and demand for cocoa, rather as bookies are not really concerned about the speeds of horses but about the beliefs which other people have in the speeds of horses.

## Question of ICCO buffer stock

Behind discussions of a cocoa fund for market operations is the thought that it can get off to a relatively painless start if the funds built up over the years by the ICCO's buffer stock — about \$200m. — are returned to the cocoa producing nations and applied to a producers' support fund. Enthusiasts for this approach should consider a couple of points: the first is that there is no compulsion on any Government receiving money back from ICCO to apply that money in any specific way, let alone to cocoa matters. It would be a very radical argument that suggested that Ghana, for example, could not find more valuable ways of spending its share of the fund than investing it in some aspect of the country's cocoa industry.

The second point is that anybody who lines up outside ICCO on April 1 awaiting a share of the buffer stock funds should remember that April 1 is widely recognised as All Fools' Day. Before the money can be handed out there will have to be a careful checking of the books by accountants — not that anybody suggests that there has been anything awry in the fund's handling of the money but to be absolutely sure that all is as it should be it is legally advisable to have a check by outside independent accountants, otherwise the possibilities for disgruntled "customers" to complain afterwards (and delay still further the paying out) are too easy. It could be, too, that some governments might feel that the books ought to be checked by their own accountants as well as those selected by the ICCO, which could add more delays to getting the money transferred to the national treasuries of the producing countries.

The ICCO painfully aware that

money has been at the root of all the teething problems of the next International Cocoa Agreement, has devised a protocol to submit to the meeting on March 26 proposing that the current agreement continue in being without its economic clauses. This would mean that the buffer stock fund would be returned to producers, subject to accountants' and other legal delays — the ICCO protocol suggests that a pay-out could start rolling from the end of June — and of course the levy on exports which has built up the fund relatively painlessly over the years would also cease to be collected. This would leave the basic framework of an agreement, and one which has been worked over and honed up over several years, in being when the cocoa industry comes to draft a new agreement as it would have to do to comply with UNCTAD's proposed Common Fund for commodities.

Inadvertently disbursing the buffer stock fund would avoid a discussion, which might well have become bitter, on whether or not the ICCO buffer stock fund should be absorbed by the proposed UNCTAD Common Fund. UNCTAD was suspected of being very covetous.

Unless there is a change of heart later this month it looks as if the present agreement is going to fade out, because neither group of protagonists is willing either to make the compromise needed to keep it alive nor to accept the odium of killing it: both sides would rather be able to pin the blame for death, when it later turns out to be a matter for blame, on the other side.

The producing side has talked themselves into a corner demanding a price level which for some of them is more profitable than justifiable on their own cost bases — rather as Malaysia is prepared to grant some support to Bolivian demands for high tin prices.

The consuming side on the other hand are not presently too concerned by the threats from the producing side, since, even if the latest reductions in the forecast of Brazil's temporary crop come true, the world crop is going to be in substantial surplus this year and so on top of carry-over for the past two seasons. Therefore, the buyers are not expecting to feel under much pressure to buy and expect that some producing countries which rely heavily on cocoa exports are going to crack and come to market before the buyers have to go begging for supplies, particularly when the ultimate consumers in the street and at home are reluctant buyers feeling the effects on the price of cocoa-connected foods of the high taxes imposed by governments which feel that cocoa-connected products are luxuries rather than necessities: (there is also some evidence of a fringe campaign against chocolate on health grounds).

It could be easily argued that the most practical thing for producer governments to do at present is to

present plainly to consuming country governments that the most beneficial thing that the latter could do, in North-South terms, reduce some taxes such as VAT and enlarge the potential market.

At present the market for cocoa is limited to its traditional outlets: indeed it is a classic demonstration of interdependence. The Executive Director of the ICCO, Mr Kees Hackman, has been quoted as saying neatly encapsulated the industry in the words: "Cocoa is a commodity which is produced by countries which do not consume it for consumption by countries which cannot produce it".

## Discreet sales

This lack of alternative outlets has led to the Ivory Coast having had to arrange some discreet, rather than open, sales of the cocoa which it has been stockpiling — not, one hastens to add, at prices below its putative floor but nevertheless not open market operations. This was essential at the Ivory Coast's storehouses, which now hold something like 120,000 tonnes of cocoa, were not to be overtaken by supplies to be stockpiled. Already it is said there are problems in maintaining the quality of the cocoa being held despite some experiments in different systems of long-term storage.

Even should the producing countries win the first few skirmishes in the present dispute and it looks as if they would be Pyrrhic victories — that would be only the beginning of another potentially more serious struggle for the world's cocoa markets between the more modern and more expensive producers, such as the Ivory Coast and Malaysia and Brazil, on the one hand and the traditional producers, such as Ghana and Nigeria, who because of their long established place in the industry are at present relatively low cost producers, even if their productivity is declining as their trees age. The point is could the older producers, who could afford to sell at present profit, at prices which undercut the newer producers who have large debt servicing costs in their costs, last long enough to put the new growers out of business as economic competitors? Of course the latter could continue business if they were being subsidised as a social and political necessity rather than running viable concerns.

The other battle on the horizon if not avoided, is that with Brazil which is going to be producing 500,000 tonnes or more of cocoa year by the end of the decade and is going to need a market for those beans, unless of course it can persuade Brazilians to develop taste for chocolate, which is almost certainly going to be at the cost of the West African producers.

At the middle of last year March cocoa in London was on way up to £1,400 a tonne, with rest of the year above that level: the 1981 crop above £1,500.

## Trade union linkages

Union officials from Australia, Barbados, Britain, Canada, India, Sierra Leone and Tanzania have been named as the steering committee of the newly-formed Commonwealth Trade Union Council (CTUC).

Dennis McDermott, President of the Canadian Labour Congress, was appointed chairman of the council, whose chief aim is promoting the interests of trade unions and some 25m workers in the Commonwealth, specially those in the developing countries of Africa, Asia and the Caribbean.

Mr Len Murray, General Secretary of the British Trades Union Congress, said he hoped the new organisation, officially formed on March 1, could help further the dialogue between the nations of the industrialised North and the developing South.

Other members of the steering committee, in addition to Mr McDermott, are: Robert Hawke, President of the Australian Council of Trade Unions, Frank Walcott, General Secretary, Barbados Workers Union; Glyn Lloyd, General Council Member, British Trades Union Congress; A. P. Sharma, Member of the Indian Parliament and President, Indian National Trade Union Congress; James Naba, General Secretary, Sierra Leone Labour Congress and Alfred Tandau, Member of the Tanzania Parliament and Secretary-General, Tanzanian Trade Union Congress.

## Monitoring protectionism

GATT, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, the world's leading trade monitoring body has set up a special group to investigate restrictions imposed by industrialised states on imports from Third World nations.

Ambassador Anthony Hill of Jamaica is chairman of the new panel, a sub-committee of GATT's Trade and Development Committee.

All GATT's member states are eligible to join the sub-committee, and developing states which are not members may send observers to its meetings. The group's task is to examine all trade restrictions imposed by advanced nations on Third World imports in order to protect domestic industries.

GATT member states at their annual meeting here last November agreed to set up the sub-committee in response to a demand by the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), the main UN body concerned with promoting Third World economic advancement.

GATT sets rules of conduct for more than four-fifths of world commerce.

## Aid for trade

Representatives of 76 governments meeting in Geneva have approved a \$17m budget for 1980 to help poorer countries develop their international trade.

The International Trade Centre (ITC) will focus on trade promotion linked to rural development and co-operation with national Chambers of Commerce during this year's programme.

The decision was taken by a joint advisory group to the centre, which is financed equally by the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT).

## Zaire's copper

Zaire produced 418,051 tonnes of copper in 1979 — 331,926 tonnes of dry metal and 86,125 tonnes of copper concentrate. In 1978 Zaire produced 499,972 tonnes of copper — 419,609 tonnes of dry metal and 80,363 tonnes of concentrate.

The fall in the mining sector was due to cyclical difficulties which the copper industry has been facing in recent years and especially the events in Shaba.

It was accentuated by the low price levels which prevented the copper factories from supporting their running costs. This brought the second five-year programme of the General Quarries and Mines Company to a halt. The company, Gécamines, had intended increasing the production of copper refined entirely in Zaire to 100,000 tonnes and that of cobalt to 20,000 tonnes.

● Gulf Oil plans to bring a new field off Zaire on stream this year. The field is a separate structure near Gulf's other fields which are currently flowing some 22,000 b/d.

● Spain's Hispanoil and Equatorial Guinea have formed a jointly-owned company, Empresa Guineo Espanola de Petroleos (GEPSA), to explore for the produce hydrocarbons offshore. No exploration work has been earned out since 1969.

## The pressure of people

The world's population has reached 4,500m, according to the Environment Fund in Washington, which bases its running tally on United Nations and US census data.

The Fund President, Mr Justin Blackwelder, said increases in world food supply are not keeping pace with the population, which has increased by one billion in the last 15 years, and three successive years of bad crop weather could mean mass starvation.

About 30 million children under the age of five starved to death last year, according to one estimate, Mr Blackwelder said.

● *Africa Economic Digest (AED)*, a weekly magazine covering economic and commercial developments throughout all the Organisation of African Unity countries, is due to be launched next month.

Its publisher is the London-based Meed Group, which puts out the Middle East Economic Digest. AED will concentrate on current and future African commercial events, reporting economic and business developments which affect the continent as a whole, its various regions and individual countries.

The magazine will carry country-by-country news sections on public and private sector projects, loans, trading data, industrial, banking and other news items. The AED will cost £120 a year, including air mail postage.

