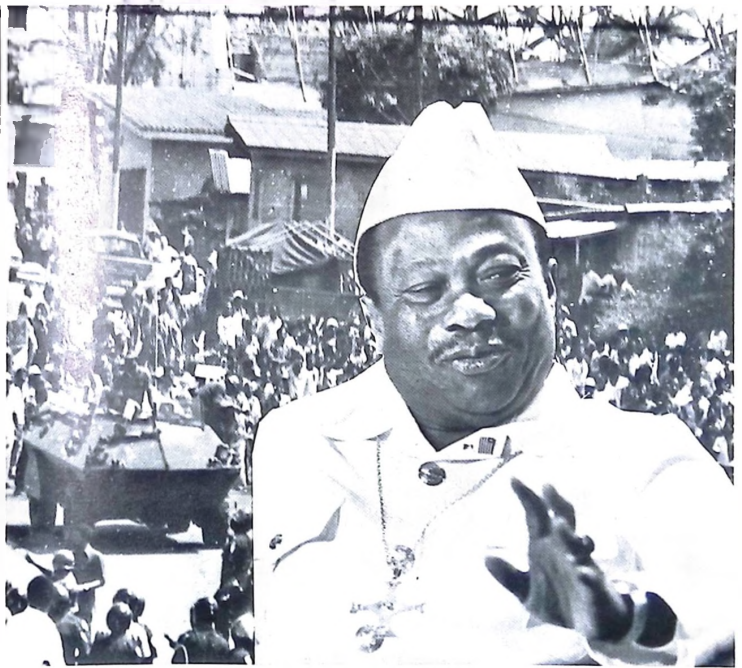


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President Tolbert and the April 14 riots

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Death of a Liberian regime

A COUP in Liberia was necessary, according to Master Sergeant Samuel K. Doe, because of the rampant corruption in the country and "the continued failure of the government to handle effectively the affairs of the Liberian people". He said: "We had no alternative but to overthrow the government."

This begs the question — as is always the case with coups — of what moral right Master Sergeant Doe, or any soldier, has to decide what is necessary for the people of Liberia. He has the power to decide because he has a gun in his hand, a grenade hanging from his shirt, and the backing of more guns than can be mustered against him. Moral questions thus have no immediate practical application, but they nevertheless need to be asked, and they might at some future date be less academic. One day Master Sergeant Doe will need to return power to the voters and the politicians and account for his actions.

It has been clear for some time that things were going seriously wrong for the Tolbert regime, and that changes were necessary. A preceptive speech delivered towards the end of last year (published in *West Africa* on December 8) by Dr. H. Bioma Fahbulleh, a prominent member of the Movement for Justice in Africa (MOJA) and now a minister in the new government, contained this passage: "The society is in a state of ferment because the developing consciousness of the people has outstripped the institutions which were designed to cater for the consciousness of a different historical era." He called for urgent measures to avoid "the blind fury of destruction"; these included a commission of inquiry to investigate the acquisitions of government officials; the development of a new national consciousness and a new Liberian culture; and means to get rid of "individualism, greed and narrow-mindedness".

An overt demonstration to the world of the discontent in Liberia with the ways of the True Whig Party came on April 14 last year when thousands heeded a call by the Progressive Alliance of Liberia (PAL) to take to the streets in protest against government suggestions that the price of rice might rise. Police opened fire on the crowd, killing 49 people according to official figures — over 100 according

to other sources. President Tolbert reacted at first with arrests, but he subsequently released everyone detained and there was some indication that he recognised the need for change. He also allowed — indeed, encouraged in some ways — the registration of PAL as a political party; it became the Progressive People's Party (PPP). The second act in the drama came with the call on March 7 by Mr. Gabriel Baccus Matthews, the chairman of the PPP, for a general strike specifically aimed at overthrowing the government. This set a collision course. It was "infantile", according to a MOJA leader. President Tolbert arrested the whole of the PPP leadership, as he was almost bound to do, and initiated charges of treason and sedition. He spoke of the need for rigidity and the merciless imposition of the law. This increased the tensions until Master Sergeant Doe felt he had no alternative but to intervene.

Some people will differ on the question of whether there was in fact an alternative available and also whether an army coup ever achieves the aims it sets for itself. On the first point, it should be remembered that a democratic form was available in Liberia, even though it had not worked perfectly or without interference in the past. The country was heading towards a presidential election in 1983; President Tolbert himself had repeatedly said he would respect the constitutional rule that would prevent him from standing again. Mr. Baccus Matthews, in an interview in *West Africa* on February 18, said, "The True Whig Party has committed crimes against both God and man and has therefore been doing enough to set the stage for the success of our position." This would seem to indicate that he thought success at the polls was possible.

Apart from these larger questions, the violence that is the inevitable accompaniment of a coup is as shocking as always. In particular, President Tolbert, though he may have connived at some corruption and made wrong decisions, was a man of some stature and achievement (See Matchet, page 690 for a personal memoir). He certainly deserved better than being shot three times in the head in the early morning and being buried in a communal grave. The fact that the President was Chairman of the OAU gives the matter greater significance. The rulers of other African states — and army chiefs — will in any event be watching with the greatest anxiety. The more often a relatively junior member of a country's armed forces decides that he has the right to dictate the course of the state's political life, the greater the danger that it will happen again.

However, looking to the future in Liberia, there is cause for some hope in the responsible and restrained manner in which Master Sergeant Doe has handled affairs since his assumption of power: his cabinet is one of reconciliation and is also full of high talents — it contains three former members of President Tolbert's cabinet, leaders of the PPP (including Mr. Baccus Matthews, who is Foreign Minister), of MOJA (including Dr. Fahbulleh and Dr. Togba-Nah Tipoteh), and some military representatives. It will be under the People's Redemption Council, which is remarkable for containing no officers: apart from Master Sergeant Doe, there are four staff sergeants, one sergeant, eight corporals and one private first class. Immediate approaches to America seem to indicate that the new rulers, though obviously of the left, will remain non-aligned.

CONTENTS

Comment: Joyful birth of Zimbabwe: "First rains", a poem	688
Liberia: How Master Sergeant Doe seized power	689
Matchet's Diary	690
Zimbabwe: "An exemplary election"	692
Ivory Coast: A team spirit	694
Chad: Gang war	697
Play review: African dreams and cynicism	698
Books and publications: Ave to ABU press	700
Letters	704
Economic and business news	708
Dateline Africa: Ghana row over AFRC sentences: Explaining the Zaire crisis ...	714

A joyful birth for Zimbabwe

ZIMBABWE last week moved to independence amid scenes of great joy, with Mr. Robert Mugabe, the new Prime Minister, demonstrating daily that he is a leader of magnanimity as well as ability. The vulnerability of the Zimbabwean economy and of the security of its borders has made it necessary for him to reassure the whites in the country and across the border in South Africa by appearing as a moderate, pragmatic and reasonable man. He is in fact all of those things, according to people who know him, but they are also unanimous that in the long run Mr Mugabe would never compromise the essential interests of the Zimbabweans that fought to bring him to power, and that at the right time he will align himself as strongly as possible with the struggle to free South Africa. He must first build a strong Zimbabwe.

