West Africa

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Senghor and West Africa

President Leopold Senghor of Senegal, in London on a private visit, was interviewed by *West Africa*. Our correspondent asked him about different aspects of West African politics, principally the problems of achieving economic unity in the area.

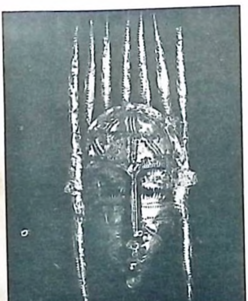
The President stressed that the question should be seen in historical perspective. He recalled that at the first OAU summit in 1963 he had said that it was not enough to vituperate against colonialism and imperialism but that Africans should concentrate on what united them, above all common cultural values. Where Dr. Nkrumah had proposed to unite Africa "at a stroke", President Senghor recalled that he had proposed to pass by stages through regional groupings, in the North, the West, the East, and, when liberation had been achieved, in the South.

Later, at the meeting in Bamako in 1967 for the Organisation of Senegal River States (OERS) the idea of the grouping in the West was relaunched, he said. There was even a meeting in Monrovia, and Senegal and Liberia were asked to prepare reports. However, there were hesitations on the part of the states of the Council of the Entente. "I asked President Tubman to make an approach to President Houphouet-Boigny on the subject, but he did not succeed. After having reflected, I understood their hesitations, based on my own experience with the English-speaking states. I discussed the subject with General Gowon on two occasions, at the funeral of President Tubman in Monrovia, and, more recently, on the occasion of the OAU Senegal-Guinea Reconciliation Committee, also in Monrovia. And we will discuss it again at the beginning of November when I am going on an official visit to Nigeria".

Here the President mentioned his view that the grouping of the present states of West Africa would not be sufficient. He still looked to the wider grouping stretching from Nouakchott to Kinshasa, of which he has often spoken in the past. Also, the English-speaking states have various "very niggling, very complex exchange controls": their money is not, in practice, convertible, he said. In commerce with English-speaking countries there had been long delays in payments. For payments from Nigeria Senegal had had to wait up to four years. "You cannot make an economic community in these conditions".

Therefore he had decided that the best thing was to proceed first by trying to achieve unity "among francophones", who speak the same language, use the same money, which is automatically convertible, through the CEAO which was established at the Bamako summit in June. "If this works, in three years we

REPORT FROM THE MANDING CONGRESS



can set up the wider grouping. At the same time we can multiply bilateral agreements between the francophones and anglophones, as already exist between Senegal and Nigeria, for example. In these agreements we can profit from a clause in the Bamako treaty which permits the same customs advantages in trade with the anglophones or the Mahgreb as among CEAO partners".

Obviously, the President says, the wider Nouakchott-Kinshasa grouping which is his dream, cannot be achieved without the anglophones. An important development would be the advent of a common currency in the European Economic Community, or at least a common monetary policy, especially with the entry of Britain into the Common Market. "It is necessary, therefore, that the anglophones should join us in association with the EEC. If the Europeans succeed in achieving common currency the same could happen in Africa". The common African currency could have a fixed parity with the European currency, just as the CFA franc has with the french franc. The existence of the franc zone, he said, was one of the principal advantages the francophones had over the anglophones, by giving them an opportunity to have a pool of foreign exchange reserves. He agreed that, if a common European currency were achieved, the franc zone would have to be reformed and restructured. By the same token, a country like The Gambia, whose currency is supported by the pound sterling, would also be greatly affected.

Nigeria and the EEC

To a question on Nigeria's known reluctance to associate with the EEC, President Senghor said that he understood Nigeria's position. Nigeria was also "the weight which could sink the ship". Because of its population it would merit receiving half Europe's development aid, for example. "This is why I think it would be better for Nigeria to have a simple commercial agreement with the EEC". However, even that was not certain.

The first thing is for the proposed meeting of experts of the existing associates and the English-speaking countries to take place. The President mentioned that, while in London, he had had a meeting with Jean-Francois Deniau, the EEC Commissioner responsible for both the British entry and the association, at which the subject was discussed. After this meeting future patterns may be clearer. At the same time, there is no reason why meetings could not take place. The President said he was favourably disposed to Colonel Acheampong's proposal for a West African meeting to discuss immigration, for example. "I support anything to bridge the gap. But meetings must be prepared".

To a question about the move by several states, notably Mauritania, to revise their co-operation agreements with

France, President Senghor said that in reality all the co-operation agreements were being revised all the time. "We revise them by letter. We don't sound the drum about them. We do it discreetly". He gave as an example the fact that in education Senegal no longer has French diplomas, but a system of equivalence.

On relations with Guinea after the reconciliation at Monrovia, the President said that the radio war had ceased, and that freedom of circulation for diplomats had been restored, but objectively the problem was very difficult because of the different nature of the régimes of Senegal and Guinea. He was not criticising Guinea, but the two countries had very different political and economic philosophies. Asked if the reconciliation should be seen in the context of the OAU's desire to pursue a more effective campaign against the Portuguese in Guinea-Bissau, the President said he felt it should be seen as much in the context of "respect for independences, each for each other".

On the Guinea-Bissau question, President Senghor noted the progress made at Rabat, with the 50 per cent increase in the budget of the Liberation Committee, (while recalling that he had proposed a 400 per cent increase the year before). He then spoke of the two methods of achieving the objective of independence, dialogue and war. "The nationalists are right to struggle if there is no true dialogue between the government and the authentic representatives of the Negro-African majority. Since they are compelled into this position, we have no alternative but to help them more effectively. At the moment the aid to liberation movements is ridiculously insufficient".

At the same time, he said, all the opportunities for dialogue should be sought. "All the nationalists have recognised that the final solution is reached not by arms but around the negotiating table". He recalled the peace plan for the Portuguese territories which he had put forward in 1969, which the PAIGC had accepted, but the Portuguese had rejected. He had subsequently had contacts with the Portuguese government which had also come to nothing. However, "in spite of everything, I think the situation is evolving. In the end the Portuguese may prefer the road of negotiation to the road of war. I think they are beginning to see a certain reality. Within a year it could happen that there will be new developments".

Senegal supported the PAIGC morally, but not militarily, except indirectly through her payments to the OAU Liberation Committee. This support has heavy consequences in terms of roads mined, villages shelled, people killed (as in the frontier incident of early June), and in terms of the economy of Casamance, the richest region of Senegal. Since 1963, for example, 6,000 head of cattle have been stolen. Moreover there are the refugees, about 12 per cent of the population of Guinea-Bissau, living at the expense of Senegal, he said.

MANDING CONGRESS DIARY

When Mansa Musa, Emperor of Mali, went on his celebrated pilgrimage to Mecca in 1324, he distributed gold in Cairo on a scale so lavish that the price of gold was devalued for thirty years. Obviously, any connection between the holding in London of the International Congress on Manding Studies and the floating of the pound was entirely coincidental, but the fact remains that it was an event so unusual that one is entitled to ask, what does it portend?

The main force behind the meeting, the energetic Dr. David Dalby of the School of Oriental and African Studies in London, who staged the conference, assured me that it was originally intended to hold something quite modest. But the interest the subject generated, not only among scholars, but also among the various West African governments of the area covered by the Manding civilisation, meant that the project snowballed immeasurably, it was attended by one President and three ministers, thus taking on a politico-cultural dimension that made it more than simply a get-together of academics.

One important aspect was that it brought together not only academics from Britain and France (a potent enough confrontation, in all conscience) but English-speaking and French-speaking Africans from the countries under the Manding umbrella (Mali, Senegal, The Gambia, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Guinea, Ivory Coast). This made it very definitely

Musicians and singers from Mali play at the British Museum Ethnography Section, Burlington Gardens, where the exhibition "Manding. Focus on a Civilisation" is being held.

a bi-lingual conference, and in fact tri-lingual, for on several occasions participants switched to one of the Manding tongues (Malinke, Bambara or Dioula). The predominance of French-speaking participants meant that, almost by *force majeure*, French became the language of

Above: Demba Kanouté, Senegalese historian, talks with members of Senegal's national instrumental ensemble. Left: Mali's Minister of Education, Yaya Bagayoko, with the Chef de Cabinet of the Minister of Information, Bokar N'Diaye. Below: President Senghor meets Arnold Smith, Commonwealth Secretary at a Senegalese reception.

the conference, which discomfited some of the English-speaking participants, for English translation was not always available. Most participants, however, were more or less bilingual, and in any case the benefits of the contacts that are made at an occasion like this outweigh the linguistic irritants. And as it was in London, as the Guinean writer, Camara Laye, said to me, it defused the possible ethnic content of the meeting.

In any case, did not President Senghor, in his speech at the opening of the conference officially pronounce the "spirit of Fashoda" as dead? This was a typically Senghorean *virtuoso* performance, producing what one observer called "all the regular lollipops", from *negritude* and Eur-Africa to the "civilisation of the universal", putting the whole Manding exercise in the context of his own theories about culture, Africa and the world.

He also produced the highly particular factor of his own links with Manding civilisation. He was there, he supposed, in his capacity as former teacher, but also as an "offspring of Manding stock on Serer soil", for his paternal ancestors were Malinke from Portuguese Guinea. He recalled that, such was the prestige of the Malinke that his father, who spoke Bambara and Malinke as well as Wolof and, of course, Serer, missed no occasion of speaking of his Manding ancestors from Gabou. "But, as a budding linguist, I remarked to him one day, a year before his death (it was perhaps that which brought it on) with a respectful smile, that Gabou was situated in Portuguese Guinea and that the name Senghor seemed to me more Portuguese than Malinke: doubtless the nickname for a mercenary!"

The President spoke of the central role of the Manding in the whole of West Africa, in the way their culture spread, and in their contacts with other people. The President said that for example in the heart of Ivory Coast, in the "Eburno-Liberian" and "Eburno-Dahomeyan" groups, he felt the influence of the Manding, in clothes, coiffure, style. And Dioula is one of the principal languages of Abidjan. There was a whole field of research here. The contacts with the famous old Sudanese empires of Ghana, Songhay and Djerma were also important, as were present day contacts with other groups, the Senegalo-Guineans (Peul, Wolof), the Voltaics and the Nigero-Chadians. As a linguist (his doctoral thesis, unfinished because of the call of politics, was on "Verbal Forms in the Languages of the Senegalo-Guinean Group") he provided an illustration of Manding words in Serer. Likewise, when he participated in the discussions at one point he used a Wolof song to demonstrate a point he was trying to make about mathematical forms in African rhythm, standing at the blackboard tapping his feet.

The discussions revealed healthy areas of controversy about Manding culture, especially as far as the oral tradition is

Above: The celebrated Manding singer from The Gambia, Nano Sakiliba, at the Gambian musical reception at the Commonwealth Institute. Below left: the scholar, Oumar Ba, from Ifan in Dakar. Below right: Prime Minister and President Senghor.

concerned. The presence of a handful of griots at the conference among the university men added a certain leaven: the griots in particular showed that they were not afraid of controversy, about the meaning of the name of the great emperor of Mali, Soundiata Keita (one griot said he was really a Konaté). The griot, Demba Kanouté, who is attached to the IFAN (Institut Fondamentale de l'Afrique Noire), in Dakar, described himself to me as an historian, with six volumes of the history of Africa to his credit.

The conference was deluged with scores of papers contributed by academics from Britain, France, the US and Africa, again many more than had been expected, enough to fill several volumes of collected papers for someone to edit. They varied from the highly specialised, such as Daniel McCall's "A Note and some Queries on a possible early export trade in Maleguetta Pepper", Rene Luneau's "Joking Relationships in Bambara Territory After the Death of Grandparents", to more general statements about Manding culture, such as the highly political and relevant "North-Sudanic Mandinguophonie as a Factor in West African Integration" of Pathe Diagne, a young historian at Dakar University. He unfortunately was not present, to pursue his thesis about the essential role the Manding could play in West African unity, especially in terms of language.

For, when all was said and done, it was the people who made the conference. At the British Museum's Ethnography section, at the opening of a very worthwhile exhibition on Manding civilisation (which is open until August), everybody was torn away from the exhibits to go downstairs to hear the compelling music of four lady singers and cora players (griottes and griots). They played on the Sunday with their Gambian fellow musicians, as well as the Senegalese Instrumental Ensemble, who had earlier had great success down among the "soul brothers" under the motorway at Ladbroke Grove, and up among the dreaming spires at Oxford Town Hall. Five of their number had been privileged to play at Number 10 Downing Street, surely the most unusual of Mr. Heath's musical evenings ("the Shah and the Emperor only had madrigals"). I gather that there was some intensive negotiation before they were permitted to sit on the floor with their shoes off in the traditional manner, rather than on the chairs normally expected at No.10.

It was a remarkable sight — four cora-players and one halam player, with their leader, all in white bouhous and hats, sitting in an arch with an exquisite Gainsborough on each side. And afterwards Mr. Heath signed their instruments, which apparently so delighted the players they strummed for half the night when they returned to their hostel. So there are now four Senegalese coras and a halam with the autograph of Edward Heath, which will, one is told, be exhibited on their return to Dakar. This is one unlikely product of the Manding congress, to be set alongside a reported softening of the British Prime Minister's view of Africa. His speech at his dinner for the President was certainly benign and non-abrasive: he regretted he had only made one visit to Africa in 1954, from the Cape to Cairo, but he realised that Africa easily got into your blood. One might commend the Wolof saying "*Nit nitay garabam*": "Man is man's medicine".

People

London was host, last week not only to Senegal's poet-president **Leopold Senghor** but also to Nigeria's novelist-commissioner **Flora Nwakuche**. Her last book, *This is Lagos and Other Stories*, written under her maiden name of Flora Nwapa, will be followed later this year by *Never Again*, an account in the form of a novel of the fall of her home town, Oguta, during the civil war. Like the previous book, it will be published by Nwankwo-Ifejika, the rapidly-growing Enugu-based company which has built up an impressive list of titles in its two years of existence. Mrs. Nwakuche lived in Biafra throughout the war and points out that books by Nigerians with first-hand experience of the period are becoming more numerous, and are read eagerly in Nigeria. She stresses that she is non-political and that she sees her future in terms of her writing and her family, not in terms of public office.

As Commissioner for Health and Social Welfare in East Central State she played an important role in the resettlement of the 8,000 displaced children who had to be found homes after the secessionist surrender. Due to the tireless detective work of the welfare officers responsible for the operation – some of the children did not know their own names – less than 150 of these children are yet to be reunited with their families. Flora Nwakuch was also instrumental in carrying out the policy of closing the orphanages and opposing suggestions that special villages should be built for the children – "the time has not yet come when an East Central State child has no relative to look after him", although she admits that a few children have run away from their relatives because they were more comfortable in the orphanages.

