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# Problems of prosperity

**NIGERIA'S BUDGET**, to be presented later this month, will not introduce any dramatic changes, according to informed sources. It will be designed mostly just to hold the line for a short time until the next Budget in December. That will introduce the new January to January financial year, and by that time the Finance Minister, Professor Sunday Essang, will have had more time to work out his strategy and tactics.

The prospects are healthy. On the one hand, imports are increasing. Professor Essang revealed that on October 1 the import bill was running at N600m. a month and last month it had risen to N750m... an increase of 25 per cent. The British figures are significant. In January £78m worth of goods were imported from Britain, an increase of 9 per cent on January last year. If this rate were continued — it is, however, dangerous to generalise on the basis of one month's figures — then £940m. worth of goods would be sent from Britain to Nigeria in the year. This is getting close to the peak figure of the financial year 1977 to 1978, which was £1,100m.

These figures suggest that the controversial M form is not as restrictive as some businessmen have claimed. The expectation is that the restrictions there are will be eased slightly by the Budget, particularly to allow raw materials to be imported in greater quantities. The rules mean that few of the increased imports are frivolous — there is still no lace and champagne, nor is there likely to be after April 1. The increased figures therefore represent increased economic activity in Nigeria, which must be a good thing.

Any fears that Nigeria might not be able to afford increased imports are made groundless by the continued high price of oil. Nigeria's oil revenue was \$8,000m. in 1978. It rose to \$15,000m. in 1979. The expectation is that it will be \$23,000m. in 1980. Of course, the oil market can change, like all markets, but with the uncertainty in Iran set to continue it is difficult to foresee anything other than strong demand and high prices for oil in the next few years. The problem before the Finance Minister is therefore how to spend money wisely and not how to avoid immediate bankruptcy (as is the problem facing his counterparts in Ghana and Sierra Leone)

Speaking before the Senate Committee on Commerce and Industry, Professor Essang set out some of the

objectives the government was seeking in order to put the nation's economy on a firm footing. They included: reduction of the rate of inflation; strengthening of the Naira to improve the inflow of foreign capital and investment; improvement of the level of output, especially in agriculture; increase in the productivity and quality of manufacturing; income distribution through the provision of houses at reduced rents for lowly-paid workers.

It is a sound list rather than an exciting one. Businessmen will be watching particularly the Minister's methods and performance with regard to the first item, controlling inflation. This has proved an intractable problem in many countries. The insistent calls that are being made all over for increased government expenditure make it easy for a government both to force up prices immediately by increasing demand and to store up trouble for the future by increasing the money supply through deficit financing on many levels. In any event world prices will undoubtedly continue to spiral and imported inflation will flow over the sea to Nigeria.

Outside business circles there will be some concern about the wording of the last objective. The provision of houses at low rents for poorly-paid workers is most desirable, but it seems a modest contribution to the larger aim of ensuring a more equitable distribution of income. This represents one of the main problems of prosperity, the tendency (in Marx's words) for the rich to get richer and the poor to get poorer. The danger is for discontent to grow to dangerous proportions.

President Shagari's party is unlikely to introduce revolutionary measures. But within the traditional pattern of Nigerian society, that the NPN exists to defend, there may be a need for stronger measures to ensure that a majority of Nigerians do not feel excluded from the prizes. The high incidence of crime, especially in the big urban centres, might be taken as one of the danger signals. Much is said about seeing that the ideal "one Nigeria" triumphs over tendencies towards ethnic divisions: there is also a need for an awareness of the risk of two Nigerias emerging and being in conflict — the haves and the have-nots.

Another pressing problem which is faced in Professor Essang's objectives, and which will require even more attention in the big budget of December, is that of making Nigeria's prosperity depend on things other than oil, which will eventually run out and which anyway produces a slightly artificial prosperity in that it produces money without significantly altering the lives of the people. Oil is a blessing to Nigeria, that is, but not to the people of Rivers State. It might be a slight exaggeration to write, as Stanley Macebuh does in the *Daily Times*, that "Apart from the inevitable crude oil we produce virtually nothing that could earn us the income that could buy us the good things of life that we crave for so much."

Professor Essang talks of improving agricultural output — which is obviously essential — and industrial productivity. It is possible that more concrete ideas on how this can be achieved will emerge from the special OAU Summit on Alternative Strategies for Development that is to be held in Lagos next month. It is more immediately addressed to the problems of poverty, but it is possible that the problems of prosperity could also find some relevant solutions.

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## Liberties in Liberia

"THOSE WHO VIOLATE the laws will bear the full consequence of their action. This is the time for extreme rigidity and in the extreme interest of the people no act of clemency will be exercised," declared President William Tolbert to the Liberian House of Representatives last Monday. He was talking about Mr. Gabriel Baccus Matthews and over 80 members of the Progressive People's Party who have been arrested, and most of whom have been charged with sedition and treason — the maximum penalty for the last charge is death (see page 500).

There is a case to be made for the view that extreme rigidity already existed in Liberia: strikes are legal only when called by labour unions for labour grievances. Any opposition party that calls for a general strike "to topple the government" — as the PPP did — is therefore open to charges of sedition and treason for the simple reason that any sensible ruling party will always identify its own interests with that of the nation-state.

This poses the question of what avenues are left open to the opposition in Liberia. After all, the norm in politics is to accuse the party in power of incompetence (and worse) while claiming that you would do

better. Apart from mayoral, local and chieftaincy elections, the Liberian opposition must wait until 1983 for the next Presidential elections. In a climate of rising prices, and rising unemployment, what then can the opposition do in Liberia?

According to the Minister of Justice, Mr. Joseph Chesson, some members of the PPP had allegedly been planning to blow up a new bridge and a telecommunications building. Another PPP man allegedly tried to murder the Superintendent of Sinoe County. Some two weeks ago, the same minister announced that the partly burnt corpse of a PPP man had been found in a creek, and that explosives were later found in his house. Such allegations of violent intent on the part of PPP members sets them up for sedition and treason charges they indeed now face. However, it is not excluded that some of them may have been encouraged to set the party up for legal decapitation.

On the other hand, the True Whig Party Government is committed to defending Liberia's reputation as a haven of political and social peace. This reputation, however, was built up in the marked absence of opposition movements — opposition to President Tubman's third term of office coalesced in 1955 around former President Edwin Barclay whose Independent True Whig Party was outlawed — along with the Reformation Party — and violently disbanded following presidential elections which Barclay charged had been blatantly rigged.

The events of April 14 last year showed that people were prepared to demonstrate,

and that the Government was so ill-prepared that it reacted with fatal haste. Last week's wave of arrests show that the government is prepared — at least under pressure from influential TWP members — to raise the stakes by creating martyrs even when people were reportedly not ready to demonstrate this time.

Whatever is happening exactly in Monrovia and in the rest of Liberia, there is a hint of a ruling party acting hastily and in so doing, damaging its own cause. A Monrovia radio broadcast last week quoted the government affirming "its belief that the people of Liberia are capable of judging for themselves, and that no group can lead them along a blind alley". If that is the case, why doesn't the Liberian Government give the Liberian people a chance to judge for themselves?

## A royal act of stability

KING HASSAN of Morocco visited E. Asia two weeks ago. This was his first visit to the Western Sahara since his forces occupied the former Spanish colony, with Mauritania, in December 1975. It seems like a belated attempt to give contemporaneous substance to his historic claim that chiefs of the Sahrawi clans had once paid allegiance to the Moroccan kings of old.

The only trouble is that the event was largely overshadowed by the news of large-scale attacks by Polisario forces. The Saharan pattern remains much the same with Moroccan forces being kept on the defensive, lives being lost and the King using his considerable political skills to maintain a favourable diplomatic image.

One recent, and almost imperceptible shift has occurred, however. In the last two months there have been reports and commentaries on the Saharan conflict which, while supporting the cause of the Sahrawi, claim that the fall of the monarchy in Morocco would create instability.

This is a view that is superficial, tempting and therefore acceptable to most people. But it begs two questions. Why the sudden association of the survival of the monarchy with the war in the Sahara? The fact is that the two are inextricably linked. The King knows only too well that the war cost Mokhtar Ould Daddah, the former Mauritanian leader, his Presidency.

The war has seen the loss of Mauritania: an ally — a fact that was reaffirmed recently in Bamako when Heads of State of Saharan countries met and announced their support for the Polisario Front.

The war has drained the nation's resources, and it has been manifestly ill-run on the military level. For support, the King has accepted Egyptian advances and no military aid from the US.

In this light, the second question that must be asked is, in whose interest is it to render the presence of King Hassan on the Moroccan throne synonymous with stability in the Maghreb?

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# Gloomy prospects for Sierra Leone

A correspondent reports on the annual banquet speech of the Governor of the Bank of Sierra Leone—a new Governor this year, Mr. A. S. C. Johnson—and the response of the Minister of Finance, Mr. Francis Minah.

SIERRA LEONE'S economic situation, as spelt out by the Governor of the Central Bank, Mr. A. S. C. Johnson at the twelfth annual Governor's Banquet of the Bank of Sierra Leone, continues to be very gloomy. The country's economic performance was weak in 1979 with the growth rate of real domestic product estimated to have been less than 1 per cent for the whole year.

Although modest gains were registered in the agricultural sector, the overall growth in output did not deviate significantly from the underlying pattern of yearly fluctuations around a trend of relatively slow growth.

Performance in the mining sector remained basically weak despite modest gains registered in the purchase of alluvial diamonds and in the production of bauxite. Production and export of rutile resumed in 1979, but because of special technical problems it may take some time before full capacity output levels are reached. The manufacturing sector showed some signs of "pick-up" but was hampered by non-availability of materials and supplies occasioned in part by the tight foreign exchange situation.

On the budgetary situation, Mr. Johnson said developments on the financial side raised increasing concern throughout 1979. During the first nine months of the year, government revenue was Le126m, or 43 per cent below total government expenditure for the period. This was due to the impact of the wages and salary adjustment awarded in November, 1978, continued increases in costs due to high prices of imported and domestic items, and intensified development spending including projects under the OAU programme.

To offset this deteriorating trend, government sought the help of the Central Bank which was forced to increase its lending capacity to government by over 30 per cent during the first quarter of 1979. The expansionary impulses emanating from the budget were reinforced by a rapid expansion in bank credit to the private sector. This, coupled with the escalation in imports payments for rice to the tune of 80,000 long tons compared with average import of 40,000 long tons in a normal year and oil which rose to Le40m in 1979 compared to Le25m in 1978 contributed to a drastic deterioration in the balance of payments position.

Gross official foreign reserves declined sharply to Le30m at the end of September, most of which was blocked in connection with various debt service obligations. Accordingly, arrears on official foreign loans accumulated, and the commercial pipelines lengthened.

To cope with the situation, attempts were made to negotiate short-term borrowing in the Euro-dollar market, but this proved futile. Government consequently decided on a wide range of financial stabilisation programmes, which included containing the pressures for excessive spending in both public and private sectors by introducing additional revenue measures to control the expansion in current and development expenditure; various institutional reforms aimed at strengthening the process of expenditure control; and the introduction of a set of policies aimed at moderating private sector demand.

This stabilisation programme made it possible for the country to benefit from the resources of IMF and the Trust Fund, and paved the way for the rescheduling of foreign debts to the tune of Le120m over the next two years.

"The months immediately ahead of us will require sustained efforts to consolidate the benefits envisaged under the financial stabilisation programme which is primarily directed at the country's short-term financial and economic problems," the Governor said.

On the problem of the escalating price of oil, the Governor advised that the objective of containing the volume of oil import can be better achieved through the price mechanism rather than through rationing, which often leads to black markets, profiteering and the enrichment of a few. "If the price mechanism is to become fully effective, we as a nation should be prepared to accept an automatic passing on of all the import price increases directly to the consumer."

He admitted that such a policy would adversely affect the cost of living and could prove politically and socially unpalatable, but expressed a strong conviction that this was the best solution in the immediate future. In addition, he went on, government must explore ways to improve national efficiency in the use of energy. He suggested introducing policies aimed at discouraging the use of big cars, a policy, he said, which many other countries have espoused, strengthening the public transport systems so that individuals, who presently use private transport, can have a viable alternative; the immediate development of the Bumbuna hydro-electric project with assistance from international associations and friendly governments, as well as the Mano River Hydro-electric project to provide alternative sources of energy.

On the rice problem and slow growth of agricultural products in general, the governor listed government's efforts at



The Governor delivering his speech

agricultural development as the introduction of integrated agricultural projects which now cover virtually all parts of the country; the recently launched crash programme aimed at promoting a substantial increase in rice production; the establishment of SLAPCO and NAPCO as subsidiaries of SLPMB to improve the production of traditional and new crops, and the setting up of a new rice company to take care of efficient marketing of rice, the development of domestic rice production and the provision of adequate storage facilities.

To reinforce these efforts, the governor suggested a more efficient producer pricing policy in consultation with neighbouring countries to minimise smuggling, a more efficient study of the rice situation in order to identify fiscal and other policy measures which would contribute towards strengthening of prices offered to farmers to discourage continued reliance on importation of rice.

On mining, the governor called for "cautious optimism" and stressed the need for stock-taking on all projects in the mining sector, in view of the pending kimberlite mining and location of more deposits of bauxite and rutile. Preparations for their implementation, he said, should be made in the context of the medium term stabilisation programme, and such preparations should include a thorough review of existing and prospective marketing financial arrangements to ensure maximum benefits from exploitation of the minerals.

He was pleased to note that reputable international organisations have already shown some willingness to associate themselves with the financing of the kimberlite project and was optimistic that such associations will not only bring the advantages of technical competence but will enable Sierra Leone to finance the project in a manner that will confer greater benefits on its people.

Speaking on the need to strengthen the efficiency of the export sector in order to exploit market prospects in regional and other markets, Mr. Johnson commended the introduction of the export guarantee scheme and hoped that the Export

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He appealed to the nation for total dedication, steadfastness, and the will to work to surmount the country's economic problems and recounted the many assets with which the country is endowed "Sierra Leone's base in terms of human and natural resources is potentially unlimited and can permit healthy and sustained growth. The country is endowed with excellent soil and favourable climatic conditions that make extensive agricultural and forestry developments possible.

"It also has abundant resources of fish, a large but so far virtually untapped tourist and hydro-electric potential, as well as a solid mineral base. As a nation, we can surely prosper if we are prepared to work hard and if we manage the economy prudently."

In his speech, the Minister of Finance, Mr. F. M. Minah, paid glowing tribute to the late Governor, Mr. S. L. Bangura, and congratulated the new Governor. He promised to do his best "to see to it, as finance minister, that the establishment of cordial relationship between the Governor and the Bank should not be at the expense of the Governor's ability to be forthright even to the point of being considered difficult."

Mr. Minah said that hitherto, government had been reluctant to pass the full impact of increases in the price of oil to the consumer because of the linkage between oil prices and domestic prices. He explained, however, that because of the uncertainty surrounding production and marketing of oil, which makes it difficult for government to manage and control the amount of subsidy involved from time to time, Government now has no alternative but to allow the price mechanism to rationalise demand and supply of oil.

He said that it would be sensible for governments of oil importing countries like Sierra Leone to take further measures to curtail non-essential energy consumption to improve the efficiency of energy use and to develop alternative sources in order to achieve a substantial easing of the tight conditions prevailing in the oil market.

Mr. Minah referred to the agreement reached with the IMF for a standby arrangement that will provide Sierra Leone with a substantial balance of payments

support for the stabilisation programme designed to put the economy on an even keel. As a result of this standby arrangement, he went on, the World Bank group has resumed its credit facilities in Sierra Leone, and through the Paris Club, government has rescheduled the external debt obligations of the country.

He said that while government is not unaware of the incontrovertible fact that debt rescheduling *per se* is not a substitute for sound financial management, "it is a desirable tranquiliser." He said it will give government medium term breathing space to pay sufficient attention to the country's economic recovery.

Mr. Minah said that government will soon seek debt relief from private creditors and banks on terms comparable to those recently agreed upon in Paris.

Giving details of the stabilisation programme, Mr. Minah said the package calls for a substantial revenue effort and major steps to reduce and rationalise budgetary expenditure. Recourse to bank credits is to be contained; new external borrowing is to be limited; a progressive reduction in external payments arrears is called for, and a further review of producer prices and marketing costs of agricultural produce are provided for in order to stimulate production.

He described the programme as a stop-gap measure intended to lay the foundation for a more sustained and determined longer term effort aimed at accelerating the growth of the economy. The minister said he envisaged continued pressure on the economy, and disclosed government's intention to seek additional medium-term support from the IMF under the extended Fund facility and the Supplementary Financing Facility.

A programme loan from the World Bank and other suitable funding sources are also being contemplated, while government has completed a credit arrangement with the IDA to strengthen the existing machinery for project preparation and appraisal in order to get further access to improved funding facilities now provided by OPEC and other Arab funding sources.

The Minister pledged government's determination to limit total spending on the OAU Summit through abandoning and scaling down of projects.

## Land of disenchantment

In the second of two articles on Senegal's crises a correspondent looks this week at the political tensions within the country.

**WHO BETTER** than President Senghor to act as an indicator of political tension in the country? At the end of January he made a very important speech which had some disturbing implications in the context of the general political trends in Senegal.

The President claimed that the "crypto-personal opposition intends to take over power by using violence". He claimed that he knew about such a plot since last year and had taken the necessary measures

against it. He alleged that this same opposition had used students and teachers to foment trouble in the country. He was alluding to the student riots in Ziguinchor earlier in the month which ended tragically with the death of one child. To deal with this wave of discontent, he called upon PS cadres to form "comites de vigilance", a euphemism for vigilante groups, to assist the "forces of order" in carrying out their duties. The problems facing Senegal were of



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the "political order but of the economic and financial order" and he concluded the speech with the words: "our peasants give us the example of a courage rooted in Negritude." The peasant, one suspects, would most probably substitute patience for courage and would have little reason for understanding what the relationship between himself and negritude might be.

Without actually naming names, President Senghor stuck to the formal political arena. That, in itself is revealing. The crypto-personal opposition — the President is noted for his inventive political terminology which is then adopted by all his supporters — means those who have formed political groupings but which have not been officially recognised; the *Rassemblement Nationale Democratique* led by Cheikh Anta Diop and assisted by Maitre Babacar Niang who have the *Jurnal* as their publication; Mamadou Dia, the President du Conseil (effectively the number two of Senegal) at independence who was imprisoned in 1963 for allegedly attempting a coup d'etat. He has grouped together under COSU a number of other opponents of the regime who have opposing views among themselves but are agreed to unite against the present government. Mamadou Dia publishes, with Magatte Thiame, the monthly, *Asie Supr*. These are the two recognisable opposition groups. Why they have not yet united is something which the respective leaders do not expand on easily, though one suspects that personal rivalry rather than profound political differences is involved. The current of

opinion among the opposition cadres nevertheless suggests that there is a gradual realisation that circumstances dictate that if the opposition is to have any effect in channelling popular discontent it must put forward a united front.

## Error avoided

The President, in attributing to this opposition designs which seem somewhat imaginary, has, at least not committed the error of many more complacent Government supporters. They see the opposition as a group of radical academics who preach change from the university library or their villas. Senior members of both COSU and the RN Di will confess to the fact that there is still the tendency not to translate thoughts to action. But these opponents who have refused since independence to compromise with the terms of the President Senghor and his followers could in times of real trouble — on which Senegal is bordering at the moment — become a beacon for the disenchanted. Even within the administration where the patronisation of PS has been pervasive there is a growing number who are now quite open in their criticism of the government.