No amount of dancing in the streets before a smiling Prince of Wales can conceal the huge problems that confront Mr. Mugabe. Apart from the need, if the economy is to survive, to keep as many of the whites in their jobs as possible, and the need to prevent South African troops crossing the border, Mr Mugabe faces serious ethnic divisions in the African population: the Shona and the Ndebele

have a history of war and domination going back to pre-colonial days and the colonial experience, as elsewhere in Africa, did nothing to lessen tensions. The fact that Mr. Mugabe and Mr. Nkomo are in a sense seen as leaders of the two main groups emphasises the need for them to remain in harness together. A white-dominated security police system, a recent history of draconian legislation and imprisonment without trial also pose problems; obviously there is a need to restore human rights, but there will also be a need to maintain control.

The British Government is visibly congratulating itself on the skilled diplomacy which brought a peaceful conclusion out of the apparently impossible disagreements of Lancaster House: this might be taken as making up for the ineffectuality of British behaviour immediately after UDI in 1965 and the cynicism with which sanctions were imposed and allowed to be breached. The one ghost at the feast is the meanness of the British offer of only £25m a year for reconstruction and development assistance.

In an eloquent letter in the *Guardian* of London, Dame Judith Hart, who was Minister of Overseas Development in the last Labour Government, describes the British offer as "so meagre as to cause profound concern". The Labour Government has estimated two years ago that at least £750m would be needed during the first five years after independence.

The Thatcher Government is, of course, desperately trying to cut all government spending in the hope that it can curb the rate of inflation. But there should still be

overriding priorities, and Zimbabwe, for whose existence in the first place and for whose recent troubles Britain has direct responsibility, must surely have the strongest claims. Another deeply disturbing aspect, as Dame Judith Hart pointed out, is that other developed countries — the United States, the EEC, perhaps West Germany and Japan — will measure their contributions against Britain's. The United States has already done so. "Knowing of our intent, they have announced in all some £10m, this year and, Congress permitting, between £12m. and £15m. next year." Thus, Dame Judith concludes, the parsimony of Britain will be reflected in the global aid commitment to Zimbabwe.

It is to be hoped that the rest of Africa, perhaps acting through the OAU and probably with Nigeria in the lead, will prove more generous. Zimbabwe has considerable resources and, with an economy ready to burst into dramatic growth now that it is freed from the restrictions that even half-hearted sanctions imposed, it may be about to move into a period of great prosperity. This would make Mr. Mugabe's task of reconciling old enemies and building a nation out of the many disparate elements that make up Zimbabwe much easier. It would be a tragedy, particularly if one considers that the war was estimated to have cost £182m a year, if a lack of money now prevented the present euphoria from developing into permanent well-being.

First rains

*I saw the vultures
Perched at the gates
At the windows and doors
Guns were pointed*

*I saw the old men
Digging the earth
As the full moon
Came and left
The women huddled
Together they talked
Loudly stopping only
To laugh or dance
While making signs
With their fingers
And embracing each other*

*I heard the hollow
Groans of derision rebounding
Curses of scorn filled
The airwaves of bloated gut*

*As the sun broke
The veil of night
I heard the voices
Zimbabwe! Zimbabwe!
From the rains
Like the first rains
The old men and women
Dug the earth
And danced
And laughed
Who else writes
History I thought*

*The vultures remained perched
The guns remained pointed*

Imruh Caesar

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Master Sergeant Doe's Cabinet

A correspondent reports on the details known so far of the coup that overthrew President Tolbert and its immediate aftermath.

FOLLOWING THE 12 April coup by non-commissioned officers and other ranks in Monrovia, here is a list of members of the *de facto* Liberian Government: Master Sergeant Samuel K. Doe, Head of State and Chairman of the People's Redemption Council; Sergeant Thomas Weh Sien, Co-Chairman; Corporal Nathan Poldiear, Speaker of the Council; the following are Council members: Staff Sergeant Thomas Quainwongba; S/Sgt. Henry S. Zuo, Jnr; S/Sgt. Swen N. Dixon; S/Sgt. Jerry Gban; Corporal Jacob Swen; Cpl. Fallah Voine; Cpl. Jerry C. Friday, Cpl. Harris S. Johnson; Cpl. Harry W. Bather; Cpl. Roberts B. Norwani; Cpl. Harrison Penue; Private First Class Williams S. Peter.

Members of the Cabinet are (Ministries in brackets): Gabriel Baccus Matthews (Foreign Affairs), Chea Cheapoo (Justice); Major Perry G. Zulu (Finance); Samuel B. Pearson (Defence); Dr. George Boley (Minister of State for Presidential Affairs); Oscar J. Quiah (Local Government); Dr. Togba-Nah Tipoteh (Economic Affairs and Planning); Gabriel J. Tucker (Public Works); Lassana Dunzo (Action for Progress and Development); Dr. Kate Bryant (Health and Welfare); Lt.-Colonel Fred Baly (Labour, Youth and Sports); Gabriel Nimley (Information); Ist. Lieutenant Alfred Suah (Agriculture); Major Joseph N. Douglas (Commerce); Colonel Emmanuel T. Tweby (Postal Affairs); William P. Nebo (Lands and Mines); Dr. H. Boima Fahnbulleh (Education). Sergeant Doe told a news conference that the Redemption Council's aim was to heal the government and not to overthrow it. He said the reappointed ministers (Gabriel Tucker, Dr. Kate Bryant and Lassana Dunzo) were those against whom there was insufficient evidence to justify trial, reported ELWA. He added that all Cabinet Ministers in the Tolbert Administration not associated with

corruption would be considered for participation in the new government.

It is understood that the Cabinet is an advisory body and the Council is the policy-making body.

Master Sgt. Samuel Doe told the nation in a short broadcast that the People's Redemption Council was committed to building a society based on justice and human dignity. Among the grievances which had led to the coup, Master Sgt. Doe said the government had failed to respond to the wishes of Liberia's poor. "There has been an incomparable corruption that we can see all around us in the form of conflicts of interest, the selling of influence, the use of official positions for private gain and other forms of corruption. There were illegal seizures, detentions, illegal searches and even convictions without trial. The unemployment situation in Liberia was so bad that there were more people looking for work than employed. Rent has risen far beyond the people's ability to pay. Houses built for poor people are being used by rich people. The cost of food is too high and most of our people cannot afford 20 dollars for a bag of rice. The health situation in the country is so terrible that nearly one out of every five newly-born babies dies before reaching the age of one."