## Tate & Lyle figures up

In the year to September 30, 1979, the Tate & Lyle Group had a turnover of £1,190m (compared with £1,147m in the 1978 year) which produced a pre-tax profit of £26.2m (£24.6m). In the course of his statement the chairman, Lord Jellicoe, said that at the major Lory Coast sugar complex at Ferkesseoulougou, being handled by the Canadian-based company Redpath International, construction and commissioning was largely completed in 1979 and negotiations to complete the contract are under way.

He also said that Tate & Lyle (Nigeria), an associated company, had had a satisfactory year in difficult trading conditions. He went on: "As the Nigerian economy gathers momentum, the outlook is encouraging for increasing sugar sales and developing our plastic pipes and fitting business."

● Tate and Lyle Nigeria turnover for the year ended September 30, 1979, was N47.33m, an increase of 3.85 per cent over the level of the previous year.

Pre-tax profit was N2.55m down 2.9 per cent on the previous year.

## Tin price range raised

● The meeting of the International Tin Council in London earlier this month decided to raise the price range of the buffer stock by ten per cent. This lifted the "floor" from 1,500 nnggit (Malaysian dollars) per picul (133 1/3 lbs) to SM1650 per picul and the "ceiling" from SM1950 to SM2,145. At last week's exchange rates that would make the floor a bit under £6,000 a tonne and the ceiling over £7,250 a tonne, with the middle belt, where the buffer stock manager may neither buy nor sell without special permission, from about £6,150 a tonne just over £6,700 a tonne.

The immediate impact of the announcement of the new range

was to bring prices down, tin was already weakening with other metals. The new ceiling was still however, below the market price but with the belief that the speculators have been shaken out and the prospect of US stockpile sales — about 500 tons a fortnight — due to start in July it is thought that prices may come down to the upper limits of the range in the not too distant future.

The ITC's statistics committee has forecast a small surplus of tin this year and it is also being suggested that the US may delay delivering its 5,000 ton contribution to the buffer stock so that the manager does not immediately have to sell the metal. There is a proposal that the first delivery should be only 1,500 tons. The US has promised not to disrupt the market.

Last week opened with the news that the London Metal Exchange warehouse stocks were down 215 tons to 3,580 tons. At the middle of the week spot metal was about £7,720 a tonne and three-month tin about £7,770.

● Guinea and Union Texas Petroleum are to explore jointly for oil and gas, carrying out seismic work this year and drilling work as from January 1981.

## "Roads" improve

Roads Nigeria Ltd turnover in the half-year to September 30, 1979, was N19.72m, up 9.2 per cent on the level in the corresponding period of the previous year: after-tax profit increased by 41.6 per cent to N0.81m.

The directors expect the results for the second half will also exceed those of the corresponding period of the previous year.

## Chellaram's dip

K Chellaram and Sons (Nigeria) turnover in the half-year to September 30, 1979 was down 3.0 per cent from the level of the corresponding period of the previous year to N24m. Profit before tax was down 34.7 per cent to N0.61m.

● In the six months ended September 30, 1979, G Cappa's turnover was N15.45m compared with an average of N16.35m in the two halves of the previous year.

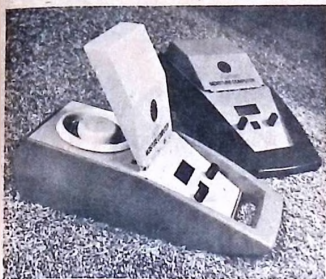
Pre-tax profit was N1.53m, as against N4.01m, for the whole of the previous year.

## Indian offer

India's commerce minister, Mr Pranab Mukerjee, has said that the Soviet Union was considering the offer of Indian co-operation in the construction of a steel plant in Nigeria and a nuclear power plant in Libya.

Mr Mukerjee was speaking at Silver Jubilee celebrations of Indo-Soviet technical and economic co-operation at a steel plant built with Soviet aid at Bhilai in Western India.

## Microcomputer on the farm



The device which won first prize — £10,000 — in a competition organised by Britain's National Research Development Corporation and National Computing Council to encourage "British innovation in the application of microprocessors in any product, process or service" could be a tremendous benefit to West African farmers. It is a portable (meaning carried in one hand, not something requiring a backpack) moisture-measuring device for measuring the moisture content in grains, seeds and stored crops. The company which invented the machine, Sinar Agritec, has come up with a most ingenious technique to weigh a sample of millet, for example, and electrically determine its moisture content. The microprocessor built into the machine compares the readings with parameters already stored in its memory for the grain in question and shows the readings in relation to the optimum band. The microprocessor can be programmed to deal with any granular crop, or substance, for which parameters are known.

It is claimed that the Agritec moisture computer can be used to determine the right time to harvest a grain crop, to measure that it has been dried to the right moisture content for long-term storage, checking the stored crop, measure moisture content during processes such as malting and agate measure-

ing moisture content at shipping time. Improvements at all these points can make an appreciable difference to a farmer's return on his crop and in West Africa, where up to 30 per cent of a crop may be lost during storage, the effect on income could be quite impressive.

It should be emphasised that the Sinar Agritec machine informs the farmer of the state of the grain, or whatever, it is up to the farmer to correct any reported deviation from the norm.

The price of the device is expected to be about £350, which is not expensive for what is offered. Whilst it would probably quickly repay the investment of a medium to large individual farmer in Britain or the US, in West Africa it would make more sense for extension services or co-operatives to buy the machine and spread its use over a district rather than just one farm.

The idea for the machine originally arose when the results of market research, in a different field, in Indonesia showed that a lot of village co-operatives wanted a moisture-measuring device even if it was bulky.

Field tests start next month, with at least one module going to the International Rice Research Institute in the Philippines. Production is expected to reach 250 a month from July.

## Mobile crop-dryer

A mobile tropical crop-drying system is the latest addition to a range of agricultural machinery due to be featured during the Agricultural Engineers' Association Trade Mission to Nigeria for April 8-18.

Mr Roger Walker, Marketing Director of R A Lister Farm Equipment, will also be promoting his company's processing equipment, including grinding mills and mixers, post-hole diggers and domestic water pumps.

Claimed to save fuel because of the absence of a special burner the

mobile crop-drying system makes use of the heat from a fan driven by an air-cooled diesel engine. Absence of a burner also prevents over-drying, fire risk and ignition difficulties, it is claimed.

Crops suitable for drying by the system are said to include rice, maize, cocoa and groundnuts.

● Agricultural machinery including disc ploughs, disc harrows, flexible harrows, elevators and a mobile grain loader will be promoted in Nigeria by P J. Parmer and Sons during next month's (April 8-18) Trade Mission to West Africa organised by the Agricultural Engineers' Association

## SHIPPING News

### BARBER LINES

**EASTBOUND — TEXAS** due Tenerife Mar. 31, thence Dakar, Freetown, Abidjan, Tema, Apapa and Douala. **TAMPA** due sig Norfolk Mar. 28, Baltimore Mar. 31, Philadelphia Apr. 2 and New York Apr. 8, for Tenerife, Dakar, Freetown, Abidjan, Tema, Apapa and Douala.  
**WESTBOUND — TAMPA** loading West African ports as above May 8-12, for Norfolk, Baltimore, Philadelphia and New York. **TEXAS** due load West African ports as above Apr. 17-23, for Norfolk, Baltimore, Philadelphia and New York.

### BLACK STAR LINES

**WESTBOUND — OTI RIVER** Tema Feb. 23, Takoradi Mar. 1, USA/Gulf Mar. 15.  
**SOUTHBOUND — BIRIM RIVER** Hamburg Mar. 17, Antwerp Mar. 21, Rotterdam Mar. 24, Rouen Mar. 28. **NASIA RIVER** Middlesbrough Mar. 20, London Mar. 31.  
**NORTHBOUND — OFFIN RIVER** Hull Mar. 31, London Apr. 14. **SUBIN RIVER** Avonmouth Mar. 24, London Apr. 4.

### E.A.C. LINES

**SOUTHBOUND — FIONIA** Oslo Mar. 11, Copenhagen Mar. 16, Aarhus Mar. 21, Hamburg Mar. 23, Bremen-Harbor Mar. 24, Rotterdam Mar. 25, Antwerp Mar. 26. **Le Havre** Mar. 27, calling at Tenerife Mar. 30, Dakar Apr. 1, Freetown Apr. 3, Monrovia Apr. 4, Abidjan Apr. 12, Tema Apr. 11, Lome Apr. 11. **Lagos** Apr. 7, Cotonou Apr. 8, Port Harcourt Apr. 26 and Douala Apr. 29.

**NORTHBOUND — BORINGIA** Douala Mar. 25, Lagos/Apapa Mar. 23, Abidjan Mar. 28, Monrovia Mar. 30, Dakar Apr. 1, Tenerife Apr. 3, Amsterdam Apr. 7, Antwerp Apr. 7, Rotterdam Apr. 7, Bremen Apr. 12, Hamburg Apr. 11, Aarhus Apr. 9, Copenhagen Apr. 14, Oslo Apr. 16. **Le Havre** Apr. 15.

**ELDER DEMPESTER LINES**  
**SOUTHBOUND — DUMBAITA** sig Takoradi Mar. 24.  
**NORTHBOUND — SEKONDI** due London Mar. 27. **SHERBRO** sig Takoradi Mar. 24. **SOKOTO** sig Apapa Mar. 24.  
**EASTBOUND — BLUE AKEISHI** due Dakar Mar. 30.

### FARRELL LINES

**OUTBOUND — EXPORT BANNER** Norfolk Mar. 16, Baltimore Mar. 19, Philadelphia Mar. 18, New York Mar. 22, for Dakar Mar. 29, Monrovia Apr. 2, Buchanan Apr. 6, Abidjan Apr. 8, Lagos/Apapa Apr. 10.

**INBOUND — EXPORT BUILDER** Maradi Mar. 19, Douala Mar. 22, Lagos/Apapa Mar. 20, Abidjan Mar. 23, Monrovia Mar. 26, New York Apr. 5, Philadelphia Apr. 8, Baltimore Apr. 9, Norfolk Apr. 10.