She is now running the Ministry of Lands, Survey and Urban Development. Although she considers that this is "less exciting" than her previous post, she is involved with two valuable projects. The first, which helps retain the links with her previous welfare activities, is putting the State's parks, gardens and playgrounds in order: an edict establishing a Parks Commission is to be promulgated soon. A trained landscape artist has been found in an obscure corner of another Ministry and has been seized to help with the task.

The second, more important project, is the implementation of a new method for the acquisition of land by the State Government, a process which is invariably costly and time-consuming (the Federal Supreme Court recently ruled in favour of a group of Onitsha landowners in a case arising out of the acquisition of land for the Niger Bridge head in 1961). To speed up the process and avoid bitterness and litigation, an experiment is being tried in Aba, where the government wants a 1,500 acre site for a major commercial and residential development scheme (private investors are unwilling to use sites not owned by the state). Using the normal processes, the state government would have to pay £500,000 for this land, which it cannot afford. It has therefore agreed with the five families which own the land that compensation will not be paid but that the Government will develop the area by bringing in electricity, drainage and other services, all the premium rents on the site will then be shared on a 50-50 basis between the Government and the original landowners. Mrs. Nwakuche hopes that when other landowners see the benefits of this procedure the state government's problems in this contentious sector will be considerably eased.

●

A Nigerian plumber working in England, **Felix Ibikunle**, has won an appeal against a 12-month driving ban after explaining that he had more than the legal alcohol limit in his blood when stopped by police because his cough medicine, "prepared by a witch doctor in Nigeria", contained 31 per cent alcohol. After sniffing the medicine, the judge commented, "I should think that would unblock any sink". The appeal was allowed on the ground that Mr. Ibikunule was unaware that he had drunk alcohol.

●

Nigeria's problem was not so much environmental pollution as human pollution caused by disease, ignorance and poverty, said the Federal Health Commissioner, **Alhaji Aminu Kano**.

●

Brigadier **Twum-Barima**, Ghana's Ambassador to the Zaire Republic has flown to Kinshasa to assume duty. Brigadier Twum-Barima, who is 38, was until last January the acting army commander.

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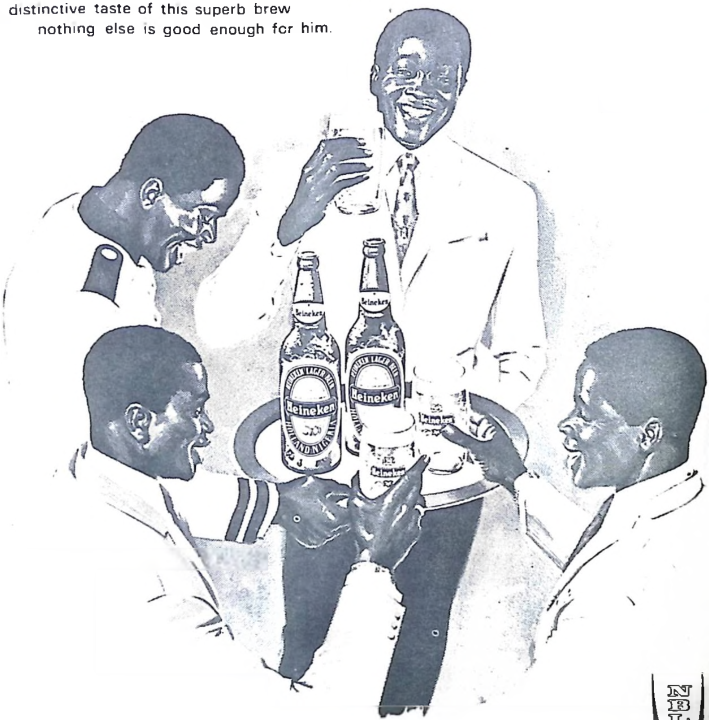

NBL

Letters to the Editor

Incentives to work

SIR - There are many who agree with Doctor Ariwoola's comments on Nigeria's growth rate (June 23) and I think it is really a very fine prospect if the growth rate is now running at 9.6 per cent per annum. But the Doctor is up the creek with his claim that "Africans in the UK, etc., do recognise how hardworking Nigerians are, while the Nigerians themselves do not make any fuss about it". The claim, I am sure, was purely an effort of imagination. The fact, of course, is that people in the UK generally work harder, because they are more knowledgeable of individual contribution to GNP than we are in Nigeria, and because an average Nigerian in the UK has so committed himself it is, therefore, incumbent on him to make additional efforts to provide for personal progress, either by attending evening classes, after a hard day's work or by doing double shift with the view of saving enough money to finance full-time study. Other African nationals, Asians and West Indians do it, therefore learning in a hard way is not peculiar to Nigerians.

I am, however, inclined to agree that if every Nigerian who has acquired any kind of knowledge in a more matured economy returns home with the determination to work equally as hard as he had to in the UK, US, Germany etc., the future holds much for our country, but of course in a country where it is not what you know, but who you know that really counts, it is difficult to see how people who sometimes have to bribe their way to securing an appointment can be persuaded to work hard in order to help the society as a whole.

G. A. ADE-EYO OMIBEKU
Stoke on Trent

Upper Volta's army

SIR - I would like to comment on the article "The Civilians and the Soldiers" (February 25). As a student from Upper Volta, I would like to take this opportunity to say why I think the co-operation of the army and the civilians in Upper Volta is necessary, and also why the army should remain in power.

In 1965-66, when the administration of the President of Upper Volta was obscured, the country's treasury seemed empty and social and economic development was at a standstill. Seeing what was wrong with the government, the workers and students called on President Yaméogo for an emergency meeting. He turned down, several times, this idea and instead the workers stopped work and the students stopped their studies.

But President Yameogo did not listen to the complaints of the people, nor did he call a cabinet meeting to discuss the problems of the country. Soon he was forced by the students and workers to leave the Presidency. Included in the strike were some of the political leaders. When M. Yaméogo agreed to vacate the "chair" these same political leaders asked the army to take over the affairs of the country. To this they agreed and ruled from 1966 to 1970. Since the army took over, and I think everybody in Upper Volta will agree with me, it has achieved much for Upper Volta and its citizens. General Lamizana and his men developed the country more than the previous government, more roads have been constructed, workers enjoy their working conditions, some villages in each *cercle* have good drinking water, student scholarships have improved etc.

What is expected of General Lamizana and his men? They are soldiers and they have done their best. Before being called to power they had no political experience — all they knew was how to defend the nation and its citizens. In Upper Volta as in other French-speaking West African countries soldiers are volunteers and they are for the country and the country is for them, so if they are called upon to lead the country, they cannot turn this down.

In your magazine, Tamar Golan stated in the first paragraph of her article that the Voltaic army and its citizens "are very proud of their achievement" giving their country one of the freest and most liberal regimes in Africa. And why shouldn't they be proud? Since there has been excellent co-operation on both sides there have not been any particular problems. However if the soldiers abandon everything to the civilians there would be scandal and hostility in government administration. The civilian political leaders seem not to take their responsibilities seriously; nor to have suffered any hardship. But soldiers know what it is to suffer. In general, if Africa had been ruled by soldiers for a long time, she would have now be on the map of developed nations instead of being an underdeveloped continent, where many parts are still dominated by régimes such as Smith's or Vorster's. Therefore in the case of Upper Volta, I would be very disappointed if the civilians asked the army to quit the government, because it is they who called these men in. It is they also who approved, by a referendum, that the country should be led by the army and the civilians. If the army is removed from the government and replaced by civilians the country will be ruined again.

Therefore I would like to ask the soldiers to stay and not leave our national politics. They should have the courage to work cordially with the civilians, because if they go back to their barracks it would be a big shame for the republic and its citizens.

PIERRE KOUDOUGOU SIA
University of Nigeria, Nsukka.


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Books and Publications

Private finance in the public eye

Private Foreign Investment and the Developing World *edited by Peter Ady (Praeger, £7).*

There is today an extreme divergence to views on the role of private overseas investment in the underdeveloped countries. The gap between per capita incomes in developed and underdeveloped countries is widening. Gross official aid flows have become sluggish at a time when there is an increasing burden of debt repayment and servicing charges on the underdeveloped countries from past outflows. Many believe that private overseas investment may provide the key to this potential crisis: in the absence of rising aid, private overseas investment may bridge the gaps that constrain development in the third world: the balance of payments gap, the resource gap, the savings gap, the technological gap, and hence, in the long run, the per capita income gap.

Others have argued that private overseas investment has been one of the major factors contributing to the development of this crisis: that it is merely the twentieth-century refinement or economic outcome of the gun-boat diplomacy of the imperial powers of the last century, that it gives even greater foreign ownership of the capital stock, dominating the development of market structures and determining the allocation of resources and the distribution of income, more especially the share going to foreigners. By producing an ever greater dependence of the underdeveloped economies upon those of the developed countries, private overseas investment is thought to hinder national policy efforts at planned growth, and to frustrate local entrepreneurial talent and the raising of employment.

At the same time as private overseas investment is thought too costly by the developing world, its overall profitability has been questioned by capital exporting countries. The recurrent balance of payments problems of many developed countries have raised the question of whether the immediate balance of payments costs are worthwhile, whatever the long run benefits.

The above three conflicting views are examined in this book, which is a summary of the papers and discussions at a Conference on "Consultation on Direct Private Investment in Developing Countries" organised by the UK Chapter of the Society of International Development in September, 1969.

It begins with a summary of the historical changes in the direction and extent of private overseas investment as a background to the current effects and problems of foreign investment in the underdeveloped countries. We are reminded that the First World War, followed by the slump of the 1930s, induced a fundamental change in the composition and role of foreign investment in the underdeveloped countries. In the 19th century foreign capital was largely portfolio infra-structure oriented to raise the capacity of the less developed countries for the expansion and export of food and raw materials to the developed countries and their import of manufactured goods. The result in the developed countries was a sizeable ownership of foreign capital, a considerable flow of capital from the less developed countries to the developed countries in the form of profits and the availability of essential raw materials and cheap food in the industrialised countries.

The depression and war brought changes in the structure of industrial nations: the arrival of the multinational corporation, and of the United States as the dominant economic power. At the same time the depression weakened demand for the products of the less developed countries and cut off the export of capital to them. Substantial disinvestment, particularly by the UK, in foreign ownership occurred during the Second World War. Wartime exigencies fostered the search for substitutes and led to a lessening dependence upon the underdeveloped countries for the provision of foodstuffs and raw materials, except oil and some minerals.

Since 1945 these trends have been reinforced, markedly changing the character of overseas investment. Increasing self-sufficiency of the developed countries in primary products or their synthetic substitutes has contributed to the large differentials in rates of growth of trades in primary products, a trend that has been further stimulated by conditions in the less developed countries where deteriorating terms of trade and stagnant markets for many agricultural primary commodities have further exacerbated development problems, putting increasing political and social pressure on foreign owners of natural resources. At the same time, increasing expo... competition between developed countries, some tendency to higher protection in their markets together with concentration

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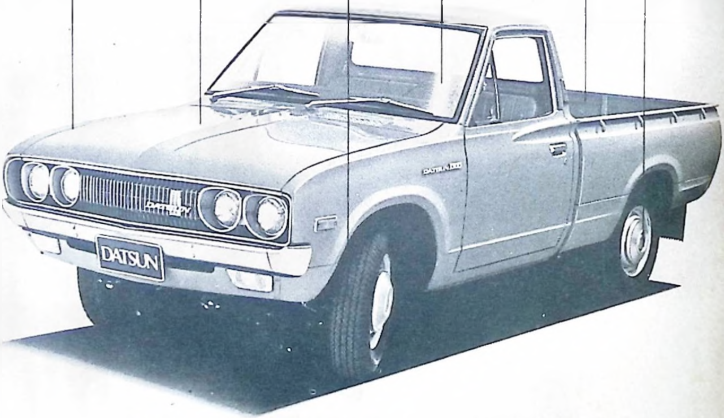

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of trade blocs such as the EEC and EFTA, and the growth in demand for manufactures have greatly stimulated investment by developed countries in other developed countries of which the multinational company is both a cause and effect.

The above changes have meant considerable expansion of private overseas investment in other developed countries, and some change in the direction of overseas investment in the developing countries. There has been a reduction in portfolio lending and a concentration in industrial activity; and the former role of providing fixed interest finance for infrastructure has been taken over by official aid and by international agencies, along with some bilateral agreements between centrally planned economies and the less developed countries. We are also reminded that at present about 80 per cent of all international direct investment is undertaken by the US or UK companies, that international investment is growing overall at a rate of around 10 per cent p.a.; that it has come to play an increasingly important role in the economies both of less developed countries and the developed countries, and that whereas aid flow has risen only by about 50 per cent over the past ten years, the flow of private capital has more than doubled. Direct investment and export credits are the largest components, the latter having grown by four times since 1960.

In these circumstances, it becomes imperative to examine the effects of overseas private investment in both the developed and developing countries and the fears and suspicions which threaten the flow. On the one hand the developed countries' fear of nationalisation without adequate compensation is confounded by the question of whether the immediate balance of payment costs are worthwhile. On the other hand the developing countries fear neocolonialism which would compromise their political independence if the commanding heights of their economies were owned and controlled by foreigners. It is often argued that the above fears and suspicions and indeed many of the potential ills of private overseas investment can be mitigated by fiscal policy supported by statutory regulations or eliminated through joint enterprise between foreign capital and local capital or government resources. However the effectiveness of fiscal measures is limited by the need for reciprocal understanding with the governments of capital-exporting countries and by competition among developing countries in tax inducements.

Although joint enterprises have more promise, they have their snags: shortage of local private capital is often the main bottleneck, and where the government or government agency participates, particularly as a major partner, decisions may become more political than economic with obvious costs and inefficiencies, and out of date technique may be introduced where the central problem of the developing country is to gain know-how. Nevertheless the conference discussions revealed much support for the view that joint enterprise accommodates the proper aims of the two partners without undue interference with market forces: maximisation of private profits or returns on expertise and management on the one hand; and, on the other, the developing countries' aim to maximise the growth of industrial capital stock and industrial output and experience at every level.

In the light of the above, have economists and businessmen anything to say to each other about development problems? The answer is surely yes. First the issue is not simply a conflict between developed and underdeveloped. Whatever the cost benefit position to either party, private overseas investment is not a zero sum game. It does not follow that what the investing country gains is identical with what is lost by the host developing country. The calculus of benefits and costs has tended to ignore this aspect. Unless there is a shift of focus neither party can understand the other's point of view. Secondly the developing countries, unlike the developed countries in the nineteenth century (and even today), are disadvantaged in the development race by their tiny and fragmented markets, and by their import substitution-led rather than export-led growth (again as in the developed countries). Thirdly in the final analysis it is not capital or aid *per se* but trade that would be the crucial factor.