During a visit to army barracks in Monrovia, the new Head of State said, "We are not putting on trial the so-called 'Congo-element of America-Liberians'. We are not bent on discrimination. Only those people who had been insincere to the Liberian people and particularly corrupt officials would go on trial he said.

News agency reports from Abidjan said the bodies of President Tolbert and 27 other people were "thrown into mass graves" on Tuesday. The report said the corpses were driven from the John F. Kennedy in an open lorry. An unofficial source in Monrovia, however, said that

President Tolbert was killed at the Executive Mansion and 12 others were also killed.

The trials of former ministers and officials before a six-man military tribunal have begun, starting with Mr. Joseph Chesson, former Minister of Justice. He was charged with high treason, rampant corruption, the misuse of public office and the suppression of human and constitutional rights.

Master Sgt. Doe banned any parades of naked former officials under arrest. Looting was also stopped after the first two days and any soldiers found guilty of looting or molesting people risked a death penalty. Order was restored in Monrovia without much difficulty and by Wednesday schools, banks and shops were reopening.

Master Sgt. Doe said Liberia would seek to maintain and develop friendship with foreign investors and would do its best to maintain and develop relations with all peace-loving countries. He said the right to private property and "the fruits of honest labour" would be respected and the past would be allowed to fade into history. "There will be no witch-hunting. It is our responsibility to build a new society for the benefit of all our people. We call on our foreign friends to assist us in this respect." He said it was a time for hard work. "Hard work and honest work will bring us progress. Gone are the days of 'who do you know' and 'do you know who I am?' We now enter a time of 'what can you do?'"

A source in Monrovia denied reports in the Western press that the US military adviser had helped organise security measures when looting became serious on Monday.

The US State Department had expressed regret at the death of President Tolbert and urged the new government to avoid policies of revenge. US Embassy officials in Monrovia met Master Sgt. Doe. Mr.



Three of the new ministers: Dr. Togba-Nah Tipoteh, Economic Affairs and Planning; Mr. Gabriel Baccus Matthews, Foreign Affairs; Mr. Chea Cheapoo, Justice

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Hodding Carter, State Department spokesman said the US would "continue to review the situation and to deal with the new Liberian authorities on operational matters directly related to American citizens and property and on humanitarian matters of general concern."

It was later reported that the new government had imposed a general price freeze and had released 259 prisoners. ELWA radio said the price freeze affected rents and all commodities until further notice. The prisoners were released from Monrovia Central Prison and other jails on Master Sgt. Doe's orders which also expressed interest in their rehabilitation. Broadcasts continued ordering all off-duty soldiers to return to barracks.

The Peoples' Redemption Council briefly faced a revolt on Wednesday, April 16, when a counter-insurgency unit set up under President Tolbert's regime killed a member of the Council. He remains unnamed. The same unit also attempted to ambush some soldiers supporting the Council but they failed. Military sources in Monrovia say that those responsible have been caught and imprisoned. As we go to press this revolt appears to have been suppressed and calm continues to return to Monrovia, at least to the extent that the new

Head of State was to be seen walking in the streets early in the week.

The OAU Secretary-General, M. Edem Kodjo, has appealed to the Liberian authorities for clemency and a fair and just trial for former officials. He said, "It is with sentiments of the purest humanitarian nature and devoid of any desire to interfere in the internal affairs of the Republic of Liberia that we wish to appeal to the new Liberian authorities to demonstrate clemency towards the members of the former government and that fair, equitable and normal justice be granted to them."

Another comment came from the Kenyan *Daily Nation* which said in an editorial: "It is extraordinary that in this day and age, when independent African states and their representative body, the OAU, are shouting from the rooftops about the people's right to adult suffrage and demanding one-man one-vote for all people, a country like Liberia whose slain president was the current chairman of the OAU, still operated a system under which only property owners were entitled to vote and all others left in the wilderness. . . The Tolbert hierarchy which ran the nation's True Whig Party in the best traditions of the landed aristocracy has paid the price for ignoring the grievances of the majority."

Matchet's Diary

AGAIN this column feels moved to speak well of the dead at a time when it is unfashionable. President Tolbert is being reviled now in Monrovia; to say that he was nevertheless a man of some qualities does not dispute the injustices and hardships people experienced under the regime.

When I first interviewed him in his office at the Executive Mansion about three years ago I was impressed by his boast that there was not a single political prisoner in Liberia (things changed later) and by his insistence that he would leave office at the end of his term in 1983, as the constitution demanded. This would have been something new for Liberia — President Tubman stayed over 27 years in office — and something new and desirable for the whole of Africa, where rulers tend to cling to office even into their dotage.

I can remember watching a ceremony at the Executive Mansion in which new members of Cabinet were sworn in. There was a most pleasant informality about the dress — open-necked tropical suits were the rule, except for some very junior officials and foreign visitors, who sweated in ties and coats. The language also had its own flavour rounded, Biblical phrases in long speeches, but also a sort of relaxed informality and humour. The contrast to the Tubman era of frock coats and top hats was marked, old hands said. The reason for the cabinet changes, incidentally, was that President Tolbert had fired a man charged with a fairly minor corruption.

Other memories are of him presiding over the OAU summit in Monrovia last year, which he did with dignity and



President Tolbert: a valediction

distinction — and again with that characteristic inflated prose that lives in the memory. I remember noting one phrase from his final address: "We stand upon the premise of liberty. We search for the true circle of unity and we seek a new cadence of mutuality, by which our continent can march towards brighter horizons."

Finally, vivid in my mind are impressions from his official visit to Britain. I watched him, always shining in his white clothes and smiling, being entertained to lunch by the Queen at Buckingham Palace, to dinner by the Lord Mayor at the Mansion House, and to the ballet at Covent Garden by Sir Ian Gilmour, the deputy Foreign Minister. Everywhere he left a strongly favourable impression, as a good man deeply sincere in his religion. The statement he made at a press conference in London has a brutal irony now. He said that in Liberia there had always been an orderly transition from one administration to another. "We have never had to resort to suppression or intimidation to ensure stability and to pursue our goals.

Our citizens enjoy greater and more relevant personal rights than the citizens of most other countries, including some old-established European states.

Some of the citizens of Monrovia obviously thought otherwise. President Tolbert's failures might be more an inability to react adequately to demands for change than an evil intent. Much has been made of his and his family's large business interests, particularly in rice. But few people who had worked close to him believed that he was moved by a desire to make money; he had more idealistic basic motivations.