### HOEGH LINE

**SOUTHBOUND — HOEGH X** Copenhagen Mar. 9, Norrkoping Mar. 11-12, Freetown Apr. 1-3, Port Harcourt Apr. 21-May 4, Douala Apr. 29-30.

### K LINE

**SALLY OCEAN** from Japan via Hong Kong and Singapore, to Abidjan, Lome, Apapa/Lagos, Port Harcourt, Douala, Matadi, sig. Japan Mar. 4 due Apapa/Lagos Apr. 10.

**MEDAFRICA/GOLDEN EAGLE NIGERIA LINE**

**EUROPE/WA — NAGOS** Rochester Feb. 28, Hamburg Mar. 4, Ipswich Mar.

12, Lagos Mar. 25, Port Harcourt Mar. 31.

**MEDITERRANEAN/WA — GOOD TRADER** Marseilles Mar. 7, Maracaibo Mar. 12, Livorno Mar. 16, Barcelona Mar. 18, Valencia Mar. 20.

Lagos Apr. 1, Port Harcourt Apr. 6, Warri Apr. 11.

**USA/WA — MANTHOS** Houston Feb. 22, Freeport Feb. 26, New Orleans Mar. 29, Pensacola Mar. 2, Savannah Mar. 6, Lagos Mar. 25, Luanda Mar. 30.

**FAR EAST/WA — KOBE FIVE** Kobe Feb. 21, Kaohsiung Feb. 27, Keelung Mar. 1, Hong Kong Mar. 5, Kaohsiung Mar. 10, Singapore Mar. 18, Lagos Apr. 14, Port Harcourt Apr. 19.

**MITSUI O.S.K. LINE**

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

**NIGERIAN NATIONAL SHIPPING LINE**

**SOUTHBOUND — RIVER ADADA** London Mar. 19, Monrovia Mar. 23, Apapa Apr. 4. **RIVER OJI** Liverpool Mar. 20, Monrovia Mar. 30, Lome Apr. 1, Apapa Apr. 3.

**NORTHBOUND — RIVER ETHIOPE** London Mar. 15.

### OT AFRICA LINE AB

**SOUTHBOUND — Felixstowe** recg from Mar. 31, sig Apr. 8, Birmingham and Manchester (via Felixstowe) recg from Mar. 31, sig Apr. 8, Zeebrugge recg from Mar. 31, sig Apr. 9.

**Grangemouth** recg from Mar. 31, sig Apr. 9, Wallhamn (via Zeebrugge) recg from Mar. 31, sig Apr. 9, Rotterdam recg from Mar. 31, sig Apr. 9, Le Havre recg from Apr. 1, sig Apr. 11, sig Lagos/Apapa, Tema, Abidjan, Dakar and Monrovia.

### PALM LINE

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

### S.C.A.B.O.A.

**SOUTHBOUND — SAINT LUC** Dunkirk Mar. 21, Rouen Mar. 23, Le Havre Mar. 24, Bordeaux Mar. 28, Dakar Apr. 4, Abidjan Apr. 8, Lome Apr. 11, Apapa Apr. 23 (containing only), Doula Apr. 17, Libreville Apr. 15.

**NORTHBOUND — SAINT VINCENT** Libreville Mar. 21, Doula Mar. 19, Bordeaux Apr. 3, Le Havre Apr. 10, Dunkirk Apr. 5.

**SCANDINAVIA WEST AFRICA LINE**

**SOUTHBOUND — RS 16** Mow Mar. 17-19, Aarhus Mar. 20, Copenhagen Mar. 21, for Dakar Apr. 8-9, Monrovia Apr. 12-14, Buchanan Apr. 15, Abidjan Apr. 17-19, Tema Apr. 20-22, Apapa Apr. 23-30.

**UNITED KINGDOM WEST AFRICA LINES**

**SOUTHBOUND — FRINTON** London Mar. 7, Banjul Mar. 14, Luanda Mar. 28, Matadi Mar. 27, Pointe Noire Mar. 29, Takoradi Apr. 4, Abidjan Apr. 13, Monrovia Apr. 10, Dakar Apr. 13, Sagaland London Mar. 28, Monrovia Apr. 5, Apapa Apr. 9.

**WESTWIND AFRICA LINE**

**EASTBOUND — JOHN C** Houston Mar. 20, ETS Mar. 22, Abidjan Apr. 6, Lagos Apr. 6, Tema Apr. 13.

**SOPIH C** Houston ETA Mar. 25, ETS Mar. 27, Abidjan ETA Apr. 11, Lagos ETA Apr. 15.

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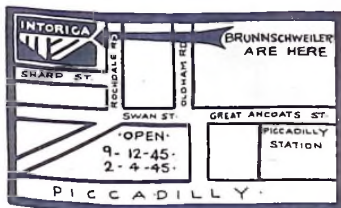
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# Dateline AFRICA

## NIGERIA

### Shugaba court ruling

A Maiduguri High Court has ordered that Alhaji Shugaba Abdulrahman Darman — the deported GNP leader in the Borno State House of Assembly — be brought back into the country to answer to the charges levelled against him that he was not a Nigerian. Mr Justice Oye Adefila, who gave the ruling, gave the Minister of Internal Affairs, Alhaji Bello Maitama Yusuf, eight days to revoke the deportation order.

Chief Akintide, Minister of Justice appealed that the court order be suspended, but was turned down on the grounds that he had not followed the rules for appeal.

Justice Adefila pointed out that there is conflicting evidence before the court regarding the nationality of Alhaji Shugaba. An affidavit by a Mrs Hajjia Balu Kolo, who claimed that Alhaji Shugaba was her son, has been countered by another affidavit sworn by another witness, who said Alhaji Shugaba was Chadian.

### 36,069 inmates in prisons

In response to a Senate motion demanding details of prisoners throughout the country, the Director of Prisons, Mr A. A. Ahmadu, has revealed that there are 36,069 inmates in the country's prisons excluding inmates of Mando Prison Camp in Kaduna State, the Yelwa (Yaun) Prison in Sokoto State, and Lanungo Prison Camp in Plateau State.

Mr. Ahmadu's report stated that the capacity of the prisons was exceeded by 8,310 inmates. He further stated that 13,703 of the prisoners were on remand, awaiting their trials. The Director reported that 672 of the prisoners were females and the rest males. He gave a breakdown of the prisoners by states: Anambra 2,731, Bauchi 1,471, Bendel 2,120, Benue 1,304, Borno 3,019, Cross River 2,279, Gongola 2,798, Imo 1,760, Kaduna 3,964, Kano 1,426, Kwara 484, Lagos 1,236, Niger 462, Ogun 1,141, Ondo 680, Oyo 1,287, Plateau 1,426, Rivers 1,486 and Sokoto 1,977. Mr Ahmadu explained that some of the prisoners were debt defaulters, but he emphasised that the majority were convicted for crimes, and civil offences.

● President Shehu Shagan has paid a two-day official visit to Niger. It was the second abroad by President Shagan since he took office last October. He went to Benin for 24 hours on February 27 at the invitation of President Mathieu Kerekou.

President Shagan has had two visits this year from the Niger Interior Minister, Tandja Mamadou, one of them after 35 persons from Niger died of apparent suffocation in a packed police van in Lagos earlier this month. Nigeria sent an emissary to Niger to express regrets for the incident, in which a total of 50 people died.

### 49 Bank Chiefs

The Federal Government has announced the appointments of 49 non-executive part-time chairmen and directors for the 11 banks in which it has equity shares. They are: First Bank of Nigeria: Chairman — Mr. P. O. Nwakobi (Anambra); vice-chairman — Mr. Bashir Hong (Gongola); Directors — Mr. S. M. Onokulu (Benue); Mr. Tunde Olasoro (Oyo) and Mr. Abdullahi Bio Gera (Kwara).

United Bank for Africa: Chairman — Mr. M. Audu Buba (Plateau); Directors — Mr. F. Okunnu (Lagos), Alhaji Abubakar Tunau (Sokoto), Alhaji Hassan Kwali (Niger) and Alhaji Usman Dantata (Kano).

Union Bank of Nigeria: Chairman — Alhaji Shehu Malami (Sokoto); Directors — Dr. Ere Ogueri (Imo), Mr. S. All-Well Brown (Rivers), Mr. G. Akins (Cross River); Alhaji S. Adetona (Ogun); Alhaji Isyaku Ibrahim (Plateau); Alhaji Yakubu Wanka (Bauchi) and Mrs. Anne Obi (Bendel).

International Bank for West Africa: Chairman — Alhaji Aminu Wali (Kano); Directors — Alhaji A. Maw Sango (Bauchi), Mr. Gilbert Nanyiso (Gongola) and Mr. B. A. Wachuku (Imo).

Savannah Bank: Chairman — Alhaji Mahmud Aliyu (Niger); Directors — Mr. Martin Elechi (Anambra), Alhaji Bello Dange (Sokoto) and Alhaji Mahmud Abubakar (Kano).

Bank of India Nigeria: Chairman — Mr. V. C. Akponor (Rivers); Directors — Alhaji Niyi Adegbenro (Ogun), Malam Usman Gindau (Gongola) and Dr. A. Doherty (Lagos).

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Nigerian Acceptances: Chairman — Alhaji M. O. Atta (Kwara); Directors — Mr. C. Akpiken (Cross River), Mr. David Anyanechi (Anambra) and Chief Esan (Oyo).

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Chase Merchant Bank: Chairman — Dr. Okoi Arkpko (Cross River); Directors — Alhaji Iguda Inuwa (Kaduna), Mr. S. S. Obano (Bendel) and Alhaji Usman M. Goji (Borno).

● Chief Michael Omisade, a lawyer, has been appointed chairman of the National Bank of Nigeria. He succeeds Mr. C. S. O. Akande, who relinquished the post at the end of his three year term.