G. O. Nwankwo

Speaking for Egypt

Egypt, Imperialism and Revolution *Jacques Berque, translated by Jean Stewa (Faber & Faber, £15)*

In 1919, the national tarboosh, th headdress which ever since the Ital Turkish war of 1912 had been considere the very emblem of the Muslim warrio was being imported into Egypt fror Czechoslovakia (£E65,000 worth), fro Tunisia (£E8,000) and from Ital (£E3,000). This detail from the vas panorama of foreign participation in th Egyptian economy illustrates the scope o the research undertaken for this massive 736-page work, which has a glossary of Arabic terms, five indices and 16 pages of illustrations. Fortunately for the reader, Professor Berque is not totally obsessed by the minutia of history, but is also able to make or quote provocative generalisations: "In Egypt, everything is alien, except the fellah, who is not interested in politics". The description of the imposition of an alien economic system is not without relevance to colonial West Africa, and the intervention of the State to strengthen the market for long-staple cotton after a tenfold collapse in the market price is an example of the correlation between social history and plant varieties that will strike many chords in Ghana and Nigeria. Similarly, "Any financial procedure in Egypt was subject to twofold, threefold, or fourfold uncertainties: that of cotton production, that of Alexandrian speculation, that of the world market, and that of the price quotations of London or Paris. The Egyptian economy was thus affected by a great variety of hazards: the rainfall of the upper Nile, shady deals in Alexandria, the state of the market in Liverpool, the price of the pound or the franc. It is difficult to build an orthodox economy on such shifting grounds". *Plus ca change, plus la meme chose.*

In the conventional Marxist analysis, however, which is offered here, lies the danger of underestimating the capabilities of the oppressed: "The peasant existed, the *bey* accumulated and enjoyed. The disharmony was intensified between a world of immemorial values but hopelessly precarious, and the more-or-less expatriate world of monetary gain". And at one point, the author refers to the Arab Revolt as "Lawrence's idea", which is both untrue and patronising. The strength of the technique is to give a convincing picture of alienation. "The peasant, that unintelligible being, take refuge in protective shadow. His rejection of any innovation that did not proceed from himself found expression in two ways: emigration – he became the rootless vagrant who formed part of the swelling urban population, and brigandage – he roamed the countryside capturing cattle, breaking into barns, and if need be, killing". Alienation follows dependence, and is a state which can only be escaped from by the reconstruction of a new whole, says Professor Berque. There is thus hope for the future, even if it is "at a cost of much painful laceration".

The real importance of this work is that it is the first study of its kind to make full use of recently de-classified government archive material, and to draw heavily upon indigenous sources of information, including local newspapers, memoirs and oral information. This is a welcome shift of emphasis from the usual analyses of colonial history relying heavily on metropolitan sources, but it leads to a certain imbalance, as when the "true" history of the occupation, seen from the government archives, which often conflict with what the protagonists said at the time and later in memoirs, is set against allegedly also true contemporary accounts. For example, King Farouk was presented in 1943 with a forcible abdication, should he not change his ministers. The British Ambassador took the draft abdication to the palace accompanied by the Commander-in-Chief (oddly enough, the document had been drawn up by the man responsible for King Edward VII's abdication document, as he happened to be in Cairo at the time). The British version is that Farouk objected that the paper was dirty, and frightened, procrastinated until the crisis passed. Professor Berque's version (apparently based on the memoirs of Egyptian ministers who were not present at the time) goes: "Faruq, undisturbed, pointed out that even if he were prepared to resign, it seemed to him that such a act required a more solemn instrument. This formal objection disconcerted the intruder, whose forte was not subtlety". This sounds very much like the version put round afterwards by the king. But whichever is true, it is not consonant with this type of book and Berque's reputation to print one version and not the other.

His bias throughout is nationalist/socialist, and his anti-British feeling is that of a Frenchman and a Colon. Whatever the faults of the British presence in Egypt, they were small in comparison with the policy of the French in North Africa and Syria. It was precisely the lack of what he calls "a conviction of her own mission" that led to the British in Egypt adapting to situations as they arose. As he says, Britain was in Egypt initially for financial, and later for strategic reasons. Egypt was never a colony, never part of the Empire. Once the financial problems were overcome, only the canal was a serious worry to British statesmen, and after the occupation of Palestine and the annexation of Cyprus, the British presence in Egypt was largely vestigial. The most important point made by the author is that the British presence had somehow become necessary for the Egyptian political system as it emerged after independence. As the ever-present third party between the King and the politicans, the Ambassador kept a balance — in Britain's interest naturally, but one which at least managed to give Egypt the only democratic episode of her history.

French-speakers interested in this important work can save themselves a great deal of money by buying the French edition, which costs only Fr. 43.80, equivalent to £3.30.

M. Champion

Parker's pen portrait

Rhodesia: Little White Island *by John Parker (Pitman, £2)*

This is a useful addition to the expanding output of literature on the Rhodesian crisis because of the author's somewhat unusual standpoint: he and his family went to Bulawayo in 1954, "the time when the 'Land of Opportunity' poster really meant something when it was displayed in the window of Rhodesia House in the Strand". The Parkers were an ordinary family, enchanted by their new home and higher standard of living, and for whom the African population was little more than an exotic background. "For the Parker family, as for the thousands of other immigrants, the last thing to worry about was the African in Rhodesia. He was there, convenient, irritating, smiling, insolent, hardworking or shiftless, however one found him. But he wasn't our concern. We had no reforming zeal to improve his lot, no wish or need to meet Jim Fish or Mrs. Fish. In fact, it was more than seven years before we entertained an African family in our own home for the first (and last) time. It is not a record we are proud of, nor for that matter particularly ashamed of. Beyond a mild resolve to treat our servants well and, within reason, generously — which like many good resolutions we often failed to fulfil — we had no feelings at all. There was far too much for us to do in establishing ourselves in our new country, fighting off the ever-pressing bills, setting up home, finding new schools, begging and borrowing furniture, mastering a new job and making new friends." Little white islanders.

Parker goes on to describe his gradual alienation, leading to his becoming the first journalist to be deported after U.D.I. His account of Rhodesia's political development provides little that is new, but has the virtues of being clear and concise. His comments on his contemporaries are forthright, and he even raises a question mark over the "hero legend" of Ian Smith's wartime career: "... it seems remarkable that at a time when personal careers were advancing with phenomenal speed, a young Rhodesian officer should spend four years progressing two small rungs up the RAF's ladder ... Ian Smith received not even a mention in Despatches, a tribute whichever way one likes to look at it, to the modesty either of his claims or of his accomplishments." On the Rhodesian Front's systematic destruction of press freedom, however, in which he was an important protagonist, Parker is superb — the experiences are first-hand, his judgments are unhedged by reservation. It is a damning indictment, the more forceful because Parker is no idealogue or axe-grinder. His *ordinariness*, and the fact that the book carries a brief (and dissenting) introduction by Sir Roy Welensky, might lead some uncommitted whites to read it and perhaps begin to realise that the much vaunted "Rhodesian Way of Life" is based not on enlightenment and brotherhood but on deceipt and repression.

D. N.

Governments and the gun

The Barrel of a Gun *by Ruth First (Penguin, 75p).*

The latest addition to the Penguin Africa Library is the paperback reprint of Ruth First's study of the military and coups d'etat in Africa first published at the end of 1970. At that time a reviewer in *West Africa* wrote "the real weakness of the book is the extraordinary antipathy Miss First shows to the military regime in Ghana and to its civilian successor (her antipathy to the civilian successor seems to have little to do with her main argument). She warns us against the indiscriminate 'conspiracy theory' of history. But this is the theory she applies to events in Ghana since March 1966".

Miss First examines in detail the army coups in Sudan, Nigeria and Ghana.

A. M.

IVORY COAST

THE STATE OF THE ECONOMY

A host of newspaper articles and quasi-confidential reports have recently sounded the alarm on the state of the Ivory Coast's economy, often credited with being the fastest growing economy in Africa. Is the Ivorian experience a miracle or a mirage?, asked one magazine.

The Government's reaction did little to disperse the rumours: it first ignored them altogether, then retorted by an attack on the qualifications, inventions and integrity of the "venal and ravenous" critics. The irony is that President Felix Houphouet Boigny was the first to warn of the "dark days ahead" in his New Year message last December and earlier at a conference of the ruling party's secretary generals last August.

While it is true that the Ivorian economy, and in particular its financial mechanism, is facing a difficult period, the problems do not seriously threaten the country's economy: they may result in a slow-down, but not a breakdown.

Moreover, the difficulties most often quoted by critics of the Ivorian model of development – over-dependence on foreign investors and extensive borrowing – do not appear to be the crucial ones. Rather, the problem of the Ivory Coast is that its wealth has been derived from primary products. These are also luxury products, and their demand in the consuming, developed countries is elastic. As a result of absence of any significant raw material discoveries and the period of time which must elapse before the newly introduced crops begin to yield, certain strains can now be observed. Thus, the problems of the Ivory Coast are representative of the difficulties encountered by so many Third World countries.

The significance of the Ivorian experience is not merely that it has brought about an undeniable improvement in the standard of living of the population, whether measured by the per capita income (over $300, according to the UN), the number of radios and bicycles per head, or the annual rate of economic growth. It is not only the Ivorian élite in Abidjan who live better than their fellow Africans in many other countries, but also their cousins in the remote villages of the interior. It is a pity that most foreign observers have been so taken up with depicting the development of Abidjan that they have neglected the countryside.

The Ivorian success is all the more impressive because it has been achieved without reliance on mineral resources. Two small diamond mines and considerable quantities of yet unexploited low-grade iron-ore deposits make up all the mineral "wealth" so far discovered. It has been due to hard work, good management, close co-operation with foreign investors and advisers (mostly French), respect for foreign financial obligations, careful planning, sensitivity to the population's material demands and a paternalistic and stable political system. It is also, as has often been noted, a result of the general climate of confidence which has helped to attract foreign investment. It should be emphasised, however, that, on the whole, the country has not benefited from many *large-scale* foreign investments. The only loan which has passed the $50m. mark was granted earlier this year by the US Export-Import Bank for a sugar complex in the north of the country at Ferkessedougou. Other significant foreign contributions have been for the $105m. Kossou Dam project (equally divided between the US Export-Import Bank, the Italian Impregilo Construction Company, and the Ivorian Government). Investment in the San Pedro Port, a West German-Franco-Ivorian undertaking, has amounted so far to some $25m. There has been no single large-scale French investment, although the numerous medium-size investments and a fairly high level of re-investment must represent a very large total.

The problem of re-payment of debts, mostly of the medium-terms loans taken on a commercial basis for the financing of various investment projects, is the most often-cited reason for the "crisis" said to be threatening the Ivorian economy.

Critics of the Ivorian development formula are numerous, mostly belonging to the camp of liberal and socialist Europeans who are distressed to see the class cleavages and income disparities of capitalist society being imported into what they consider to have been relatively egalitarian pre-colonial African society. There are also those who claim that the classical liberal laissez-faire economy practised by the Ivory Coast perpetuates the colonial situation and the dependence on foreign powers. As they see it, the problem is two-fold, over-borrowing and over-dependence.

According to some calculations, for each 100 francs CFA of French Governmental aid, the private French businessmen are taking out of the Ivory Coast between 80fr. and 150fr. CFA. This outflow is either in the form of recognised profits (currency transfer was, until recently, free, but since April certain restrictions have been imposed) or of hidden profits through over-charging on work (the "cost plus" basis of operations).

Thus, goes the argument, we are in the presence of a typical neo-colonialist cycle: the French tax-payer, who is predominantly working class, is paying for his Government's aid policy which helps French capitalists invest in the Ivory Coast, these investments are made in such a way that the Ivorian citizen is only a marginal beneficiary, while most of the revenue returns to France – but not to the Government, representing the original working class tax-payer. Instead,

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profits go to the French capitalist investor and thus they help to keep him in control, both in France and in the Ivory Coast.

The most intensive analysis, and some say criticism, of the Ivorian development model was carried out by the Egyptian-born sociologist, Mr. Samir Amin, who is currently working for the United Nations in Senegal. In his book *The Development of Capitalism in the Ivory Coast* (Les Editions de Minuit, France, 1967) and in other works he expounds the theory that the Ivorian "miracle" is merely a form of "growth without development". This thesis set off an emotional thunderstorm in the Ivory Coast and for a while the book was banned. Yet, if one studies Mr Amin's theory carefully, and disregards his more flamboyant remarks, one finds that he is well aware of the Ivorian dilemma: on the one hand, it is clear that no country can continuously maintain such a high annual rate of growth (according to Mr. Amin, 8·9 per cent between 1950 and 1960 and 10·12 per cent subsequently: in real terms the figure is always somewhat lower), when its economy is based almost entirely on agriculture. On the other hand, the fact remains that in spite of extensive surveys, no significant mineral resources have so far been discovered to enable the Ivorians to diversify their economy and put it on a more stable footing. For, in the final analysis, even under the best management and wisest development policy, it is difficult for any country today to attain permanent and self-sustained economic growth on the basis of agriculture alone. It is about the means that should be employed in order to solve the problem that the Ivorian Government and its critics differ.

Ivorian officials do not deny that the forthcoming period is not going to be an easy one, and they have not tried to conceal the figures indicating the slow-down. But they maintain, and marshall the statistics in their support, that the debt payments are well within the absorptive capacity of the economy. It is a pity, however, that the Government does not provide official figures on the state of the public debt; one needs to assemble estimates from various sources. M. Henrie Konan Bedie, the Finance Minister, has, however, repeatedly stressed that the national debt co-efficient was only 4·9.

Another claim, justified by facts, is that the slow-down is mostly a result of the decline in the world prices for the primary products which form the principal exports of the Ivory Coast. Figures published in Abidjan earlier this month indicate that for the first time since 1965, export revenues have declined (from 130,200m. fr. CFA in 1970 to 126,558m. fr. CFA in 1971). This drop is not dangerous as far as the balance of trade is concerned. Even with an increase in imports, there still remains a comfortable surplus of 15,720m. fr. CFA (last year the surplus was 22,486m. CFA).