He was born on May 13, 1913, son of a former South Carolina slave who had emigrated to Liberia in 1880 and became a prosperous rice and coffee grower. He entered government service as a typist in 1935, was elected to the House of Representatives in 1943; and in 1951 President Tubman chose him as the youngest Vice-President in Liberia's history. There was a long period in the shadow of President Tubman before he took over in 1971.

Apart from the revolution in dress, President Tolbert will probably be best remembered for the colourful slogans he attached to policies and projects — "Rally Time", "From Mat to Mattress", "Total Involvement", "War on Ignorance, Poverty and Disease", and so on. His critics claimed that the gap between words and actual performance grew dramatically during his time of office.

He will also be remembered for controversially agreeing to a dialogue with Mr. Vorster, the Prime Minister of South Africa, who travelled to Liberia to meet him. He altered this policy later when it became clear that Mr. Vorster had no intention of giving any significant concessions on apartheid.

He was Liberia's 19th President, and presumably not her last though there will now, for the first time since 1847, be a gap.

An occupied vice-president

THE Vice-President of Ghana, Dr F. W. de Graft-Johnson, was in London last week and I was able to ask him about what the government's attitude was to the vexed and much discussed question of whether there should be commissions of inquiry into the

AFRC period of rule and the transitional provisions. He replied that the issue of the transitional provisions was not one that could be tackled by the government or by one party acting on its own. "It is a matter which we believe should be looked at by an inter-party consultative committee," he said. There would need to be a reaction on a national basis to the calls for commissions of inquiry "You are touching on the constitution."

The Vice-President is in Britain to chair and to participate in the World Transport Research Conference, to reflect the viewpoint of developing countries. This is, of course, his subject, for he was, before becoming Vice-President, Director of the Building and Road Research Institute at the University of Science and Technology, Kumasi. While in Britain he also took the opportunity of having talks with a number of ministers. I met him just after he had seen Mrs. Thatcher and before he was to see Lord Carrington.

Turning to the economy, the Vice-President said that there had been some preliminary discussions with the IMF about new loans. The IMF had made proposals — "some of them acceptable". There will be them not so acceptable". There will be further discussions.

The Government had other plans for resuscitating the economy, the Vice-President said. He is chairman of the National Development Commission, whose task it was to produce a development plan within 18 months. This was one of several things that are keeping the Vice-President fully occupied. He said there was no question of his complaining, as some American Vice-Presidents have done, of not having enough to do.

"Our constitution makes the Vice-President the chairman of the National Development Commission, as I have said, and also chairman of the Military Advisory Council, and chairman of the Police Council and a member of the Security Council. In addition, if there is anything that is urgent I can be asked by the President to see to it."

Zimbabwe ball

AN INDEPENDENCE BALL for Zimbabwe was to be held on Saturday, April 19, in the Camden Centre on Euston Road in London organised by Charles Mukora of ZANU and Godwin Agyeman of Ghamanson Promotions. The programme included live Zimbabwe music, afternoon cocktails for Zimbabwe nationals in the UK, and from 7 pm to 2 am the crowning of a Miss Zimbabwe. Godwin Agyeman assured *West Africa* that it would be a great event to mark an historic occasion. He also took the trouble to stress the Ghanaian connection with Mr Robert Mugabe (namely, his wife, Sally, Hayfron, whom he met while teaching in Ghana) and ZANU-PF for whom Ghamanson Promotions helped arrange housing and other facilities for young Zimbabweans.

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An exemplary election

A correspondent looks at the report on the Zimbabwe elections by the Commonwealth Observer Group.

AN EXEMPLARY demonstration of what can be achieved by a "free and fair", and politically conscious, vote took place in February in what is now officially Zimbabwe. The report of the Commonwealth Observer Group noted that "... the circumstances attending this election were vastly different from those with which the world is familiar. It was taking place in the immediate aftermath of a bitter civil war which had deeply scarred the country. It was held within eight weeks of a ceasefire between armies that had been fighting each other for seven years. The psychological legacy of years of war was as palpable as some of its physical consequences were visible. More than half a million people had been uprooted from their homes and were living behind barbed wire in 'protected villages'. An even larger number, estimated at about 750,000 had left their villages to seek sanctuary in shanty towns on the outskirts of the cities. Another 228,000, or about the same number as the white community as a whole, were refugees in neighbouring countries. Almost all adult whites had acquired arms, and many, including women, went about their daily lives carrying them. Two of the main political parties contesting the elections had just become legitimate after years of proscription. Most of their leaders had only

shortly returned to the country after long years of enforced exile [which followed at least ten years' imprisonment in Rhodesia]. The country's media had only recently been permitted to mention their names, and censorship continued to apply to anything which was deemed, even remotely, to affect security."

The crowning touch was the provision of a British Governor to oversee formal decolonisation 15 years after the Unilateral Declaration of Independence, and furthermore, to work with the existing administrative framework in Salisbury. Lord Soames, the Governor, was chosen by Mrs. Margaret Thatcher's Conservative Government, which made no secret in London and in Salisbury of who they did not want to win — the "Marxist terrorists" led by Mr. Robert Mugabe. The Zimbabwe election was exemplary because this very man and his party won a clear victory when so much was working against them, overtly and covertly, except the most important factor, the vote of the majority of the people.

The Commonwealth Observer Group report is critical of some aspects of Lord Soames' performance as Governor, and notes that he "had to act with the awareness that this [fragile] equilibrium could be easily upset, and with disastrous consequences.

When we were apprehensive about the consequences of some actions, either taken or in contemplation, we did not hesitate to convey our concerns to him. We believe that on certain matters we were able to offer timely counsel based on our own independent perception of events. The strong commitment of the parties to the Lancaster House Agreement and to the achievement of peace through elections, was a potent factor in keeping the process on course. It was the Governor's achievement that he was able to sustain their involvement in it through a most testing period." This carefully balanced evaluation can be read jointly with another of the report's overall conclusions: "In the extraordinary circumstances in which the elections were held, we could hardly have expected to find the levels of administrative propriety and public rectitude associated with the concept of free and fair elections at their ideal best, a level not always or everywhere achieved even in stable societies with long experience of democratic institutions. In the event, the degree to which they approached those levels was praiseworthy indeed." When this is placed in the context of past decades of social and political oppression by the white minority of the black population, regulated by ever more draconian legislation, the background to the elections shows through the careful balance of the Commonwealth Observers report.



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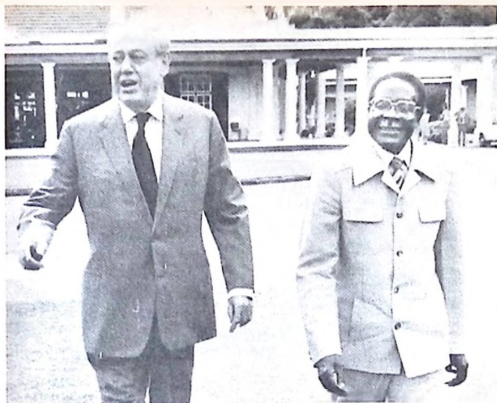
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An exemplary election

A correspondent looks at the report on the Zimbabwe elections by the Commonwealth Observer Group.