The Board of Directors of the Bank has also been reconstituted with the appointment of five new persons: Mr. M. A. Adeniran, Mr. G. L. Oyawola, Chief Femi Oyejobi, Mr. Tunde Oyejodun, Mr. J. O. Turki, Mr. S. O. Benjo (the managing director) and Mr. J. A. Ogunbisi.

### FEDECO audit

The Federal Electoral Commission has begun auditing the accounts of the five political parties. The Executive Secretary of the Commission, Alhaji Ahmadu Kufi, said the exercise was in line with section 206 of the Constitution which requires the accounts of political parties to be audited and their balance sheets scrutinised every year. The Commission's report should be submitted to the National Assembly. Alhaji Ahmadu announced that administrative secretaries of FEDECO had been meeting to prepare for by-elections into vacant seats in various legislative Houses. He said the dates for the elections would be announced later.

### "Mr. President" please!

The Secretary to the Federal Government, Alhaji Shehu Musa, has announced that President Shehu Shagan does not want to be addressed as "His Excellency". Instead, he said, he should be addressed as "Mr. President". The secretary however said that the full title of the Head of State — President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces — as contained in the Constitution, remained unchanged.

The secretary also announced that the Cabinet Office should now be known as the Executive Office of the President.

● Public servants offered political appointments are now required to resign or retire from service before accepting such posts. The regulation is also binding on members of staff of universities.

A circular issued by the head of the Federal civil service, Mr. J. Longe, said that university and appointed full-time members of statutory boards, corporations and ad hoc bodies should be granted leave without pay. Those who are to serve on these organisations on a part-time basis need only apply for permission to attend meetings. In head of service emphasised that the circular was not intended to be directive to state governments.

### Implementing steel policies

Another steel plant is to be established by the Federal Government. The Minister of State for Development, Mr. Paul Unogbo, who announced this in Lagos, said that the new plant would produce flat steel. Mr. Unogbo explained that the project was originally planned as an expansion of the Delta direct reduction plant at Alaja, near Warri in Baa State. He further stated that it became clear that the expansion would be better as a separate project.

In another development, Unogbo identified the factors responsible for the delay in executing the Ajaokuta project in Kwara State. The first, he said, is the ideological, technological differences between the Soviet Union and the West. The second is the indecision on part of the national policy making planning implementation project.

He said that the Delta project in Alaja in Bendel State will cost N1.1bn, while the first part of the Ajaokuta project estimated at N1.5bn. Mr. Unogbo added that the Alaja plant will start production next year. The Ajaokuta project will commence operation in 1983.

### Oil spill compensation

Negotiations for compensation for victims of the oil spill in Nigeria's Rivers State have begun with Texaco Oil Company. The negotiations are being conducted by Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation at the instance of President Shagari. Already the Federal Government has directed the National Emergency Management Agency to dispatch relief material worth N2m to the victims immediately. The President expressed sympathy with people and hopes that they be considerably relieved by emergency measures. The State Government had given relief to the tune of N1 million.

## Private Practice decree criticized

The Attorney-General and Minister of Justice, Chief Richard Akinjide, has criticised the Private Practice decree promulgated by the last military administration. The decree requires professional men and women to do an apprenticeship for five years under qualified people before they can set up private practice. Chief Akinjide said the decree had been counter-productive adding that there was need to review that policy. He also announced adding that there was need to review that policy. He also announced that the Federal Government was taking steps to review some sections of the Constitution which empower the President or a Governor to dismiss judicial officers. He said that security of tenure should be guaranteed for judicial officers.

The Chief Justice of the Federation, Mr Justice Fatayi Atanda Williams, had also criticised the constitutional provision which states that apart from the Chief Justice of the Federation, the Chief Judge, the Grand Khadi and the President of the Customary Court of Appeal, the President of the Federation or State Governor could remove a judicial officer on the recommendation of the federal or state judicial commission. Chief Akinjide has promised expedite

consideration of the issue which would need the approval of the National Assembly to take effect.

● The decree promulgated by the last military administration that employers of labour should provide living accommodation for their staff is to be reviewed to make its execution more convenient for all parties concerned. This was announced by the Minister of State for Employment, Labour and Productivity, Dr Paul T. Michaulum, at the launching ceremony of the Nigeria Agip Oil Company housing project in Lagos.

The decree stipulates that employers of more than 500 workers must establish and maintain housing schemes for their employees. Dr Michaulum said that the Nigeria Employers Congress will be involved in the review.

## Tax inquiry

The judicial commission of inquiry into the activities of the Agricultural Development Corporation of Imo State, has revealed that the income tax deductions from the employees of the corporation totalling N90,583,90 for the past three years had not been paid to the board of internal revenue. In addition, the sum of N12,868 due to the National Provident Fund for the same period is yet to be accounted for.

The five-man commission

headed by Mr Justice D. E. Njirbeako, of Aba High Court also found that one Mr Rose Anyaduba, bought rubber valued at N58,102 from the corporation and paid "with dishonest cheques". The Imo State Government has directed the newly appointed board to recover all monies and property due to the 3-year-old agency.

● The General Manager of the Nigerian Agricultural and Co-operative Bank, Mr Godwin E. Okurume, has been ordered to go on an indefinite compulsory leave in order to enable the tribunal of inquiry set up to investigate the activities of the bank to execute its assignment without any hitch.

The tribunal which is headed by a Federal High Court Judge, Mr Justice A G Karibi-Whyte, is investigating the activities of the bank with special reference to the performance of its functions as stated in the memorandum and articles of association. It is also inquiring into the procedure adopted generally in the award of contracts and recruitment, deployment and promotion of staff in the bank.

Other areas to be investigated include the relationship between the management and members of the board of directors, to determine whether any member of the management or board of directors was guilty of any omission or commission. The tribunal is to recommend appropriate

disciplinary measures to be taken against anyone found guilty and recommend measures to enhance the effectiveness and efficiency of the bank and to remove any areas of conflict between the board and the management in the future.

● The Petroleum Training Institute in Warri, Bendul State, has been closed down indefinitely by the governing council following the students' continuous boycott of classes and hunger strikes. The students had given a seven-day ultimatum to the council to meet their demands, which included, lifting the ban on students' union activities, the re-instatement of the HND and OND certificates in the place of the newly introduced Nigeria National Diploma, NND. The students were also opposed to schools of technology being converted to technical universities.

● The Sokoto Match Factory, opened in 1978, has been closed down due to acute shortage of spare parts, lack of raw materials and cash flow problems. The general manager of the company, Mr. Nasir Mikhali, regretted the closure because he had thought the project was viable. The factory was a joint venture of the Sokoto State Government, Messrs Alawa A/C Factory, and PAPCO (Nigeria) Ltd. It had 50 employees and was producing about 27,000 cartons of good quality matches a year. The workers went on strike last

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November over non-payment of salaries, alleging that their salaries had been fraudulently diverted into one of the company directors' bank accounts.

● A five day training course dubbed "Bottled Palm Wine Technology", took place at the Federal Institute of Industrial Research, Oshodi, near Lagos, last week. The course was designed to impart the basic skills in the production and bottling of natural palm wine which is drunk widely in Nigeria. The Minister of Science and Technology, Dr Sylvester Ugeh, has suggested that export of palm wine be considered.

## Tighten-up on illegal immigrants

The Federal Government is to step up efforts to ensure that only genuine immigrants gain entry into the country. This was announced by the Minister of Internal Affairs, Alhaji Bello Matiyama Yusuf, who said that security has been intensified on the borders.

Alhaji Bello said that Government departments and private companies have been instructed to submit names of foreigners in their employment. He said the measures were not unusual because every country must check influx of illegal immigrants.

## Haji flights from four airports

Four airports are to be used by pilgrims for this year's haji which starts on the third week of September. The Pilgrims' Board Executive Secretary, Alhaji Saïdu Barda, said the pilgrims will be airlifted from Ilorin and Maduguri international airports in addition to Lagos and Kano airports that are usually used for haji operations. Alhaji Saïdu said the Board has called for tenders from major international airlines for this year's operations.

## Embassy for South Korea

The Federal Government has announced the opening of diplomatic relations with the Republic of Korea (South Korea), at ambassadorial level. A statement from the ministry explained that the move was in line with Nigeria's determination to pursue a foreign policy based on enlightened self-interest, and positive non-alignment.

The statement noted that economic and trade relations between the two countries had been on the increase since the last decade. South Korea has built ships for the Nigerian National Shipping Line worth more than N90m.

Efforts will continue to be made to reconcile both South and North Korea (Democratic People's Republic of Korea) with whom diplomatic relations were

established in 1975, the statement added.

● Nigeria has become a member of the Union of Africa Parliament (UAP). A motion to this effect, moved by the leader of the House of Representatives, Alhaji Yunusa Kaltungo, was unanimously passed by the Distinguished Representatives. Mr Sidi Ali (PRP) from Danbatta, Kano, who abstained, argued that most African statesmen were dictators with whom Nigeria's new crop of legislators should not associate.

● The Federal Government has made a donation of N1,000 to the Youth Sports Federation as an encouragement to them in their endeavour to raise the standards of sport and in bringing the country's youths together. The Minister for Social Welfare, Youth, Sports and Culture, Mr Paulinus Amadike, who presented the cheque urged the YSFN to use the services of the National Sports Commission available to them.

The YSFN vice-chairman, Mr Michael Ekpo, said that his organisation would use the money to prepare for the 5th National Youth Club's Championships for the General Ramat Cup which begins in July.

## Awo's birthday celebrations in London

Chief Awolowo's 71st birthday was celebrated in London on March 8 by a gathering of Unity Party members and supporters residing in Britain. L.P.N. branches in Scotland, Birmingham, Hull, Stoke and Reading sent delegates who agreed to set up a 17-man committee to co-ordinate the activities of the UK branches, with Mr. S. L. Awogbamaye as chairman.