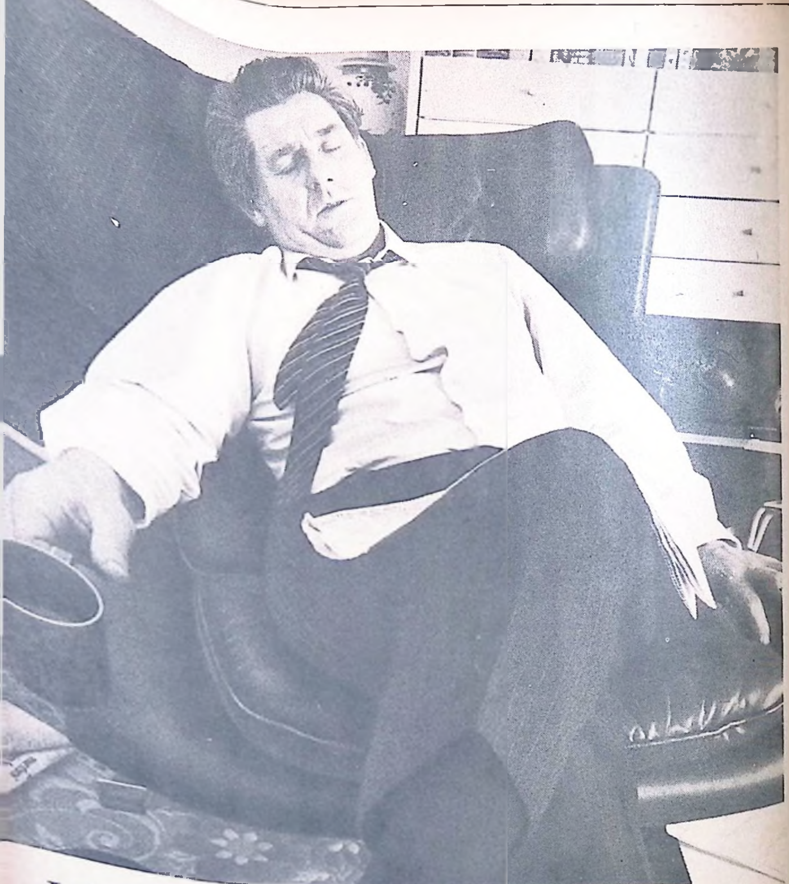
But the drop in export earnings was not caused by a decline in production. It was the result of the sharp fall in the world cocoa price: in 1970, cocoa exports amounted to 143,231 tons and in 1971 they rose to 146,939 tons, but earnings from the crop fell from 31,900m. fr. CFA to 26,300m. fr. CFA in the same period. (A general warning should be made — a discrepancy exists between figures obtained from various sources, such as the Ministry of Finance and the Chamber of Agriculture, which seems to be due mainly to the problem of assessing the amount of cocoa smuggled from Ghana but as the quantities are not vast, they do not radically change the picture). This decline is a clear warning of what the Ivorians have long known: that primary products, especially if they are non-essential commodities such as coffee and cocoa are not a reliable source of income.

Moreover, nobody in Abidjan is optimistic that prices will rise again soon. At present, the three main primary products of the Ivory Coast (coffee, cocoa and timber) account for 80 per cent of the foreign exchange earnings. And the Minister of Agriculture, M. Abdoulaye Sawadogo, the cocoa-producing countries have not established a firm common front. The bargaining power of countries producing such products as coffee and cocoa which, although classified as "primary products" are of no primary importance for the consuming countries, is very low. So diversification appeared to be of such crucial importance to the economic future of the Ivory Coast.

Diversification implies new investments, and it is here that the real dilemma of the Ivorian economy lies. So far, in the face of all the gloomy prophecies, there has been development and a steady increase in the standard of living of the entire population, not merely "growth" as suggested by Samir Amin. The true base of the economy has not been the secondary and tertiary sectors (industry and commerce) where foreign capital exercises an almost complete control. The wealth of the country has been solidly based on its agriculture, where nationals have been in control of the major part of production. But world conditions dictate the need for a change away from dependency on a few primary products and towards a more diversified agriculture, the processing of its products and new industries.

New projects mean new investments. As internal savings are inadequate, the Government feels that it needs to continue its reliance on foreign capital. Lately, however, there has been an increasingly strong feeling in the country in favour of local participation both in the management and in the capital of new enterprises and of the gradual withdrawal of foreign investors (only the most militant speak privately of straightforward nationalisation). How to reconcile such opposing trends is the real dilemma now facing President Felix Houphouet Boigny and his Government.

Tamar Golan



Rubber decline halted in Midwest

By a correspondent

After the bad news from the Commonwealth Development Corporation of the losses made on the Ilushin and Cross River rubber estates last year because of the low world price, a more encouraging picture is emerging from the Midwest.

Rubber is a vital commodity in the state, which usually exports about 50,000 tons a year, or 90 per cent of the Nigerian total. In a good year, such as 1969, this earns over £8.5m. Even more important than its contribution to the State's coffers, however, is its labour intensive nature: after the industry was jeopardised by the flight of thousands of Ibo tappers at the beginning of the civil war a committee of inquiry under the chairmanship of the Oba of Benin reported: "The situation confronting the rubber industry in the Midwest is very grim ... 300,000 people ... are facing an economic disaster".

The departure of the tappers produced one great benefit: it spotlighted the decline which was eating away the foundations of the industry, and forced government to act. Rubber, from being a neglected part of general agricultural extension activities, was upgraded into a branch of the Ministry of Agriculture, then a Division, and finally into a separate Rubber Development Agency.

World prices are beyond the control of the Agency, but the organisation appears to be succeeding in its attempts to tackle the two crucial problems within its reach: improving the very poor quality of Nigerian rubber and encouraging the farmers by ensuring that they get a bigger share of the world price (often as low as 25 per cent, compared to 40 per cent for Malaysian growers).

Adulteration takes the form of farmers adding sticks and stones, and, more subtly, sand and bark, to increase the weight of their rubber lumps. There were too many factories (arising from the demand created by the Korean war), all anxious to make their "mark up" on handling and processing, to be able to persuade them to co-operate by refusing to accept adulterated lumps.

An article in the latest Standard Bank *Review* outlines the next steps: in June 1971 a major local rubber mill agreed to support the Agency's campaign of buying unadulterated rubber direct from the farmer, at 4d per lb, the mill paid the cost of transporting the rubber from the Agency's collection centres.

In that first month, only 87 tons of crumb rubber were produced through this scheme. By December, however, the mill was producing 924 tons of dry processed crumb, solely from the purchases of good quality clean rubber lump through the agency scheme.

It has been proved by the mill that it is getting a better return from its purchases of higher priced unadulterated rubber than from the previous purchases of lower-priced adulterated lump. "The mill", says the *Review* "previously obtained an approximate recovery rate of 37 per cent from the adulterated rubber lump, but it now obtains a recovery rate of between 63 per cent to 67 per cent from its purchases of clean lump. Although the world market price for the commodity is the lowest for many years, the mill is able to make an overall profit of 1d per lb on the dry processed crumb rubber". Between January and April, when only four per cent of the tappable trees produce latex, a production rate of over 900 tons a month was maintained. A 1,000 ton stockpile has been built up and in January 1972 the mill purchased 60 per cent more rubber lump than the corresponding period last year.

The middlemen are being forced to pay more to the farmers, who are becoming aware of the price they can rightfully obtain through the numerous Agency press announcements.

The farmers now get a better return for their produce (the old way was to sell the lumps to a man on a bicycle who sold to a car owner who sold to a lorry owner who transported it and sold to the factory). It is estimated that the farmers have received an additional £0.75m for their rubber, which was previously taken by the middlemen.

The overall effect of the scheme has "dramatically improved the standard of

Labelling rubber bales for shipment

rubber lump in the Midwestern State. A further rubber mill has now agreed to join the Rubber Development Agency scheme and reports received from other mills in the area verified that the quality of purchases had greatly improved".

The Bank report points out that last year "large quantities" of crepe rubber were smuggled out of Nigeria by currency speculators, which affected the final export figure (47,000 tons compared with 58,000 in 1970). It expresses confidence, however, that these illegal exports will now greatly decline as a result of the general relaxation of import controls and duties announced in the last Federal budget.

GHANA

HEROES PAST AND PRESENT

Tenge Dzokoto, an Anlo-Ewe chief who reigned in the former Gold Coast, was rejected by his own people, and fled the country to live in exile, not in Guinea or Romania, but in German Togo. He became a wanted person with a price of £100 on his head. But not long after his stay in exile the attitude of his people, including even his strongest enemies, became more benevolent and they brought pressure on the Government to allow him to return home. When he died in 1911 his body was placed on a gun carriage and given a hero's burial. History, they say, repeats itself.

The memory of the Anlo chief Tenge Dzokoto I, who died in 1911 is still fresh to most Anlo. (The Anlo live in the south-east corner of Ghana.) Tenge's name and that of his close friend, Tsitsi, have become proverbial, being used to this day thus: "A person and a person — Tenge and Tsitsi" in order to express admiration for intimate friendship. Tenge's spirit is often invoked at the pouring of libations and he is usually given ample praise and notice in songs. He is referred to as the "General" or "the Captain" and his leadership in a civil war fought in Anlo in the 1880's earned for him the praise-name

> The Gallant One ... overpowering
> at home and abroad,
> Enemy of the living and the dead.
> The tree with the single root who
> only sways this way and that
> when all the thirty six towns
> of Anlo try to push him
> down.
> And though firmly gripped in their
> hands now,
> Yet shall the roots persist steadfast.
> Tenge the man of untried valour

This war and various others in which he played a part caused his name to be made the subject of such war songs as

> Gallant chiefs slept in the dew.
> Cowardly chiefs gave up at Waya.
> Gallant Tenges slept in the dew.
> Men have encamped for war.
> Men have encamped for the
> Adompre war
> War cries were heard at Waya.
> Cowardly chiefs gave up at Waya.

At sea fishermen sing of Tenge

> Tenge offered us to eat bloody
> flour water
> It is better to die fighting.
> The War Mother (Field Marshal)
> says it is better to die fight-
> ing
> Chief Tenge says he does not know
> the day of his death
> He shall be in readiness
> He shall buy a gun,
> A cartridge-box in addition
> He alone shall open the gate to see
> the chief of Dahomey
> Chief Tenge says he does not know
> the day of his death
> He shall be in readiness.

Each of the above two songs consists of a solo and a chorus, the rhythm of which is used to time the strokes of the fishermen's paddles.

The story of Tenge's life draws its content both from certain contemporary eyewitness reports shown to the writer in Anlo and from various versions of the story given to the writer orally there. Tenge, according to the accounts, was, by hereditary descent entitled to succeed his father Dzokoto as chief of the Anlo town called Anyako and also as leader of the left wing (Lashibi) of the Anlo army. But, in accordance with a will made by his father, Tenge was given only the stool of Anyako and was denied the Lashibi leadership, which was given to Nyaxo Tameklo, chief of the Anlo village, Wuti, as a reward for his military services to the Anlo nation. The symbol of the Lashibi leadership was a consecrated sword, whose possession by the Lashibi leader was regarded as essential to his holding of the office.

Chief Tenge, finding his hopes disappointed, sought to surprise the Anlos and to acquire the office either by stratagem or force. As a result a great deal of ill-feeling soon developed between Tenge and Nyaxo, and it became permanently the case that if Chief Nyaxo identified himself with one side rather than the other in any dispute Chief Tenge would identify himself with the other.

Reaching crisis point

Thus sometime in the 1860s, at Wuti, Tenge who was at the head of about 4,000 troops and was accompanied by five other chiefs, forcibly stopped a Government escort who were taking a prisoner accused of smuggling, Geraldo De Lima, on foot to Accra. There was some bloodshed and Tenge and his men at first succeeded in setting free De Lima. But with the arrival of a force supplied by Chief Nyaxo the freed prisoner was soon given up again to be taken to Accra. Henceforward frequent attempts were made to arrest Tenge and his supporter, Tsitsi. A punitive expedition supported by Chief Nyaxo was sent to enter Anyako town, which was burnt down together with several neighbouring settlements. However, at the approach of the troops, Tenge and his people had retreated to a place called Tsrekume, where, in 1889, with arms bought from Little Popo (Anecho) in German Togo, they fought a pitched battle against a British Government force led by Captain Graham. The bulk of Tenge's followers were the people occupying the north shore of the Keta Lagoon. However, with the arrival of more men sent by Chief Nyaxo and a force of Accra men to reinforce Captain Graham's soldiers, Tenge, his brother called Bensa and a chief called Kpogo who supported him fled across the frontier into German Togo where they were to live for ten years as political refugees. The place in Togo where they lived is still called to this day Tengekpedzi (i.e. the stone on which Tenge sat). The present chief of Anyako, Togbe Tenge Dzokoto IV, who was one of the writer's informants, was born in 1893 during the exile at Tengekpedzi of his father, Bensa.

Tenge had become a wanted person and the Government offered a reward of £100 to anyone whose information might lead to his arrest. But soon the people's attitude changed. They still loved Tenge and not long after his stay in exile his own enemies begged the Government to allow him to return home. In 1899 he was brought from Togo and sent to Accra by the Keta District Commissioner, C. O'Brien, where a bond was signed for his release by the Anlo paramount chief, the Awoamefia, and three other chiefs for £250 each. Tenge himself entered into a personal bond of £1,000 to lead an orderly life.

On his return from exile Tenge bought a piece of land at Somey where he built a home and cultivated a large coconut farm. The paradox here was that the Anlo sub-tribe, Somey, had been Tenge's enemy territory. The enmity dated back to the year 1844 when a combined force of the Danes and Tenge's section of Anlo utterly defeated the Somey and drove them from their original home at Keta. Today, however, so great is the cordiality now existing between the two communities that it is difficult to realise that they were once on bad terms. The following dirge originally composed to show the extraordinary character of Chief Tenge is used today as a promoter of peace and permanent reconciliation between the various sections of Anlo.

> A mystery occurred;
> Tenge built a home at Agbozome
> for Anlo.
> A mystery occurred.
> Tenge built a home at Agbozome.
> A diviner had seen the fire blazing
> Tenge no more lives at Anyako
> A mystery occurred
> Tenge built a home at Agbozome.

Tenge's death in 1911 was made the subject of several other dirges which were sung at his funeral such as

> He has been to the wars unbeaten,
> Tenge has been to the wars unbeaten
> He has been to Wuti unbeaten
> Oh, sorcerers have killed him.
> Tenge has gone to the underworld
> And sorcerers boast of their deeds.

and

> Glagovi Tete, here's your coffin.
> Your burden of sorrow.
> The war guns will destroy us.
> Here's your burden of sorrow.