It is also important to remember that the PS, after twenty years of power in an independent country — it has existed under other names, having made itself socialist in 1974 — now suffers from a dearth of original thought. Mamadou Dia can rightly claim that the reinvigoration of co-

operative system is nothing but a tame copy of what he proposed for Senegal when he was in power. The opposition does represent something of a torrent of alternative thought, scarcely matched by the regimes now thoroughly domesticated ideologues.

The fact that the President should have gone such a long way in addressing himself, indirectly, at the unofficial opposition has given them a legitimacy and authority that they did not have before. He even attacked the opposition Parti Democratique Senegalais led by Maitre Abdoulaye Wade, for being accomplice to the general opposition tactics aimed at denigrating the government's performance. There had indeed been something of a spate of articles and pronouncements in the last two months from various members of the opposition attacking the government's mismanagement of the agricultural sector and of the state companies, the most important of which have recently been dissolved. But to suggest that the PDS is involved in some attempt to oust the ruling party is to admit to the failure of the democratic experiment in Senegal which limits the number of legal parties to four, only two of which are actually represented by deputies in the Assembly. Furthermore, the disenchantment at the PDS is such that they have lost two of their deputies who have crossed the floor and the reality is that the party is exactly what its leaders call it, "un parti de contribution".

In the last year, however, a new feature has emerged in the opposition's tactics. They are prepared to name the President in their criticism. Two years ago it had been an acknowledged practice that one never named the President; one attacked those around him and one commented on the system. This is a significant change because it does bring out into the open the discussion of the most important factor in the present and future shape of Senegalese politics: President Senghor. Hence his suggestion that the opposition exists only in the imagination of a few personalities.

Senegalese were horrified that the President should be travelling to Italy at the end of last year to receive some literary award, when in Ouagadougou the Heads of State of all the other Sahelian countries were meeting to discuss the future CILSS, the regional group aimed at combating drought. This is the sort of thing people notice. Just as they notice that so-called socialist government runs an economy that is bureaucratically strangling agriculture and which is completely capitalist in the industrial and tertiary sector. 40 per cent of imports are from France. Senegalese will also make the point that while their President preaches negritude, he has become one of the firm practitioners of assimilation.

Such discrepancies may be tolerated when the times are good. The gradual deterioration of standard of living which seen the purchasing power of the urban dweller fall dramatically makes one thing in a harsher and more bitter light: the poor man has that much more difficulty finding enough food on the same packet, the better off and the better

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educated opposition adds to this complaint a moral one: they begin to question the values which were inculcated by the French educational system. And there are always those few who form part of the establishment who believe that this form of acceptability must be flaunted by a display of material wealth: Mercedes-Benz or the latest Citroën; expensively tailored western suits, thick gold rings... and the villas.

Last week reference was made to the change in attitudes among the rural population. They are refusing to repay and are moving away in some cases from groundnut cultivation. For the urban dweller, city politics offer less refuge than the ministrations of the marabout. The urban reaction is therefore more resentful. It is a political state of mind throughout the country that is best described as a simple loss of confidence in the government.

The fact that corruption in the administration and crime in the cities has grown alarmingly is attributable to this loss of confidence. Those at the very top always appear to be very comfortably off. For the man lower down, who sees the prospect of promotion as being slim (unless he is lucky enough to be the protégé of some senior politician) and his own income worth less every month, he will find every opportunity to make something on the side. For example, ONCAD, where money has flowed through the systems with little control, had almost a billion CFA francs syphoned off at various levels of the organisation. Worse still, people cease to take an interest. Young men with ideas disagree or disapprove, but they feel there is nothing they can do. Apathy sets in.

## Eternal search

In spite of the time and space that is devoted in Senegal to the behaviour of the opposition, it is true to say of the opposition prospects that it has only to wait for the PS to undo its own power. Power in Senegal, as it has been practised under President Senghor has consisted of the eternal search for the collaborator. On the international level the President retains ties that are remarkably close to France, so much so that he takes many of the French financial commitments to Senegal somewhat for granted. His own hold over the Senegalese electorate can be explained to a certain extent by his ability to come to terms with the previous Khalife of the Mourides, Cheikh Fallou M'Backe. The last decade has seen a slight dilution of such a simple presentation of Senegalese politics. On the one hand there had always been certain marabout families that had opposed the government and other members of the most important families had been much more radical. On the other hand, there has been an upsurge of young technocrats like the Prime Minister, M. Abdou Diouf, who rose to prominence in 1970 when they were appointed to the cabinet. These younger men have political ambitions and are manoeuvring in the regions.

Personal rivalries are still not as

important as the consequences of the machinations of the PS which have created problems. Not surprisingly, the two examples involve the religious brotherhoods. Ahmet Niasse, of the marabout's family, who has called for an Islamic Republic of Senegal and has caused some slight political tremors in the country is put forward as a maverick and opponent of the government bent on spreading seditious literature and a danger to the constitution according to which Senegal is a secular state. As it happens, Ahmet Niasse was used by the PS, in the days when Babacar Ba was Finance Minister, to act on behalf of the government in the Kaolack region. His immediate allegiance was to his "paymaster", Babacar Ba who was later removed from the government after losing a struggle for influence within the party against the Prime Minister. In the meantime Niasse had arranged flights to Mecca and it is alleged that he left with the money and went to Paris. The point of the story being that he was asked to continue working on behalf of the government but saw no reason, and nothing to be gained from doing so, especially as his patron has suffered what was probably a temporary political eclipse. The money that he has managed to acquire was once PS finance for political purposes in the Kaolack region.

President Senghor has been known to make the remarkable comment recently, in private, that he fears, more than anything else, an outbreak of hostility between the brotherhoods, especially the Mourides and Tidjanes. Yet the latest example of any such

hostility was caused by the interference of party officials. Violence broke out at Tiwawan during a meeting to elect local party officials. The party officials, eager to find a suitable and pliant candidate for their purposes interfered sufficiently that marabouts from the brotherhoods almost came to blows. It is very unlikely that such friction would ever be allowed to erupt in public: both have too much to lose. There is no doubt, though, that the party is concerned about its sources of support in rural areas.

Relations between the Presidency and Touba, the centre of the Mouride faith, have not been particularly warm of late. The present Khalifa, Abdou Lahatte Mbacke, has tended to take a more independent line than his father and has at times in the last decade come very close to open political conflict with the government. It is not possible to provide a simple schematic explanation of the current state of the relationship between the marabouts and the government; some like to see them as reactionary forces, others are much more sympathetic, seeing them as a defender of the peasants, or at least a buffer between the peasant and a scavenging bureaucracy. That they are wealthy and that the wealth has been derived by the role that they play on behalf of the peasant as spiritual succour is beyond doubt. This relationship alone ties them very closely to the interests of the peasant.

Groundnuts are grown in the areas that tend to be the strongholds of the Mouride faith and the marabouts have gained

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considerable financial benefit from the arrangement over the years. However, changes in social structure, migration in the region and low groundnut yields suggest that there are profound social and environmental changes occurring in the region. Last year, peasants turned to food production in significant numbers. Certainly among the Mouride talibes this would require the spiritual blessing of the marabout to whom one is beholden. The pressure on land has altered the nature of the holdings (see last week's issue) and the intensive cultivation of the groundnut is eroding the quality of the soil. This is the area with the largest concentration of people in Senegal — the groundnut basin with an estimated population of 2.5 million. Yet economic logic dictates that any government should shift its attention away from this pillar to the frontiers which have played a marginal political and economic role. The dilemma for the government is considerable. Furthermore, the Mourides are expanding, as is the Wolof language, far more rapidly than any other faith or language. They are now numerous in Dakar.

## Sinister development

The confusion is reflected in the desire to acquire compliance or at least co-operation from Tiwawan, the home of the Senegalese Tidjanes, and also in the neglect of Casamance which can only have been aggravated by the incidents in early January leading to the death of one student.

Above all, the confusion, has led to a more sinister development that was seen in the President's call for vigilante groups. Officially, one knows that the police have received handsome salary increases somewhat above the 34 per cent that was granted to the public service; new laws are to be put before the assembly making the grounds for dismissal of employees easier. In this context it would be worth asking a university student in Dakar to analyse the implications of the Prime Minister's statement in his speech on the economy last December: "la liberte est le droit de faire tout ce que les loi permettent" — liberty is the right to do whatever the laws permit.

The state of the law is such that teacher belonging to SUDES, the main teacher union are being harassed by vigilantes alleged by all to be set up by the PS. In one particularly unpleasant incident in Kaolack three teachers were abducted, one of them a girl. They were maltreated, and the girl suffered particularly unpleasantly at the hands of thugs. When people start to believe that those in power are practising violence to maintain their positions, it is difficult to believe those who say that the Senegalese will never revert to violence to achieve political ends. The President has already intimated it — an allegation that tells as much about the dire position of those in power — and the people believe that his followers are practising it. Under such circumstances the gap between legitimate protest and violence becomes perilously small.

# Colonising Volta valleys

A correspondent looks at some of the problems of over-hasty planning.

**DEVELOPMENT** of River Basins is a thorny topic in West Africa: the Senegal River projects, organised by the OMVS, are in trouble because finance is still short and preparations for the development of the reclaimed land and the sociological implications of the programme have been neglected by the government (see last week's issue of *West Africa*). The Office du Niger has stumbled along in the relative obscurity of Malian economic problems and has never matched the expectations since its conception in the 1930's. In Ivory Coast there is the development of the Bandama River valley which has resulted already in the construction of a dam and the subsequent expansions of the Lake Kossou. A recent study has revealed the unexpected social effects of the relocation of the displaced population of the region in the centre of the country. Finally, there is the Volta Valley Authority which is attempting to colonise land reclaimed after the initial successes of the campaign to rid the rivers of river blindness disease, Onchocerciasis.

The common problem in all these projects has been the inability to deal with the people affected. In some cases it has meant the emigration of villages and farmers because of the construction of a dam, in others it has meant attracting immigrants. From the days of the Office du Niger when Mossi were forced to go to Mali to work in the Office lands, the neglect of the human factor in the projects has been an overwhelming feature. It is a neglect that has been expressed in a number of ways — more often than not lucrative financial inducements have obscured the far greater social effects of the traditional social and economic structure of the families involved. One senses that the peasants being transported from or to such a project are little more than scarcely acknowledged instruments in the national policy-making where priorities have habit of being expressed in terms of potential revenue gained or tonnage produced.

The Volta valleys and their development offer an insight. It was always logical that these areas, once river blindness was eradicated, would prove to be potential sources of food and other commercial agricultural wealth. The problem was threefold: the rivers had to be cleared of the vector which carried the disease and which had led to the depopulation tracts of land that went far beyond the immediate range of its effects; secondly the populating of the area reclaimed and thirdly the provision of adequate infrastructure which could provide the necessary basis for the agricultural development of the regions.

Problems have emerged on the medical side. There is no sign of an end to the eradication of the vector, even though large areas have been cleared. Whereas it was once thought that an area could be sprayed and then left alone, it is now apparent that

areas have to be re-sprayed. A five year programme which has already cost \$5m. will have to be continued. It has also been discovered that the vector travels much further than the original plans had accounted for. It had been thought that the vector would last for 50 kilometres; it is now definite that it can survive for up to 300 kms. This places an entirely new complexion on the strategy for eradication.

As one official involved in the projects has observed, there are many plans but not enough money. The land involved is spread over different parts of the country. The first attempt at eradication involved the Black Volta Basin and had some success, significant enough to start a second campaign on the basins of the White Volta, the Black Volta and the Bassili. In all, it is estimated that the Autorité de l'Aménagement des Vallées des Voltas, controls 2,890,000 hectares of which 630,000 will be used for agriculture.

Initially it was thought that this would permit the installation of 70,000 families. However, it is now thought that the plans be extended to the relocation of over 1m. people in the area by the turn of the century.

It has been reliably calculated that at the present rates, the cost of moving a family unit of six people, that is including all the

costs of infrastructure (roads, wells, schools etc.), amounts to \$15,000. If that is to be multiplied by the original, conservative, plan of 70,000 families the current, minimum cost of the entire programme over the next twenty years would be \$1,050,000,000.

The more serious problem concerns recruitment. Since 1974 figures show that there has been an extremely disappointing reaction. Voltaic authorities have concentrated their attention almost entirely on the Mossi plateau of Ouagadougou and Yatenga. This is a densely and in places over-populated area. It has therefore been suggested that the eagerness with which the authorities have sought out the inhabitants of this area reflects political priorities on the Plateau rather than concern for the development of reclaimed land. There is also the suspicion that the authorities would like to spread Mossi influence by creating a Mossi enclave in the south near the Ghana and Togo frontiers. The initial failures of the recruitment scheme reflect some of the shortcomings in the infrastructure that should have awaited the migrants. It is also obvious that in an area which supplies a vast number of able bodied migrants to the Ivory Coast, there will be a dearth of families willing to risk themselves in a dubious venture. Furthermore, researchers have noted that in the early stages of the projects the recruitment campaign consisted, in some cases literally, of an extension officer and his bicycle on the Plateau. In the last three years there has been considerable publicity on the wireless.

Whatever improvements there may have

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been, have not dissuaded some of the aid agencies involved in the programme that the Voltaic government is, in effect, trying to institute involuntary migration. This is in response to the failure to attract voluntary migrants and to avert the already existing threat, to the government, of the new areas being swamped by a wave of spontaneous migration. The plan of "planned resettlement" is such that at least one foreign agency has had to withdraw its transport assistance for fear of being openly identified with a policy that amounts to enforced migration — something which the Mossis know well from the pre-war days of the Office du Niger. While one appreciates the obvious advantages of planning the resettlement in order to avoid squatting on a massive scale, it is significant that foreign donors have expressed fears on the morality of the whole affair.

It does not take long for news to filter home. The Mossis on the plateau will have learned that it will take up to three years before they can see any substantial commercial returns. The Mossi tradition has been to migrate, individually and seasonally, to obtain immediate finance. It is also the case that families migrating will go to places where relatives are already installed. The Yatenga Mossis have migrated towards the Black Volta. Another disincentive has been the attempt to attract larger families. The system of land allocation is such that parcels of land are divided according to the size of the family. Hence the AVV has defined seven types of units of which the most common is the third

type which averages between 9.5 and 11 hectares for a five member family, or the seventh type which covers between 19 to 22 hectares and is for a family of ten. At the moment there is little evidence of large families being prepared to move out.

The system has been to move migrants into the new land in the first three months of the year so that they have time to prepare the soil for the coming planting season.

## Grown too quickly

A report that was completed almost two years ago came to a brief but very precise conclusion: "The AVV is a viable organisation which has grown too quickly, neglecting to create within itself a structure and organisation proportionate to its objectives. A new model is certainly necessary. In particular the following should be borne in mind: the consolidation of organisational structures, the need to employ a certain number of Voltaiques cadres; the situation must be financially purged and the budget controlled; a continuous evaluation which will permit the periodic reactualisation of projects; the commercialisation of agricultural products can no longer be neglected."

The last comment was apt in so far that previous advice had suggested that the migrants should be left very much to their own devices. Only cotton could be guaranteed a market. Otherwise the farmers would have to arrange for the marketing of their own products. This was seen to be a serious disadvantage to the

system. The government has also stressed that it does not intend to introduce modern agricultural techniques. Traditional methods are being advocated — unlike the projects in Togo. Recent research has established that the soil structure in some of the new resettlement areas in the valleys are different to those of the Mossi Plateau and do not lend themselves to the new inhabitants' traditional planting methods.

If this is the recent evidence, and given that the financial constraints will prevent the total realisation of the programme of the AVV within the objectives set for the foreseeable future, one conclusion can be drawn, as has already been said by some experts involved with the AVV. To achieve any success, a constant and thorough research programme has to be carried out. It is essential that approach is multi-disciplinary and that execution of the proposals made by researchers and planners should also be seen in this light. One complaint about the present situation in the AVV areas is that there is a significant lack of cohesion. For example, education specialists are setting up schools before a road has even been planned. It is this part of planning which can make the essential difference between a programme's success or failure.

The observation that many will make is that those who are meant eventually to enjoy the success of a programme, the peasants, are the ones who must pay the price for government expediency and lack of foresight, which jeopardises the entire scheme.

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# Matchet's Diary

OYO STATE is the second most populous in the Federation (after Kano) and, with the population mostly in passionate opposition to the Federal Government, the Governor of Oyo has one of the most delicate and difficult tasks in Nigeria. In fact, Mr. Bola Ige, a lawyer who was known as a vigorous and acerbic political campaigner for the UPN, is gaining a reputation as a moderate and conciliatory Governor. He laughed when I put this to him during an interview in his office in Ibadan. "A moderate? I doubt whether I have become a moderate," he said. What has happened, he explained, was simply that he took steps to avoid the confrontations that some people sought to have with him.

Turning to specifics, I asked about the controversial Presidential decision to appoint liaison officers to the states. Dr. Saka Balogun has been appointed to Oyo. Has the governor had any contact with him? "He doesn't exist as far as this government is concerned," Mr. Ige replied. He said there were three objections to the liaison officers. Firstly, the governors had been consulted before the decision and had almost all opposed the idea; the President should have respected this view. Secondly, there was no constitutional basis for his action. Thirdly, there was the fact that the people appointed were politicians and not

civil servants. "We man here. Nobody be of any nuisance some other states to appoint failed governorship. I thi anybody to provide people."

On the row t television and the there was no dis under the consti television stations Government does our television sta Western Region N6m.-N7m. on N Military Governm only about N2m. t station, which was in Nigeria, has bee support of my col any day I feel like should take it ove

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Rivers State, and Cross River had nothing to do with their popularity but had to do with "siphoning electoral ballot papers and also the use of money".

I made the mistake of calling the governor "your excellency", which he has forbidden, and was good-humouredly corrected. Mr. Ige added that he was amused and tickled because the President, who has let it be known that he wanted to be called "Mr. President" rather than "your excellency" was in this following the example of himself. Governor Rimi, of Kano, and Governor Onabanjo of Ogun. "People are now seeing the light," he said.

## Physical outrage

THE MOST SHOCKING sight in Oyo State at the moment is a blackened and twisted wreck of a prefabricated building that used to be a physics laboratory at Ibadan University. It, and an observatory full of valuable equipment for conducting radio research into the ionosphere, were destroyed by demonstrators last week. The University of Ibadan — or UI, as it is called — has a long history of demonstrations and political volatility, but experienced teachers could remember nothing quite like this. In one night about N1.5m. worth of damage was done: in the observatory, the life work of Professor Alimiya Awe, formerly head of the physics department, was destroyed.

UI students have been in dispute with the university authorities for some weeks because of a ban on commercial vehicles coming into the campus. This was imposed to increase security after a number of robberies and rapes. Students now have difficulty travelling about the widely-dispersed campus. They blocked the main gate in a previous demonstration, and students have only just returned after an enforced four-week absence. After a mob trying to attack the bookshop was prevented by security men, they turned their attention to the laboratory and observatory.