The celebration featured a symposium on free education in Nigeria highlighting Chief Awolowo's role in introducing the scheme for the first time in the old Western Region in 1955. A disco party marked the end of the celebrations. Nigerian music was played through the party and various African dishes were served.

## FROM THE STATES

### Lagos

The Governor of Lagos State, Alhaji Lateef Jakande, has announced a Rent Control Order 1980, which replaces the Rent Control Edict of 1976 and also revokes its subsequent amendments. The Order divides Lagos into Zones and fixes rent for high density areas such as Victoria Island, Ikoyi, Apapa G.R.A., Ikeja G.R.A. and areas around the divisional headquarters, all coming under Zones X and Y.

In Zone X, which embraces Lagos Mainland and Ikeja, the maximum rent for a single room is N12, N24 for a room and parlour, N45 for a single bedroom flat, N80

for a two-bedroom, N120 for a three bedroom or more or a chalet and N180 for a house, or duplex.

In Zone Y which includes areas located around divisional headquarters, the rent runs as follows: one room N11, a room and parlour N23, single bedroom flat N45, two bedroom flat N76.50, three or more bedroom flat including chalets, N115 and a house or duplex N155.50.

A government spokesman explained that the rents were fixed in anticipation of the impact the government's low-cost housing scheme would have on the rent situation.

The Zone Z areas include "all other towns and villages in Badagry, Ikorodu and Epe Divisions and areas on the outskirts of Lagos".

## Anambra

The governor of Anambra State, Mr. Jim Nwobodo, has called on the Federal Government to leave its housing programme for state governments to execute once the money is made available. Mr. Nwobodo said the choice of sites for the houses — 2,000 in every state — and their design should be entrusted to the state governments.

The Minister for Housing, Dr. Wahab Olaseinde Dosunmu, in reply, explained that it was not his duty to make a decision on the Governor's request. He said that the Federal Government was to "build 1,800 one bedroom flats for the poor and 200 three-bedrooms for the high-ups" in each state.

## Bendel

Nurses and midwives in Bendel State will now be required to serve a minimum of three years in a rural location before they can be promoted to superintendents or sisters. The State Commissioner for Health, Mr. Festus Ekeruche, said the measure was the state government's response to persistent reports that some health officials refuse to accept postings to rural areas.

## Kaduna

The Kaduna State Executive and the Legislature have established two joint political and judicial committees to review the areas of friction between them as a first step towards finding lasting solutions to the current stalemate in their relations. The State Executive is run by a PRP Governor, Alhaji Balarabe Musa while the Legislature is dominated by an NPN majority.

The Deputy Speaker of the State Assembly, Alhaji Macedo Mohammed, explained that the two committees would have the responsibility of discussing every bill in order to remove ambiguities in areas of potential conflict before they are sent to the Assembly. Alhaji Macedo hopes that the committees would reduce areas of conflict between the two arms of the state government. He

noted that the Governor has already begun to accept the inter-dependence of the two arms of government in the state. He noted that both the PRP Executive and the NPN legislators in the state have agreed to avoid vicious intrigue and dirty political tricks in the interest of the state.

## Kano

An indigenous firm, Buring International Limited, has donated items worth over N4,000 to the Kano State Ministry of Education. Receiving the donation on behalf of the ministry's commissioner, Mr. Permanent Secretary, Alhaji Dan Ahmed, commended the firm to its kind gesture towards the development of education in the state. He called on individuals and organisations to contribute their quota towards the development of the state.

Alhaji Datti Ahmed also appealed to parents to send their children to school, pointing out that the government would not hesitate to deal ruthlessly with parents who failed to send their children to school. The items donated include maps, pencils and coloured chalks.

## Niger

The Governor of Niger State, Alhaji Muhammadu Awo Ibrahim, has condemned the decision of some state governments to take over television stations in their state. The Governor advised the Federal Government not to grant ownership of the TV stations to State Governments because they could use them for selfish and political ends. This would be disastrous for the country, he declared.

The Governor further said that apart from the possibility of abuse of the TV stations by some individuals, it would also be unwise to grant states ownership because the TV stations are not equally developed. Using the NTV, Minna, his state capital, as an example, the governor said the Minna station had suffered constant breakdown because of mechanical faults. He pointed out that the station had been transmitting its programmes one kilowatt, second-hand equipment sent down from Lagos, while some stations in other states were enjoying the reliability of new modern equipment.

● The Niger State Government has upgraded the Minna and B general hospitals to teaching hospital status in its bid to improve quality of health care delivery in the state. The State Governor, Alhaji Awwal Ibrahim, announced the completion of health clinics by the state government. Alhaji Awwal announced that another school of nursing addition to the one at Bida, soon be established. On drug shortages, the governor said a new team for purchase and distribution was being considered.

## THE GAMBIA

### Jawara in Algeria

President Sir Dawda Jawara has paid an official visit to Algeria.

### Berlin visit by Jannen

The Minister of Information and Tourism, Alhaji H. O. Jannen, and his Senior Assistant Secretary, Mr. Lamin Samateh, attended the Tourism Exchange Fair in Berlin. The Tourism Inspector, Mr. Charles Jallow and Henness, Mrs. Fatmatta Touray missed. The Gambia's stand at the Fair. The Gambia has taken part in this fair in the past and its impact could be seen in the increase in German tourists to the country.

### Library talk

The Standing Committee of the International Federation of Library Association African Section, IFLA held its first meeting in Banjul. The chairman of the board of directors of the Gambia National Library, Dr. Lenzie Peters said that libraries should be multi-purpose centres which would enrich the educational, intellectual, moral, recreational and social needs of our communities. The chairman of the IFLA Africa Section, Mr. A. A. Bousse thanked

The Gambia's government for being host to the meeting.

● The Gambian branch of the International Organisation of Good Templars, IOGT has delivered a D3,200-worth generator to the Esau Health Centre. Presenting the gift, Works Minister Alhaji I. B. A. Kelepha-Samba who is also chairman of IOGT Gambian Branch, said that this was one of several projects planned for the centre by the organisation. These include providing drugs, dressings and an ambulance. The generator was paid for by the Norwegian and Swedish branches of the IOGT.

## GHANA

### Land commission draft bill

A draft bill seeking to establish the Lands Commission and the office of the Administration of Stool Lands in accordance with Articles 189 and 190 of the Constitution has been published in Accra. The draft bill consolidates existing legislation relating to the Lands Commission and provides for the functions of the Commission and guarantees its independence under Article 189 of the Constitution, reported GNA.

A memorandum to the draft bill signed by Dr. George Bennet, Minister of Lands, Natural Resources, Fuel and Power, says the Commission shall consist of a chairman who shall not be a Minister of state or a Deputy Minister, a

representative each of the National House of Chiefs, the Ghana Bar Association and the Ghana Institution of Engineers. Nine members, each of whom shall come from a Region of Ghana, shall be members of the Commission. The Commission shall hold and manage to the exclusion of any other person or authority, any land or minerals vested in the President by the Constitution or any other law, or vested in the Commission by any law or acquired by the government. It shall have such other functions as may be prescribed by or under an Act of Parliament.

In the performance of any of its functions, under the Constitution or any other law, the Commission shall be subject only to the Constitution and shall not be subject to the direction or control of any person or authority. The office of the Administrator of Stool Lands shall be responsible for the establishment of a stool land account for each stool in which shall be paid all rents, dues, royalties, revenues or other payments in the nature of income or capital from the Stool Land. It is to be headed by an Executive Secretary who shall be responsible for giving effect to the decisions of the Commission and shall perform such functions as the commission may determine. The Commission shall have regional branches with each regional branch having its own chairman appointed by the President acting in accordance with the advice of the Council of State.

## ACP writ

The Action Congress Party (ACP) has filed a writ at a Cape Coast High Court seeking to restrain the Central Regional Minister, Mr. E. A. Haizel, and his deputy, from selling or distributing essential commodities, outboard motors and outlasses at the regional and district offices of the People's National Party (PNP), as well as from selling or distributing such items through Mr. Gustav Ackumei, a reportedly staunch PNP supporter. The writ asked the court to compel the two people to sell or distribute the items only through the registered commercial houses in Cape Coast. The ACP is also asking the Minister and deputy to publish the quantity of essential commodities, outboard motors and outlasses so far received, the date of receipt and the warehouses where they were kept. The ACP said the actions of the Regional Minister and his deputy were arbitrary and an attempt to deliberately refuse to perform their public duty judiciously and in accordance with the Constitution.

## Unemployment register

The Ministry of Labour, Youth and Social Welfare will begin compiling an unemployment register from March 3. The register will cover all unemployed people between the ages of 15 and 65. The entire exercise will last until March 14.



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## Teenagers cleared of "indiscriminate" shooting

Three teenagers demonstrated "beyond all reasonable doubt" that it was noises from the exhaust pipe of their Mazda car which had been mistaken for "indiscriminate shooting" in some parts of Accra on March 2. The demonstration, which took place in Independence Square and lasted nearly 30 minutes, was held "in the presence of hundreds of enthusiastic onlookers including the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. J. K. Chinebuah, Air Commodore J. E. Barnor, acting Chief of Defence Staff, and Mr. F. P. Kyei, the Inspector-General of Police. So convinced were the spectators with the demonstration that they clapped in admiration at the feat of the three men, Mr. Wulid Maouas, 18, Mr. Omar-Horaifeh, 18, both Lebanese, and Mr. Ricky Shab, 17, a Malaysian. Both Dr. Chinebuah and Air Commodore J. E. Barnor would not record their impressions to the press but Mr. Kyei expressed the view that the demonstration should now clear the minds of the public about what happened on March 2," reported the *Daily Graphic*. The *Ghanaian Times*, however, reported that "obviously infuriated over what some described as 'false alarm', the large crowd rushed on the aliens and demanded that they be beaten up 'for their incorrigible behaviour'. The soldiers and police around, however, prevented any harm being done. The three men had earlier been arrested and later granted bail while the police were rounding off their investigation to enable them to prefer charges."