E. Y. Aduamah

Commercial News

Atigbi pleads for tourism

Rigid entry requirements and procedures for visitors to African countries formed a major obstacle to the growth of tourism in the region. This was said by Mr. Ignatius Atigbi, Chairman of the African Travel Commission and secretary general of the Nigerian Tourist Association when he addressed a tourism seminar in Zambia recently. "African countries have lost, and continue to lose, several thousands if not millions annually because of the operation of their immigration laws, which in some cases give the impression of utter disregard for the aspiration of the tourist industry to contribute to the economic development and growth of the African countries", he commented.

"Whereas the genuine efforts of some African states to liberalise their immigration formalities relating to the tourist is recognised", he added "I must stress that the barest frontier formalities will enhance our share of the global figures. Efforts should simultaneously be made to speed up procedures at ports of entry.

He urged African Governments to encourage charter flights in order to bring about fare reductions on scheduled flights and thus help boost tourism. "The very favourable fares on scheduled flights from Europe across the north Atlantic have been due to the competition by the charter companies", he noted. "I therefore call on African governments to encourage charter flights. African national airlines could federate to operate charter companies without necessarily breaking any rules of the International Air Transport Association"

Almost all studies on the prospects of African tourism had confirmed the dampening effect which the International Air Transport Association's fare structure had on the growth of traffic to the Continent. Although it was often consoling to quote figures showing the rather impressive growth rate of African tourism, he said, Africa had not been able to attract even two per cent of global arrivals. This was because the main sources of tourists – the USA, Britain, France, West Germany and Canada – were long distances from Africa. "As long as the air fares from these countries to Africa remain what they are today, so long will the arrivals of their nationals in Africa remain insignificant relative to the total world figure"

Mr. Atigbi recalled that at the 1970 Kampala meeting of the ATC, members were specifically requested to lobby their governments about fare reductions, and to persuade them to oppose the unsatisfactory IATA proposals. But the 1971 meeting of the Association of African Airlines had adopted the fare structure recommended by IATA.

Almost as great an obstacle to tourism as the high air fares was the shortage of hotel accommodation: tourist traffic could not grow faster than the rate at which accommodation was made available. Efforts were being made to increase the number of beds available, but "it is of course one thing to provide beds and another to provide efficient services. The problem is that because the services which the tourist obtains in some of our hotels is so much below the standard to be expected in similar structures outside Africa, our prices appear more expensive.

"In order to solve these problems, African states are required to invest more in the development of human resources not only in the hotel industry but also in all sectors of the travel industry". Services provided by travel agents and tour operators in African were worrying the ATC. In several African countries there were no true tour operators, but only travel agents arranging sight-seeing tours, and even entertainments, on an *ad hoc* basis. "Ad-hoc arrangements can never breed professionalism and the services of the amateur must of necessity fall below the expected standard, giving rise on the part of the tourists to a feeling of excess prices". This might not be true in some North and East African countries but was "highly true" in West Africa.

Mr. Atigbi praised the Austrian Government for establishing a school at Salzburg for the training of hotel personnel, but explained that the ATC considered that the problem of staff development in the industry would, in the final analysis, be solved by the setting up of training institutions in Africa.

He announced that the ATC had been given permission by the International Union of Tourist Organisations to open its own secretariat in Lagos. Appealing for co-operation, he said, "The future of tourism in Africa has greater possibilities in my view than the 5-7 million international tourist arrivals which IUOTO has projected as estimates for Africa by 1980. But even this small figure cannot be achieved if individual national airlines, hotels, travel agents, tour operators, national tourist organisations and African states decide to go it alone".

WEST AFRICAN SHIPPING NEWS

ELDER DEMPSTER LINES
SOUTHBOUND – **From Liverpool:**- KUMBA slg. Jul. 20, BHOMO slg. Jul. 13, DUNKWA slg. Jul. 10.
From London:- FALABA slg. Jul. 13.
From Continent:- KABALA sld. Rotterdam Jul. 7, FORCADOS due Cotonou Jul. 11, PATANI slg. Hamburg Jul. 28.
From Southampton:- AUREOL due Las Palmas Jul. 10.
From Poole:- CLEARWAY sld. Jul. 7.
From S. Wales:- DONGA sld. Jul. 14.
NORTHBOUND – **To Liverpool:**- DEIDO due Jul. 30, FOURAH BAY due Jul. 23.
To London:- EBOE due Jul. 20, FULANI due Jul. 30.
To Avonmouth:- DARU due Jul. 25, EBANI due Jul. 12, DUMBAIA due Port Harcourt Jul. 13.
To Le Havre:- MANO due Jul. 8; FREETOWN due Jul. 9.
To Southampton:- EGONI due Jul. 19.
To Glasgow:- KOHIMA due Aug. 3.
To N. Continent:- MACHAON due Hamburg Jul. 19.
EASTBOUND – **From USA/Canada:**- AKOSOMBO due Abidjan Jul. 7, DUMURRA due Dakar Jul. 10, DALLA slg. Lagos Jul. 8.
WESTBOUND – **To USA/Canada:**- DEGEMA due Savannah Jul. 10, ETAN due Abidjan Jul. 8, AKOSOMBO due Lobito Jul. 20.
EASTERN SERVICE to WA:- TAYBANK due Matadi Jul. 20, GOWANBANK due Lome Jul. 8.

BARBER LINES
OUTWARDS:- FERNLAND now Lagos, thence Douala, FERNGATE slg. New York Jul. 18 for Monrovia, Abidjan, Tema, Lagos/Apapa and Douala.
HOMEWARDS:- FERNGATE now due New York. FERNLAND due load Lagos S. Bound about Jul. 18, Ghana Jul. 22, Abidjan/Monrovia 4th week Jul.

WOERMANN LINE
LOULEA slg. Le Havre Jul. 1 due Dakar Jul. 9, Abidjan Jul. 13, Cotonou Jul. 16. MALAGA due Lome Jul. 24, Cotonou Jul. 26, Libreville Jul. 29.

DAFRA LINE
SOUTHBOUND – ZAIRE slg. Antwerp Jul. 12 due Las Palmas Jul. 18.
NORTHBOUND – BANANA slg. Matadi Jul. 19, due Lome Jul. 20.

GOLD STAR LINE
WESTBOUND – NOGAH Luanda Jul. 9, Matadi Jul. 16, Douala Jul. 19.
EASTBOUND – TSEDEK Singapore Jul. 10, Kobe Jul. 22.

BLACK STAR LINE/USNH/WEST AFRICA
WESTBOUND – KLORTE LAGOON Lagos Jun. 20, Douala Jun. 28, Ghana Jun. 30, Abidjan Jul. 4, Lower Buchanan Jul. 7, Montreal Jul. 20, Thence Gt. Lakes.

BLACK STAR LINE/UK/CONTINENT/WEST AFRICA
SOUTHBOUND – BIA RIVER Hamburg Jul. 4, Bremen Jul. 5, Antwerp Jul. 8, Rotterdam Jul. 11, BENYA RIVER London Jun. 29.
NORTHBOUND – OFFIN RIVER Bremen Jul. 2, Hamburg Jul. 5, OTCHI RIVER London Jul. 5, Middlesbrough Jul. 14.

DELTA LINE
DEL RIO due Dakar Jul. 14, Conakry Jul. 16, Monrovia Jul. 20; DELTA PARAGUAY due Houston Jul. 26, Port Arthur Jul. 28, Dakar Aug. 14.

PALM LINE
SOUTHBOUND – **From Liverpool:**- ANDONI PALM due Abidjan Jul. 19, IBADAN PALM due Lobito Jul. 21.
From Continent:- ILESHA PALM due Apapa Jul. 14.
NORTHBOUND – LAGOS due London Jul. 16.

N.Y.K. LINE
WESTBOUND – SHIMANE MARU Lagos/Apapa Aug. 5/8, Abidjan Aug. 16/17, Takoradi Aug. 18/19, Tema Aug. 20/21, Japan first Port Sept. 23.

CHARGEURS REUNIS
JOINVILLE due Lagos Aug. 10, Tema Aug. 17, KERGUELEN slg. Kobe Jul. 28.

MITSUI OSK LINE
TAI SUN sld. Kobe Jun. 20, due Lagos Jul. 30, HONOLULU MARU sld. Kobe Jul. 19 due Lagos Aug. 23.

MAERSK LINE
INWARDS – **From Japan via Hong Kong to Matadi, Lagos, Monrovia, Freetown, Bathurst, Abidjan:**- SUSAN MAERSK slg. Kobe Aug. 5 due Luanda Sept. 1.
OUTWARDS – **From Matadi, Lagos, Tema, Monrovia, Freetown, Bathurst, Aibdjan, Takoradi:**- JOHANNES MAERSK sld. Takoradi Jul. 16 due Los Angeles Aug. 8.

FARRELL LINES
HOMEWARDS – AFRICAN STAR slg. Luanda Jul. 2 for Lobito, Matadi, Douala Jul. 11, Abidjan, Monrovia, US ports. AFRICAN MERCURY slg. Lagos/Apapa Jul. 18 for Douala, Abidjan, Monrovia, US ports.
OUTWARDS – AFRICAN PLANET due Monrovia Jul. 8 for Abidjan, Tema Jul. 14, Matadi, Luanda, Lobito. AFRICAN CRESCENT due Monrovia Aug. 7 for Abidjan, Tema Aug. 13, Matadi, Luanda, Lobito.

NEDLLOYD-SWAL JOINT SERVICES
AMSTELHOEK due Boma/Matadi Jul. 21, Pointe Noire Jul. 23, Luanda Jul. 26, HOEGH AUGVALD slg. Bordeaux Jul. 7 due Lobito Jul. 29. Sao Thome Aug. 15.

NIGERIAN NATIONAL SHIPPING LINE
SOUTHBOUND – MAREN SKOU slg. Bremen Jul. 28 due Lagos/Apapa Aug. 14, Port Harcourt Aug. 22.
NORTHBOUND – SPILADA due Avonmouth Jul. 21.

SCANDINAVIAN WEST AFRICA LINE
NORTHBOUND – HOEGH HERON slg. WA mid Aug./early Sept. for discharge Scan. late Sept., MINNESOTA slg. WA end Aug./Sept. for discharge Scan. mid Oct.

HOEGH LINES
HOEGH BENIN slg. Rotterdam Jul. 11 due Dakar Jul. 19, Abidjan Jul. 23. HOEGH BREEZE due Cotonou Aug. 8, Lagos/Apapa Aug. 12, Warri Aug. 17.

ROYAL INTEROCEAN LINE
INWARD – STRAAT FREETOWN from Japan, sld. Jun. 18 due Luanda Jul. 17, Monrovia Jul. 22, Freetown Jul. 24, Port Harcourt Jul. 30, Lagos/Apapa Aug. 1, Takoradi Aug. 8, Abidjan Aug. 8. STRAAT VAN DIEMAN from Hong Kong sld. Jun. 1 due Lagos/Apapa Jul. 4, Cotonou Jul. 14, Lome Jul. 17, Tema Jul. 18, Abidjan Jul. 20, Monrovia Jul. 23, Freetown Jul. 25, Dakar Jul. 29, Conakry Jul. 31, Takoradi Aug. 6, Luanda Aug. 17 opt.
OUTWARD – STRAAT FREETOWN from Nigeria/Ghana to Singapore opt., Hong Kong and Japan early Aug. STRAAT VAN DIEMAN to Singapore opt., Hong Kong, Japan and Shanghai late Jul.

FAL EUROPE-AFRIKA LINE GmbH
RINKENIS slg. Hamburg Jul. 13 due Las Palmas Jul. 27, Dakar Jul. 31, Abidjan Aug. 4. WERDERLAND slg. Bremen Jul. 17, due Dakar Aug. 4, Abidjan Sept. 8.

NOPAL LINES
WESTBOUND – NOPAL LUNA due Abidjan Jul. 19, Monrovia Jul. 22, Freetown Jul. 24. IVORY MOON slg. Luanda Aug. 2, Douala Aug. 5, Takoradi Aug. 7.

WESTWIND AFRICA LINE
WESTWIND sld. New Orleans Jun. 26, Houston Jul. 2 due Tema, Lagos, Pointe Noire, Freetown. SOUTHWIND slg. New Orleans Jul. 30, Houston Aug. 4 due Lagos, Abidjan, Freetown.

THE EAC LINES
SOUTHBOUND – SIMBA due Dakar Jul. 19, Monrovia Jul. 22, Abidjan Jul. 24, Tema. Jul. 26, Cotonou Jul. 28, Lagos/Apapa Jul. 29. SARGODHA slg. Bremen Jul. 17, Hamburg Jul. 19, Antwerp Jul. 22, Rotterdam Jul. 24, Rouen Jul. 27, due Dakar Aug. 3, Freetown Aug. 5.
NORTHBOUND – PANAMA due Rotterdam Jul. 22, Denmark Jul. 26, Bremen Aug. 1, Hamburg Aug. 3, Antwerp Aug. 6; SINALOA slg. Cotonou Jul. 13, Lagos/Apapa Jul. 20, Lome Jul. 23, Abidjan Jul. 27, due Amsterdam Aug. 6.

The Nigerian delegates to the ninth Commonwealth Telecommunications Council Meeting, Mr. F. H. O. Akindele, (left) and Mr. R. Khalidson, discuss progress during a break in the conference at Marlborough House.

Deniau criticises Yaounde agreements

The type of free trade agreements reached between the European Economic Community and the 18 associated African states had not worked as well as had been hoped because of the inequalities in development between the two sets of partners, M. Jean-Francois Deniau, EEC Commissioner for Overseas Development, said in London. Something new had to be added to existing agreements in order to cope with trade, aid and debt problems. M. Deniau urged the enlarged Community to take the Commonwealth Sugar Agreement as an example and support regional commodity agreements with less developed countries. He said that during the negotiations over Britain's membership of the EEC, the long-term responsibilities of the enlarged Community towards the Third World had "hardly been discussed".

- The links between the EEC and the associated African countries should continue to form the basis of the EEC's policy towards developing countries, Luxembourg's Foreign Minister, M. Gaston Thorn, said at the start of a four-day conference between Parliamentarians from Yaounde Convention states and the European Parliament.
- France is to provide £580,000 of aid to development in Togo. Among projects to benefit are cocoa and coffee growing in Central Togo, (which will get further finance, cotton growing, construction of a cereal storage centre in Lome, and development of a regional management organisation in Southern Togo.
- Dutch imports from Africa fell in 1971 after increasing every year since 1960, the Dutch African Institute reported. The main factors were smaller purchases of petroleum in favour of more deliveries from the Middle East and the decreased value of commodities such as cocoa and oilseeds.