AN EXEMPLARY demonstration of what can be achieved by a "free and fair", and politically conscious, vote took place in February in what is now officially Zimbabwe. The report of the Commonwealth Observer Group noted that "... the circumstances attending this election were vastly different from those with which the world is familiar. It was taking place in the immediate aftermath of a bitter civil war which had deeply scarred the country. It was held within eight weeks of a ceasefire between armies that had been fighting each other for seven years. The psychological legacy of years of war was as palpable as some of its physical consequences were visible. More than half a million people had been uprooted from their homes and were living behind barbed wire in 'protected villages'. An even larger number, estimated at about 750,000 had left their villages to seek sanctuary in shanty towns on the outskirts of the cities. Another 228,000, or about the same number as the white community as a whole, were refugees in neighbouring countries. Almost all adult whites had acquired arms, and many, including women, went about their daily lives carrying them. Two of the main political parties contesting the elections had just become legitimate after years of proscription. Most of their leaders had only

shortly returned to the country after long years of enforced exile [which followed at least ten years' imprisonment in Rhodesia]. The country's media had only recently been permitted to mention their names, and censorship continued to apply to anything which was deemed, even remotely, to affect security."

The crowning touch was the provision of a British Governor to oversee formal decolonisation 15 years after the Unilateral Declaration of Independence, and furthermore, to work with the existing administrative framework in Salisbury. Lord Soames, the Governor, was chosen by Mrs. Margaret Thatcher's Conservative Government, which made no secret in London and in Salisbury of who they did not want to win — the "Marxist terrorists" led by Mr. Robert Mugabe. The Zimbabwe election was exemplary because this very man and his party won a clear victory when so much was working against them, overtly and covertly, except the most important factor, the vote of the majority of the people.

The Commonwealth Observer Group report is critical of some aspects of Lord Soames' performance as Governor, and notes that he "had to act with the awareness that this [fragile] equilibrium could be easily upset, and with disastrous consequences.

When we were apprehensive about the consequences of some actions, either taken or in contemplation, we did not hesitate to convey our concerns to him. We believe that on certain matters we were able to offer timely counsel based on our own independent perception of events. The strong commitment of the parties to the Lancaster House Agreement and to the achievement of peace through elections, was a potent factor in keeping the process on course. It was the Governor's achievement that he was able to sustain their involvement in it through a most testing period." This carefully balanced evaluation can be read jointly with another of the report's overall conclusions: "In the extraordinary circumstances in which the elections were held, we could hardly have expected to find the levels of administrative propriety and public rectitude associated with the concept of free and fair elections at their ideal best, a level not always or everywhere achieved even in stable societies with long experience of democratic institutions. In the event the degree to which they approached those levels was praiseworthy indeed." When this is placed in the context of past decades of social and political oppression by the white minority of the black population, regulated by ever more draconian legislation, the background to the elections shows through the careful balance of the Commonwealth Observers report.

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Lord Soames extended the State of Emergency another six months from January 26, when it had been in continuous existence from the 1960 Law and Order Maintenance Act — the then Federal Chief Justice, the late Sir Robert Tredgold, resigned in protest before it became law and observed that if the Act was needed it was time for Europeans to pack their bags and leave, all of 20 years ago. The report notes the serious possibility that existing legislation would erode the essential democratic elements of the elections. The observers were surprised that neither at district level nor at Government House in Salisbury were records kept of the number and identity of people detained under Ministerial Order or by the arbitrary powers of all members of the Security Forces (including policemen). Any figures provided them were unverifiable since detainees had no access to courts or concerned organisations like the Red Cross. Several complaints were made by ZANU (PF) and the PF in respect of their members, and polling agents. By February 13, Mr. Mugabe said about 2,500 of his party workers and supporters were in custody (but a week later alleged it was 5,000). The report says the Governor only "expected" the police to perform their



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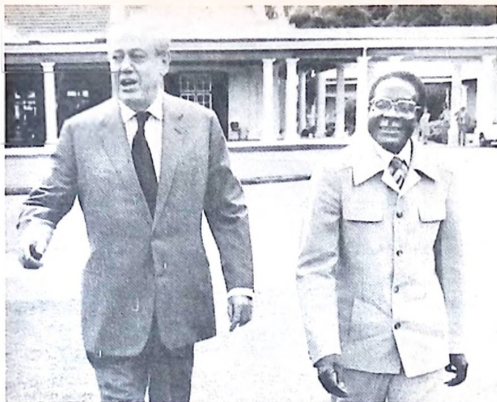
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positively dangerous: "We were told that sometimes members of the [Commonwealth] Monitoring Force had to go round the areas calming the [ZIPRA and ZANLA] soldiers after [broadcasts of Security Force] communiques had upset them." Lord Soames is also gently nudged for not making positive moves to introduce balance into the media.

The Commonwealth Observer Group (drawn from India, Australia, Canada, Barbados, Ghana, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Bangladesh, Jamaica, Papua New Guinea, and Sri Lanka) was left with "the uncomfortable feeling that the highest authorities were not being made fully aware of the true parameters of the problem of intimidation, and that the sources of information on which they appeared to rely did not present as frank and complete a picture as was necessary", which resulted in an "inability to comprehend the popular mood" and a "number of official statements which caused considerable disquiet and gave rise to allegations, however ill-founded, of bias".

The report finds that "the election campaign was characterised by a number of aberrations from the conditions envisaged

by the Lancaster House Agreement. The most serious in our view was the failure of the Administration to treat the parties on an equal footing..." It goes back to the Pearce Commission in 1971-72 to note that the whole country "was alive with political activity at the grass roots", and adds that political awareness had been heightened by long years of war in the remotest parts of the country. "Not only was the electorate highly politicised and of proven independence of mind, but there was the additional factor of belief in the secrecy of the ballot.

The report says intimidation was undoubtedly a factor in the elections, particularly in some [Tribal Trust Lands]... but balances this against the "extremely high level of political consciousness we found among the African population". It is this balance between a structure of white Rhodesian intimidation of the Africans over the years, and the military and political struggle against the oppression which generated the African political consciousness that suggests an exemplary demonstration of democracy where the popular will was clearly expressed in Zimbabwe in most difficult circumstances.

The team spirit in Ivory Coast

Alex Rondos, recently in Abidjan, examines in the first of two articles some of the determining factors in the Ivorian political structure.