A *Daily Graphic* editorial commented that "it must surely be symptomatic of the ridiculous state of the country that three teenage

boys out on a childish prank could not only get half of the capital into a state of panic but, even more alarming, it had to take more than a week for the police to unravel the mysteries surrounding the incident.

It is easy to imagine and forgive the populace for thinking that what they heard was shooting. ... But what is one to make of the security agencies, the experts who are supposed to know better and to protect the citizens from unnecessary alarms, false or real? What explanation can there be for the strange statement put out by the Inspector-General of police last week to the effect that police investigations had revealed that the occupants of two vehicles had driven through some principal streets of Accra shooting into the air? ... The IGP said the matter was being handled by the appropriate security agency with all the means at its disposal including the use of armoured cars if necessary. ...

In conclusion, the *Graphic* said "a few lessons must surely be learnt from the entire sorry incident, some people are not doing the work they are supposed to be doing and if officials do not have the facts at their disposal about any matter, they should be bold enough to say so instead of hazarding fatuous guesses which would turn out to be embarrassing in the end." A *correspondent writes*: "One may recall at this stage, the famous 'armed men storming Usher Fort Prison' last November and the 'well-laid out conspiracy' supposedly behind this jailbreak which was hastily announced by a Cabinet Minister at the time from engaging in the import or

export trade or in any industry unless they have brought into Ghana an amount specified by or under an Act of Parliament. The Bill's provisions affect any person who subsequently becomes a citizen of Ghana and any person who on the coming into force of the Constitution was engaged in any trade, business or industry in respect of which he did not bring foreign capital to Ghana. The memorandum to the Bill, the Import and Export Trade and Industry (Specified Minimum Foreign Capital Investment by non-Ghanaians Citizens) was signed by the Minister of Finance and Economic Planning, Dr. Amon Nikoi.

The object is to enact a law to give effect to the provisions of Article 148 of the Constitution which requires that the necessary Act be enforced within six months after the promulgation of the Constitution. If the Bill is passed, it will empower the Minister of Finance to prescribe regulations of required foreign capital. He could also prescribe different categories of capital in respect of different categories of business. Other provisions would be for the closing down, winding up or valuation and sale, or takeover by the State of any state agency of any business whose continued operations would be illegal by virtue of the provisions of the Bill. A maximum penalty of C100,000 or imprisonment for a maximum of five years or both is prescribed for contravention of the Bill.

## Bill rejected

Parliament has rejected outright the Export Bonus (Abolition) Bill which sought to abolish the payment of incentives for the expansion of Ghana's non-traditional exports. This followed a report of the Finance Committee which deliberated the Bill. The committee pointed out that Ghana's foreign exchange position has not improved to the level where she could conveniently move away from the urge to earn foreign exchange. It said the Minister of Finance's reason for the abolition of the export bonus was not sufficiently proved and that the committee was therefore unable to recommend the Bill to the House for further consideration. Dr. Amon Nikoi, the Minister of Finance and Economic Planning has said in the Budget Statement that "following the exchange rate adjustment that took place in September 1978, government now considers that the continuation of the Export Bonus scheme is no longer justified..." (see *West Africa*, 11 February).

## Limann leaves for Guinea

President Hilla Limann, fresh from Independence Day celebrations where he said Ghana had "misapplied its freedom", began an official visit to Guinea, Radio

Conakry reported. He took a salute of 8,000 school children and members of volunteer organizations who paraded through Accra to its Central Square to mark the 23rd anniversary of independence from Britain. President Limann told the crowd that Ghana's progress had been thwarted by enemies since it gained independence in 1957 under Kwame Nkrumah. President Limann said it was unfortunate that he could not render a tribute to Ghana's founding fathers because, through the country's economic and political decay since independence, they had been "debased and their good work scandalised". He said the best tribute would be for Ghanaians to resolve to rescue the country from "further decline and disgrace".

## AFRC denies need for probe

Any probe into the AFRC period of government will only serve Ghana's internal international enemies, according to a spokesman for the Justice Movement. Mr. A. R. Denka, a member of the Movement's steering committee, issued a statement in Accra on March 7, arguing that the "revolution" of June 4 took place precisely because public opinion had failed to establish the principle of public accountability in Ghana's political life. The statement said that the people most eager to probe were those who had opposed the AFRC most strongly and probes were simply a device to dodge political injustices from regime to another. "If there are any specific allegations against individuals connected with the AFRC, the solution is to take individuals to court under the relevant laws of the land," the statement concluded.

## Military delegation arrives

An Egyptian military delegation of 30 officers arrived in Accra in February to begin a study tour of Ghana. The delegation, led by the commander of the Egyptian Command Staff College, Major-General Mohammed El-Sayed, included staff and cadets at the college. They were invited by the Ghana Armed Forces Staff College. The delegation met the acting Chief of Defence Staff, Air Commodore Odartey Barnor, and Col. L. Ofose Apea, Chief of Staff.

● Libya is to open an embassy in Accra. A team of Libyan diplomats have been in Accra to prepare for the arrival of an ambassador. The team was led by the First Secretary, Mr. Ali Kawan. As yet, Ghana has no embassy in Libya.

● East Germany has given Ghana a C12.5m loan to import medical equipment. Mr. M. P. Ansah, Minister of Health, announced this while visiting the Central Medical College at Tema to inspect a C

## Call for national resolve

The Vice-President, Dr. J. W. S. de Graft-Johnson, has said Ghana stands at such a crossroads that it was natural to expect massive aid from foreign friends and international financial institutions. He said adequate representations had been made and that the government would continue to explore the extent to which Ghana could get aid and support. He said, however, that the government could not pay for the price demanded by those foreign friends and institutions before such aid and support could be granted. Opening the second week of the Association of Recognised Professional Bodies in Accra, the Vice-President said "since our backs are hard pressed against the wall", the only course open to the nation was to rely entirely on its own efforts. He called on Ghanaians to ensure that every cultivatable land was put to use and every drop of water available should be fully utilised. "Until

every square foot of cultivatable land is put to use, there should be no claims of unemployment."

On foreign exchange, the Vice-President said total foreign revenue for 1980 was estimated at C3,689.7m. Of this, payments for services, unrequited transfers, debt servicing and debt payments were estimated at C1,969.3m. The net foreign exchange that would be available to finance imports would be C1,720.4m made up of C1,120.5m from Ghana's own resources and an expected foreign support of about C600m. Dr. de Graft-Johnson said with current oil consumption at 1,100 tonnes per month, a total oil bill of C924m per annum would have to be met leaving only C769m for all other imports. Of that amount, about C300m had already been committed to support the extended 1979 letters of credit.

## Bill to regulate foreign capital

A Bill has been published seeking to prohibit non-Ghanaians

consignment of drugs that had arrived. The drugs included antibiotics, anti-malaria, anti-diarrhoea and vitamin pills.

## Ghanaians in Lagos deaths

Six Ghanaians were among the 50 suspects who died in a police van while being conveyed from a magistrates' court in Central Lagos to Ikoji, south of the city. A police report has named the dead Ghanaians as Kofi Buachi, Samuel Quaye, Kofi Mensah, John Owusu, Anthony Boadu and Peter Osie. Three other Ghanaians survived and are being held in Ikoji Prison. They are Yaw Bonsu, Kojo Manu and Anthony Darku.

## Bank loss

The Ghana Commercial Bank lost £1m during the demonstration exercise held by the Supreme Military Council in March last year. Mr Quintin Quaye, Chief Manager of the Bank's branch operations gave this figure during a session of the bank's commission of enquiry in Accra on March 7. He attributed the loss to the speed with which the exercise was affected and the resulting pressure on the cashiers. During the exercise, he explained, some distinct chief executives collected monies from the branches but some money was lost in the handover. At other branches, he said, there was a surplus as a result of clients being short-changed inadvertently.

## Ghana Airways illegal sales

Ghana Airways officials are reported to have exposed an organised conspiracy involving the illegal sale of air tickets, according to a report in the *Ghanaian Times*. Twenty-six people, including some non-Ghanaians, have had their tickets and passports confiscated pending an investigation. Sales officials working for Ghana Airways are thought to be implicated, since tickets paid for in Cedis have been endorsed with the Ghana Airways seal, enabling travellers to use the tickets on other airlines. These other airlines then impose a surcharge denominated in foreign currency which Ghana Airways must pay to cover the additional costs of the traveller's journey beyond London. Under current foreign exchange rules, Ghanaians travelling beyond London must first apply to the Bank of Ghana for a T3 authorisation form before Ghana Airways can issue the ticket. But many tickets have been endorsed without the T3 authorisation, resulting in the loss by Ghana Airways of substantial amounts of foreign exchange.

## Hearts of Oak go professional

The Accra Hearts of Oak Sporting Club, Ghana's oldest

football club, has turned professional. In a letter to the Ghana Football Association, the Chairman of the club, Mr Tommy Thompson, said that the club's new status would be backdated to January 1. The main reason for becoming professional, he said, was to raise the standard of Ghana's football.

## Sam Arthur dies

Mr. Sam Arthur, executive editor of the *Pioneer*, has died at the age of 62. He was writing an editorial when he collapsed, and died on the way to hospital. Tributes immediately flowed from individuals and media organisations at the death of this veteran journalist and educator.