I asked Professor Awele Maduemezia, present head of the physics department, why his department had been singled out. He felt it was because the buildings were isolated, temptingly valuable equipment could be seen through the windows and the

buildings were easy to attack and burn. He was quite sure physics students were not involved.

"For one thing, science students tend to be apathetic politically. They have not the time in any case. For another thing, to a physics student a piece of equipment is something sacred, like a Bible to a man in church. It is inconceivable that he would destroy it. A science student shudders if calculator is dropped: he knows the engineering involved."

Professor Maduemezia has an admiration for many of the qualities of the new generation of students. In some ways they knew more than older generations, and they were fortunate in being taught by Africans. They were in a great hurry — in "a hurry to drive a Mercedes Benz tomorrow". They were sometimes not as logical as one would want, the professor said, and they were bad at negotiating. The idea of a dialogue was difficult to get across. Immediately after a request came an ultimatum. Exchanges were often acrimonious. "They do not just differ from you: they call you a stupid man."

The destruction was, of course, the work of only a small and presumably disturbed section of the student community. Some students were saying that students were not involved at all, but it is difficult to see why anyone else would do a thing like that.

Police and security police are investigating and will presumably track down the culprits. Professor Maduemezia said he had been hoping to hear the ordinary students speaking out, on radio perhaps, and condemning such pointless behaviour.

## Apocrypha

A FUNNY STORY I heard in a staff dining room at the University of Ibadan is probably apocryphal, but is typical of many stories about difficulties at the docks. It appears that the University Bookshop ordered a handsome diary with the University crest on the cover. When it failed to emerge from the docks a bookshop man was sent to Lagos to investigate. He was detailing his complaint to an official when he noticed that the official was taking notes in a handsome notebook. He looked further and saw the university crest on the cover. "I bought it at the stall outside the gates," the official explained. "They are selling very cheaply there."

## His excellency brought to book

Anthony Kirk-Greene surveys the shelf of gubernatorial biographies and points out some gaps.

IT IS A quarter of a century since Dorothy and Campbell Christie realised that the colonial governor would make a fitting subject for a successful West End play, and 20 years since, Alan Thomas made His Excellency into the central character of a novel. The current revival of intellectual

interest in colonial administration, and in particular in exactly who the colonial administrators were, in terms of their social provenance and educational attainment, has a number of strands in its rationale

There is the powerful attraction of

nostalgia, seen at its strongest in the continuing spate of books about virtually every single aspect of life under the Raj — the pukka sahibs of the civil and military, memsahibs, palaces, John Masters and Paul Scott and Molly Kaye — well symbolised in Charles Allen's superb recreation of oral history in *Plain Tales from the Raj* (1975) and, for its African counterpart, his *Tales from the Dark Continent* (1979).

Then there is the academic stimulus of new sources being opened in the Public Records Office, especially the Colonial Office files, simultaneously from 1939 to 1945 and then annually, up to 1949. This explains the current concentration on the theme of decolonisation, presently the subject of half a dozen conferences and twice that number of theses and books in the making.

Again, there is the rethinking in African and Asian universities, today respectfully remote from the passions of 1947 in South East Asia and of 1960 in much of Africa, about what the colonial period meant, how it really worked, what its legacy has been and what credits as well as debits an honest balance sheet might show. After all, few African lecturers writing their books, and fewer African graduate students researching their theses, today have ever had the chance to meet a colonial governor in the flesh (the last one left Ghana 23 years ago, nor has one been seen in East Africa since 1963, the year when many of this year's undergraduates were born, the present Rhodesian case is very much an exception), let alone being able to claim they knew any at first-hand. History, like time itself, waits for no man, as this writer realised all too painfully when one of his undergraduates interrupted a lecture last term with, "Sir, who was Nkrumah?"

Finally, perhaps, there is the British side. Having lost an African empire it never really cared about, British readers and researchers are beginning to find out what it was all about and just who the imperialists were, before they venture on considered judgments of good and bad.

The aspect of the last-named sub-theme, who Britain's colonial administrators were, what they did, what they thought they were doing and how indeed they did it, has so far been most closely studied at the very top level, that of the proconsuls of empire. Because of the sheer numbers of District Officers, the virtually limitless range of their responsibilities and the variations in their work between say Kenya and Cyprus, Nigeria and Hong Kong, Ghana and the Falkland Islands or Lesotho and Palestine, little attempts has yet been made to write a history of the British colonial administrator. It may not even be possible, though one or two pilot-projects are encouragingly in hand.

What has been possible, and very successfully so over the past few years, is to take a far smaller, finite corpus such as the colonial governors, and construct an authentic, rewarding and generally revealing prosopographical portrait of who His Excellency was and what he managed (or failed) to achieve.

The most ambitious example so far of this

valuable genre of writing on Colonial administrators has been the composite volume, *The African Proconsul* (1978), edited by L. H. Gann and Peter Duguan. Complementary — and in some measure indispensable — to these studies both of individual governors and of the office of governor in British, French, Belgian and German Africa, have been two substantial pieces of research carried in the *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, one on "A Provenance of Proconsuls: British Colonial Governors 1900-1960" (1975) and the other entitled "The Progress of Proconsuls: Advancement and Migration among the Colonial Governors of British African Territories, 1900-1965" (1979).

## Some suggestions

The purpose of this article is to survey the work recently published or currently in hand on proconsular biography (and autobiography) in its West African context, and to suggest certain figures of gubernatorial eminence study of whose careers could usefully add to our knowledge of the modern history of Africa. Above all, it is true for a full understanding of the issues involved and policies adopted during the delicate decade of the transfer of power. To some extent, therefore, it also updates one aspect of an earlier survey, "The Colonial Governor in the Literature", which appeared in *African Research and Documentation* in 1977. For ease of reference, the data is presented in regional

rather than chronological or alphabetical order.

Ghana is fortunate in having an outstanding biography of an outstanding governor in Ronald Wraith's *Guggisberg* (1967). Surprisingly, and sadly, there is still no biographical study of Ghana's only other governor to rival the reputation of Guggisberg, Sir Charles Arden-Clarke. An earlier plan to undertake this by Dr. Richard Rathbone was abandoned, though there is quite a lot of useful information in his University of London Ph.D. thesis on the transfer of power in Ghana (1967). The good news is that Mr. D. Rooney is, with the help of the family, about to complete his biography of Arden-Clarke; it is to be hoped that publishers will show more interest in proconsular biography and colonial memoirs than they sometimes have tended to do in the recent past.

But who, one wonders, is going to tackle the biography of another distinguished governor of the Gold Coast, Sir Alan Burns, now the doyen of the Colonial Service in his 93rd year? His own autobiography, *Colonial Civil Servant* (1949), is a seriously undervalued essay on the Colonial Service as a career. Dr. Anthony Hayden has recently published a very full study of the colonial career of Sir Matthew Nathan (1976), while a paper presented by Dr. Stanley Shaloff to the African Studies Association in 1977 had some fresh data on Sir Arnold Hodson's governorship.

For Sierra Leone (one of whose 19th-century governors, Sir John Pope-Hennessy, that "stormy petrel" of the

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Colonial Service, is well depicted in his grandson's *Chronicle: Some Episodes in the Colonial Colonies 1567-1899* (1964), the last governor, Sir Maurice Dorman, is still alive, and for the Gambia, Sir Percy Bruns-Harris has recently died. A study, whether autobiographical or biographical, of both their governorships, could throw useful light on the political history of the two countries in their run-up to independence. Two recent Oxford D. Phil. theses do just this for a slightly earlier period in Anglophone West Africa as a whole, both drawing heavily, and informatively, on the Colonial Office files just opened. These are Curtis Nordman's study "Prelude to Decolonisation in West Africa: the Development of British Colonial Policy, 1938-1947" (1976) and Robert Pearce's thesis on "The Evolution of British Colonial Policy towards Tropical Africa, 1938-1948" (1978). There is news that the latter is soon to be published by Frank Cass, under the revised title of *The Turning-point in Africa: British Colonial Policy*.

Expectedly, perhaps, Nigeria has more to show for itself than its neighbours, ranging from the beginning of the Lagos Protectorate (e.g. Lady Glover's *Life of Sir John Hawley Glover* (1897) and R. B. Joyce's *Study of Sir William MacGregor* (1971) to the last of the line of succession. Both Sir James Robertson, the last Governor-General, and Sir Bryan Sharwood Smith, the penultimate colonial governor of the Northern Region, have published their memoirs, *Transition in*

*Africa* (1974) and *But Always as Friends: Recollections of a British Administrator in the Cameroons and Northern Nigeria 1921-1957* (1969) respectively. The latter is a particularly revealing volume and must rank as an important source for any putative history of British colonial administrators and administration in Africa. The North's last governor, Sir Gawain Bell, is also reported to be ready to turn to his reminiscences of a long and successful career in the Middle East. Lord Caradon's autobiography (as Sir Hugh Foot, he was Chief Secretary in Lagos), *A Start in Freedom* (1964), did not have a lot new to say on Nigeria. Dr. Robert Heussler's *The British in Northern Nigeria* (1968) has a number of proconsular insights. From that period, too, a study of the career and colonial administration of Sir Richmond Palmer and of C. L. Temple stands out as other worthwhile undertakings.

## Standing alone

Lugard, of course, stands in a biographical category by himself. Margery Perham's seemingly exhaustive, reverential, two-volume life, *The Years of Adventure* (1956) and *The Years of Authority* (1960), need to be read in conjunction with the less favourable interpretation in D. J. M. Muffett's *Brave Captains* (1964), the positively iconoclastic approach of I. F. Nicholson's *The Administration of Nigeria: Men, Methods and Myths* (1969), and H. A. Gailey's forthcoming study of the Abokuta revolt.

Despite J. C. E. Flint's recent essay in the Gann and Duignan volume cited earlier, it seems clear that the last word has by no means yet been written on Lugard; nor, in all probability, are all the papers yet available to researchers.

Professor Gailey's biographical monograph on Sir Donald Cameron (1974) was too slight to satisfy readers but, as Cameron's own memoirs, the clumsily titled *My Tanganyika Service and Some Nigerian Experiences* (1939) showed, his was an elusive character to grasp, let alone to understand in its entirety. Cameron still stands conspicuously in need of a biography. If one can but lament the absence of any biographical study in the making of either Sir John Macpherson or the late Lord Milverton — and, sadder yet, the reputed lack of any diaries or autobiographical memoirs from these two highly distinguished colonial administrators — at last one can welcome the efforts of Mr. R. L. Peel, with the co-operation of the family, in piecing together what does exist as a preliminary source for some future life of the latter and maybe a monograph in its own right.

Sir Arthur Richards (Lord Milverton) immediate successor, Sir Bernard Bourdillon, is another governor of Nigeria who deserves a biographical study, so that it is reassuring to know that Dr. Robert Pearce (see above) was able to complete several interviews with Lady Bourdillon before she died a few weeks ago. Radio Oxford holds an interesting tape-recording of hers, and she also contributed to the BBC Sound Archives as part of the Charles Allen/Helen

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Fry project (already mentioned). Happily, no such charge of neglect can be levelled at scholars in respect of another of Nigeria's eminent governors, Sir Hugh Clifford. No fewer than three academics are currently working on the life of this outstanding colonial governor. Presently the most promising is that being written by Dr. A. J. Stockwell, who has just returned from working in the Ghana archives and has already established his reputation by his research on Clifford's years in Malaya.

*West Africa* has never been parochially exclusive in its interest in the continent so a brief comment on East and Central African proconsular biography will be in order. For Kenya, the early governors are best treated in Marjorie Dillie's *British Policy in Kenya* (1937), G. H. Mungeam's *British Rule in Kenya 1895-1912* (1966), and in Sir Charles Eliot's own autobiography. Charles Douglas-Home has produced an interesting study of Sir Evelyn Baring (1978), and Dr. R. A. Frost is following his recent article on Sir Philip Mitchell in *African Affairs* (1979) with plans for a full-length biography. Mitchell's own *African Afterthoughts* (1954) can be richly supplemented by the extensive diaries deposited in Oxford. Sir Edward Grigg's autobiographical *Kenya's Opportunity* (1955) has a lot of good gubernatorial material. From Canada comes news of a draft biography of Sir Robert Coryndon by Dr. Christopher Youe, whose Ph.D. thesis at Dalhousie University (1978) was on Coryndon's administrative career in Swaziland, Basutoland, Uganda and Kenya.

In Uganda, where an early account of a governor's life is to be had in Sir Frederick Jackson's autobiographical *Early Days in East Africa* (1930), the important life of Sir Andrew Cohen by Professor Ronald Robinson is taking shape. For Sir Hesketh Bell, whose own memoirs, *Glimpses of a Governor's Life* (1946) did not cover all his governorships, Dr. Tom Fuller's University of California (Santa Barbara) thesis is a useful source. On the other hand, Sir Charles Dundas's autobiography, *African Crossroads* (1955), had little to say about his governorship. Sir Geoffrey Archer's *Personal and Historical Memoirs of an East African Administrator* (1963) lives up to its name, and includes his governorship of Uganda.

## Still hoping

From Tanganyika, one can always hope that the articulate last governor, Sir Richard Turnbull, who has so much to tell so well, will yet consider writing his autobiography, as did one of his predecessors, Sir Steward Symes, in his *Tour of Duty* (1946). A useful life of Turnbull's predecessor, Lord Twining, was written by Sir Darrell Bates under the title *A Gust of Plumes* (1972). There is plenty of good biographical detail relating to the East African governors after the First World War in Kenneth Ingham's *The History of East Africa* (1962) and Margery Perham's autobiographical *East African Journey* (1976), and even more in Robert Baldock's Bristol Ph.D. thesis

entitled "Colonial Governors and the Colonial Office: A Study of British Policy in Tropical Africa, 1918-1925" (1978), and in his article on Sir John Chancellor in *Rhodesian History* (1972) and his Walter Frewen Prize Essay (1977). It is encouraging to learn that the revised thesis is shortly to be published by the Harvester Press.

For Central Africa, the life of Sir Harry Johnstone has been well covered by Professor Roland Oliver's biography (1957) and by his own *The Story of My Life* (1923). In Nyasaland, too, Colin Baker's detailed thesis on the history of administration in that country will inevitably contain a lot of proconsular interpretation. In Northern Rhodesia, Mrs. K. Datta has been working on the career of Sir Hubert Youn, but so far, neither of the important two last governors, Sir Arthur Benson and the late Sir Evelyn Hone, has found a biographer. Some helpful insights into their governorships are, however, to be found in Robin Short's *African Sunset* (1973). Finally, mention may be made of the fact that the Harvester Press and the Hoover Institution Press have announced the joint publication for 1980 of *A Biographical Dictionary of the British Colonial Governor*, Volume I of which relates exclusively to Africa.

The present writer would be glad to keep in touch with scholars working in the field of proconsular biography, whether on Africa or for other former colonial territories, and would welcome information or additions to this preliminary survey.

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# BOOKS and Publications

## Origins of man?

Olduvai Gorge — My Search for Early Man by *Mary Leakey* (Collins, £6.50)

The Dream of Kilimanjaro by *Rolf Edberg* (Heinemann, London £3.95)

ONE DAY in 1959, when this writer was walking in the Ethiopian mountains, he came across large quantities of near perfect Stone Age implements — scrapers, microliths etc — all made from that beautiful black volcanic glass called obsidian. Later, driving south — in those days almost literally across the deserts — to Kenya, the finds were shown to Dr Louis Leakey. He categorised them as Wilton "C" and, ever the conscientious scientist, admonished that they be returned to Ethiopia. Then he added, "after the next rain, look on the surface and you will find pieces of red pottery". Even the little archaeology that an historian is bound to have acquired would suggest that such a prediction was quite impossible. Nevertheless, it did prove practicable to revisit the site later in the year, after some rain and there, on the washed soil in the clear sunshine, there sparkled more microliths and scrapers — and pieces of red pottery.

Small wonder that the next visit to what was still then 'British East Africa', involved a detour to the already famous Gorge of Olduvai. There, it soon became quite apparent that most of the careful and epoch-making excavation — in more than one sense — was in fact directed by Mary Leakey, Louis' wife. In the 20 years that have passed, many more visitors have made their way to Olduvai across dusty volcanic plains, past dormant volcanoes and great herds of grazing wild animals, and have doubtless received as courteous a welcome and similar careful explanations and demonstrations of the work in hand.

What a joy it is that these precious experiences are to be available to a far wider audience. For now, at last, Mary Leakey has written a popular account of the thrilling explorations and excavations which she, Louis and their African and other colleagues conducted there. Indeed, she tells it all.

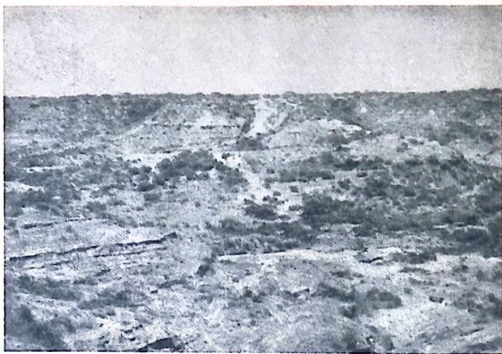
Much of the early work at Olduvai, she reveals, had to be run on a shoestring and the remoteness of the edge of the Serengeti Plains made for many difficulties. There were times when even the typical British cup of tea was marred by the persistent taste of rhino urine. For instance, but to compensate there was the magnificent almost timeless setting of remote volcanic mountains, wide open plains and the fantastic flora and particularly the fauna of the area of Eastern Africa.

So immersed was Mary in her work that she records her pleasure that, in the early days, there was "no radio, no telephone and no newspaper" at Olduvai. There are many other fascinating asides, for example an account of an apparent telepathic advice received by one worker — and taken by his fellows quite for granted — when another in a different area made an exciting find. Although hardly evidence of inherited traits and evolution, it is interesting also to learn that she takes pride in the record that one of her direct ancestors wrote to the Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries on 22nd of June 1797, drawing attention to flint implements found in Suffolk, England which he considered "objects of curiosity ... fabricated and used by a people who had not the use of metals".

Mary modestly emphasises that a lot of research in other parts of the world preceded her spectacular work at Olduvai and that important, if less known, research is currently continuing in other localities. Nevertheless intelligent sponsorship of the Leakeys' work at Olduvai, on the part of the National Geographic Society of Washington, has proved beneficial to all. Her explanation that disciplines other than archaeology have always played a vital role is interesting. The story of a man in Africa is not to be unravelled by those whose minds are trapped in inappropriate and water-tight academic pigeonholes, constructed in another place and at another time. Mary Leakey's approach is strongly reminiscent of that of Kwame Nkrumah, who saw a unity in knowledge and the need for the interdisciplinary African Studies approach.

(It is unfortunate that the latter's enlightened and farsighted speech of 25 October 1963, on the occasion of the official opening of the Institute of African Studies in Ghana, is invariably omitted from anthologies of his utterances).

The record of early man is interpreted today from resistant and surviving objects — tools, bones, teeth and occasionally skulls. From these, like a Sherlock Holmes of the bush, Mary deduces a surprising amount about the physical characteristics and capabilities of early man and his way of life and about his environment. But she never loses her modesty and academic caution. Nearly everyone has heard of *Zinanthropus*, but the descriptions in this



Olduvai Gorge, pushing back man's origins

book of how still earlier hominid fossils had been found at Olduvai and elsewhere may be news to many readers. Moreover, it is recognised today that the date of the first tools in North eastern Africa probably goes back over two million years. One site, Mary Leakey recalls, is disappointing in that it has only revealed, to date, one hominid bone — a terminal phallax of the big toe. She refrains, however, from speculating as to whether one at least of man's ancestors was accident prone!