Off-shore economic zones suggested

A 10-day African regional seminar on maritime law in Yaoundé agreed that African nations had a right to fix reasonable limits on their territorial waters, but suggested that these should not be more than 12 miles. A communiqué issued at the end of the conference, organised by the Cameroon Institute of International Relations and the Carnegie Peace Fund, recommended the establishment of economic zones outside territorial waters, which would allow African countries to control the sea's resources with a view to rational exploitation and would help in the fight against pollution. Such zones would not interfere with freedom of navigation, over-flights or the laying of cables or underwater pipelines. The exploitation of living resources within the zones would be open to all African countries provided that the companies involved were effectively controlled by African capital and personnel. Land-locked countries would be included in this arrangement and they would be guaranteed access to the sea and free transit.

● A $76m. loan has been made by the World Bank to assist a $126m. project to strengthen and expand Nigeria's electric power system. The Canadian International Development Agency is also providing $940,000 for engineering and design services for the project. The loan is for 25 years, with a grace period of 5½ years, at a rate of interest of 7¼ per cent a year.

● Abonnema and Forcados will be among the ports to be surveyed for future development, the chairman of the Nigerian Ports Authority, Mr. Andrew Wilson, has said. At the moment, he noted, the NPA placed priority on the development of Calabar, Port Harcourt, Warri and Lagos ports.

● Mr. J.E. Page, chief accountant for Taylor Woodrow International since 1965 has been appointed a director of Taylor Woodrow's three major companies in Nigeria, Ghana and Sierra Leone. Mr. Page joined the group in 1953 and was chief accountant in Nigeria, 1955-56.

● Rubber is to be bought direct from farmers by the Malaysian Government in an effort to save them from "victimisation by middlemen" and to help tackle the unfavourable market conditions threatening the interests of the smallholders. (Midwest rubber – page 905).

● Import duties between April and September 1971 raised £67.3m. for Nigeria, £18.8m. more than had been budgeted.

● The Leventis group in Nigeria is to offer 40 per cent of the company's share capital to Nigerians.

The Asantahene, Otumfuo Opoku Ware II, chats with Sir Edward Spears, Life President of Ashanti Goldfields, at a party given by the Ghana High Commissioner during the Asantahene's visit to Britain.

'Franglophone' meeting

For the first time in its 11-year history the 1972 ECA Commercial Policy and Trade Promotion Course, to be held in Accra in October, will bring representatives of French and English-speaking African countries together. The title of the course is *Commercial Policy and Trade Promotion for Intra-African Trade*, and its objectives are to make participants more capable of appraising and promoting commercial and trade promotion policies conducive to the growth of exports and intra-African trade, legislative, institutional and organisational frameworks to facilitate export promotion, workable trade agreements among developing African countries, and effective regional economic groupings.

● UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim has expressed the hope that by continuing budgetary austerity the world organisation will return to solvency by the end of 1973. In a letter to member nations he has given a 1973 budget estimate of $224.15m. compared with $213.12m. in 1972. (The average annual increase in expenditure over the last 10 years has been 10 per cent).

● As production expands, palm oil will become relatively cheaper within the general level of oils and fats prices, an FAO study has forecast. Output is expected to double by 1980, says the report, most of the increase coming from Malaysia and to a lesser extent from Indonesia and West Africa.

● A $6.4m. World Bank loan and a $3.2m. International Development Association credit has been granted for a $12.3m. railway expansion programme in Senegal. The IDA is also assisting a telecommunications project in Mali with a $3.6m. credit.

'Crucial role' of Ghana's creditors

Although Ghana's economic proble are "extremely serious", says the Ju issue of Barclays International Revi "the new Government is making determined effort to find a reasonal and permanent solution to the econon malaise which has seriously retard growth during recent years. Much w depend on the understanding and fo bearance shown by external credito during the ensuing critical phase re-adjustment required to restore tl economy to a viable position".

● The Cocoa Producers Alliance ha held a five-day meeting in Lome. Accorc ing to the newspaper *Togo Press* topic discussed included a paper prepared b the organisation's secretariat suggestin that a joint position should be taken o whether the 1971-72 production surplu should be kept in stock or freed with view to being sold.

● Mid-crop cocoa purchases in Ghana will start on June 23.

● Bascol, the Bauxite Aluminium Study Company, which has been issued a licence to prospect, evaluate and prove bauxite deposits in Ghana's Kibi region, has started bringing in equipment for the job.

● Ghana Airways intends to set up a charter company to organise flights for tourists, according to a report in the *Ghanaian Times*.

OPEC to meet in Nigeria

Nigeria will host the next ordinary meeting of the Organisation Of Petroleum Exporting Countries, the Federal Commissioner for Mines and Power, Shettima Ali Monguno, announced. He said that OPEC members were deeply concerned about the problem of pollution caused by oil and the Lagos meeting would discuss a study on the subject prepared by the organisation's secretary-general.

● Approval has been confirmed by the African Development Bank for a loan of $1.35m. to finance an expansion of the annual production capacity of the Togolese Company of Benin Mines from 1.8m. tons of phosphates to 2.4m.

● The construction of a large metallurgical complex has started at Maluku, near Kinshasa. The first section will be commissioned in 1974. It will produce 150,000 tons of steel a year with the capacity capable of expansion to 300,000 tons.

● Tin prices on the London Metal Exchange rose to £1,513 a ton last week.

Record profit for Daily Times

A record pre-tax profit of £652,513 was made by the *Daily Times* group in Nigeria in the year ended February 1972, compared with £620,573 the previous year. Mainly because of the cessation of super tax, taxation at £274, 221 was £116,588 lower than for 1971. The profit was achieved, says the chairman, Alhaji Babatunde Jose, in his annual report, in spite of the cost of the Adebo award, the introduction of the Industrial Training Fund and the effect on the cost of imported raw materials of fluctuating foreign exchange rates. "It has also been achieved in spite of the fall in the profit of our packaging division, due to the drop in demand for their products by their customers" ... who had themselves faced a very hard year. "The consumer market has not reached anything like the expansion predicted and, in real terms, has grown very little as a result of sharply rising costs not being matched by increases in money in circulation. Governmental fiscal policy to reduce inflation and the poor cash crops were the cause of the drop of consumer spending power below the level predicted by most manufacturers. Manufacturers of cigarettes, cosmetics, pharmaceuticals and soap have all found that due to their optimism of market growth, their stocks have become quite out of proportion to their service requirement and far too expensive in terms of liquidity. The result has been a reduction in manufacture and hence packaging requirements have fallen below actual market consumption in the short term".

On the group's newspaper division, Alhaji Jose says that in spite of constraints on the press such as the state of emergency which had been in force since 1966 the Federal Military Government was comparatively more liberal and tolerant of the press than any other military government among the developing nations of Africa, Asia and Latin America. He also praises the "current progressive and liberal economic policy" of the Federal Government.

The company is affected by the Nigerian Enterprises Promotion Decree, which "has only hastened the policy we started many years back for the gradual withdrawal of foreign participation in the share capital of the company". The sale of shares to the Nigerian public and institutional investors began in 1963, and the interest of the UK partners, the International Publishing Corporation, had been reduced from 100 per cent to the present level of 47 per cent. "In making the full transition to complete Nigerian ownership by March 1974 ... let me also assure you it is my avowed intention that the free independent reputation of your newspapers shall at all times be upheld".

● Amalgamated Tin Mines of Nigeria made a pre-tax profit of £440,000 in the year ended March 31 compared with £14,594 the previous year.

SITUATIONS VACANT

SITUATIONS VACANT cont

Kwara State College of Technology, Ilorin

Vacancies for

PRINCIPAL, REGISTRAR AND BURSAR

Applications are invited from suitably qualified candidates for the posts of Principal, Registrar and Bursar in the College of Technology, Ilorin.

The College of Technology was established by Kwara State Government as an autonomous institution for the education and training of middle-level manpower in scientific, technological and managerial fields at the sub-degree level with special emphasis on practical orientation during training. As the College will open in September this year, it is desired to make the appointments as early as possible.

PRINCIPAL

Duties: The principal is the Chief Academic and Executive Officer of the College. He is expected to provide the requisite leadership in the field of Curriculum Development and reform. He is to extend the services of the College to, and secure the support of, governments, industry, commerce and the corporations.

Qualifications: Applicants should hold a good honours degree in Engineering or be a member of a professional body and have had considerable educational and administrative experience preferably in a technical field. Higher degrees, University or industrial experience in a technical field will be an advantage. Capacity for pioneering work and a sense of dedication are considered particularly essential.

Post-graduate experience will be an advantage.

Salary: £N4,000 p.a. (consolidated).

REGISTRAR

Duties: The Registrar shall be the Chief Administrative Officer of the College. He shall be responsible to the Principal for the day-to-day administrative work of the College.

Qualifications: A good honours degree of a recognised University with minimum post-graduate administrative experience of 10 years some of which must have been acquired either in the Registry of a post-secondary institution, or in higher educational administration.

Salary: £N3,000 p.a. (consolidated).

BURSAR

Duties: The Bursar shall be the chief financial officer of the College subject to the directions of, and responsible to the Principal of the College for the day-to-day financial administration and control and to the council for the overall financial affairs of the College.

Qualifications: Applicants should possess the final certificate of at least one of the following bodies.–

(a) Institute of Chartered Accountants,
(b) Association of Certified and Corporate Accountants,
(c) Institute of Costs and Works Accountants,
(d) Society of Incorporated Accountants and Auditors,
(e) Institute of Municipal Treasurers and Accountants

Or A good honours degree in Accountancy.

In addition applicants are required to have had at least seven years post-qualification experience and must have held responsible post in an Institution of higher learning, government, industry or corporation.

Salary: £N2,700 p.a. (consolidated).

Conditions of Service:

The appointments may be made on a permanent, contract, transfer or secondment basis.

Other conditions of service are the same as those obtaining in the other institutions of higher learning in the country, for instance, superannuation schemes, medical attention, pension scheme, children's and car allowances, and a house furnished to government standards, etc.

Method of Application:

Six copies of each application giving the fullest details of the applicant's qualifications and career, and the names and addresses of three referees should be submitted under registered cover.

Closing Date:

All applications should reach the Ag. Secretary to the Council, Kwara State College of Technology, c/o Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Education, P.M.B. 1391, Ilorin before July 29, 1972.

SITUATIONS VACANT cont

Experienced

COPY TYPISTS

and

SHORTHAND TYPISTS

Required by London Office of National Bank of Nigeria Limited, 240 Bishopsgate, E.C.2.

Attractive Salary negotiable plus L.Vs.

Write to Manager at above address.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE HOSPITAL, Ibadan, Nigeria. Cardio-Pulmonary Technologists. Applications are invited from Nigerians who are members of the Society of Cardiology Technologists or those with considerable experience for the above post. The successful candidate will be required to be in charge of the cardio-pulmonary laboratory, handle equipment of various kinds including E.C.G. and pressure recorders, take accurate measurements and be capable of recognising and correcting simple faults. Experience of the repair of electronic equipment will be of advantage but not essential. Salary (Pensionable) H.S. 13 – £N1,070 x 50 – £N1,530 p.a. Point of entry into the salary scale will depend on qualification and experience. Applications should be submitted not later than 28th July, 1972, on the appropriate forms which will be forwarded together with additional information on receipt of an addressed foolscap envelope by the Adviser on Staff Recruitment, London Office (U.C.H., Ibadan), 91, Regent Street, (3rd Floor), London, W1R 7TB.

WE OFFER SOUND income to men of distinction, fired with burning ambition to succeed as salesmen. Apply with full particulars to Agency Manager, American Life Insurance Company, 112 Powis Street, Woolwich, London, S.E. 18.

DANCES

GAMU UNION OF GREAT BRITAIN & IRELAND
COME DANCING!
e above-named union will be staging its
ANNUAL SUMMER DANCE
at
ST. PANCRAS TOWN HALL
on
SATURDAY 15th JULY, 1972
6.30 pm–Midnight
Music to be supplied by:
ENERAL PRINCE ADEKUNLE & HIS WESTERN STATE BROTHERS
COME ONE! COME ALL!
earest Tube Station: King's Cross
uses: 14, 45, 77, 73, 63.
R.S.V.P.
M. OLU DADA
Social/Publicity Secretary,
36 Peardon Street,
SW8
Tel: 01-622 0559

LAGOS LEAGUE
(EGBE OMO EKO)
of Great Britain & Ireland
present their
GRAND SUMMER DANCE
at
Holborn Assembly Hall
at the back of
Holborn Central Library
(Theobalds Road, W.C.1.)
on
Saturday 15th July 1972
Music by Chief Commander
EBENEZER OBEY
and his International Brothers

Tickets: £1.00 flat
Come and enjoy yourselves with fellow Lagosians

Tube: Holborn and Russell Square
Buses: 5, 19, 38, 45, 55, 172

ALL ARE WELCOME

F. A. Lawal, 52 St. Gabriel's Rd., London, N.W.2. (01-452 1850) Social Sec.
M. A. Onitolo, 209 Bravington Rd., London, W.9. (01-960 1658) Publicity Sec.

GHANA DANCE
AFRO CARIBBEAN
present
Summer Dance
at
Safari Club
(The new African Club)
on
15th July 1972
at 21, Hanway Street, off Tottenham Court Road
Music by
Ghana Diplomat Band and 'Fantastics', U.S.A.
Supported by
D. Nunes and Sound Organisation
Time: 9 p.m.–5 a.m.
Admission: £1.25 Single £2.00 Double
Telephone: 01-806 2630
All are welcome

SITUATIONS VACANT cont.

STATUTORY CORPORATIONS SERVICE COMMISSION

Applications are invited from suitably qualified candidates for the post of

SENIOR PLANNING OFFICER (Engineering)

in the Nigerian Ports Authority.

SALARY:
Scale SAP.2 i.e., £N2,125, £N2,250 x 65 – £N2,380 per annum.

QUALIFICATIONS & EXPERIENCE:
A University Degree in Engineering with 7 years post-qualification experience, or A.M.I.C.E. with 5 years experience, preferably in Harbour Engineering, Mechanical Cargo Handling Equipment and Craft.

METHOD OF APPLICATION:
Application forms are obtainable from any of the following:–

(A) The Secretary & Chief Administrative Officer,
Statutory Corporations Service Commission,
P.M.B. 12033,
30 Marina,
Lagos.

(B) State Public Service Commission & States Statutory Corporation Service Commission Offices.

(C) The Resident Commissioner,
Statutory Corporations Service Commission
(Sub Office)
Z.21 Queen Elisabeth Road,
Zaria, Nigeria.

CLOSING DATE: – 29th July, 1972. Forms to be returned with photo-copies of certificates and two recent passport photographs signed at back to Secretary and Chief Administrative Officer at the above address.