## Writ against Palaver editor

A £50,000 libel writ has been filed against the Editor-in-Chief of *The Palaver*, following the publication in its February 18 edition of a news item reporting allegations made against Ewe officers in recent pamphlets. Captain Kojo Tsikata, a retired army officer, named in the pamphlets and in the article, filed the suit in the Accra High Court claiming damages for unlawful invasion of privacy. The newspaper reported allegations that Captain Tsikata and Brigadier Kaitah ordered the execution of the late Lt-General Afrifa when he had

committed no offence and was not listed among the AFRC suspects. Captain Tsikata has said that he was out of the country before the June 4 events and only returned after the executions. He has also said that the allegations could easily have been proved false by the defendants. No date has been fixed for the hearing. *The Palaver* had already been warned publicly by the Francis Commission investigating the Usher Fort Jail break against publishing articles on matters which are still sub judice.

## Agricultural workers angry

A meeting between members of the General Agricultural Workers' Union and their General Secretary came to an abrupt end when he retreated to a nearby police station. Mr. Kwaku Haligah sought refuge at the Koforidua Central Police Station after he had been mobbed by angry workers at the meeting in the Reo cinema hall. More than 3,000 workers from the Eastern Region had gathered there to hear Mr. Haligah's account of the progress in pay negotiations. He told them that the Prices and Incomes Board had approved a 20 per cent pay award and that the TUC was negotiating for the payment of ex-gratia awards. The workers who have been on strike since February 4 accused the TUC leadership of adopting delay tactics.

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The Ghanaian artist, Charlotte Hagan (right), shows one of her works to a visitor at the USSR Cultural Centre at Osu, Accra. She is about to take a two-week visit to the Soviet Union.

## ACP hold Cape Coast seat

The Action Congress Party (ACP), retained its Parliamentary seat in the Cape Coast by-election. Mr Anthony Amos Abanyie, the ACP candidate, polled 11,545 votes against the 2,328 polled by his People's National Party opponent, Mr. Francis Amprofi-Halm. The ACP has ten seats in the 140-member Parliament and is the second largest Opposition party.

## Ghanaian on UN arrests commission

The United Nations Human Rights Commission has named representatives from Britain, Costa Rica, Ghana, Iraq and Yugoslavia to a five-member special group which will have powers to demand information from governments about people who are secretly arrested.

The Commission's Jordanian chairman, Waleed Sadi, said the group was "a giant step for human rights". It will be able to approach governments directly to ask for information within 24 hours of a person's disappearance.

The five members, chosen to represent the regional groups within the UN, were Viscount Colville of Culross from Britain, Luis Varela of Costa Rica, Kwadwo Faka Nyamekye of Ghana, Mohamed Redha Al-Jabri of Iraq and Ivan Tosevski of Yugoslavia.

## Limann's optimism over Zimbabwe

President Limann has described the Zimbabwe election victory of Robert Mugabe as a major step towards the total liberation of southern Africa. At a rally in Conakry of the first day of a two-day visit to Guinea, he committed Ghana to the support of the independent Zimbabwe. He was given a 21-gun salute on his arrival in Conakry on March 8 and in his welcome address President Sekou Toure described him as

continuing Nkrumah's struggle against imperialism and for national unity.

● Sally Mugabe, the Ghanaian wife of Zimbabwe's Prime Minister-elect, has been elected MP for Mashonaland West. Mrs. Mugabe, nee Hayfron, has been very active in Zimbabwe politics and helped to organise the ZANU Women's League. She and her husband married in 1957 in Ghana. They first met while she was attending the St Mary's Teacher Training College in Takoradi. Their only child, a son, died in childhood in 1966, while his father was being held in prison. Mr. Mugabe's ZANU-PF party won 57 of the 80 seats contested in the election.

## Captain Boakye Djan

Nii K. Bentu-Enchill writes: I apologise to Captain Boakye Djan for the error contained in this passage from my article of 10 March (p.436). "But by calling out predominantly Ewe names among civilians he felt should be questioned in connection with AFRC affairs, he only contributed to the ethnic politics now being used to maintain a 'siege mentality' in the government and in the ruling party, already undermined from within by squabbling among top leadership. This was not surprising since Captain Boakye Djan blames what went wrong with the 'June 4 Revolution' on manipulation of a plant Jerry Rawlings by Ewe interests." Among the list of names mentioned by Capt. Boakye Djan, only the first four out of nine were Ewe.

This invalidates the rest of the passage. The error is regretted. During the news conference reported in *West Africa* (March 10), Capt. Boakye Djan in fact said "he did not see why people wanted to use tribalism to fan division. He submitted that even though he is from the Brong-Ahafo Region, his batman is an Ewe and up to date, his properties are in the custody of the batman since he has no house of his own. He urged all Ghanaians to resist the temptation of allowing tribalism to divide them." (*Daily Graphic*, 23 February).

## LIBERIA

### MOJA alleges torture of detainees

A Liberian human rights group has accused the government of torturing prisoners and called for speedy and fair trials of people under arrest.

The movement for Justice in Africa (MOJA) issued a statement after about 100 people including members of the People's Progressive Party (PPP), had been arrested and accused of treason and sedition.

MOJA, a group founded more than eight years ago, accused the government of widespread and indiscriminate arrest and detention of people around Liberia. It alleged that all those detained were tortured, flogged and exposed to inhuman conditions.

● MOJA sources said their regional co-ordinator in Maryland County, Mr. Allen Yancy, Jr., had been arrested while sick in bed, mishandled and taken to the Post Stockade in Monrovia. He had led a group of workers demanding the release of PPP men under arrest.

MOJA described the actions of the PPP which brought about the wave of arrests as "infantile and ridiculous", but called on the government to stop mistreating arrested persons. MOJA called for a speedy and fair trial for all the PPP leaders, and for the immediate release of all others. MOJA noted that the Hon. Leroy Francis from Marshall Territory had been reported in the *Sunday Express* of 16 March as calling for a one-party state. It said it was declaring a "big NO to a one-party country". As to the reasons for the recent statements of Mr. Baccus Matthews and other PPP leaders, a MOJA spokesman said the PPP was not grounded among the people so it had to do something spectacular to draw attention to itself. He said because of MOJA's systematic work among the people, there had been pressure on the PPP to "produce". The objective impact of the

PPP's actions was therefore to discredit progressive work in Liberia. The MOJA spokesman stated the movement's objection to indiscriminate arrests, and beatings of prisoners, as well as the influx of military personnel. He said this was throwing the democracy in Liberia backwards. He was not prepared to comment whether there had been any collusion between some PPP members and the government.

## Police stormed

The Ministry of Information issued a statement saying that more than 600 people, believed to be supporters of the People's Progressive Party (PPP), raided a police station in Monrovia and freed several prisoners.

A ministry statement said it crowd forced its way into the police station by using tear gas. Police sources have said that most of the prisoners have since been arrested.

## Chesson alleges PPP assassination plot

The Minister of Justice, Joseph Chesson has alleged that a member of the opposition Progressive People's Party, had planned to blow up his home and Ministry. Mr. Chesson claimed that James Wreh had confessed to having planned the blasts, but was arrested shortly before planting explosives.

The Minister said that Mr. Wreh was a demolition expert and a PPP member and had acted on orders from his party, which he called general strike in a bid to force resignation of President William Tubman. More than 90 PPP members had already been arrested, including Education Assistant Minister George Boley.

## SIERRA LEONE

### Tougher measures on tax arrears

In an effort to collect income tax arrears, in some cases dating back to 1971, the Ministry of Finance has issued instructions that the Bank of Sierra Leone is not to consider any application for foreign exchange unless it is accompanied by a Certificate of Income Tax Clearance signed by the Commissioner of Income Tax and countersigned by the Minister or the Parliamentary Special Assistant, Ministry of Finance.

Similarly, travel agencies have been ordered not to issue any tickets to people leaving the country unless they produce a proper tax clearance certificate. Immigration authorities also require production of an appropriate certificate before allowing people to leave the country. People seeking either import licences or commercial vehicle

licences must have to produce clearance certificates.

All these regulations came into effect on March 11, the exemptions being diplomatic and, it has been said, the President and the two Vice-Presidents.

In addition, from the end of March unpaid arrears will be liable to an additional 15 per cent penalty charge.

## 247-carat diamond found

According to the APC newspaper *We Yone* the Nation Diamond Mining company found a 247-carat gem diamond. This is the largest stone said to have been found in Sierra Leone since the Star of Sierra Leone was discovered in the Kono District in 1910. It weighed 961.1 carats.

## OUA Fund at ½m. Leones

The OUA Fund now stands at a little over half a million leones. President Stevens disclosed this when a delegation from the Moyamba District Development Association called on him at State House. Recent contributions to the fund came from the Guardian Royal Exchange (Le10,000) Holman Brothers (Le10,000) and the National Insurance Company which gave Le100,000. The chairman of the NIC, Mr. F. M. Carew, said that his company, which had been conceived and nourished by President Stevens, could not stand idly by at this critical moment of executing government's intention without offering not only moral but also financial support.

Another recent contribution came from Sterling Products International which gave Le5,000 and a consignment of drugs valued at Le17,500.

## Chinese stadium team to leave

The 13-man technical team from China, which has been in charge of the Siaka Stevens Stadium, has completed its assignment and is ready to return home. The team has assured the new Minister of Social Welfare and Rural Development, Mr. Thaimu Bangurah, that the technical training programme for their Sierra Leonean counterparts had been successfully completed, and that they can now operate and maintain all the equipment in the stadium.

The leader of the team, Mr. Chu Yong Ming, said they would be handing over all assignments to their local counterparts at the end of the contract next month.

## Organ fund

An Organ Appeal Fund has been launched by the Dean and Chapter of St. George's Cathedral, to raise funds to replace the present organ, which was first installed in 1896. The new organ is to be a three manual pipe and pedal organ with 38 stops, with electro-magnetic operations, and will cost about Le100,000.

The appeal has been launched with a Le20,000 contribution from the Cathedral, and among the first contributors was President Dr. Siaka Stevens.