It is said that certain Greek philosophers once killed a man who, after listening to interminable arguments as to how many teeth a horse possessed, enquired whether they might not care to count them. Not so Dr Louis Leakey. Mary recounts how, when he was confronted with the riddle of how some of the choppers and tools which had been discovered had been used, he 'acquired the leg of a cow' and skinned, disjointed and cut it up with choppers and other tools he had made himself. Only afterwards did he feel confident and competent to speculate on their use. She is too loyal to add that thereafter it is very likely he would brook no contradiction. He could be very stubborn.

In archaeology, as in many sciences, controlled imagination can be helpful. Round stone tools, Mary speculates, were possibly missiles and some may well have been used in a form of bolas — a weapon often mistakenly assumed to be only Mexican in origin — for the leather would not have survived. Mary does not mention it, but there are later cave paintings in Mashonaland of hunters carrying a form of bolas as well as hunting spears. Since artists always spill paint, it is sometimes possible to equate buried and stained living floor — possibly with tools and bone fragments thereon — with their way of life portrayed in the paintings. This is a further example, if one were needed, of the necessity of a comprehensive approach to the story of man in Africa.

Explaining the advances of science to a wider public is itself an art. This writer

stands in awe at Mary Leakey's achievement. Years ago he was once foolishly confident that he, too, had explained the significance of the Leakey's work, to young students in what was then Tanganyika — only to learn very quickly that he had spoken too fast. A young student to whom Kiswaheli, never mind English, was not a first language, demanded 'Can the history of all mankind be traced, then, to this Olduvai George whose body these scientist friends have dug up?'

Mary Leakey lists all the relevant geological beds, the tools and the fossils of Olduvai. It is open to the general reader to skip lightly over these sections if he or she so wishes, but they are clear enough and in fact well worth the effort to read, even if not everyone is quite clear about such distinctions as that between a small prehistoric black rhino, which was 'a browser', like the present black rhino, and not 'a grazer' like the present white variety.

In her conclusion, Mary explains that despite the 'discoveries at Olduvai, Laetoli, East Turkana, the Hadar and Omo Valley in Ethiopia... there are still tantalising gaps in our knowledge'. However, it is clear that anthropologists have previously underestimated both the antiquity of hominid fossils and the cultural level attained by early man and woman in Africa during the lower and middle Pleistocene. The importance of the geological and archaeological record at Olduvai is that it is unusually complete. There is a very long and fairly comprehensive succession of Pleistocene lavas, tufas and lake beds. This is its great value. Mary does not insist that man first developed in East Africa, for she knows well that the survival of sites and our knowledge of them is a function not only of drift geology and geomorphology but also of the intensity of the search — an intensity, at least in Eastern Africa, to which she has contributed much.

All she permits herself is the comment that important remains 'have been found in India, Pakistan, Hungary and Turkey as well as in Kenya' (and of course Ethiopia)



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and the available evidence merely suggests that East Africa has 'the greatest potential for further research'. More study is clearly required to establish certain parts of the sequence. It is good to have it confirmed that the government of Tanzania is positive and helpful. Nevertheless, a challenge clearly awaits the young archaeologists of tomorrow — many of whom will be African — and this includes, for example, establishing the relationship of *Homo Habilis* and *Homo Erectus*, clues to which may well be uncovered in the middle and upper bed at Olduvai Gorge.

There is one small slip on page 13, when the author refers to Tanzania becoming a British mandated territory at the end of the First World War. More correctly this would be German East Africa. Zanzibar was never part of the mandate, or the later trust. There is also some slight repetition on pages 27 and 30 but all in all, Mary Leakey's *Search for Early Man* is a splendid work. There is a short bibliography, maps and charts and some black and white plates. An interesting inclusion is a satellite view of the Eastern Serengeti revealing the soda lakes, gorges and volcanoes often with the clouds hanging on their crater rims.

The most memorable thing about another book on Eastern Africa — Dr Rolf Edberg's *The Dream of Kilimanjaro* — as far as this writer is concerned, is that prior to reading it he had thought that the beginning of book 1 of Milton's *Paradise Lost* was the longest opening sentence in the English language. Possibly Rolf Edberg's "Thus Africa greets you, etc., etc." has it beaten. But one thing is most probable — it will not last so long. Indeed, it is probably unfair to review Rolf Edberg's book in the same breath as that of Mary Leakey, just because it is about Eastern Africa — and not only as the title suggests. Africa's major 'shining mountain', Kilimanjaro — for the work is one of wandering imaginative description rather than scientific study. Indeed the uncaptioned picture inside the cover is of Mount Kenya and not Kilimanjaro. True it surveys geological history, but the language is invariably imaginative, occasionally erotic and more often simply lurid.

Dr Edberg's publisher points out that he has enjoyed a 'distinguished career in diplomacy, science and environmental studies' — he has been a Member of Parliament and a bureaucrat, then diplomat and finally provincial governor. Perhaps he wrote this work as a relaxation therefrom. Perhaps also it loses in translation, for the original 'dream' was in Swedish. Peppered with scientific terms, pithy comments and rhetorical questions, it reads indeed, like the notebook of a scientist on a trip.

Zinjanthropus is not correctly translated as 'East African man', it literally means 'Black man'. Nor is Kibo, the high crater of Kilimanjaro properly called a 'peak'. Nor did its first white climber try to rename it all Kaiser Wilhelm's peak. The several terms used were for each high point on the Kibo crater rim — Hans Mayer Point was one and Kaiser Wilhelm Spitz the highest. To be exact, at the independence of Tanganyika in 1961, a young officer was detailed to mark the historic moment by releasing a rocket

from the summit, thus renaming it Uhuru (Freedom) Point. It can now be revealed that in fact, as he confided at the time, he had to release it *en route* around the crater wall as the crucial midnight hour caught up with him.

It is only fair to point out, however, that this work is less concerned with exactness than with mood. For example, it concludes 'I rise, let my hand linger a while against the bark of the tree and walk down to the vehicles which stand ready for our departure. Always breaking camp from something. Always journeying towards something. Your goal is always elsewhere.' One hopes that Dr Edberg has since found his goal and we are spared too many further searches. Nevertheless, despite this there are undoubtedly many who retain romantic memories of Eastern Africa which they enjoy recapturing and savouring, perhaps in retirement. They could well enjoy this light evocative work as a complement to that of Mary Leakey.

R.G.

## Questions of good form

The Form of the African Novel by Kole  
Omotoso (Faaghamigbe Publishers, Ibadan  
& Akure, N150)

A COMMITMENT to form, according to Herbert Marcuse in his *Essay on Liberation*, is responsible for the fact that "art has remained alien to the revolutionary praxis". How does the artist through the medium of art, play a significant role in developing in society such a new consciousness and sensibility essential for bringing about social change? Omotoso has as a major preoccupation in this critical essay the issue of radicalising the form of the African novel so as not to make it "alien" to the revolutionary process in Africa. He succinctly describes the concern of this essay in its introduction as 'the need for the novelist in a "world that demands collective action to produce revolutionary change to try to "manipulate his medium to participate in that change"'. To radicalise the underprivileged in society requires the committed novelist to radicalise his art-form in a way that it is able to communicate and redefine the new social values through his story, characterisation and his narrative technique. The African novelist must find the conventional European form and literary tradition grossly inadequate for the above task. The essayist calls for a break with existing form, and an "ingression" of art into the revolutionary process.

To quote Marcuse again: "The rupture with the continuum of domination must also be a rupture with the vocabulary of domination". Omotoso's conviction is similar to this when he concludes his essay with an appeal to African novelists to break with the European conventional novel form and literary tradition. He writes: "Disease, ignorance and poverty, defeat, loss of consciousness and inability to cope with the

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demands of the new way of life do not exist for the novelist to mould deathless prose and compose timeless works of art.

He asserts, therefore, that any African writer who writes about change in his society the way "Europeans write about their own societies" stands the risk of turning his "objective reality to a mere mnemonic for his work of art".

It is no wonder then that Omotoso perceives the present form of the African novel from two main perspectives. The first category are those novels that inherit the form on the first hand (Soyinka's *The Interpreters* is cited as the example here), and on the other hand there are the novelists that adopt the traditional oral narrative form within the European literary tradition (Laye's *Radiance of the King* is Omotoso's example).

The second perspective pertains to novels whose dominant forms come from the traditional oral narrative. The best example that Omotoso quotes here is Ayi Kwei Armah's *Two Thousand Seasons*. The novel takes the historical oral narrative form in a collective narrative voice. Other novels that function in this medium include Osofisan's *Kolera Lolej* and the essayist's own novel *The Combat*.

The author was at great pains justifying the appropriateness of his classifying the form of his own novel as a novel within the oral narrative medium. It is difficult to see how the use of "marvellous realism" is sufficient evidence to show the predominance of the oral narrative form in *The Combat*. The essential point Omotoso seems to me to have made here is that the oral narrative form is the most useful and relevant form which novelists who want to employ their novels as a means of radicalising the masses must use.

As he shows in the example of Sembene Ousmane's *God's Bit of Wood*, which he gives as the best African novel in the radical mode: the use of generalised, de-individualised characters and a collective narrative voice which characterise the oral narrative form are also best suited for the radical novel. These features also separate the radical novels from the African novels in the European conventional and literary tradition: the latter, as seen in the novels of Soyinka and Achebe, are determined by their pursuit of individual heroism rather than collective action.

Although it is clear from this little book that Omotoso favours the radical novel form that is structured along the lines of the traditional oral narrative form, he does not develop this thesis sufficiently in this work. Rather, the bulk of the work is devoted to defining and analysing the European conventional form as distinct from the European literary tradition evident in the works of African novelists. In doing this, he does not allow himself enough time (or is it space?) to do justice to the other aspect of his preoccupation in the work: to provide a framework for treating the technical aspects of the novel in Africa in a way that rebuffs the charge that literature of commitment disregards aesthetics and places premium on content alone. A two-page treatment of the novels that have radical orientations

(*God's Bit of Wood and Petals of Blood*) does far less than justice to this concern.

Perhaps the fault is in the novel form itself, a form most suitable for an ordered society where leisure abounds to accommodate, in its tranquility, the creative indulgence of the novel-artist. One can read a full-length novel in between cocktails and discos in a 'developed' society. But not so in a society like Africa in a state of flux. It is for no other reason that recent writers in West Africa adopt the more revolutionary genres of the film and the theatre. Ousmane gave up the novel form to make films. Osofisan has not written another novel since *Kolera Lolej*. Omotoso himself embodies this dilemma as he moves between novel writing and playwrighting.

This book is in many ways a fresh approach to the structure of the African novel backed as it is by a theoretical chapter which proposes a conceptual mode whereby the novel can be better understood. This is in the form of a triple heritage, the conventional form of the European novel, the literary tradition of whatever foreign language used, and the form of the oral narratives. In also pointing the direction which the novelist interested in participating in social change through the novel medium must take Omotoso has contributed significantly through this essay to the existing corpus of the criticism of the African novel.

Olu Obafemi


## The problems of Adamawa

*The Lambe of Fombina* by Sa'ad Abubakar (Ahmadu Bello University Press and Oxford University Press. £14.00)

THIS IS the outcome of the first doctorate awarded by Ahmadu Bello University at Zaria, established in 1962 in the north of Nigeria; and it represents an admirable start. As Professor Iya Abubakar, Vice-Chancellor of the University when the book was published in the excellent Ahmadu Bello University History Series, and now Minister of Defence, says in his Foreword, it is "pioneering". For it tells the story, hitherto unrecorded except in diffuse records of many kinds — and in the oral traditions which Dr Abubakar has so assiduously collected — of Fombina, the most extensive emirate in the great Sokoto Caliphate established after the Jihad of 1804 in the area of what was to become Northern Nigeria; and of its rulers, the Lambe (plural of the Fulani, or Fulbe, or Fulbe for Emir, Lamido). Dr. Abubakar notes that, while the Caliphate itself has in recent years received abundant attention from historians, its constituent parts have been relatively neglected. He makes handsome amends with his book.

Fombina came to be known as Adamawa, after Adama, the learned, and in other ways remarkable, son of a minor Fulbe chief in the area. He, like the other Fulbe leaders who were to become rulers of most of the emirates of the later Northern Nigeria,

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received his "flag" from Usman dan Fodio, leader of the Jihad. But in many ways Fombina was radically different from the other emirates.

In the first place it was not until perhaps 1809 that Modibbo Adama received his flag for the Jihad "in the lands of the East", by which time Fulani rule was established in most of the Hausa emirates, although it was decades before it was finally established, in Fombina — and it remained precarious. And while in these long-established emirates the Jihadists took over an existing Islamic government with a view to reforming it, as Dr. Abubakar puts it, "according to the injunctions of the Qur'an and the Sunna," there was no Fombina state for Modibbo Adama to take over.

Moreover, while the populations of the Hausa-Fulani emirates were relatively homogenous, the people of Fombina were very diverse — as can be seen today in areas of Gongola state which were part of the former emirate. And, as Dr. Abubakar so vividly explains, they lived "under petty chieftaincies or in small groups headed by kindred elders". Muslims too, as well as the Fulbe conquerors, were in a minority in Fombina. So far from taking over a Muslim government, the Fulbe, of whom few were Muslims before the Jihad (and there were even fewer Muslims among the non-Fulbe majority) sought through the Jihad, during which they rallied to Islam, an end, for example, to their subordinate status in the community where they grazed their cattle. The Jihad in the upper Benue region arose

out of the social, economic and political conditions under which the Fulbe had been living." The influence of refugee Fulbe Muslims from Borno, where the Jihad was unsuccessful, must also be remembered.

Neither Modibbo Adama nor his successors, Muhammad Lawal, Umaru Sanda, his sons, nor Zubairu and the later Lamibe, could rely even on the support of the Fulbe "Lamibe", the lesser chiefs who retained much autonomy. In contrast to Kano or most other emirates, Fombina, in spite of the reforms of Lamido Sanda, who imported most of the official appointments made in the Hausa states, remained a ramshackle organisation. And perhaps, although he may not have intended this as its major objective, one of the great achievements of Dr. Abubakar's book is to describe the huge variety of peoples and their organisation in the emirate — together with the Lamibe's success, or lack of it, in exerting authority over them. For here we learn much about Nigeria, and about Africa.

With dry objectivity Dr. Abubakar, partly because he does not pretend that Fombina ever looked like a united state, records the dismemberment of the emirate between Britain and Germany in 1895: German Kamerun received seven-eighths of the area, but Britain retained Yola, the capital.

This dichotomy perpetuated after 1918 by a further division between Britain and France, although that original division had been intended to keep the French out. After 1918 what was later to become Saradauna

Province of Nigeria was transferred to British Trusteeship.

Perhaps Dr. Abubakar does not make enough of this in discussing the subsequent history of the Lamibe of Adamawa, based in Yola but deprived of the greater part of what they regarded as their territory. At least they retained their small but, after 1918, by northern Nigerian standards, considerable territories in Nigeria. But many of the non-Fulbe groups welcomed the advent of the British and their ban on slavery (Dr. Abubakar provides a valuable assessment of the importance of this institution in the emirate). No leading Emir in Nigeria today has a more disunited people than the Lamibe of Adamawa.

Finally, in the plebiscite of 1961, the "Northern Cameroons" or the later Saradauna Province, chose to make permanent the 1918 division of the great emirate of Fombina, leaving the traditional ruler at Yola in newly-independent Nigeria, with a small part of the territory his predecessors ruled, but could not always govern, and most of it in the Cameroon Republic. Dr. Abubakar, objective as ever, permits himself no sentimental regrets about the fate of a policy which, as he so vividly shows, was an unsuccessful attempt to meet what Professor Iya Abubakar describes as the "problems of nation-building".

Dr. Abubakar has collected and used a vast amount of material with much skill, and the narrative is, as Professor Iya Abubakar says, "richly-people'd". One questions only

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two statements. It is not true that the Jihad had by 1809 overrun "all" the Hausa states. And it is not clear what is meant by the note on page 51 which says that the Fulbe "predominate" in Sokoto, Kaduna, Kano and Borno states. They are not in a majority in any of these states, and their political predominance, which was very short-lived in Borno, belongs to the past.

DW

## An incomplete revision

*A Geography of West Africa* by H. R. Jarrett (Evans Brothers, £1.30)

VERY LITTLE of the material used in the first edition of this standard textbook, first published in 1956, or even of the sixth edition, remains. Dr Jarrett says, in this, the seventh edition. Even the sections describing the physical background are affected by the vast extension of knowledge of the environment in the last 20 years. But the great changes are to be found in the detailed description of the economic situation in the region and in the separate countries.

Dr Jarrett, who has taught both at Fourah Bay and at Ibadan, accepts the "ECOWAS definition" of West Africa, as the region from Mauritania to Nigeria, although he includes Equatorial Guinea and Sao Tome and Principe which are not in ECOWAS, as well as the Cape Verde Islands, which are. The book deals very briefly with politics and administration, but here again no author can reproduce much of

the material he used in 1956.

Dr Jarrett's look at the future, although unhappily many of the problems he mentions — the need to grow more food, for example, and to develop suitable technology, such as the equipment he describes and illustrates for drawing clean drinking water from rivers — are of long standing, has also been brought up-to-date. He is, however, rather out-of-date in his discussion of a "possible" iron and steel industry in West Africa, making no reference to Nigeria's decision to go ahead with the Ajaokuta complex and the Warri plant, although he does say that Nigeria is the only country in the area to offer a market big enough to sustain an iron and steel complex.

Indeed, in spite of the extensive revisions, the weakness of this well-produced book, with its numerous photographs, maps and diagrams, is a failure in some important matters to keep abreast of developments — although in most, such as Nigeria's new federal capital, it is up-to-date. As well as ignoring steel developments, now well under way, in Nigeria, it speaks of Nigerian groundnut exports, which have disappeared, as being now over 610,000 tons, with "the prosperity of the north" resting "very largely upon this crop" — a statement which would always have been open to question. The Mano River Bridge has enormously shortened the route from Freetown to Monrovia, but the map of major roads still shows the old roundabout route. Neither Freetown nor Monrovia is shown as an airport "with inter-continental

services".

Such lapses, however, detract little from the value of a book which can be used for reference by all concerned with economic matters in West Africa, as well as by schools and colleges. Teachers might supplement the excellent "exercises" now included at the end of each chapter, as well as a group of "formal" questions (there are also notes at the end of the book which help the framing of responses to the more complex questions), by asking in what respects the book appears to be out-of-date.

Yet there is one paragraph about recent Nigerian history which cannot be explained by the difficulty of keeping up-to-date with political developments. This first excuses the disastrous attempt made in 1966 to abolish the then Regions in favour of a unitary system by explaining that 12 "states" would be established in place of the Regions. The states were in fact established well after the overthrow of the regime which wanted to abolish the Regions, and which had no intention of establishing these states. The paragraph then suggests that the states were established in 1967, which they were, but after the civil war, which actually ended in 1970, "though the federal form of government was maintained". The states were in fact established precisely to strengthen the federal form of government.