DANCES contd.

DANCE! DANCE! DANCE!
The Nigerian Law Society
Proudly presents

GRAND ANNUAL DANCE

at

THE ROYAL COMMONWEALTH SOCIETY HALL,
16-20 Craven Street, W.C.2.
on Saturday 15th July 1972
Commencing 6.30 p.m. – midnight
Under the distinguished Chairmanship of
A. Olu. Sofolarin Esq.,
Manager, National Bank of Nigeria Ltd.
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I, FORMERLY KNOWN and called David F. Omoregbee now wish to be known and called David Omoregbee Agbonghae. All former documents remain valid.

I, FORMERLY KNOWN as Morris Nwabueze Chima now wish to be known and addressed as ONWUDINJO NWABUEZE CHIMA. The documents bearing former name remain valid.

NOTICES

NOTICES cont

Dateline Africa

SEKYI RAPS BUSIA

In a letter to *The Times* commenting on a Diary item concerning Dr. Busia and the Assets committee, political detentions and the economy, the High Commissioner in London, Mr. Henry Sekyi, pointed out that the NLC could hardly be expected to solve years of accumulated debts in five months. The important point, he said, was that a good start had been made, and, contrary to *The Times* comment, there was popular support for Col. Acheampong's economic policies, which were based on the principle of self-reliance. The Assets Committee was a commission of enquiry, not a court of law pronouncing a verdict. There could not be a military majority on the Committee because, by decree, there was only one army officer sitting, the other two are the presiding judge and a civilian accountant.

Replying, Dr. Busia accused the NRC of interrupting his attempts to solve the economic problems and doing their worst "to convert it into a bankrupt business". He accused the NRC of exploitation and oppression, citing the incident when a group of unemployed were ordered to work at a sugar plantation. He accused them of banning queues to prevent observers seeing the food shortage. He pointed out that the Assets Committee had "in vital aspects" been given "all the powers of the High Court". He explained: "it enquires into the conduct and assets of citizens who can appear before it in person or be represented by counsel, that it hears evidence from compellable witnesses, it can summarily imprison for as many as five years for contempt, that none of its decisions, doings or findings is appealable in a court of The presumption of innocence replaced by a presumption of guilt its proceedings, and the burden of shifted from accuser to accused. was no room for minority dissent. were some of his reasons for refusi co-operate with the Committee.

Answering Dr. Busia's letter Mr. S said that he had not bolstered argument by citing temporary short of some foods "which are as likely as part of the delayed effects of the devaluation, and certainly, it would se among its aims". He reminded the for Prime Minister that the sugar planta incident was an isolated one — what more notable was that students others had voluntarily harvested su cane as their contribution to "Operat Feed Yourself". The Assets Commit was not a court of law, but as a judi commission was armed with the pow of a court of law to ensure the attenda and truthfulness of witnesses. Hav regard to the lawful income of perso the committee was instructed to det mine how much, if any, of th assets were lawfully acquired, and h much, if any, were not. "F some kind of presumptive title". But people in public life "if your ass amount to much more than you co have acquired by means of your leg

SITUATIONS VACANT cont

imate income or incomes, the mere possession of those assets does not absolve you from the necessity of showing how you came by them". "These more rigorous principles are meant to ensure the highest standards of probity in our public life". Mr Sekyi concluded by referring to the detainees: "as happened under the NLC (among whose principal advisers was the Professor himself) a great many of them have already been released, and the government has given assurances that the rest will be released as soon as circumstances permit".

• Members of the NRC and the Executive Council have declared their assets. Mr. E. N. Moore, Attorney-General and the only civilian member of the council, said that a majority of regional commissioners who have not yet declared their assets had been given several more days to do so.

The declarations, deposited with the Attorney-General, covered assets owned by the members as at January 13, when Dr. Busia's Government was overthrown. They were requested by the new régime.

Col. Acheampong, who led the *coup* said one of the reasons for the January revolution was the refusal of the members of the Busia Government to declare their assets as demanded by the 1969 constitution.

Mr. Moore said the forms for the declaration of assets by the NRC members, the 16-member Executive Council, and the nine regional commissioners were modelled on those served on the ex-ministers of Dr. Busia's Government.

• Following Col. Acheampong's speech (July 7) to students asking for their co-operation in solving Ghana's problems, the students representatives staged a mock parliament in the National Assembly. The entire executive of the National Union of Ghana Students (NUGS) took over the Speakers Chair to preside over the meeting.

Last year the NUGS executive appeared before the House for alleged contempt of parliament and were told to apologise for asking MPs to declare their assets in accordance with the Constitution. Col. Acheampong said earlier, when he called them to the special meeting in the National Assembly, "All of you will, no doubt, recognise the touch of irony in your presence here". He said that when he heard the radio report of their humiliation before parliament last year "I knew the time had come to call off the huge joke that had become of democracy".

• Colonel Acheampong, has urged Ghanaian women to use "Women Power" for reconstruction of the nation. He told representatives of women's organisations "I have met young students to work out with them how student power could assist our revolution and it is now your turn to find out how you could inject woman power into the revolution. You can best help by avoiding the habit of hoarding while at the same time discouraging those around you from hoarding". They could also help by cutting down on the acquisition of new cloths and clothes and fashions and by "cultivating into our feeding habits new tastes that are locally obtainable and are equally nourishing and palatable".

• Ghana has appealed to the Australian Government to desist from giving any support, covert or overt, to the racist régimes in southern Africa. A diplomatic note presented to the Australian High Commission recalled an incident involving the issue of Australian passports to three Rhodesian "diplomats". The note also recalled the Australian Prime Minister's open support given to an all-white South African Rugby team which toured Australia last year despite strong trade union opposition.

"It is a matter of deep regret to the Government of Ghana that Australia, a member of the Commonwealth which draws its strength from its multiracialism, should act in a manner inconsistent with the ideals upon which the Commonwealth is founded."

• Ghana Sugar Estates Ltd (GHASEL) has been established to take over the Komenda and Asutsuare sugar factories from GIHOC. It is to be managed for five years by HVA International of Holland, who manage similar plants in Ethiopia and Tanzania. GHASEL was expected to take over the factories from July 1, but a delay in receiving a credit loan of $15.5m from the World Bank means that it will probably not take over until later in the year. HVA International is understood to have agreed to invest $50,000 in GHASEL, entitling them to 5 per cent of its equity capital.

Mr. A. A. Mujeeb, General Manager of the sugar factory at Komenda, has handed over to his Ghanaian successor, Mr. J. S. M. Yalley. It marked the end of a six-year contract under which Associate Consulting Engineers (ACE) of Pakistan acted as managing agents of Ghana's two state-owned sugar factories.

• A contractor has been fined 5,000 Cedis by a circuit court for attempting to bribe a member of the NRC with 500 Cedis for contract awards. The contractor, Alhaji Issah Akabila, pleaded not guilty. The prosecutor told the court that Alhaji Akabila offered the money with a letter pleading for contracts sent to Major Roger Felli, then Commissioner for Works and Housing, last March. The Commissioner reported the matter to the police. Alhaji Akabila said he gave the 500 Cedis to the Commissioner so that he could use it in buying food for army troops on road block duties in the Upper Region of Ghana.

• The shortage of goods following the coup was a direct result of Dr. Busia's December devaluation, said Col. Acheampong. The NRC had discovered that many firms and traders had not ordered goods because of the devaluation.

• An assets committee, under the Chairmanship of Mr. E. S. Aidoo, former Judicial Secretary, has been set up in addition to the Taylor Assets Committee, currently in session.

• A meeting of the Ghana-Mali joint commission for co-operation has decided that experts should meet soon to resolve problems relating to trade and economic co-operation. Delegates discussed the cattle trade, preferential tariffs the fish trade, quota system, and payment arrangements between Ghana and Mali. It also discussed immigration, migrant workers, the movement of people and goods and agreed on a draft resolution which could form the basis for a future agreement.

Ghana has similar commissions of co-operation with Togo, Upper Volta, Ivory Coast and Niger.

• No person convicted in Ghana or elsewhere of a felony will be able to control, have a controlling interest in or be employed by any private security organisation operating in Ghana, under a new decree. It also bars people convicted of "fraud, dishonesty, moral turpitude or offences relating to arms and ammunition". Anyone committing an offence under the decree may be liable to a fine of up to 200 cedis, one year's imprisonment or both.

• During an audience at Buckingham Palace the Asantehene, Otumfuo Opoku Ware II, presented the Queen with a gold brooch in the shape of a porcupine, his emblem, and a model of a stool inlaid with silver. Earlier during his visit to Britain, which lasts until July 19, he met the Archbishop of Canterbury.

• Two Indians have each been sentenced to eight years imprisonment with hard labour on charges of conspiracy to corrupt. Mr. A. K. Mirchandani and Mr. B. K. Mirchandani had pleaded not guilty to offering 10,000 Cedis as a gift to a captain in the Ghana army.

• Seven people from Wuxor near Ziope, including the village chief, his linguist and his sorcerer, have been sentenced to death for the murder of a livestock trader in January last year. His death coincided with the funeral rites for the ancestral ruler of White near Akatse, whose brother was among the seven condemned.

• An eight-man Police Council has been inaugurated to administer the Police Force. It is headed by Mr. A. Karbo, a barrister, and includes the Inspector General of Police, Mr. J. H. Cobbina, and Mr. Joe Appiah.

• A driver has been sentenced to life imprisonment on charges of attempted robbery by a special court in Accra. Last February the military government decreed the death penalty or life imprisonment for persons convicted of robbery.

• Mr. R. S. Amegashie, Chairman of the Committee on Local Raw Materials for Industries, has resigned.

SIERRA LEONE
Budget soars

The government plans to spend over £28m. – much of it on development – under the 1972-73 budget Finance Minister Mr C Kamara-Taylor told parliament that the budget was 50 per cent larger than last years. Provisions for major sectors such as agriculture, education and transport were also much larger. Recurrent revenues were estimated at over £28.5m New tax measures to meet local costs of development were expected to yield over £1m The payroll tax, introduced last year, had been increased from £50 to £125. Import duty on cars had been increased by five per cent, and on Landrovers by two per cent (Full details in next week's issue).

The Finance Minister reads the 1972-73 budget to Parliament

● Sierra Leone was very interested in training facilities for its armed forces as this was an area in which the government would like as much diversification as possible for many reasons, including security, President Stevens told the outgoing Canadian ambassador, Mr Allan McGill, who is based in Nigeria The President said that he was grateful that Canadian aid had no strings attached, unlike aid received from some other countries He hoped that Sierra Leone would soon have as much generous assistance from Canada as did East African countries because of their long established relationship

● Commenting on the Presidential Address (see last week's issue), the Leader of the Opposition, Mr Jusu-Sheriff said "while the speech is better written than previous ones by this government, nevertheless, it is more of an exercise in self-promotion and praise than a record of any substantial achievements or a forecast of substantial achievements."

● President Stevens sent a message of best wishes for success to the International Conference of Manding Studies which took place in London and was attended by President Senghor of Senegal (see pp 887-9).

In the message, President Stevens said "The Manding Civilisation of West Africa is one of the greatest the world has ever known. It stretches back into the centuries. Many of the citizens of Sierra Leone are of Manding origin. The Manding area covers portions of this Republic which includes some of the ancestors of myself and my Vice-President. I am happy at the part played in this conference by former and present members of the University of Sierra Leone and of the High Commission of Sierra Leone in London."

● The Government has disbanded the Sierra Leone Naval Volunteer Force. The Force was established in 1939 and it was later re-constituted in 1952 when the British Navy embarked on a policy of reducing its overseas naval bases.

● Radio and television services have been merged into the Sierra Leone Broadcasting Service The broadcasting service now becomes a single departmental unit of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, headed by a Director of Broadcasting.

● Dr Davidson Nicol, High Commissioner in London and former chief UN delegate, has been appointed executive director of the UN Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR), succeeding Chief Simeon Adebo of Nigeria Dr Nicol will take up the new post on September 1.

● India's High Commissioner to Ghana, Mr Shardul Bikram Shah, returned to Accra after presenting his credentials to President Siaka Stevens He also discussed arrangements for the proposed visit of the Indian Foreign Minister, Mr. Swaran Singh

● Purchases of rough and uncut diamonds during May amounted to Le 1,535,386 (87,299 carats) compared with Le 2,296,562 (95,156 carats) in May, 1971 Total purchases for the first five months of 1972 were Le 9,930,783 (414,852 carats) compared with Le 8,356,689 (438,157 carats) during the corresponding period last year.

● The retiring French Ambassador to Sierra Leone is M. Jean Fines, not Finec, as we erroneously reported in our June 23 issue He was appointed ambassador to Sierra Leone in 1968.

● A requiem service was held in Freetown for the late Mrs Gwendoline Womi Hartley-Cowan, wife of Mr George Hartley-Cowan, a former Director of Sierra Leone Radio She died in Port Harcourt, Nigeria on June 12

● Total external reserves held by the Bank of Sierra Leone as at April 29, amounted to Le 32.2m compared with Le 29.9m as at 30 April, 1971

● A Sierra Leonean, Dr Victor Johnson, has been appointed Deputy Peace Corps Director and Education Officer in Sierra Leone He replaces Mr. John Randall, who is returning to the US.

● A North Korean delegation, led by the Vice Foreign Minister, Mr. O Man Sok, has visited Sierra Leone.

● Commemorative medals to mark the first anniversary of the Republic are on sale at the Ministry of Finance.

● Mr. S. D Koroma, MP for Port Lo South, has been re-elected Depu Speaker of Parliament for the fifth tin in succession.

● Njala University College is to recei an additional grant of Le 99,000 fro USAID for salaries of American staff an the training of five more Sierra Leonear in the US

● A $1.3m agreement for organ isational and feasibility studies for th Freetown-Waterloo road has been signe with the UNDP.

● The Director of the English-speaking West African branches of Degremont Water Supply Treatment, Mr. George Papazien, has said that it is expected that about 800,000 people in Sierra Leone, representing about a third of the population, would be using pipe-borne clear drinking water, after completion of the fourth phase of their operations The Koidu water system would be ready for commissioning by the end of the year, and that work is going on for the extension of the Freetown system to increase daily capacity from six million to twelve million gallons.

● The public are reminded that the old-type Sierra Leone Passports will become invalid after June 30.

LIBERIA
Tolbert and Dr. Advertus Hoff

President Tolbert, who is mediating in a student dispute on the campus of Liberia's University told its president, Advertus Hoff, that regulations which existed 25 years ago could not be applied today

Student declared a strike last month and presented a petition demanding Dr. Hoff's resignation Dr Hoff, who was appointed earlier this year, had issued an order banning holding hands on campus, and put a girl student on probation when he reportedly found her holding hands with a man.