## New name

The City Council of Freetown has announced that Little East Street has been renamed Malamah Thomas Street. Upper Syka Street is now Hannah Benke-Coker Street. Sewa Grounds is now June Hosi-Rowns Grounds and a bridge at Tasso Island has been named O. J. Samuels Bridge.

● The Chief Scout, Mr. Justice S. J. Forster, has been awarded the Silver Wolf badge. The award is the highest national award in any scout association. Mr. Justice Forster succeeded the late Sir Emile Fashole Luke as Chief Scout in 1976. Before then, he was Deputy Chief Scout Commissioner and International Commissioner from 1968 to 1975.

● Mr. A. H. C. Barlett, one of Sierra Leone's oldest legal practitioners, has died at the age of 73. His funeral was attended by many members of the legal profession including judges, magistrates and fellow lawyers.

## CAMEROON UNC Politbureau

The ruling party has elected its 12-member politbureau, bringing in a new Political Secretary and a Minister who entered Government only four months ago.

The 63-member central committee of the Cameroon National Union (UNC), itself elected at the party congress in Bafoussam last month, chose the bureau, which will serve under the direction of President Ahidjo.

Presidential elections are scheduled for April 5 and President Ahidjo — as the only candidate of the UNC — is assured of a fifth five-year term as Chief of State. He told the central committee during its deliberations that it must help "maintain party cohesion and reinforce national unity by eliminating tribalism and disparities".

M. Felix Sabal Lecco, who had been party Fourth Vice-President and head of the Economic and Social Council, was elected to the political bureau and named Political Secretary, replacing M. Victor Aynsi Mvondo, Minister of State. M. Mvondo remains a bureau member.

Also entering the bureau was M. Guillaume Bwele, Minister of Information and Culture, who had come into Government in November. M. Bwele, holder of a philosophy degree from Paris, will also be party Youth Secretary.

Premier Paul Biya, who remains a politbureau member, was named Second Vice-President of the party. M. Emah Basile became party Treasurer-General, replacing M. André Fouda, the Mayor of Yaounde, who died last month.

## MAURITANIA Sharia law

Creation of a special Islamic law court, Shams, has been approved by the Mauritanian Cabinet, an official communique has announced.

The new tribunal is aimed at cutting down mounting crime in Mauritania and will deal with offences against individuals and their property "in keeping with Islamic legislation", the statement said.

## UPPER VOLTA Crowds at UNDD Congress

From a correspondent in Ouagadougou

CROWDS of people gathered outside the Maison du Peuple in Ouagadougou for the first congress of the Union Nationale pour la Défense de la Démocratie (UNDD). Many people were astonished at the size of the gathering. Some were drawn to the Congress out of curiosity, wanting to see for themselves the legal organisation of this party that was formerly based in Kédougou, the cotton capital of Upper Volta. According to the daily newspaper, *L'Observateur*, the Congress was seen by many of the other political parties and silent spectators as no more than a superficial assembly "sans culottes" composed of magical arts, music, dance and traditional folklore. However, it is more than likely that a large majority of the people were drawn to the Congress by Maurice Yameogo, the current President of the UNDD and the first and former President of Upper Volta. On arriving at the square in his black Mercedes he was swamped by hoards of people stretching forward to touch the car or get a glimpse of the return of the exile. Later during the nominations for the National Politbureau of the Party it was quite clear that the people were a hundred per cent in support of Maurice Yameogo and his nomination as assistant to the Secrétaire Général à la Propagande.

Maurice Yameogo was removed from power by the popular revolt with the support of the military in 1966. He was imprisoned for two years and condemned for numerous political crimes. At one point Houphouët Boigny invited him to the Ivory Coast as he had lost all his political and civic rights. However he declined and remained enclosed within his home town where he was known as the 'exile of Kédougou'.

Although the former President was very discreet at the Congress and unwilling to attract too much attention from the other parties, there is no doubt that his return to the political arena will have resounding affects for the next popular elections in 1983. The UNDD from their headquarters in Kédougou won 13 seats during the last elections, as against 28 for the UDV/ RDA, the party of the Government, and 9 for the UPV. With their new headquarters in Ouagadougou they may well win a much larger proportion of the votes encouraged by popular public figures such as the banker Macaire Ouédraogo, former President of the Banque Nationale du Développement Apart from the announcement of the new Secretary General Emmanuel Zola, and the nominations of the Politbureau the Congress formally announced that their headquarters will henceforth be in Ouagadougou. They carried forward the following motions and resolutions:

- i) on the importance of maintaining a strict respect for the constitution for Upper Volta which has been already enthusiastically adopted by the people of Upper Volta.
  - ii) on the need to keep a constant watch over the waste of resources and corruption in the public sector.
  - iii) to respect the liberty and principles of the trade union movement.
  - iv) to safeguard the statutes of the Party and to transfer the headquarters of the Party from Kédougou to Ouagadougou.
  - v) to ameliorate the development problems of the country, reduce social tensions and to promote peace justice and democracy.
- Everyone is now awaiting the reverberations of the new drive of the UNDD towards the forthcoming elections and asking whether or not the Government has formally allowed him to recover his political rights. Given the tense political climate in Ouagadougou which is liable to burst into a general strike at any time, the Government may also be playing a waiting game to see whether the return of Maurice is superficial or a serious political threat.

## ZAIRE Amnesty alleges prison deaths

Amnesty International has charged that more than 100 prisoners die each year in Zaire's prisons from starvation, disease and torture.

Accusing Zaire of holding political detainees without charge or trial in appalling conditions, the human rights body said it had sent a 20-page memorandum to President Mobutu Sese Seko's Government in February on political imprisonment, torture and political killings. It was still waiting for a reply.

Amnesty denied claims in a communique by the President, in Brussels, that it had congratulated him on his Government's "human rights" record.

The organisation said it was

gravely concerned about the high death-rate in Zaire's prisons and that in its memorandum it had urged President Mobutu to end these abuses and to release all prisoners of conscience, both those who had been convicted and those held without trial.

Two weeks ago, Amnesty International's United States section submitted a 3,000-word testimony on human rights violations in Zaire to the Africa sub-committee of the foreign relations committee of the US House of Representatives, which was holding hearings on the human rights situation in that country. The Amnesty International testimony summarised the organisation's concerns about detention without trial and harsh prison conditions.

● President Mobutu painted a sombre picture of industrialised societies during a two-hour lecture in Brussels on power and democracy in Africa, telling his select audience that in general African countries preferred a different approach.

Industrial societies today presented the world with an image of government authority crumbling to such a point that "all the world commands and no one obeys," he said. Power had gone into the streets, and disorder had become widespread in the name of fundamental rights and the exercise of public powers.

President Mobutu said several democratic "models" existed, and African states had preferred to opt for more original ways, better conforming to their own cultural heritage, than those in industrial societies. He said that "in a general fashion, African countries have opted for strengthening the power of the head of state and of the existence of a single party".

Speaking of opposition to his regime in Zaire, he said it must "express itself inside the system and not in parallel, still less outside it".

And he added: "In Zaire, the direct contact that the President maintains with the population is equally a guarantee of democracy." Human rights did not mean

abandoning the country to anarchy but meant creating the necessary conditions so that the exercise of fundamental rights, such as the right to life, did not become an empty word.

## CHAD

### CARE pull out

The American charity group CARE is pulling out of Chad after the theft of 16m CFA francs (\$40,000) worth of road-mending equipment, reliable sources said in N'Djamena.

CARE-Chad began repairing 60kms (35 miles) of roads a month ago, along with some of the French paratroops stationed in N'Djamena. The equipment and spare parts disappeared overnight two weeks ago. CARE-Chad also helped to clean the streets of rubbish, and its pull-out will deprive 1,000 men of their jobs.

## ANGOLA

### Clemency confirmed

Angolan authorities have decided to pursue the "policy of clemency" laid down by the late President Agostinho Neto, President José Eduardo dos Santos said last week.

He apparently referred to clemency for persons leaving the opposition UNITA guerrilla

movement, which has fought the forces of the ruling Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola in the south and central regions since before independence in 1975.

In a speech to the organisers of a symposium on Mr. Neto's work, President dos Santos said that beneficiaries of clemency included "all citizens who, for one reason or other, have let themselves be led astray by false leaders, throwing themselves into political adventures that have cost the lives of thousands of Angolans". But he said the clemency did not extend to the "false leaders" themselves.

● Holden Roberto, leader of the National Liberation Front of Angola (FNLA) opposing the regime in Luanda, has asked for political asylum in France, according to AFP sources in Paris.

M. Roberto, expelled from Zaire last November, travelled to Senegal and Gabon before going to France, but the Paris diplomatic sources said he had been in France since his exile began. The sources in Paris said M. Roberto's request for asylum was being processed. The opposition leader's presence in the country was denounced recently by Angola's Ambassador to Paris, M. Luis de Almeida, who said it "does not honour France".

● Angola has signed a \$10m. agreement with the Arab

Development Bank to finance the Benguela Railway. Finance Minister Ismael Martins has announced.

He told the Angolan news agency ANGOP that there is also a second proposal for financing of fisheries, and that Angola had drawn up five proposals for discussion ahead of his recent visit to Sudan, Kuwait and Abu Dhabi. These involved agricultural fisheries, oil resources and water supplies to rural areas.

## CAR

### New ministry

A new Ministry of Youth Sports, Recreation and Culture has been split off from the Education Ministry, and M. Alphonse Blaga, President David Dacko's Cabinet Chief, has been given the new portfolio. M. Blague, a sociology professor, has been director of the Bangui Teacher Training Institute.

## IN BRIEF

The new Archbishop of Canterbury, Robert Runcie, will go to Zaire, May 8-11, to inaugurate an Anglican Church diocese grouping Zaire, Burundi and Rwanda, according to sources in London.

The new diocese was created by the division of the former diocese that covered Uganda, Zaire, Rwanda and Burundi.

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