This is a paragraph so absurd that if one did not have adequate contrary evidence from the rest of the book one would question the author's ability to comment on West African affairs.

T.J.

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LETTERS  
to the Editor

## Victory for Africa

SIR: Mugabe's victory, in spite of the conniving and machinations of Pretoria and Rhodesia's transitional state apparatus, is a victory for the Zimbabweans over the forces of darkness and destruction. It is a well-deserved and long-awaited victory.

For Africa as a whole, there are lessons to be learned from the elections as well as pointers for the future. The internal and external forces of evil and reaction clothed in the garb of Christian concerns cannot be expected to accept their defeat gracefully (they are not graceful). South Africa and her allies cannot be expected to cooperate with the Zimbabweans to consolidate their hard-earned victory and freedom in peace.

Two attempts have been made on Mugabe's life. Such attempts are bound to escalate in the future. Mugabe's victory is therefore a call to action on the rest of Africa. Never again should independent Africa dilly-dally over its responsibility for Southern Africa. The stage is now set for the final onslaught and Africa cannot now afford to rest, relax, or relent in its efforts to wipe out racism and apartheid from the continent, for no one from the outside will do it for us.

Nigeria's warning to Britain and South Africa is certainly timely and augurs well for the future. We are hoping that Nigeria matches action with rhetoric and is joined by the rest of Africa as well as true lovers of human dignity and freedom elsewhere. Meanwhile, all hail Mugabe! All hail Mugabe! But the struggle must continue. Zimbabwe's victory and the patently false expressions of good will from the so-called "free world" should not lull us into a false sense of security. Africa is yet to be free.

DEJO A. ABDULRAHMAN

## Message for Europeans

SIR: I take Chinua Achebe's good point that Europeans use the literature of disillusionment in Africa as a means of reinforcing their own prejudices. 'Why Afro-European dialogue fails' (West Africa, February 25). Nevertheless, I think he is unfair to Conrad, though probably not to most European readers of 'Heart of Darkness', when he speaks of it as propaganda for the 'All Africans are savages' line.

As I understand the story, its moral is not that whites are civilised and blacks savages, nor that blacks are 'noble' and white savages, but that underneath whatever civilisation we may appear to possess, we are all savages, black and white. And the strongest point of the story is that Kurtz, because of his self-appointed mission as the bringer of light into darkness, turns himself into more of a savage than those around him.

Achebe is quite right to cite Hitler and Stalin as examples of European 'darkness'. One of the most remarkable aspects of Conrad's story, it seems to me, is that it is genuinely prophetic of the way in which the self-appointed mission of those men to put the world to rights led not to Utopia but to the utter degradation of themselves and the world around them. It is a restating of the old classical theme that he who attempts to be more than a man becomes less than a man.

One of the destructive effects of colonialism is that it left many Africans with the feeling that unless they lived up to the European ideal of humanity they were to be accounted less than human. As Achebe points out, Europeans continually fail to live up to this ideal and yet they don't seem to feel inferior as a result. Conrad's

story suggests that we should all be more careful about making extravagant claims for ourselves and for other people. If Europeans don't heed the message it is their fault, not Conrad's.  
Kent, UK N. P. F. MACHIN

Strategy for  
health services

SIR: I was disappointed to see the disparaging comments on "Lagos role for traditional medicine" in Matcher's Diary, West Africa (February 18) and would like to set the record straight on some of the points. The advantages of a strategy for health services development based on a network of peripheral community-level prevention-oriented health units, to which the majority of the population will have access, is no longer merely a matter of theory. There are examples of its successful implementation at varying levels of sophistication, in limited parts of a number of countries in Asia, Europe, Latin America and Africa including Nigeria.

An increasing appeal is now being made for the translation of this strategy into plans of action, and its implementation at village, local community, with appropriate referral links at district, state and federal levels. This is precisely because it has become abundantly evident that the currently accepted strategy of national health delivery services is neither just, relevant, efficient nor economic. It is largely cure-oriented and caters mainly for the interests and convenience of the medical and allied professions and those of the minority urban elite members of the population, rather than for the basic health needs of the rural and pen-urban poor who are truly at risk.

To say that the "alternative strategy" provides for using "semi-qualified people" is to condemn it unjustly and to prejudice the public as well as the medical profession against itself. The staff should be qualified to carry out specific essential functions and activities which respond to the real needs of the community they serve, and which initially do not require the scarce, expensive, unduly sophisticated and purely cure-oriented doctors and nurses, trained for seven and three years respectively. Their activities should be co-ordinated with those of workers in other health-related socio-economic sectors and those of health workers at more sophisticated intermediate and central levels.

It is in this context that attempts are being made to de-mythify scientific modern medicine and rehabilitate traditional or folk medicine which is at present the sole or main source of health care available to 75 per cent or more of the people of Nigeria, as is the case in many other under-developed countries in Africa, Asia and elsewhere. The hope is that traditional and modern medicine will complement each other by making more realistic and effective use of all available human and material resources on a basis of self-reliance. Indeed what we call modern medicine evolved from the traditional medicine of many different cultures and countries. The traditional form still persists in such modern guises as herbalism, homeopathy, naturopathy, chiropraxy, etc. in industrialised countries.

Unfortunately the Lagos State legislators' proposal to develop "traditional hospitals, health centres and clinics" confuses the issue by contradicting their stated objective of making traditional medicine an integral part of the existing health care services. But the self-righteous statement of the need for "close and careful supervision of the activities of herbalists" may mislead readers into assuming that there is no need for supervision — proper organisation, training, monitoring, evaluation and continuing education — or doctors, nurse and other members of the modern medical profession.

To quote glibly the gory story of the 50-year-old farmer and his wife who died after drinking a herbal potion, as an indication of the need for supervision of herbalists is like hitting below the belt. One can just as well quote examples of dramatic and unnecessary deaths following wrong diagnosis and treatment, unnecessary operations, accidents in dosage and use of drugs, anaesthesia, equipment, etc. in scientific medical practice in the most developed and industrialised countries, let alone in Nigeria. Nor would one lose sight of the implication of the fact that in this particular case the couple "had consulted several doctors and herbalists about their problems", before reaching the final fatal therapist!

Lagos, Nigeria

DR. OLATUNJI ADENIYI-JONES

## Inter-disciplinary approach to health

SIR: It is important, it seems, to comment on the foresightedness displayed by the Nigerian School Health Association in their resolution calling on both the Federal and State governments to establish a joint national school health council and state school health committee to help with policy formulation and implementation (*West Africa* January 28). The need to establish a central co-ordinating committee to oversee health policies and their implementation would appear to be overdue bearing in mind the issues raised in my letter in the *West Africa* of November 19, 1979. The Commonwealth Institute would lend support to such a development if one of the basic aims is directed to improving the general health of the people.

May I, therefore, suggest that the setting up of a "National Health Education Course" may offer a good chance of achieving some sort of an inter-disciplinary approach to health, and health related issues such as community medicine,

environmental health and clinical medicine.

London

MOSES J NTUK-IDEM

## Rawlings and a new political party?

SIR: Kofi Owusu's letter (*West Africa*, March 3) seems to me a show of naivety and love for sweeping statements which are unfailing tools of the ex-CPP and its hybrid, the PNP. If Ghanaians cherish democracy as Kofi Owusu claims, why should he and his senior comrades feel so worried when Flight-Lt Rawlings, a citizen of Ghana, airs his views? Or are we made to believe that only elected MPs and the Government can express their views in this Third Republic of ours? Are we to sit down quietly and watch the Government run Ghana, only to exercise our democratic rights on ballot days? Have the soldiers, whether retired or active, become non-Ghanaians?

The days of slogans and euphemistic propaganda should end now. In its place, we want constructive criticisms from patriotic Ghanaians who should not be swayed by their stomachs. As for Kofi Owusu's challenge to Flight-Lt Rawlings that 'if he wants to take part in active politics he must join one of the political parties, may I say to Rawlings, if you want to take part in active politics, FORM A NEW PARTY. A lot of patriotic Ghanaians are waiting for the day when a selfless man like you will take such initiative. That will be the day politics would be invaded by selfless Ghanaians whose ambition would be to serve the people not to exploit them.

There are only two main tribes in Ghana. These are the Rich and the Poor tribes. Rawlings is not an Ewe, he is not a Scot either. Rawlings, in my opinion is from the Poor tribe. I am not 'a respectable Ashanti', I am of the Poor tribe. 'Our fellow-countrymen who live in abject poverty' have arrived at their present state because of the persistent exhibition of greed and extreme

avarice by elderly members of the RICH TRIBE. Rawlings is concerned. I am too.

London

KWAKU DANON

## What makes an ultra-modern airport?

SIR: As much as we Nigerians are proud of ultra-modern Murtala Mohammed airport, it has been a while since anyone cared to say any about it. When we define our airport as "ultra-modern", we are actually grouping it with other "modern" airports on the basis of services, its efficiency and its facilities.

However, serious defects have been creeping up, such that have stained our claim of ultra-modernism. Your article "Crusade Against Airport Touts" (*West Africa* Feb 4th) demonstrates this. A few months ago the *Times* of Nigeria summed up the 'Arrival' section of the airport as "Hell". What then is happening at the airport?

I am mainly concerned about this 'Arrival' terminal, which, on the arrival of travellers, is like a medieval siege. It is even from personal experience, that the immigration control gates, health control gates, currency control gates are seriously understaffed. Travellers, after long hours in the air, have to spend the majority of the remaining part of the day at these points. This inevitably leads to a long wait from their respective aircrafts, which most people find quite intolerable.

Considering these faults and others, I do think that I am being cynical or pessimistic with regard to the future of our airport. I strongly believe that I may have quiet support of many individuals who have through nothing short of hell at the 'Arrival' terminal, has left off to the members of staff. 'Departure' terminal who indeed make up the culpable situation of the rest of the airport.

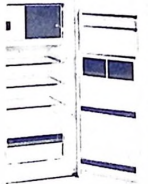
TONY JA

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## "... until all Africans are free"

SIR: I wish to comment on the political statement by the Nigerian Minister of Affairs, Professor Ishaya Adu, as reported in your *Dateline Africa* column (*West Africa*, March 3). The Professor warned that "Nigeria would return fire with fire if South Africa entered militarily in the political transition in Zimbabwe."

So much and too often the supporters of the apartheid regime in South Africa would like to remind us about the military might of the government in Pretoria, that no African State either acting alone or in conjunction with others could match in military capability of the Pretoria regime. It was therefore gratifying to hear that this view is not shared by the Nigerian Government. In fact, South Africa's military egotism is a myth and an attempt to discourage neighbouring independent African States from calling Pretoria's bluff, in their attempts and efforts to liquidate the intolerable apartheid instruments of oppression and intimidation will continue to be challenged. Unfortunately, the incoherent propaganda seem to be working. It has taken root in the minds of many cowardly African leaders. President Nyerere of Tanzania and President Kaunda of Zambia are the most cajoled victims of South Africa's military strength propaganda.

The question is: whether any African State can call Pretoria's bluff, but whether the problems and the threats posed by apartheid would be dissipated by the inactivity of the oppressed Africans. It is understandable that an attempt to confront South Africa militarily would constitute disastrous consequences to African States bordering South Africa. But fear of failure in our attempt at anything, however difficult, is a sign of weakness.

African leaders and their people should be reminded that their should be no compromise on the racial doctrine of the white minority and apartheid regimes in South Africa. There is no room for irrational sentiments and complacency. Words aren't enough, unless they are equally backed with concrete actions. The aims of the white regimes are well known, regardless of whether they mean black Africans good or evil. The only language these species of the human race can understand is force and that they will use it. All well meaning people should give encouragement and support to the inevitable struggles ahead. In the words of the late President Nkrumah of Ghana, "No African is free until all Africans are free."

EMMANUEL OBAMWONYI

## ack Africa's stand on international sports

There seems to be some confused comparison between African objection to sports in South Africa, including the call for the boycott of the Montreal Olympic Games in 1976, and the current US proposal for the boycott of the Montreal Olympic Games over the situation in

Africa's call for the boycott of the Montreal Games was made in the interests of sport, to solve sporting problems. South Africa by its apartheid system has been preventing blacks from participating fully in sport on equal footing with whites, and therefore has been undermining the universality of the Olympic Games. The proposal called for Africa to have South Africa well as all those who harboured with South Africa been banned from the Olympic Games. Therefore been made primarily in the interests of sport, to ensure that the letter and spirit of our commitment to non-racial and non-discriminatory participation in sport were

not in violation of the situation in Afghanistan which has

prompted the US to call for the boycott of the Moscow games, however well intentioned, is a different thing altogether. It is politics not sport and must be viewed as such. Sport here is being used for one reason or the other to help resolve an international political development. But that the propriety of this action is neither here nor there, is a matter for individual judgement. However the difference between this action and that of Africa's stand on sport with South Africa must be made distinct and understood.

Conakry

KWEKU AITA

## Undiplomatic diplomats

SIR: Lt-Col. Alfred Gom, who was serving with the UN peace-keeping force in Lebanon and subsequently captured by Israeli soldiers ought to be awarded a medal for bravery. For months this highly disciplined soldier (he would never have reached the rank of Lt.-Col. if he was anything otherwise) was made to swallow a daily dose of humiliation at the hands of Israelis.

At a time when Lt-Col. Gom needed the sympathy of his fellow countrymen he was "spat" in the face by a Nigerian diplomat — a Mr. Hembah — who called him a "drunkard". As if that was not bad enough, a fellow officer and comrade-in-arms was alleged to have degraded the accused officer before his Israeli captors (*West Africa*, March 3).

The report by Mr. Hembah that Lt-Col. Gom was a "drunkard" makes the diplomat an embarrassment to his noble profession. The well-being of this officer while in the hands of the Israelis should have been Mr. Hembah's primary concern. One doubts very much if he made genuine efforts to contribute to any positive diplomatic exercise aimed at securing the release of Lt-Col. Gom.

On the other hand, when one considers what the military officer who visited Gom in jail said of him, one cannot but entertain fears for the emotional stability of a military officer to whom such language could appear rational. He had been sent to secure the release of a fellow officer but he chose to betray, not Lt-Col. Gom, but our country. In my own opinion Lt-Col. Alfred Gom should be spared further indignity and awarded a medal for bravery while Mr. Hembah and the treacherous military officer should be admonished accordingly.

Liverpool UK

DANIEL PAUL ICHULL

## Patriotism in practise

SIR: It seems to me that in an attempt to find solutions to Ghana's presently shattered economy, three types of Ghanaians have emerged each prescribing the medication for the economic recovery to his ailing motherland.

The first category of these concerned patriots are the self-styled professors and doctors of various academic disciplines who think they have all the knowledge and solutions to the economic problem of the country. This class of citizen believe that they can sit comfortably in the "foreign Ivory Towers" not only to criticise the economic measures at home but to prescribe all the orthodox economic theories.

The second category are also domiciled abroad. These believe that Ghana's economic recovery lies in organising "charity dances" and high-life competitions and treating themselves to specially prepared "chinchinga" and "Kentucky fried chicken" at Ghana's Independence Anniversary Celebrations and then collecting donations in cash or in kind to be sent down to the ailing motherland.

Meanwhile, the ailing motherland continues to wriggle in economic pains either because these prescriptions are too abstract, devoid of any practical help to her, or because the long distance between the "patient" and the "doctor" prevent all the prescriptions from having the desired

The irony of the situation is that these same Ghanaians who are trying to "help" in the economic recovery of their country at the same time engage in black market currency trafficking to the detriment of the very shattered economy they are helping to recover. It is an open secret that Ghanaians resident abroad have contributed substantially to the present economic mess of the country from black market currency deals.

The third category of Ghanaians and the like can be found in the country itself. These are the very people who occupy top positions in the nation's civil service and in the corporations and are involved in the running of the affairs of the country. These give sermons to their subordinates to refrain from any acts that may further worsen the economic situation in the country. Their own solution to the economic problem, lies in ill-advicing governments both past and present, to seek loans from abroad on which they themselves feed fat. As for me, I shall rise up like the biblical "prodigal son" and go back to the motherland to plead for forgiveness. For I believe that we all have sinned against the state and have come short of her past glories. As my first bold step I am going to vent at least 25 per cent of my expatriate salary to the motherland every month. Who can follow my example?

University of Nigeria

ERNEST K ASARE

## Regressive grant system

SIR: I would like to draw the attention of the Nigerian Authorities responsible for the welfare of students' abroad to the question of grants and allowances. Do these authorities etc feel that their policies (whatever they are) regarding grants are really effective? I find it rather unbelievable and distasteful that these authorities with their experience would ignore current world inflationary trends by operating a very low and unacceptable grant system, hence subjecting their so-called 'Sponsored Students' to various hardships.

Take a typical Nigerian Student in the United Kingdom who receives one of these grants. His income per week is only thirty-three pounds twenty-three pence (£33 23). This is below any comparable figure. The same student a few years back received an average weekly pay of about £36-£40, while the rate of inflation then was fairly low. But as prices rose and inflation set-off, it would be rather logical to see a proportionate upward trend with grants, but the reverse is the case.

I therefore call on the various Scholarship Boards/Directorates to please review their policies on this issue, and perhaps try to operate a more progressive grant system as opposed to the present one which I regard as regressive.

Blackpool, UK

FERGUSON A AMADI

## "For the record"

SIR: I have read your article of February 25, 1980 on ECOWAS, with interest. It is a fairly accurate report of the interview given by me to your correspondent in Lagos in August 1979 and I wish to indicate my gratitude. However, there are some minor errors which I should be grateful if you would correct.

The performance of Morgan Grenfell in the management of ECOWAS funds for 1979 was satisfactory. Instead of 10.5 per cent as indicated in the story, their yield on ECOWAS Fund was 12.34 per cent as at December 31, 1979. Further, I should like to put the record straight and say that I am a graduate of the London School of Economics and Harvard Law School and I studied one year of African Studies at Edinburgh but did not take a diploma.

Lome, Togo

ROBERT C TUBMAN

Managing Director

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# SHIPPING News

## BARBER LINES

**EASTBOUND** — TEXAS slg Norfolk Mar. 15, Baltimore Mar. 8, Philadelphia Mar. 10, New York Mar. 13 and Sunny Point Mar. 17, for Tenerife, Dakar, Freetown, Abidjan, Tema, Apapa and Douala **TAMPA** slg Norfolk Mar. 28, Baltimore Mar. 31, Philadelphia Apr. 2 and New York Apr. 4, for same ports **WESTBOUND** — TAMPA leaving West African ports as above Mar. 10/16, for Norfolk due Mar. 27, thence Baltimore, Philadelphia and New York **TEXAS** due load West African ports as above Apr. 7/13, for Norfolk due Apr. 24, thence Baltimore, Philadelphia and New York.

## BLACK STAR LINES

**WESTBOUND** — OTI RIVER Tema Feb. 23, Takoradi Mar. 1, US/Gulf Mar. 15. **SOUTHBOUND** — BIRINI RIVER Hamburg Mar. 14, Antwerp Mar. 18, Rotterdam Mar. 21, Rouen Mar. 25 **NASIA RIVER** Middlesbrough Mar. 20, London Mar. 28 **NORTHBOUND** — OFFIN RIVER Hull Mar. 20, London Apr. 14 **SUBIN RIVER** Plymouth Mar. 24

## E.A.C. LINES

**SOUTHBOUND** — FIONIA Oslo Mar. 10, Copenhagen Mar. 15, Aarhus Mar. 20, Hamburg Mar. 22, Bremerhaven Mar. 23, Rotterdam Mar. 24, Antwerp Mar. 25, Le Havre Mar. 26, calling at Tenerife, Dakar, Freetown, Monrovia, Abidjan, Tema, Lome, Cotonou, Lagos, Port Harcourt and Douala.