"COMPETITION is healthy for sport, but in politics, what must triumph is team spirit," President Houphouët-Boigny recently told a *Le Monde* correspondent. This was a typically cryptic presidential insight offered into the way of Ivorian politics. It is also an indication of the way he would like things to go — as they almost certainly will — during the critically important period of decision making in the next few months.

This is the year of the party congress, held every five years. Already all the preparatory commissions are hard at work and their recommendations are likely to be adopted with little dispute at the congress. This is also the year of the new Five Year Plan. These two events have served to concentrate the mind on what is for many Ivorians the most important issue facing the political future of the country: the succession to President Houphouët-Boigny — *l'après Houphouët*. In this context, it is also thought that there will be a ministerial reshuffle following the congress which could see the consolidation of the progress some of the younger ministers and the reintroduction of some older but still very powerful faces. Last December, the President sought with great indignation to suppress the wave of rumours that were circulating — and obviously instigated by camps of rivals within the elite — by

announcing his own candidacy for a further five year term as President. There was reference to possible constitutional change regarding the presidency — a change *L'Amérique*, as it has been intimated — which suggests that there might be a move to install a Vice-President. That comment alone was enough to encourage more speculation about the constitutional and political intricacies of how certain possible candidates for the job would have to be shifted to make the plan possible. Finally, the President expressed his wish to democratise the political structure.

The immediate reaction to most of these suggested changes has been a headlong rush to Ivorians and other observers to *chercher le candidat*. Names are put forward, great discussion ensues as to the nature of the political options and manoeuvres required for that person to be moved up the political ladder, or sideways. The President is aware of these speculations and he has often been responsible for rendering them invalid. No single politician — apart from the President — has ever been allowed to acquire too long and substantial momentum of popularity. Hence the relevance of his comment about "team spirit". The loyal self-effacement of a man such as M. Philippe Yace, the constitutional successor to the President, which has been responsible to a large extent for his present power.



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While President Houphouët — Boigny remains the dominant force in Ivorian politics critical decisions, such as those that will have to be taken in the near future, always involve lengthy discussion. They are unpectacular to the bystander in search of publicised manifestations of dissent in the party. But the President's notion of team spirit is particular to Ivory Coast and to his concept of governing the country. To him, the team is a number of things. In a paternal sense, its consummation is the nation. In reality it is the ability of the captain to manipulate the various members according to their relative strengths, so that a consensus is achieved along which the entire structure can operate smoothly. This includes the rise of the youth in the Ivorian political scene, a factor which will be ignored at the peril of those in power. There are the traditional powers which still exercise immense influence over tribal politics — a factor that has been crucial in Ivory Coast's political balance. However, there is another team which is at the core of the system.

To understand Ivorian politics is to appreciate and have the full details of the relationships between a number of family groups. A group may be widespread. It is represented at the highest instances in the government and the party, though some of its most influential members, especially those who are traditional chiefs of the older generation, remain in their locality where they exercise remarkable influence over the political decision making in Abidjan or Yamoussoukro. One is talking about a

group of people who have concentrated economic, political and administrative power in their hands by a complex system of intermarriage and interlocking financial interests. It has been the failure to have a precise knowledge of this group in society — and any independent study of it has yet to be made and is unlikely in the present political climate — which makes any analyses of the Ivorian political system extremely difficult. Yet it is this group which forms the ultimate team. If it is regarded as ostentatious in its material life, it is inscrutable in its political behaviour. A community of interests binds the members of the groups together and they are both tolerated and kept in check by the President. Naturally, within such groups there are internal rivalries that develop: prestige can be enhanced in various ways but eventually the outcome is to be firmly identified with that inaccessible elite.

Opening or closing ranks?

The question therefore is: are the conditions in Ivory Coast today such that this elite will open or close its ranks at a time when a decision, either way, will have to be taken? It is remarkable the degree to which Ivorians feel the dearth of information as to their political future. And the normal sources of information — an informal filter through which information passes from the entourage of those in the highest positions of the country — have been noticeably dry of late. This is reflected in the inevitable

reply to any question that is politically delicate: "We shall have to see what *Le Léon* has to say". The President, however, replies, as he recently did to *Le Monde* in that same interview, "The presidential thoughts cannot be divulged before the congress."

The President has talked of democratising the system in the Ivorian way. This can happen in a number of ways. First he can release some of the political pressure by indicating the exact course towards the succession. This has been suggested as the appointment of a Vice-President, after the necessary constitutional changes have been made at the Congress.

The question of who that will be has exercised the minds of many. As has already been suggested, it is something of a red herring to speculate on this subject to such an extent that the structure of political decision-making and the pressures to which it is most vulnerable are obscured. Suffice it to say that the obvious candidate at the moment is the currently designated constitutional successor in the event of the President's absence from office either by travel, illness or death, M. Philippe Yacé, the Secretary General of the Parti Démocratique de Côte d'Ivoire and the President of the National Assembly. The latter office makes him the constitutional successor.

Since there is no question of permitting the existence of a second party, any loosening of the political system will have to occur within the PDCI. This is where the greatest discussion and care will be

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required. There are to be municipal, legislative and presidential elections after the congress. The last of these is a foregone conclusion. The first of these will offer some novelties. At present, the role of mayor is undertaken by the prefects. The previous attempt to introduce municipal elections, in late 1978, ended in a fiasco when the President cancelled the results after what was apparently the mismanagement and interference in the electoral process. Voters in 26 towns will have the right this year to elect their mayor. At a local level in urban centres this will serve to relax the administrative grip.

Competition at elections

In the legislative elections, there will be competition on the party list. This will mark a profound change to the previous practice which consisted of a three-tier selection of candidates. Traditionally, each locality puts forward its candidate before the regional party authorities. They then choose a shortlist from which the Political Bureau of the Party selects its candidate. What lies behind this method is a lengthy series of negotiations at the local and regional level so that a compromise and consensus is reached. In essence it is a system created and aimed at acknowledging the tribal differences within the country — there are over 60 — while at the same time containing them. This has led one of Ivory Coast's most prominent academics, the Doyen of the Faculté des Lettres of the University of

Abidjan, Lincine Sylla, to describe the PDCI in his book, *Tribalisme et Parti Unique en Afrique Noire*, as a "federation of Ivorian tribes."

It is often said of President Houphouët Boigny and his brand of rule that he combines an apparent autocracy — albeit a very benign one — with discreet consultation. This is absolutely true, even though there have been occasions when he would appear to have ridden roughshod over his closest advisers, the offer of refuge to Bokassa is the obvious case. The normal practice has sometimes been brought forcefully into the limelight when the President announces that he will hold a dialogue with aggrieved and interested parties if there is a problem. Similarly, it is known that there have been occasions when he has been held back from following a particular course by the forceful intervention of the senior politicians. It is a system which has required a finely-tuned instinctive touch which President Houphouët-Boigny has managed to display. This is his strength, and possibly the country's weakness as his departure from the political scene comes closer as he ages.