President Tolbert, saying that "old thoughts and decisions should also be changed to meet with modern times," asked the students to be law abiding and work with the university authorities for better results.

● The wife of Dr. Herbert Thomas who works for the Government Health Services, was arrested as she returned from Ghana by air, after a quantity of marijuana was found in her luggage The Ministry of Justice said that Mrs. Minerva Thomas would be charged with the illegal possession of drugs, which were said to be worth $76,000 at black market prices.

● Taiwan's Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr H.K. Yang, has pledged continuing technical assistance to Liberia. He said Taiwan was willing to provide as many technicians as Sierra Leone could absorb. Mr. Yang was visiting Liberia as part of an African tour

• In a broadcast before his departure for Europe (see p.921), Brig. Esuene said that experts had been commissioned to advise on a suitable site for a campus of Nsukka University in or around Calabar. He recalled that it was originally intended to site the campus at Ogoja but experts had consistently pointed out the unsuitability of the area, mainly because of its remoteness.

• Ghana Airways and Nigeria Airways will be able to operate unlimited flights in each other's territory, if an agreement reached between officials last month is ratified by the two governments.

• Two denominations of the new currency went into circulation this month: the 5 kobo piece (equivalent to sixpence) and the 10 kobo (equivalent to one shilling). The other denominations will be issued next January.

• West Germany has reintroduced the visa requirements, dropped in 1965, for Nigerians entering the country.

• Owners of voluntary agency hospitals in the East Central State have protested to the state government over the delay in the payment of arrears of grants for the 1971-72 financial year. A 14-man delegation, headed by the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Onitsha, Dr. Francis Arinze, was told by the Commissioner for Health and Social Welfare, Mr. Sam Ikoku, that the arrears would be paid as soon as possible and that it was planned to pay grants quarterly in advance.

• Nigeria may make smuggling punishable by death if the offence continues at its present rate, Brig. Rotimi, Military Governor of the Western State told civilian leaders yesterday in Ilaro, a town close to the Dahomey border. He said the Government was worried about the rate of smuggling in the country. "If people involved in smuggling do not stop and those who abet continue, the Nigerian Government might be forced to take drastic steps and these people should be ready to face the consequences".

Ilaro is reputed to be a major smuggling centre for produce, including Western State cocoa crops, to neighbouring Dahomey and consumer goods into Nigeria.

• About 8,000 employees of the East Central State's Ministry of Agriculture and Natural Resources were due to have their wages stopped from June 30. Newspaper reports said that the Commissioner for Finance, Dr. Ukwu Ukwu, had given the order after a directive from the State's Executive Council that the financial provisions for the Ministry should be allowed for only three months pending the report of the committee set up to appraise agricultural development in the state.

• Locust swarms have destroyed 200 square miles of food crops – mainly Guine corn, cow peas and millet – in border areas some 50 miles north Sokoto. Pest control squads are trying to eradicate the swarms, which descended from neighbouring Niger.

At the annual garden party for Commonwealth Bursars the Queen chats to Mrs Imelda E. Nsah, a teacher from Calabar who has been studying art at Wakefield. She reminded the Queen that she presented her with a bouquet at Ikot Ekpene in 1956.

This year's Garden Party marked the end of the Commonwealth Teacher Training Bursary Scheme in its present form. A revised scheme, the Commonwealth Education Study Fellowship Scheme, comes into operation at the commencement of the 1972-73 academic year.

• Of the 101 prisoners who escaped from Maiduguri and Gashua prisons in April, 35 have been re-arrested, all in the North Eastern State. The State's Commissioner of Police, Mr. Victor Pam, said that an attempted break-out by prisoners at Potiskum in the same period had been foiled by the quick intervention of the police.

• About 1,200 troops and nearly 50 preventive officers are to be stationed at 12 border villages in the North Eastern State as part of the Customs and Excise re-organisation.

• The chairman of the North Central State Public Service Commission, Alhaji Isa Kaita, announced that 162 graduates had been recruited from institutes of higher learning in the northern states during the current graduation period.

• Farm settlement projects in the Western State have failed, the Governor, Brig. Oluwole Rotimi, said during his "meet the people" tour of the State. He promised to examine personally the problems confronting them.

• Because of sales difficulties, workers at the Asaba Textile Mill have been put on a four-day week. A management official said the action was an alternative to "mass retrenchment".

• Armed robbers stole property worth about £300 when they broke into the house of the Anglican Bishop of Enugu at night.

• A £394,000 grant for rehabilitation work on the Presidential Hotel, Enugu has been made by the East Central State Government. A £164,000 grant for reconstruction had already been provided.

in newspapers and at University conferences. It could be argued that there was little wrong with the old constitution and that it could be taken as a draft for a new one which a constituent assembly could very quickly draw up. It now seems certain that the new states will have much the same functions, together with ministerial governments, as the old states and that the power of the federal government will be shown not in any great re-allocation of functions but in its financial control of so many of the new states.

General Gowon said that the question of creating yet more states would have to be deferred until 1974. It is difficult to judge in a Nigeria under military rule how great is the support for new states, particularly in the North East and the West. What is certain is that if more states are to be created this can be done only by military decree and that the creation would lead to yet more administrative problems.

Representatives of the federation and the states have worked out a satisfactory interim system of revenue allocation between the Nigerian governments. A final system — although there must always be room for revision — can only be worked out when it is known both what the functions of the states are to be and how the country's population is distributed.

The federal government obviously sees a new census as perhaps the most important step on the road to civilian rule. Preparations for a census next year are well in hand and this time there should be no question about the accuracy of the results. When the details are known constituencies can be defined, the social service needs of different areas can be identified, and grants and revenues allocated on a *per caput* basis can be estimated.

Civilian rule means elections and parties. General Gowon emphasised that his régime would have to ensure "free and fair elections", after which power would be handed over to "properly elected governments". He also said that there must be "genuinely national" parties. No military régime can itself ensure that such parties come into being and it still seems likely that the old, largely locally-based, parties will reappear when politics are again permitted. So will the "old politicians". The important thing is for the new constitution to attempt — definition is very difficult — to outlaw parties with a particularist basis.

Perhaps the most optimistic of the Head of State's proposed steps for the return to civilian rule was "eradication of corruption". Unhappily it is clear that if civilian rule had to await that ideal it would not return for many decades. Again the new constitution might be of some help. It could, for example lay down rules for control of public finance and allocation of contracts.

None of the measures considered necessary by General Gowon for return to civilian rule, including those which are unlikely to be completed for many years, need delay the return beyond 1976. Yet one can detect in Nigeria a lack of enthusiasm for this or any other date and an underlying belief that military rule has come to stay. This, it is certain, is not General Gowon's view, and any indefinite prolongation of military rule might produce tensions in the army itself. It is true that civilians, whether Commissioners, civil servants, or heads of statutory bodies, already play an important role in running Nigeria and that for the mass of the people it may be they, rather than the soldiers and the policemen, who are "the government". Nevertheless Nigerians are a political people, and they have tasted democracy, however corrupted. Neither 1976 nor any other date is sacred. What matters is that in Nigeria the military regime should be able gracefully to hand over to its successors while still enjoying the respect of the people.

Congo's Challenge to France

The decision of People's Congo to leave the Afro-Malagasy Common Organisation (OCAM) and to take over the famous French radio relaying station in Brazzaville must together be seen as the most open challenge to France in Africa since the celebrated revolution in Brazzaville more than nine years ago.

From some points of view, the action may not seem very spectacular despite all the preaching of revolution and socialism that has emanated from Brazzaville under both the régimes of former President Massemba-Debat and that of President Ngouabi, now in power. People's Congo has presented a paradoxical image to the outside world. It has, principally remained inside the franc zone, and maintained not only its co-operation agreements with France, but also a defence pact. Although all schools have passed under the control of the State and the activities of the churches has been severely circumscribed, French businessmen have been surprisingly little touched by the government's socialism. The only important nationalisation has been of the sugar estates at Jacob, which were so unprofitable that the French owners were delighted to sell. The take-over of Asecna (the joint French and African airport administration and security network) must have been more irritating, but there has never been a frontal challenge of the kind the Congo has now made.

The inconsistency of a revolutionary state like Congo-Brazzaville retaining such close links with the former colonial power can certainly be justified on the grounds of pragmatism (this apparently is one interpretation of "scientific socialism").

Little benefit would come to her, for example, from simply walking out of the franc zone. But there has been increasing dissatisfaction in Brazzaville with the position, and now that M. Ngouabi, since last December, has his own opposition on the left, he has, ironically, felt that he has to be seen to be more militant.

On his first visit to Paris in March this year he made proposals for the reform of the franc zone and of the Central African Central Bank, as well as expressing the desire to renegotiate his own Co-operation Agreements. In August he indicated that Congolese membership of OCAM was no longer satisfactory, and he might be leaving. Thus neither of the latest decisions came as a surprise. The surprise is rather that the Congo has remained in OCAM, and that ORTF-Brazzaville has been allowed to operate for so long in a country of such revolutionary pretensions.

That being said, the French are likely to be irritated by these moves. Although OCAM is, strictly speaking, an African organisation, it has had a great deal of solicitous encouragement from the French, and is held up as an example of post-colonial virtue, as well as providing absolution from any guilt that may be felt at the balkanisation of francophone Africa in the late 1950s. It is true that the Congo is not to withdraw from OCAM's "specialised agencies", and is therefore now in much the same position as Mauritania, which withdrew from OCAM in 1965, but insofar as the withdrawal threatens OCAM's already uncertain future, France is bound to be disturbed. The Brazzaville relay radio is also an important link in France's overseas radio broadcasts, and therefore touches on the sensitive point of France's cultural presence in Africa. The station also has sentimental importance for the Gaullists, having been the "Voice of the Free French" in the Second World War. From the point of view of French interests, however, the Congo's not-so-publicised decision to limit the transfer of funds by foreign businesses is likely to weigh more.

The signs are that, for the moment, the French will play it cool. Besieged on a number of fronts by demands for revision of co-operation agreements (by Mauritania, Niger, Madagascar, Cameroon), now is not the time for France to seek confrontation.

At the same time her government is in a pre-electoral period, and has to handle anything that appears to diminish French prestige very carefully. OCAM, likewise is in a state of flux, and a number of Central African members have expressed disillusionment with it. The departure of Zaire in April highlighted this problem, as did a similar malaise in the airline Air Afrique. President Ngouabi's action could cement his already growing alliance with the Zaire President, seen in a number of recent joint mediations and meetings. Both for France, then, and for African states, the Congolese action may have some catalytic effect in the present situation.

African Affairs

Amin and Africa

For Mr. Nzo Ekangaki, the Cameroonian who is new Secretary-General of OAU, the Uganda-Tanzania conflict presents a daunting problem. It is not merely that Libya's Col. Gaddafi is so anxious to pour petrol on the flames that he has cheerfully violated the air space of other OAU members; or that President Amin is always capable of finding fresh grounds for attacking Tanzania, such as the fantastic charge that Tanzania is conspiring with India to invade Uganda. Mr. Ekangaki knows far better than commentators outside Africa that in this conflict African governments are by no means all ranged on the side of virtuous President Nyerere against the rumbustious General Amin. General Amin's expulsion of the Asians is by no means unpopular in other African countries. Prudent African governments will know that, even if privately they regard General

Ekangaki: patient diplomat.

Amin's allegations of British and Israeli collusion as absurd, the invasion of Uganda by Obote supporters could not have taken place without Tanzania government approval. And so many African governments have, or think they have, such potential invaders waiting that in principle they would condemn President Nyerere for the invasion rather than General Amin for his retaliation. And they could claim that in this, and certainly by observing neutrality, they were supporting OAU principles.

President Sekou Toure's support for General Amin could be expected. But at the other end of the political spectrum President Tolbert has sent a very sympathetic message to him. President Kenyatta maintains a prudent impartiality, as do most African states, including that pillar of OAU, Nigeria. Arab members of the OAU, whatever they may think of General Amin privately, will be obliged to support his anti-Israeli stand – although Col. Boumedienne has taken an unexpectedly conciliatory line. As we go to press there is still no guarantee that the efforts of the Somali Foreign Minister and others can prevent further bloodshed between Uganda and Tanzania. All that is certain is that Mr. Ekangaki is facing what may be OAU's biggest test.

Some of the inhibitions which prevent African governments from condemning General Amin outright also affect their line in the UN discussions on combating terrorism. Just as outright support for President Nyerere could be construed as support for the principle that opposition exiles are entitled to invade their country with external support, total condemnation of terrorism might be construed as condemnation of the tactics which liberation movements may feel obliged to follow in Southern Africa. The need to combat senseless terrorism in neutral countries is thus obscured. The Chinese, at the UN, however, while supporting the African line, condemned invididual acts of terrorism as "detrimental to genuine revolution".

Nor can most African states back Britain's UN appeal for the Uganda Asians, which can so easily be branded as an attempt to interfere in domestic affairs.

Ghana's Debts Again

Claiming that the Busia régime had left behind it ₵1,000m. of debts Mr Kwame Karikari, Economic Adviser to the NRC, said that Ghana would have to pay some ₵20m. a year on the debt owed to the IMF alone. Ghana's economic position was so precarious that unless Ghanaians made greater efforts to live within their resources the country would have to be "offered for sale". Mr. Karikari, who is also chairman of the NRC "Action Unit" which is meant to follow up government decisions, said that they had to find another ₵20m. a year for répatriation of profits and dividends and ₵20m for service of foreign debts.

In his budget statement (the final part of a summary of the statement appears in this issue) Colonel Acheampong made virtually no reference to Ghana's overseas debts, although this had been a favourite theme of budget statements under the Busia régime, when the Nkrumah debts were blamed for Ghana's precarious economic situation. In fact, because of the "re-scheduling", and the NRC's repudiation Ghana has been paying very little for the Nkrumah debts. The payments on the short-term commercial debts inherited from the Busia régime as great in amount as the Nkrumah debts, and, as Mr. Karikari has pointed out, the IMF repayments are rather more serious.

Nevertheless, the Nkrumah debts are still there and, in spite of the military régime's apparent determination not to honour them in full the creditor countries are still ready to discuss means of disposing of them. It is a pity that the present régime refused to be a party to the conference under World Bank auspices which was due to discuss them in July this year. Nevertheless, all the signs are that the Ghana government, and above all the British government, are still prepared to negotiate a settlement of a problem which becomes of decreasing importance as the value of money steadily falls.

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