**NORTHBOUND** — BORINGLA Douala Mar. 26, Lagos/Apapa Mar. 21, Abidjan Mar. 25, Monrovia Mar. 27, Dakar Mar. 29, Tenerife Mar. 31, Amsterdam Apr. 3, Antwerp Apr. 3, Rotterdam Apr. 3, Bremen Apr. 7, Hamburg Apr. 6, Aarhus Apr. 4, Copenhagen Apr. 9, Oslo Apr. 11, Le Havre Apr. 10.

## ELDER DESPASTER LINES

**SOUTHBOUND** — DUMBAIA slg Monrovia Mar. 17, PEGU slg Liverpool Mar. 17. **NORTHBOUND** — SHERBRO due Wurm Mar. 18, SOKOTO slg Apapa Mar. 24.

## FARRELL LINES

**OUTBOUND** — EXPORT BANNER Norfolk Mar. 16, Baltimore Mar. 19, Philadelphia Mar. 18, New York Mar. 22, for Dakar Mar. 29, Monrovia Apr. 2, Buchanan Apr. 6, Abidjan Apr. 8, Lagos/Apapa Apr. 10. **INBOUND** — EXPORT BUILDER Matadi Mar. 19, Douala Mar. 22, Lagos/Apapa Mar. 20, Abidjan Mar. 23, Monrovia Mar. 26, New York Apr. 5, Philadelphia Apr. 8, Baltimore Apr. 9, Norfolk Apr. 10.

## HOEGH LINE

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

## K LINE

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

## MEDAFRICA/GOLDEN EAGLE NIGERIA LINE

**EUROPE-WA** — NAGOS Rochester Feb. 28, Hamburg Mar. 4, Ipswich Mar. 12, Lagos Mar. 25, Port Harcourt Mar.

**MEDITERRANEAN-WA** — GOOD TRADER Marseilles Mar. 7, Marina Carrara Mar. 12, Livorno Mar. 16, Barcelona Mar. 18, Valencia Mar. 20, Lagos Apr. 1, Port Harcourt Apr. 6, Warri Apr. 11. **USA-WA** — MANTHOS Houston Feb. 22, Freeport Feb. 26, New Orleans Feb. 29, Pensacola Mar. 2, Savannah Mar. 6, Lagos Mar. 25, Luanda Mar. 30. **FAREAST-WA** — ROBE FIVE Kobe Feb. 21, Kaohsiung Feb. 27, Keelung Mar. 1, Hong Kong Mar. 5, Kaohsiung Mar. 10, Singapore Mar. 18, Lagos Apr. 14, Port Harcourt Apr. 19.

## MITSUI O.S.K. LINE

**ATLANTIC-MARU** — Kobe Mar. 5, Hong Kong Mar. 13/14, Singapore Mar. 18/19, for Abidjan, Monrovia, Tema, Cotonou, Apapa, Port Harcourt, Douala, Matadi, Lobito.

## NIGERIAN NATIONAL SHIPPING LINE

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## OT AFRICA LINE AB

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## PALM LINE

**SOUTHBOUND** — APAPA PALM Copenhagen Mar. 10, Helsingborg Mar. 10/11, Freetown Apr. 1/3, Port Harcourt Apr. 21/29, Douala Apr. 30 **BAMENDA PALM** — Liverpool Mar. 31, Abidjan Apr. 10, Apapa Apr. 13.

## S.C.A.D.O.A.

**SOUTHBOUND** — VILLE DE BORDEAUX Dunkirk Mar. 7, Rouen Mar. 12, Le Havre Mar. 10, Bordeaux Mar. 22, Abidjan Mar. 26, Lome Mar. 31, Apapa Mar. 28 (containers only). **NORTHBOUND** — SAINT JACQUES Pointe Noire Mar. 10, Port Genit Mar. 13, L'Anse-aux-Loupes Mar. 5, Abidjan Mar. 18, San Pedro Mar. 18, Dakar Mar. 24, Nantes Apr. 1, Honfleur Apr. 4, Dunkirk Apr. 6.

## SCANDINAVIA WEST AFRICA LINE

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

## UNITED KINGDOM WEST AFRICA LINES

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## WESTWIND AFRICA LINE

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

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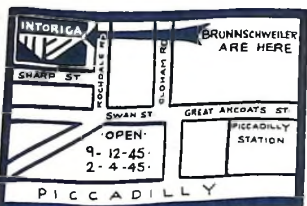
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At the Annual General Election held on 4th of November 1979 at the Ebu Community Hall London EC8, the following officers were elected for 1979/80

President Mr E. M. Iyohoh  
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Assistant Secretary Mr W. I. Olibe  
Publicity  
Social Secretary Dr. M. O. Okenahie  
Treasurer Mr V. Ewurue  
Financial Secretary Mr W. E. Ugozie  
Welfare Officer Ms R. Immyadade  
Executive Ex-Officio Members: Chet J. M. Abboh Mr A. B. E. Mether Mr F. D. Ugoakor and Mr P. O. Emakpase

Urhubo Estates should note that agreed quarterly meeting dates for 1980 are: 8 April, 6 July and 5 October, at 2 pm, at the above address. Please attend punctually.

Signed E. M. Iyohoh,  
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Dr. M. O. Okenahie  
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- (iv) Pupil Hydrographic Surveyor Grade II

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than thirty days from the date of this publication.

M. A. ODUKOYA

Ag. Secretary to the Authority

N.P.A. NOTICE No. 3227

dated 13th February, 1980.

# ECONOMIC and Business NEWS

## Businessmen and the Budget from a correspondent

GREAT EXPECTATIONS are being placed on Nigeria's next Budget on April 1, as Stanley Macebuh said in his article in the *Daily Times* to which reference was made on page 464, and those expectations are great amongst British businessmen as well as in Nigeria. But Mr. Macebuh warned that these expectations could turn out to be just dreams and they certainly will be for anybody, whether in Nigeria or Britain, who thinks that from April 2 the days of easy money and easy selling are going to return.

Realistically, the Budget is most likely to be largely a deck-clearing operation with little innovation and new expenditure, even though the Nigerian Chambers of Commerce have been pressing for relaxations. A meeting which the Chambers had with the President has shown that he is keen to improve overseas trade relations and is aware of the harm being done both to trade and to the Nigerian economy by the problems in cash flows, even though there is no doubt that the situation here is much improved from, say, six months ago.

There is reason to hope for some modification in the pre-shipment inspection scheme and the M Form procedure but this is more likely to be a raising of thresholds rather than anything approaching dismantlement. There may be improved incentives for investment, especially those involving a transfer of technology and coupled with such investments there may be a less rigid approach to employing necessary expatriates.

Even without a boom budget the Nigerian market is going to expand and offer opportunities to British businessmen but if they are to take advantage of the fact British businessmen will have to be prepared to make an effort.

## Another Common Fund delay

A ministerial conference to approve \$750m to finance the Common Fund for international commodity agreements has been put back from April until the end of May because the 100 countries involved need more time to work on the articles of the fund.

Negotiating committee chairman Herbert Walker, of Jamaica, has said that he is confident that most problems would be solved at a

committee meeting from April 3 to 13 and that he hoped the ministers would be able to initial the agreement at the formal conference from May 27 to 30.

Mr Walker said the main issues still outstanding are the financial structure to give the fund credit-worthiness with banks from which it would want to borrow, and whether the fund could borrow from the Second Window. Industrial countries are against borrowing from the Second Window, but developing countries wanted the fund to have this power

because the market is going to be just as open and as attractive to other non-Nigerian businessmen. The way to win business in Nigeria is to go to the country and seek out the opportunities which are there to be grasped. Now worthwhile trade can be done by somebody sitting permanently in an office in Britain and writing or answering letters in a desultory manner. A British businessman based in Lagos observed the other day that on each of six flights to Kano this year he had sat next to a non-Nigerian businessman, each time next to a businessman of different nationality and not one of them was a Briton.

● Britain exported £76m worth of goods in Nigeria in January this year compared with a monthly average for 1979 of only £53m. The 1979 figures had already shown a marked improvement towards the end of the year when the Nigerian economy began to pull out of its recession.

Total British exports to Nigeria for 1979 were £636m — a sharp drop on the previous two years when they topped the £1,000m. Businessmen attending a seminar in London, organised by the Department of Trade recently, believe that British exports to Nigeria could again reach £1,000m this year.

Speakers at the seminar urged companies to send their top salesmen and said there would be particularly good opportunities for exports connected with agriculture and the setting up of local industries.

President Shagan has made agriculture and industry two of the cardinal points of his economic strategy. It is widely expected these sectors will be allocated substantial funds in the April 1 budget.

The rapid rise in Nigeria's oil income also promises to fuel a boom in the country's economy.

committee meeting from April 3 to 13 and that he hoped the ministers would be able to initial the agreement at the formal conference from May 27 to 30.

Mr Walker said the main issues still outstanding are the financial structure to give the fund credit-worthiness with banks from which it would want to borrow, and whether the fund could borrow from the Second Window. Industrial countries are against borrowing from the Second Window, but developing countries wanted the fund to have this power

## Temporao crop to be lower

Brazil's Temporao cocoa crop could be as much as 35 per cent lower this year according to reports from the Bahia growing region. Last year's Temporao crop totalled about 188,000 tonnes. Gill & Duffus forecast this year was about 150,000 tonnes.

In Brasilia Agriculture Ministry officials said the crop was likely to be late and sharply lower but it was too early to estimate the harvest, which will start in May and last until September.

The Brazilian Ministry of Agriculture expects world cocoa bean grindings to rise 2 per cent to 1.45m tonnes, and world stocks by about 137,000 tonnes.

Cocoa producers and consumers began a new round of talks in London last week to discuss renegotiating the International Cocoa Agreement. The producers were still seeking the buffer stock price range of 120-166 cents a lb rejected by consumers at the last negotiating session in Geneva.

The markets have been quiet with attention focussed on the talks. At the middle of last week March cocoa was above £1,370 a tonne, with contracts for the rest of this year climbing through the £1,400 and £1,510 reached by next March.

## Coffee weakens

Coffee had been climbing, largely because of speculators and buying on behalf of the Bogota Group of producers following Colombia's sharp increase in export prices (*West Africa*, March 10). At the middle of last week, however, the trend reversed, despite Brazil having raised its minimum export price — for the third time in two weeks — to \$1.90 a lb (just short of the world market asking price); this allows a 40 cents discount to big roasters.

At the middle of last week March coffee was about £1,612 a tonne. September and November prices were about £1,705 with all the other contracts in the £1,600s.

## Tin troubles

Speculators who had lifted tin prices to new record levels took their profit last week and brought prices hurtling down. A fall of 530 tonnes, to 3,795 tonnes, in London Metal Exchange warehouse stocks was more or less as expected and so had little effect on the fall. Speculators have realised that cash locked into metals is not earning, while high interest rates are available from banks — and charged to those speculators operating on borrowed funds.

At the middle of last week a late recovery in demand helped a little and both spot and three month tin were about £2,900 a tonne.

## Patent talks fail

A 90-nation conference in Geneva failed to reach agreement to alter key provisions of a century-old treaty governing the

grant of patents. There are fears that this could lead to Third World legislation which might inhibit Western exporters of technology.

The negotiations, which began early last month after five years of preparatory work, were intended to revise the Paris Convention on Protection of Industrial Property. The key advantages under the 1883 treaty (revised in 1967) are the exclusive right to use patented technology for a certain period of time (usually 15 to 20 years) and to licence the technology to other users.

The Third World has complained that foreign companies obtain patents on their territories to prevent local rivals from entering the market and then import the product resulting from the patented technology instead of investing in local manufacture.

These countries want freedom to give a licence to use the patented technology to another enterprise against the original owner's will if he does not set up a production facility within three years.

It is thought that some Western companies will now become more cautious in dealings with Third World governments and enterprises wishing to buy technology under licence, which would make it harder or more expensive to import know-how for domestic industries in developing countries.

## Loans for Ivory Coast and Gabon

The beggar-my-neighbour interest rate policies which have gripped the world's financial centres this year have dampened activity in the international capital markets (*writes a correspondent*). Nonetheless, West Africa as a region has been a rather successful borrower and two more loans are being made.

The Ivory Coast was due to sign a \$110m loan to finance the Bui Dam on March 14 in London. The 1½ per cent spread above Libor is a little higher than the previous loans which the Republic has guaranteed this year. However this reflects a general trend in the market rather than any lack of confidence in the Republic. In fact, the banks agreed to raise the loan by 10 per cent more than the amount originally sought. It has a 10-year term, which will please the IMF who are worried about a repayment bulge in the forthcoming decade. The Fund has advised the Ivory Coast to seek maturities of at least 10 years so as not to add to the bulge.

Later on in the month, probably March 24, the Republic of Gabon will sign a loan for \$100m in London. It is for eight years at a spread of 1½ per cent above Libor, with a four year grace period. Citicorp International Group and Banque Nationale de Paris are the lead managers. The loan has apparently been enthusiastically received by the market and the amount may be increased.

## More cereal aid agreed

An agreement nearly doubling food aid to developing countries was signed in London recently. It will provide 7.6m. tonnes of wheat and other cereals and cereal products a year to needy nations.

It replaces an agreement under which 4.25m. tonnes of food aid was provided. About 75 per cent of the aid was in the form of grants — the rest was in low interest loans.

The donor countries met at the Food Aid Committee of the International Wheat Council. The new agreement, calling for grants wherever possible, will go into effect on July 1, following ratification by the signatory countries.

The signatories were the US, 4,470,000 tonnes — the European Common Market, 1,650,000 — Canada, 600,000 — Australia, 400,000 — Japan, 300,000 — Sweden, 40,000 — Argentina, 35,000 — Switzerland, 32,000 — Norway, 30,000 — and Finland and Austria 20,000 each.

The new agreement runs for one year, but contains provisions for its extension. It covers aid in wheat, barley, maize, oats, rye, sorghum and rice, and their products.

## Ivory Coast oil negotiations

The Ivory Coast's state oil company Petroci has announced that it is ready to negotiate with foreign oil companies over joint development on production-sharing terms of on- and offshore areas not covered by existing licences (participation agreements have been the form hitherto).

Two consortia already hold concessions in Ivory Coast territory. Esso (63.75 per cent), Shell (21.25 per cent) and Petroci (15 per cent) are developing the Beher offshore field — which is expected to come on-stream in July — under a 25-year production licence (with a possible 10-year extension), and also holds three two-year exploration licences (with two-year extensions available). Oil and gas have been found on its exploration permits, and are currently under evaluation.

The other groups are Phillips (57.5 per cent), Agip (22.5 per cent), Sedco (10 per cent) and Petroci (10 per cent). Sedco having replaced original members Hispanoil and Getty. The permit covers an area of 19,500 sq km, mainly deep water, two wells in the shallower northerly part have made non-commercial, but significant, finds.

● The Italian oil company AGIP has signed a new agreement for oil exploration and production in a 1,100 square kilometre area off the Ivory Coast with the American companies Phillips Petroleum and Sedco and the Ivory Coast National Oil Company, Petroci. This agreement is in addition to the already existing one mentioned above.

## Profits dip at Unilever

Unilever's pre-tax profits for 1979 were £605.1m compared with £609.4m in the previous year.

In Europe total operating profit was lower than in 1978. Improvements in sundry foods and drinks, chemicals and transport were more than offset by lower results in other groups, notably edible fats.

For the year as a whole, total sales value rose by 12 per cent and volume by a little over 3 per cent.

Results from the US, in total, showed an improvement. UAC International's profits were still below those of 1978 but there are signs of a slow recovery.

The other overseas countries on the whole performed satisfactorily but results were affected by adverse exchange rate movements.

UAC International's depressed results are reflected in the lower figure for share of profits of associated companies which are a significant part of UAC results, this applies particularly to Nigerian business which may still prove a difficult market this year.

## ADB loans to Ghana

The African Development Bank has lent Ghana 8m Units of Account (approximately CFA Frs 2,161m) to finance the rehabilitation and modernization of cocoa processing factories in Tenia and Takoradi. The loan is repayable over 15 years including three years of grace.

The objective of the project is to enable the two cocoa processing factories to achieve their designed throughput of 52,500 tons of cocoa beans.

## ... Cameroon

The African Development Bank has lent Cameroon 950,000 Units of Account (approximately CFA Frs. 256.6m) to finance engineering studies on the Bamenda-Mamfe-Ekok Road. The loan is repayable over 10 years including a three-year grace period.

## ... The Gambia

The African Development Bank has lent The Gambia 3.90m Units of Account (approximately CFA Frs. 1,053.66m) to finance the Banjul-Serrekunda Highway Project. The loan is repayable over 20 years including a five-year grace period.

## French ODA

The Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of the OECD was told that France's official development assistance (ODA) amounted to \$2,700m in 1978, including the substantial assistance extended to the overseas Departments and Territories (DOM-TOM) 44 per cent of total ODA. It declined as a percentage of GNP from 0.60 per cent in 1977 to 0.57

per cent in 1978, mainly as a result of an unexpected decrease in calls for contributions to the European Development Fund (The Committee noted that it probably increased as a percentage of GNP in 1979).

French assistance to independent countries is heavily concentrated on French-speaking Africa and the Maghreb countries. The Committee was informed of the continuing importance France attaches to the development of African countries and of recent steps to ensure a better co-ordination of the assistance extended to these countries by various donors.

The Committee noted that French aid to the least-developed countries as a percentage of GNP was above the average of the DAC, and that France was trying to concentrate its most concessional assistance on this category of countries. It nevertheless expressed the wish that this aid to those countries should increase more rapidly and represent a larger share of total French ODA.

The Committee welcomed the increasing diversification of loan terms according to the recipient countries' income levels with the introduction by the Caisse Centrale de Coopération Economique of a new category of particularly soft loans for the least-developed countries.

The Committee noted the continuation of French assistance efforts in education and training and inquired about current orientations of this assistance. It expressed interest in initiatives taken in the energy sector, especially in projects and research on renewable sources of energy.

The Committee noted the substantial increase in private flows, especially bank lending, in 1978. France's total net official and private flows in 1978 amounted to \$7,900m, or 1.68 per cent of GNP.

## EEC grants

The European Common Market has announced that it will be making the following grants:

Rwanda: £3m grant for irrigation in South Nkanga

Nigeria: \$3.2m grant for help in developing water resources.

The Gambia: \$2.7m grant for Brkama agricultural college

Togo: \$1.1m grant for beef rearing in central regions and plateaux.

Zaire: \$630,000 grant for fisheries at Baraka on Lake Tanganika

## Britain's aid in cash

Britain gave £726m. worth of aid to 131 countries in 1978, the Overseas Development Administration has reported.

The ODA said assistance valued at £134m (\$414m) went to organisations such as the International Development Association of the World Bank, U.N. agencies

and the European Common Market (EEC) Development Fund.