What is more, he has to face new pressures which are now more pressing than ever: how to accommodate politically the aspirations of a growing mass of youth who are pouring out at various levels of the educational system, many of whom feel that their way is blocked? The temptation is generally to say that such expressions of discontent from the youth and the younger cadres in the administration have been

heard before and that they have been dealt with adequately. However, the country is conscious that it is ruled by the same team, with very rare exceptions, that brought the country independence. That makes 20 years; ten years ago there was an important outbreak of student frustration. The frustration takes on many forms as youth is divided within itself by education, social class and achievement. The younger cadres in the administration refer to the gerontocracy, but it should be made clear that many of these are conscious that they are missing out on something which they would very much like to have rather than condemning something. One senses a certain lassitude — the feeling that though the prevailing influence of the old guard is beginning to pall, they are not going to set about any revolutionary activity. Resentment ensues.

There is then the groundswell of young people who have received an uncompleted education. They have not managed to enter the secondary system and job opportunities are scarcer now than ever. The common refrain is that these children are "lost to agriculture," as serious a prospect for Ivory Coast as any, given the country's devotion to agricultural expansion as the foundation of economic growth. With the reduction in economic growth that is predicted for the next few years, the government is going to have to take serious political decisions to placate the youth of Ivorian society who form almost half the population and who will be emerging on to the employment market in growing numbers in the next few years.

There is the feeling in Abidjan that the needs of the younger generation are treated with a certain complacency by the powers that be. People refer to the glaring social gaps that can be found in a city like Abidjan. On more than one occasion, the outlying suburbs of Abidjan which contain the mass of its poorer population, have been compared to the expense and wealth of the Plateau, the commercial hub, and Cocody described as Ivory Coast's Soweto. That Ivorians, normally proud of their economic achievement, should draw such an analogy makes for a considerable change in the political atmosphere in the capital.

Undoubtedly, events across the border in Liberia, following on last year's June 4 revolution in Ghana, will have come as a severe jolt to President Houphouët-Boigny and those closest to him politically. This will cast a shadow over the proceedings in the next few months. President Houphouët-Boigny had staked much on the alliance and existence of the regime in Monrovia — in many senses acting as a kindred political spirit diplomatically. Discreet though it was, President Houphouët-Boigny was of considerable assistance to Monrovia over last year's April 14 riots. Large consignments of rice, of which there have been shortages in parts of Ivory Coast, were sent to Liberia.

Another area which the regime will have to deal with on the political level is the change that is gradually taking place in the structure of tribal politics. A new generation, no longer satisfied with

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remaining in their respective localities, is emerging. These new men, who have prestige derived from their traditional roles as chiefs, are also ambitious in the national sense. They will move to Abidjan and turn the national capital into their focus of attention. The implications of this sociological and demographic change cannot be under-estimated in their relation to the present structure of the party, and its obvious attempt to reconcile the tribal differences of Ivory Coast. It could become a dangerously divisive instrument used by politicians seeking power bases.

Similarly, the differences in regional development, though not as conspicuous as was once the case, still remains very much the prerogative of the President. In practice, he has been able, in the last five years, to use the massive increase in the commodity revenue derived from cocoa and coffee and which is the responsibility of the Caisse de Stabilisation et Soutien aux Produits Agricoles, for regional projects. This, however, while a crucial factor in the political equation in the Ivory Coast, just as with the inevitable reform of the State companies, falls within the discussion of the economic options facing Ivory Coast and will be dealt with next week.

The lynchpin

The lynchpin of the entire system is President Houphouët-Boigny. To return to his sporting analogy, every team needs a captain. This captain has maintained a squad from which he can draw assistance and political support. Translated in political terms, Felix Houphouët-Boigny has presided over and fostered a complex system of checks and balances in a society that is changing rapidly. This has been achieved to a large extent by the judicious application of patronage and persuasion which has created a very tightly-knit group at the top of the country — which in some social sectors, notably the traditional, has a considerable degree of support — the very nature of whose existence has to a large extent obscured the distinction between political status and state structure. The very ease with which people will refer to the president as the ultimate arbiter suggests that he will now have to prepare for the day when someone else, or a group of people, to take over the responsibility of the system. The problem is that the secrets of that system are the President and reside in his talent at reconciling competitive groups in the country while maintaining what has now become an aura of veneration. Whether he is aware himself of the pressures that this system will be subjected to — he has seen examples, manifesting themselves in neighbouring countries — is one of the major questions. If he can perceive this, will he be able to persuade those closest to him who are powerful that the time for some sacrifice has come, this is the next stage of the problem. He has managed to sustain a system the symptoms of which when unchecked in countries very close to Ivory Coast have caused indignation, resentment and violence.

Chad's gang warfare

by a correspondent

EITHER THROUGH intervention or abstention most of the powers which could assist in bringing an end to the fighting in Chad are resolved that the only solution will be by violent means. And even then the complexities of the conflict are such that it is difficult to envisage peace descending on Chad even if one of the two principal rivals — Goukhouni and Habre — is eliminated. Meanwhile, the tragedy of the Chadian war is reflected by the fact that international notice might have to be taken simply because the numbers of refugees that have fled into Cameroon and Nigeria is causing serious problems for their governments.

Without the prestige of its Chairman the OAU is in an even more difficult position to persuade the factions in N'Djamena to stop fighting. Previous calls for an end to the war by President Tolbert, who had drawn up a plan for a ceasefire shortly before his assassination, had been as good as ignored. A neutral observer team intended to delimit the ceasefire lines comprising representatives from Cameroon, Liberia, Nigeria and Togo has not materialised. Of these countries Nigeria is the most powerful and most likely to be able to impose peace. However, all the signs are that Lagos is most reluctant to become involved in yet another round of attempts to seek a solution to the conflict. The prevailing opinion is that the war in Chad has degenerated into gangster warfare on a national scale and that the best

thing is to let them fight it out until a clear winner emerges. What Nigeria would fear and react against is the intrusion of Libya.