## ... and people

During 1978 Britain wholly or partly financed 9,519 individuals to work overseas under the aid programme. These persons served throughout the world in a wide range of posts and exceeds the totals of the US, Japan and Germany. Of the total financed 48 per cent were working in the field of education and 13 per cent in renewable natural resources, e.g. agriculture, forestry and fisheries. Two-thirds were working in Africa.

During 1978 a total of 14,387 students and trainees from developing countries attended courses in Britain financed under technical co-operation arrangements. This figure was exceeded only by Germany. The number included 9,529 students attending courses at academic institutions in a wide range of subjects and 4,859 trainees, who were normally people with work experience attending shorter courses in professional or technical subjects.

In addition 1,096 students were financed to attend courses in other developing countries. These students have increased rapidly since third country training was introduced in 1975.

## ... helping trees

The British Overseas Development Administration (ODA) has announced a grant of £20,000 towards research on a fungus to spur quick growth of pine trees (principally *Pinus carbea* and *Pinus oncarpu* which are being planted in more than 50 countries) in tree-scarce developing countries. The grant will go to the Commonwealth Forestry Institute, Oxford.

About £50,000 has already been spent by the ODA on research on the fungus *Mycotheca*, which grows mould and covers the roots of pine seedlings, helping them to collect additional foods from the soil.

The fungus enables pines to grow rapidly in countries where forests have been destroyed for firewood or building materials and speedy afforestation is necessary for economic development.

*Mycotheca* tests on pine seedlings are already taking place in Antigua, Ghana, Nigeria, India and Zambia.

● China hopes almost to double the size of its forests by the year 2000, according to the New China news agency. It said a directive called on "The entire Chinese people, from top communist party and government leaders down to school children" to plant as many trees as possible. The goal is to increase the proportion of China's territory covered with trees from the present 12.7 per cent to 20 per cent by the year 2000, and eventually to 30 per cent.

# Dateline AFRICA

## LIBERIA

### PPP leaders arrested

SOME 40 members of the Progressive People's Party have been arrested on charges of treason and sedition. Warrants were issued after a meeting at which speakers called for the resignation of President Tolbert, and the Vice-President, because of what the speakers described as inadequate development activities in Liberia and also called for a general strike to bring down the government.

It is illegal in Liberia for anybody other than a trade union to call a strike and then only in pursuance of a labour dispute.

On the Saturday for which the general strike had been called the centre of Monrovia was calm, with little apparent support for the strike though stores were closed and police not much in evidence. Speakers addressing a crowd at the PPP headquarters called for a coalition government.

When security forces swooped on the PPP headquarters the party leader, Mr Gabriel Bacchus Matthews, escaped arrest and a route to house search was instituted. Mr Matthews was later delivered to the police by the Roman Catholic Bishop of Monrovia, having taken refuge in the compound of the Vatican Embassy.

The Justice Minister, Mr Joseph Chesson, said the government was not arresting the Progressive People's Party, but merely some of its members who had been seeking a violent overthrow of the government. He said there had been plans to blow up a newly-constructed bridge and the communications building.

### Strike call

#### Bong Mines

Many more members of the Progressive People's Party including the Assistant Minister of Education, Mr G. E. S. Bolly have been arrested and charged with treason and sedition. The Minister of Justice, Mr Joseph Chesson, has announced, according to reports, that followers at the Bong mines for a strike until the leaders party, including Mr Bacchus Matthews, are released. The call is apparently little heeded.

According to the Justice Minister, PPP members tried to seize workers and inhabitants of the police and the joint security

forces intervened. Eight people have been arrested.

PPP members at a Maryland County sugar factory are alleged to have confronted the County Superintendent and threatened to seize hostages. Seven were arrested in this incident.

In Sinoe County road blocks were set up by PPP men and, the minister alleges, they physically molested the Superintendent there.

One PPP man is also alleged to have entered the Superintendent's residence armed with a loaded pistol with the intention of shooting the Superintendent. Police were called in and succeeded in overpowering the man. In the minister's account he is identified as a PPP leader, Mr Joseph Kelly, recently freed by local court where he had been charged with murder connected with ritual killings.

The situation in Maryland and Sinoe Counties and at Bong Mines was reported to be normal.

### Explosive allegation

The burn-scared body of Mr Borbor Gondoh was found in Stockton Creek on the outskirts of Monrovia.

The Justice Minister, Mr Joseph Chesson, said that Mr Gondoh "may have been carrying explosive, probably an incendiary device". The Minister said police who searched Mr Gondoh's house found PPP membership cards and two grenades of the kind used by the Army and other explosives.

He said that the dead man had been seen recently in a Monrovia suburb encouraging PPP supporters to march peacefully on the presidential residence in protest against alleged arrests and harassment of party members.

The PPP was officially registered in December. According to party chairman Gabriel Bacchus Matthews, 20 PPP members have been arrested or questioned since then and eight have been indicted for "sedition" on charges of inciting people to refuse to pay taxes. Mr Matthews was speaking before the wave of arrests. Since the rice riots at Easter last year, when a demonstration called by the Progressive Alliance of Liberia (the forerunner and founder of the PPP), got out of

hand and at least 49 people (according to official government figures) were killed when police opened fire, the President has had power to detain for 30 days without trial anybody accused of treason (which carries the death penalty), sedition (up to 10 years in prison), or any other act considered dangerous to the safety of the country. In addition *Habeas Corpus* has been suspended until April 25 this year.

### Identity cards

Liberians are to have identity cards. Parliament has decided an Assembly communicate said they were necessary under the terms of Liberia's membership of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), one of whose protocols envisages free circulation of citizens of Community member states.

The cards would also "aid in social, political and fiscal participation," and would help "control alien criminal and political activity" in Liberia, the communiqué said.

### Scotland Yard men fly in

Two detectives from Scotland Yard's Fraud Squad have flown to Monrovia to question the captain and chief engineer of the sunken Liberian-registered oil tanker *Salem*. The captain and engineer have been charged by Liberia with destroying the vessel.

Captain Dimitrios Georgoulis and engineer Antonios Kalonitropoulos were extradited from Senegal to face the Liberian charges in connection with the loss of the tanker off the coast of Senegal on January 17 after a series of explosions on board.

The ship was insured with Lloyds of London for \$56m.

Captain Georgoulis, 43, faces charges of forging captain's documents, diverting and destroying his ship. The engineer is charged only with destroying the ship.

The captain is also accused of diverting his ship to Durban, and unloading a cargo of 193,132 tonnes of Kuwaiti oil which should have been delivered to Italy.

## GHANA

### "Probe shooting at Bolgatanga"

An enquiry has been demanded into the shooting incident in Bolgatanga on March 1 in which three people died and 17 others were injured. Two MPs, Mr Naabomo Gandaa (PNP Lawra Nandom), and Mr Adambore Awilumbono (PNP Bolgatanga) made a statement in Parliament calling for an investigation and urging the government, as a matter of urgency, to compensate all those injured. They also urged that a delegation be sent to Upper Volta to explain and apologise for the incident. Vehicles belonging to

Voltaics were burnt in disturbances that followed the shootings.

### Coalition call

The fear of military intervention is the cause of the Ghana Government's nervous and erratic behaviour, according to Professor Adu Boahen, a leading member of the United National Convention. Professor Boahen put the case for a coalition government made up of all the leading political parties when he took part in a symposium on Ghana's political stability on March 1. He argued that Ghana's economic collapse, food shortages and health problems were direct and not causes of a basic political instability. This instability was made worse, he said, by the leadership crisis within the People's Front Party, the deepening rift between the PFP and the People's National Party, the disunity between the "Old Guard" and the new leaders of the PNP and their over the alliance between the UNP and the PNP. (In January this year Professor Boahen published a statement disavowing himself from the alliance and engendered speculation of a realignment among the Ghana political parties. *West Africa*, January 21.) The immediate solution, he said, was to form a coalition government, but the long-term answer was to restore the army to its former position as one of the best disciplined, professional forces in Africa, existing to ensure stability and security of the state and not to be its rulers.

### Independence Day marked

Ghana celebrated her 21st Independence anniversary on March 6 with a national holiday which saw a mass parade of schoolchildren and voluntary organisations. At Independence Square in Accra, President Limas made a speech appealing for a sense of national unity and warning against the degeneration of politics into tribal conflict. And he appealed to the "older generation to set an example to the children that they become true patriots."

## Man of the Year

Flight-Lt. Jerry John Rawlin has been voted "Man of the Year 1979" by listeners to the "New Africa" programme of the British Broadcasting Corporation. The former head of state topped the poll after listeners were asked for their views on the most outstanding man, woman and child of 1979. Flight-Lt. Jerry Rawlings is the subject of a television profile in the British Broadcasting Corporation. The programme will be broadcast on Tuesday, March 11, as part of BBC 2's "Change of Direction" series, in which people who have experienced a profound alteration to their lives are interviewed.

## PNP suspensions

Thirty-one members of the People's National Party have been suspended after being charged with "subversive activities detrimental to the party". The Ashanti Regional Executive Committee announced its decision on March 5, with a recommendation that the suspension be followed by expulsion from the party. Alhaji Mohammed Tanko, Vice-chairman of the Ashanti Regional party, justified the decision on the grounds that reports had reached the Committee that the suspended members had been visiting villages "in a bid to disorganise the party". Those suspended include the former Regional Chairman, Nana Osei Bempah.

## "Old Guard"

The Kumasi High Court has for a second time adjourned the case in which members of the Ashanti Regional branch of the People's National Party are seeking an injunction restraining Mr Krobo Edusei and others from holding office. Mr Edusei, an original member of Kwame Nkrumah's Convention People's Party and one of the PNP's "Old Guard" was elected regional chairman in a fiercely contested election (West Africa January 14 and February 25). The plaintiffs, led by Mr A. Ampempeh-Manu, have submit-

ted a motion asking that the January 9 elections be declared improper and unconstitutional. The case has been adjourned until March 18.

## Black Stars held to a draw

Ghana's Black Stars, holders of the African Nations Football Cup, were held to a goalless draw by Algeria in the opening match of the Group B teams. The Algerians, the All-Africa Games Champions, had the edge in the midfield but failed to make the most of their scoring opportunities. The Black Stars showed greater accuracy in the goal shots, winning several corners. The match was played before a capacity crowd of 45,000 in Ibadan's Liberty Stadium. The Stars have reached the final five times — in 1963, 1965, 1968, 1970 and 1978 — and are now the permanent holders of the trophy, having won three finals. The Black Star squad includes nearly all the members who played in the winning side two years ago.

## New envoys

Three new envoys have presented their credentials to President Limann. They are Mr. Ivan Angel Villamil Morel, the new Argentine ambassador, Mr. Kostadin Gorghuev Giarov, the Bulgarian Ambassador, and Miss S. K. Jan, the Pakistani Ambassador.

## NIGERIA

### Why 50 died in a Black Maria

The Minister of Police Affairs, Professor E. Osamor, has in a letter to the Senate Leader, Dr. Olusola Saraki, explained the circumstances that led to the death of 50 people in the Black Maria, reported in last week's *West Africa*. The mass deaths occurred between a court in Central Lagos and Ikoyi Jail after the prisoners had been remanded in custody on vagrancy charges.

Professor Osamor said that the victims of the Black Maria incident were suspects arrested, following an armed robbery involving N130,000 and a vehicle belonging to a dredging company at Apapa, near Lagos. The vehicle was later seen on the outskirts of Lagos and special police detectives were assigned to keep surveillance over it. "Some hours later, neatly dressed men came and opened the vehicle. The men were challenged by the police and there was a shoot-out." The Minister said some accomplices who were hiding nearby joined in the shoot out in which one "armed robber was killed".

The police were shown three uncompleted buildings by "concerned citizens", alleged to be the meeting place for robbers. The houses were raided and many people were arrested out of which 68 were detained after interrogation. The 68 people appeared in court on the day of the incident. Professor Osamor explained "... because of their large number, it took quite some time for the Chief Magistrate to issue remand warrants and this caused the delay in transporting them to Ikoyi Prison."

According to reports, the 68 people had been crammed in a Black Maria designed to take 20 people. A hospital doctor said that suffocation and starvation were the probable cause of the mass deaths among the prisoners.

Professor Osamor said in his letter that all the police officers involved in the case had been arrested adding that necessary action will be taken against all the people involved in the tragic incident.

President Shagari has already ordered a judicial inquiry into the incident, while the Inspector General of Police, Alhaji Adamu Sulaiman, has ordered modifications on all Black Marias presently in use throughout the country to ensure more ventilation and to make them more comfortable.

The House of Representatives has also issued a condemnation of the incident by passing a motion describing the police handling of the prisoners as "wilful murder" and demanding that the culprits be brought to book.

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A team of Federal Government officials has been visiting Niamey, capital of the Republic of Niger to discuss compensation payments to families of Niger nationals who were affected by the tragic incident. The Niger Interior Minister Tanja Mamadou announced after visiting Lagos that 35 of the dead people were Niger nationals and six, Ghanaians.

## Aid guarantee for Zimbabwe

The Minister of External Affairs, Professor Ishaya Adu, has said that Nigeria would provide manpower and military assistance to Zimbabwe if there is a white exodus after Mr. Mugabe, the Prime Minister-elect, takes over. Professor Adu noted that Nigeria had spent about N25m in aid to the liberation struggle in southern Africa.

He warned that the Federal Government is aware of the likely exodus of white civil servants from Zimbabwe and other extraneous forces that may want to destabilise that country. He declared "Nigeria would therefore zealously guard the independence of that nation but would not intervene in its internal affairs unless otherwise requested".

## Arms shipment intercepted

The newly launched *National Concord* reports that a major arms shipment has been intercepted by the Lagos police. It adds that long-range rifles numbering more than 500 and 5,000,000 rounds of double-barrel cartridges were found in the shipment. They were believed to have been smuggled into the country in two tea containers, each big enough to accommodate 6,010 rifles. Some of the inscriptions on the containers, reports the *Concord*, reveal that the arms had been bought off a company based in San Francisco.

## Senators visit Washington

Following the visit of members of the House of Representatives to the US Congress (*West Africa*, March 10) a dozen members of the Senate, led by the President of the Senate, Dr Joseph Wayas, visited the Congress to study the workings of the American legislative system.

Senator Alhaji Jibrin Salihu said "America is probably the only country in the world that has this sort of system — the way we envisaged it in our own constitution. So we have decided to see how they run their government, and see what we can learn from them."

The senatorial delegation, which included their US counterparts at the senate floor and in committee, they also had meetings with US senate officials and constituent senators, especially those dealing with foreign relations.

Senator Salihu said "We have benefited tremendously from the

experience. I've seen and observed a lot of things which we would like to do when we get back. Talking to these people, one gets a fairly good idea of how the system should work," he said.

The Nigerian Senate, he said, still tends to follow the Parliamentary system, with its idea of a Parliamentary opposition. This has to be overcome he added. There has to be co-operation between the parties.

"We are now revising the standing orders of the senate and obviously what we see here we'll try to incorporate in part, though we shan't copy everything."

Although the main purpose of the visit in Washington was to observe the workings of the senate, the Nigerian senators found time to discuss US-Nigerian bilateral and international affairs with leading members of the US senate's foreign relations committee, including senators George McGovern and Jacob Javits.

Another member of the Nigerian delegation, senator Alhaji Bakun Zuwo, said that there is room to expand US-Nigerian economic relations. "There are a lot of things that we can do with the United States," he said. American business co-operation, he added, is welcome if it creates jobs in Nigeria and helps certain industries. The party also included Dr Abubakar Sola Saraki, Dr Amadu Adih Ali, Alhaji Idnisa Kadri, Chief Jonathan A. Odebiyi, Prof. David O. Oke, Chief Okwu, Saleh Shettima, and Senators Hamisu Musa and D. A. Ihimire.

● The African Football Confederation has chosen a Nigerian, Mr. Oyofo Oyo, to represent Africa in the Federation of International Football Associations. Mr Oyofo was for many years secretary of the Nigerian Football Association.

## Electric power and states

The Minister of Mines and Power, Alhaji Mohammed Hassan, has said that states do not have constitutional powers to set up electricity corporations and those who may have done so must dissolve them. The Minister who was addressing a meeting of state representatives on "The problems of the electricity industry in Nigeria", held in Lagos recently, explained that item 14B of the concurrent legislative list of the constitution as amended by decree 104 of September last year, only empowered a state assembly to make laws for the generation, transmission and distribution of electricity "in areas not covered by

a national grid system within the state concerned".

Alhaji Hassan said it should be clear that no state assembly has legislative competence over areas covered by the National Electric Power Authority (NEPA). He therefore expressed surprise that the Lagos State Assembly should pass a bill establishing an electricity board in Lagos State, which is included in the national grid system.

The Minister said that such states as Plateau, who are exempted by the constitution to set up power generating boards (probably because they are not included in the national grid, he did not explain) will be ill-advised to set up any boards because of the financial costs. He said Plateau State will have to pay more than N30.5m to NEPA in respect of assets and liabilities of the Authority to be taken over in the state if it is to establish such a board. He advised that a single tier system was best for the country at this stage of its development and urged every state to co-operate with the federal authority, NEPA.

## Co-operation with Ivory Coast

Nigeria and the Ivory Coast are expected to strengthen their co-operation. The hint was given after the Ivorian Mines Minister, Mr. Guy Dibo, had delivered a special message from Felix Houphouët Bouigny to President Shagari. The Minister of Agriculture, Alhaji Ibrahim Gusau, was at the time visiting the Ivory Coast and has committed the Federal Government to co-operation in agricultural affairs and cocoa, with that country. The Ivory Coast gets much of her oil from Nigeria.

## World champions selected

Two undefeated Nigerian boxers, Eddie Ndummu and Obisua Nmakpa, have been signed to fight world champions, promoter Don King announced in New York. Puerto Rican's Wilfredo Gomez, the World Boxing Council (WBC) Super-Bantamweight Champion, will meet Ndummu in a 12-round, non-title bout at San Juan sometime in April. The Winner has been promised a shot at the WBC Featherweight title held by Salvador Sanchez of Mexico.

Saouil Manly of the United States, the WBC Super-Lightweight Champion, will defend his title against Nwakpa sometime in May or June at a site to be determined later. Ndummu, ranked second among the WBC Featherweight contenders, has won all 15 of his professional fights, 10 of them within the distance. Nmakpa, number six Super-Lightweight contender in the WBC ratings, has won 20 consecutive bouts, stopping 17 men.

## Moscow Games "not negotiable"

President Shagari has said that Nigeria's decision to take part in the Moscow Olympic Games is not negotiable. The President made the announcement while opening the 12th Africa Cup of Nations Soccer Finals in Lagos, last week. He said there have been ceaseless calls for a boycott of the Moscow Games — a reference to the US-led campaign to persuade the Soviet Union to withdraw its troops from Afghanistan. The President said, "for our part, we are guided by the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa (SCSA) which has formally advised its member countries to attend the Moscow Games in full force." Alhaji Shagari said Nigeria has condemned a "unmistakable" terms the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan but that can not be a basis for Nigeria's boycott of the games. Further note, he said, Nigeria would remain with its policy of neutrality unless the continent of Africa is concerned. Eight countries, Nigeria, Egypt, Ivory Coast, Tanzania, Algeria, Ghana, Guinea and Morocco took part in the final stage of the Africa Cup final.

## Shagari visits Rivers

President Shagari has visited Rivers State to see for himself the damaged crops, property and wildlife following a massive oil spillage reported in last week's *West Africa*. About 20,000 people were said to be affected by the spillage of about 30,000 tonnes of oil from a Texaco well offshore. The Rivers State Governor, Chief Melford Okilo, was quoted as saying that he would exclude the US company from operating in the area were it within his powers to do so. Experts have said that the damage done to the ecology of the area could last for 10 years.

## External assets increased

The country's external assets totalled N2,518.8m at the end of August, 1979 showing an increase of N1,184.3m the previous year. According to a Central Bank report, the assets included N2,402.1m held at the Central Bank. The report further said that total inflow of foreign exchange during the period under review amounted to N1,162m.

## Correction

The Governor of Kaduna State is Alhaji Abdulkadir Musa (PRP) and not Alhaji Shehu Muhammadu Kanguwa (NPN) who is the Governor of Sokoto State. We regret any inconvenience caused by our readers' mistake in last week's *West Africa* and our readers.

## CAR More documents on diamond scandal

A lawyer has produced documents in an attempt to prove that two cousins of French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing had received gifts of diamonds and elephant tusks from former Centrafrican Emperor Jean-Bedel Bokassa.

The lawyer represented the French satirical weekly, *Canard Enchaîné*, in a damages case brought by the two cousins, who said they had been libelled by a report in the newspaper last October which accused them, along with the President, of receiving gems from the former Emperor.

The *Canard Enchaîné* stones appeared after Mr Bokassa's overthrow last August. The French President has brought no case against the weekly.

Lawyers for the President's cousins, François and Jacques Giscard d'Estaing, told a court here that their clients were dropping their claim for 200,000 francs (\$50,000) each in damages, but were still seeking token damages of one franc (25 US cents).

François Giscard d'Estaing is Chairman and Managing Director of France's Foreign Trade Bank and Jacques is a high official in the

state's Atomic Energy Commission.

The newspaper's lawyer, M. Roland Dumas, produced unpublished documents, signed by the former emperor, which said that François Giscard d'Estaing had received six presentation packs of between 15 and 20 diamonds and elephant tusks when he visited the then Emperor on August 31, 1979, at one of Mr Bokassa's properties in France.

Another document signed by Bokassa said that Jacques Giscard d'Estaing had been given diamonds during a trip to the Centrafrican capital of Bangui, Mr. Dumas asserted.

The two cousins were absent from the hearing. The court will give its ruling in three or four weeks. François Giscard d'Estaing's lawyer conceded that his client had been decorated by the Centrafrican leader in January, 1976, and was given honorary Centrafrican nationality in January, 1978.

## CHAD National unity manifesto

Prominent men from the southern (non-Muslim) part of Chad have published a "manifesto for national unity" in a move to save the country from factional "disintegration".

The document complains that the trump cards from the Lagos

conference on national reconciliation last August were being wasted by various factions "tempted to partition the country" after "15 years of painful events".

The manifesto calls for "loyal, full application" of the Lagos agreement including a general amnesty, unconditional release of prisoners, "real demilitarisation" of this capital, setting up an integrated national army and a constitutional commission. The manifesto does not mention the clause in the Lagos agreement calling for withdrawal of French troops from Ndjamena.

Signatories of the document include General Negue Djogo Ngaharo Doumro, Colonel Maman Ngkhar Djime, Air Chad President Georges Digumbaye and Central Treasurer Nouhadoum Kladjim. The manifesto concludes by appealing to Chad citizens to "rally around ideas instead of bayonets" for "real national reconciliation".

● The Transitional Government of National Unity has decided to recognise the "exercise of trade union freedom" but this, however, will not licence "the anarchy in which strikes are provoked". Any "legally" constituted union would have to conform to provisions of existing legislation. This decision by the council of ministers came in a period of numerous strikes in different sectors of the economy, especially in private commercial enterprises.

## EQ. GUINEA Human Rights report

The Government of Equatorial Guinea should convene a constituent assembly and allow exiles home, according to a report issued by the Human Rights Commission of the United Nations.

Those moves, allied with contacts with the Commission, would be aimed at fully restoring political and economic democracy in the country, urged Professor Fernando Volio-Jimenez (Costa Rica), who prepared the report after visiting Equatorial Guinea at the Government's invitation last November.

He complained about lack of co-operation from the new regime, in power since last August after the overthrow and subsequent execution of Francisco Macias Nguema.

Some rights had been restored, including religion, education and freedom of movement and expression, but the exercise of political rights was still not permitted, Prof. Volio-Jimenez reported, voicing concern that the authorities had set no date for a resumption.

Conditions for cocoa plantation workers were akin to forced labour and no assurances had been obtained concerning improvements, he said.

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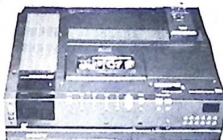
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## ZAIRE

## Victims of a massacre revealed

A newspaper in Stockholm has published photos of two of the victims of a massacre said to have been committed by men of the Swedish contingent in the United Nations peace-keeping force in the Congo (now Zaire) during the early '60s.

The evening tabloid *Aftonbladet* published the photos, along with a picture of a Swedish soldier who had been beaten by Baluba rebels, after Swedish television carried a documentary over the weekend alleging that several Swedish soldiers had murdered a dozen Congolese who had been found raping a little girl in the Lubumbashi (Elisabethville) area in 1961.

The newspaper said that the photos were Army documents and that the Army had never ordered a probe into the alleged massacre. It said the ill-treatment of the Swedish soldier by the Balubas was the cause of the reprisal.

The TV programme, which has shocked Swedish opinion and provoked comparisons with the My Lai massacre in the Vietnam war, also featured a number of former members of the 3,000-man Swedish contingent, who all denied

the atrocity. Their 1961 commander, Colonel Jonas Waern, who refused to appear in the programme, said only: "It was war, and we faced provocations from the local population."

## ANGOLA

## South African plot exposed

The Angolan Ambassador in Paris has accused South Africa of planning to occupy a part of the south of his country, using the South African-supported rebel movement UNITA as a front.

The aim would be to force Angola, which backs the South-West Africa People's Organisation, to come to terms with the parties that Pretoria wants to set up in power in independent Namibia, Ambassador Luis de Almeida said. The operation would also aim to force the United Nations plan to establish a demilitarised strip along the Angolan and Zambian frontiers with Namibia, to separate SWAPO and South African forces, as a preliminary to the UN plan for the territory's independence, the envoy said.

Mr de Almeida said the Israeli-style operation would probably take the form of a helicopter-borne invasion, and that it would be attributed to UNITA. But he said Angola could count on aid from Cuban and

Guinean forces in the country as well as on its own armed forces.

Meanwhile UNITA said in a communique released here that the proposed DMZ could not work without its participation and called on the UN to send a delegation to the area.

● Congo and the Soviet Union have signed a draft cultural co-operation agreement under which Congolese officials are to be trained for five years in the Soviet Union.

## SIERRA LEONE

## Two die after petrol protest

Two people are reported dead in Freetown after an affray between police and people protesting over the latest increase in the price of petrol.

The increase, which came in force on March 1 and was the second since the beginning of the year, raised the price of petrol from Le2.25 to Le3 a gallon, and kerosene from Le1.30 to Le1.71 a gallon. It was met with bitter resentment by all sections of the community.

First signs of protest came from schoolchildren who refused to pay the 20 cents fare to poda-poda drivers who had raised their fares from 10 cents to 20 cents for city service and up to 50 cents for long distances. There were reports of several incidents of open confront-

tation between schoolchildren and poda-poda drivers and as police arrived at the scenes of the incidents to keep the situation under control, the children pelted them with stones and sticks and damaged many of the police vehicles.

A government announcement attempting to control poda-poda and taxi fares added insult to injury. The announcement warned that any driver who charged more than the amounts stipulated by government will be severely dealt with. This enraged taxi and poda-poda drivers, who argued that the controlled fares were most unfair in the light of the new price of Le3 a gallon of petrol.

Irate taxi and poda-poda drivers took their vehicles off the streets and with the help of schoolchildren and other members of the public, blocked all the major roads — particularly those at Kissi, Wellington and Fourah Bay — with boulders, scrapped vehicles, omolankes (push carts) and logs, bringing the flow of traffic in the East end of the city to a complete standstill.

Several shops closed and proprietors of filling stations closed for fear of looting. Police tried to restore order, but were met with force from the protesters, and in an attempt to disperse the crowds by firing shots in the air and opening tear gas, two people were killed with stray bullets. Several policemen were beaten up and their con-

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of tear gas snatched from them.

The administrative and commercial business of Freetown came to almost a complete halt for three days as people living in the outskirts of Freetown and the suburbs found themselves stranded for transport. Even those living in the city preferred to stay home for safety.

All commercial vehicles have kept off the streets leaving the city to private car owners nicknamed "My car". Road Transport buses which attempted to run the city service were pelted with stones and some of them had their tyres deflated. The General Manager of the Road Transport Corporation confirmed that six buses have been smashed.

As news of the troubles in Freetown spread to the provinces, schoolchildren and drivers of commercial vehicles took to the streets and incidents similar to those in Freetown are reported from Kono, Kenema, Bo and Makem.

Two Vice-Presidents and officials of the Ministry of Transport and Communication met the executive of the Motor Drivers Union and the Transport and General Services Association as well as owners of poda-poda and taxis to work out a compromise solution, but the first meetings ended in deadlock. The drivers claim that government should not regulate fares, and that the price of petrol should be brought down. Government for its part is reluctant to bring the price down since it can no longer afford to subsidise fuel costs.

## Mano harmony from April 1

Inter-union trade between Sierra Leone and Liberia is due to start on April 1 when the two countries of the Mano River Union will be delegated duty-free zones for some products from both countries.

The Secretary of the Mano River Union, Dr. Ernest Eastman announced this at a luncheon for business executives and government and union officials. Dr. Eastman said that Sierra Leone and Liberia have taken more than five years of dedicated, sustained and painful meetings to agree to harmonise tariffs on some 100 items in both States, seeking the assistance of the United Nations and experts from friendly countries.

According to the Mano River Union arrangements, there will be free trade from one member state to another of grown and reared goods, natural resources and products of hunting and fishing. Manufactured goods will be treated as non-union goods for custom purposes and will be liable to import duty and other charges.

No movement certificate will be required for private packages valued below Le100, or dollars,

and on personal packages of below Le300, or dollars, that are not imported for the specific purpose of trade.

## Thugs pose as ISU men

President Stevens has expressed his concern over the current wave of violence in the country, and has called on the police to be vigilant in identifying people who commit offences, and to do their best in protecting the properties of all citizens. The President's concern came soon after two unrelated attacks on citizens, one at Fourah Bay College and the other at the Milton Margai Teachers' College.

In the first attack, men dressed in uniforms of the Internal Security Unit (ISU) forced their way into the home of Professor Ernest Wright, Head of the Department of Chemistry at Fourah Bay College, and attacked him and his wife, who is a High Court Judge. The raiders left without taking anything but ironed neighbours who tried to come to aid them.

In the Milton Margai raid, the raiders, again dressed as members of the ISU, left behind a trail of wounded students and trussed up watchmen, and made off with the college bus loaded with goods from the main store. The police are investigating both raids.

## Sir Dawda passes through

President Sir Dawda Jawara of The Gambia was given a warm reception when he stopped at Lungi International Airport on his way to the Ivory Coast. He was met by a delegation of Cabinet Ministers, led by the First Vice-President, Mr. S. I. Koroma, who stressed the common heritage, same aspiration and objectives shared by the peoples of Sierra Leone and The Gambia. Mr. Koroma described President Jawara as one of the outstanding leaders to whom Africa looks for effective leadership.

In his reply, President Jawara assured Vice-President Koroma that he looked forward to the OAU Summit in Freetown in July, when he would be able to compare notes and see the progress that has been made in the country.

## Teachers' visit

Four secondary school teachers from Northamptonshire and three researchers from the Universities of London, and Birmingham set off on a three-week field trip to Sierra Leone on March 23. The visit has been organised in conjunction with the University of Sierra Leone who are providing the hire of a Land-Rover.

The three-week study tour is being financed by the Overseas Development Administration from its Development Education programme and by the participants

themselves. The venture is part of a two-year project in Development Education based at Nene College, Northampton. Over the last year the project leader, Mr. Alec Fyfe, has been preparing teaching materials on a range of Development issues. Sierra Leone provides one of the central case studies.

The purpose of the visit is to provide the team with first hand data to complete the work already in progress. The party will spend most of their time up country with the chief focus being an examination of the constraints and opportunities of local agriculture.

To this end the itinerary will include a visit to the IADP Integrated Agricultural Project at Mkeni, a visit to 'traditional' rice farming villages near Moyamba, and finally a visit to villages engaged in cash crop farming in Kono District. During this latter visit the party will spend five days living in the village of Kangama.

With resources gathered during the visit the project team hopes to have its materials ready for publication in the autumn. In all it is hoped to produce six packs for use principally with the age range 13-18. Each secondary school in Northamptonshire is to receive one free copy of each unit with the remainder on sale locally and nationally.

The project also hopes to provide the University of Sierra Leone with materials to help it with its teacher training programme and to forge a link between the village junior school in Kangama and a village junior school in Northants.

## French offer scholarships

The French Government has increased the number of scholarships offered to Sierra Leone in order to develop cultural and technical co-operations between France and Sierra Leone. The French Ambassador to Sierra Leone, Mr. Victor Gares, said teaching French in schools was a significant move to link Sierra Leone with Francophone countries. He also spoke of establishing French teaching centres in Bo and Freetown and promised to help to set up a library in the French department of the Samu Secondary School in Kambia.

## India offers engineering aid

A seven-man delegation from the Engineering Export Promotion Council of India has been in Sierra Leone to explore the possibility of extending the services of the council to Sierra Leone. The council's chairman, Mr. V. P. Punj, said that until a few years ago India was imposing technical know-how, but today India exports expertise, technical skills and the brain power of its engineers.

Mr. Punj, who is an industrialist, said that the council can provide

Sierra Leone with medium scale industries such as machinery for the manufacture of sugar, paper, cement, chemicals, machine tools, fabricated steel structures, pipes and tubes and fittings among a list of 39 items in their booklet.

Established in 1955 the council is a government sponsored organisation to promote exports of Indian engineering goods and has a membership of over 7,000 manufacturers and exporters. The delegation met heads of several ministries for discussions.

## Romanian discussions trainers

A three-man technical team from Romania has arrived in Freetown to undertake training of local manpower in the use and maintenance of tractors for the Le10m. crash rice programme which is expected to start soon. They are from the Universal Tractor Factory of Romania and are on a two-year Technical Assistance programme sponsored by the Romanian Government.

The experts will work in close co-operation with the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry at the Kissy Dockyard Mechanical Cultivation workshop unit.

The crash rice programme is aimed at reducing the country's dependence on foreign rice sources and to make the country self-sufficient in rice production. The programme will involve putting some 205,000 acres of land under cultivation in various parts of the country. Already the first phase involving 60,000 acres has started in parts of Mapotolon, Kasin, Port Loko, Makem and Magburaka in the Northern Province and Ghondapi, Bo and Moyamba in the Southern Province.

The programme is being mainly financed by the Sierra Leone Produce Marketing Board.

## New Director of prisons

Mr. Abu Nasiru Deen has been promoted Director of Prisons. Mr. Deen became Assistant Superintendent of Prisons in 1965. In January 1966 he acted as Superintendent of Prisons and became Superintendent in 1967. He was promoted to Inspector of Prisons in July 1973 and Deputy Director in 1974. He has been acting Director of Prisons since 1978.

● Mr. Joseph Amara-Bangali, who has been acting as Financial Secretary for nearly 18 months, has been promoted to the post of Financial Secretary.

## Father Rocco leaving

Father Rocco Serra, Director of the National Leprosy Control Programme in Sierra Leone, will be leaving the country after 22 years service, mainly in the Bombali District. Father Rocco

Serra has been described by President Stevens as an outstanding missionary who has given life long service to his fellow human beings, and who will be greatly missed. His successor is Mr. Manfred Preetz from the West German Leprosy Relief Association.

## THE GAMBIA OMVG meeting

The Third Ordinary Session of the Council of Ministers of the Organisation for the Development of The Gambia River Basin, OMVG, in Dakar, discussed financial and technical questions aimed at facilitating the efficient operations of the Organisation and adopted the terms of reference for basin studies which enabled the Organisation to obtain within a short period all the basic data necessary for the formulation of a masterplan for the development of the river basin.

The Council also adopted plans for the study of the final design of the anti-salt barrage and the upstream dam at Kekreti.

Following a draft report submitted by the donor, and multi-disciplinary missions on the Gambia River Basin, the Council decided that a meeting with the donors should be convened later this year in order to submit the programme of studies and action

which the OMVG has agreed to implement with the view to obtaining financing.

On the pending membership of the Peoples Revolutionary Republic of Guinea, a final decision on this issue will follow further consultations.

## Bus company's moving record

The fleet of 50 buses of the Gambia Public Transport Corporation, GPTC, carried 18.9m. passengers 7.5m. kilometres from the period November 1975 to July 1979.

British Leyland Vanhool buses replaced the Commer Walk-Thru buses in 1974 and 1975 when operations of the smaller 40-passenger Commer was found to be inadequate. In October last year Works Minister, Alhaj I. B. Kelepha Samba announced that the high demand for bus transport with the beginning of the tourist and trade seasons, had made it necessary to deploy more buses and increase the routes to serve Serekunda and Bakau and Fajara residents.

## Three CRS projects

The sum of D425,000 has been allotted for three projects in the Gambia by the Catholic Relief Services. The first project is the proposed integration of local

production of oil seeds into the CRS's Food Relief and Nutrition Programme. The Department of Agriculture and Canadian Volunteer Agency will also be involved with the CRS.

The second is a pilot project for promoting fish farming in the rural areas. The third project will support small scale development projects in fifteen villages and also includes provisions for promotion of local languages reading materials on health, agriculture and cultural topics.

## Yugoslav poultry plan

A two man delegation from Yugoslavia, hosted by The Gambia Produce Marketing Board, has visited The Gambia, to discuss trade and investment. The purpose of the mission was primarily to study the feasibility of establishing in The Gambia a large scale commercial poultry production centre with ancillary research and training services.

## Help from Algeria

A four-man Algerian delegation, led by former Algerian ambassador to The Gambia Mr. Aziz Haecne, paid a four day visit to The Gambia for discussions with an inter-ministerial team of Gambian experts. Topics discussed included

telecommunications, trade, assistance for educational projects and setting up of a rural vocational training centre at Marsakou. Algeria will consider supplying grain to the GUCs proposed being plant and supplying farming implements. The Gambia has submitted a draft proposal to the visitors.

## Planning course

Opening a six-week course on project planning, organised by the Gambia Commercial and Development Bank and the University of Bradford, the Finance Minister, Alhaj M. C. Cham, said that The Gambia has limited resources and so needs planning and sound financial management. He said that the seminar will give participants the basic mechanics of project planning and appraisal and the techniques of scientific management.

The Course Director, Mr. Richard Kitchen, said that the University of Bradford had established the project planning centre in 1969 to train experienced officials in developing countries. He explained that the theme of all their courses was project planning and appraisal and the efficient use of scarce resources. He said that the current Gambian course will emphasise banking but it would also benefit those people from outside the bank taking part.

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