It is, however, difficult to believe that the factions in Chad are able to continue their fighting with the intensity that they have displayed thus far without military supplies coming from somewhere beyond the country's frontiers. In its latest issue, *Jeune Afrique's* correspondent in N'Djamena claims that there is evidence of considerable foreign support going to three of the major factions and that Chad is beginning to turn into the battleground for the dispute between President Sadat of Egypt and Col. Gaddafi of Libya. For much of last year Col. Kamougue, the leader of the southerners who is now positioned just outside of N'Djamena intermittently shelling Hissen Habre's positions, received aid through a massive Libyan airlift Ahmat Acyl's faction — he is the Foreign Minister in the Transitional Government — which is part of the Front d'Action Commune and which has sided with Goukhouni's Forces Armées Populaires is known to be supported by Libya. It is alleged that many of the FAC troops, who, according to some reports, have been the backbone of the defence against Hissen Habre's advances in N'Djamena, are trained in Libya. Finally, The Forces Armées du Nord of Hissen Habre are receiving supplies and reinforcements from bases in Sudan which in turn are supplied by

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Egypt. Hissen Habre is disliked anyway for his obvious ambitions and the suspicion that he will stop at nothing to achieve them. Should he win his virulent anti-Libyanism will make him particularly unpalatable to some of the other factions. If Goukhouni emerges as the winner, he will be obliged to the FAC which has very little power on the ground in Chad but which derives much of its support from Libya, just as he will be obliged to Col. Kamougue, who as the months go by appears to be increasingly reluctant to participate in any government of a unified Chadian state.

The OAU having little power to intervene at the moment and the French being reluctant to intervene as well — even though it is thought that in Paris Habre is still considered the best bet — there is now a dearth of opportunities for further initiatives.

The only hope that some external pressure may be brought on the factions to put an end to the fight may be through publicity that might emerge from the growing crisis that will surround the conditions of the thousands of refugees that have fled from Chad. Cameroon has at least 100,000 and while Lagos has not made any comment on the matter, there are thousands of refugees who have gone into Borno State, Nigeria. Aid has already been sent to Cameroon; one awaits more news

from Nigeria. This is, however, the only part of the war in Chad which has spilled over into other neighbouring states. Meanwhile the war continues to be regarded as a wholly parochial affair and therefore appears to be lower than ever on the list of priorities of the world's peacemakers.

As far as the eventual outcome of this conflict is concerned there are constant allusions to a federal structure; a plan that is favoured and continues to be peddled by the French. However, the only combatant who has shown the slightest inclination towards this idea is Col. Kamougue. Both Habre and Goukhouni are committed nationalists. The reality of the war is that the four factions control and administer large chunks of Chad; Goukhouni's FAP throughout most of the north, Habre along a belt from N'Djamena to Abeche and the Sudanese frontier; FAC has some control at Mongo but they could easily be challenged and Col Kamougue in the south. Most people would shrink from the thought of organising a referendum which would make a federation constitutionally viable and many of the neighbouring countries would find it hard to countenance the acknowledgement of particularist pressures just next door. They have had too many similar pressures of their own which have been dealt with in the past by a combination of suppression and protracted and painful bargaining for conciliation.

African dreams and cynicism

Gordon Johnston reviews a new play by the Nigerian dramatist Olu Obafemi which was produced at Leeds University.

"THE TRADITION of the dead generations weighs like a nightmare on the brain of the living. And just when they seem engaged in revolutionising themselves and things, in creating something that has never yet existed, precisely in such periods of revolutionary crisis they anxiously conjure up the spirits of the past to their service" (Marx).

Nights of the Mystical Beast, written and directed by Olu Obafemi and staged as part of the Action Week programme of the Third World Society at Leeds University last month, traces the complex and often contradictory experiences of an African people in their attempt to comprehend and emancipate themselves from a degenerate national leadership in the pay of the multinationals, and a past shrouded in myths and legends which serve to obscure rather than inform the struggle for liberation. The play documents the shattering of a pre-colonial ethic of communal solidarity following the imperialist intervention and portrays the dreams and aspirations of the people in their struggle for independence.

Dreams, however, turn to cynicism, despair and apathy as the reality of independence emerges in the form of a leadership dedicated only in its pursuit of

power, wealth and pleasure. What to do now? The play concludes ambiguously yet perhaps honestly. Have we emancipated ourselves from those convenient reassuring myths propagated by our rulers or do they linger on in the hearts and minds of us all? Have we learnt that the past must be understood and not incarcerated in anecdotes, folk tales and inchoate memories if it is to serve our future? How must it be understood.

The play opens with a mime/narration sequence exploring the themes of work and solidarity that characterises life in Aisla (Nigeria?) prior to colonial intervention. Clearing, planting, cultivating and harvesting are accompanied by a work song that derides the lazy and warns of famine. Narration sketches in the death of a chief, the rituals and rites that accompany burial and the crowning of his successor: "Together they weep away the dead / Together they sing to new the head".

Weeping, however, is an insufficient response to the new power that stalks, haunts and intimidates the people of Aisla. Agurumo, the mystical beast employed throughout the play as a somewhat confused metaphor for all forms of exploitation, manifesting itself initially through slave raiders, the colonial regime

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From left to right Sherla Griffiths, Ahmed Gurnah and Pat Marfit in a scene from the recent production of "Nights of the Mystical Beast" at Leeds University

and subsequently in the post-colonial leadership.

Following a short scene in which the colonial presence is established we are asked to examine the legacy of that presence in the post-colonial period. Beggars, cripples, prostitutes and a disaffected intelligentsia are gathered together in a pub, while the State radio talks of the need: "to revive our culture, our past so that we can build a new and virile future".

Binta, an engineer (Deepa Lakshminathan), responds: "The past, the past, damn it. When shall we learn that to venerate the past is a retrograde indulgence? Veneration versus comprehension, what is the past? Those gathered in the pub re-enact the struggle for independence attempting to distinguish myth from reality, and to account for their shattered dreams of a "bright new dawn". In a strikingly effective sequence two nationalist politicians (Ahmed Gurnah and Tunde Bashiri) are shown rallying the people prior to independence, imprisoned for their opposition to the colonial regime, and finally as President and Vice-President of an independent Asia incarcerating previous supporters who have voiced opposition to their economic policies.

A number of problems are presented in any production serious in its attempt to deal with the process of social change. One problem that this production does not satisfactorily resolve is the changing nature of exploitation that characterises different periods in a country's history. By employing a single metaphor (Agurumo, the mystical beast) for all forms of exploitation one cannot adequately deal with the diverse forms of exploitation in any particular period, nor can one tackle the form of exploitation that differentiates the colonial from the post-colonial period. The problem with metaphoric devices is that they can take on a logic of their own which can conflict with the intentions of the writer, circumscribing the scope of the arguments he/she wishes to put forward.

Agurumo was too amorphous as a metaphor to carry conviction throughout, while the lack of any dynamic dramatic representation of the reality of Agurumo tended to diffuse what power the metaphor contained. A second problem is that when you are compressing a long and complex history it seems important to highlight the crucial ruptures in that history. Dramatic impact was crucially absent in the rupture spawned by the growing influence of the imperial power, the play articulated a juxtaposition between a pre-colonial and a colonial period it did not convincingly handle the admittedly difficult problem of the processes and forces instrumental in that transition.

A similar problem emerged in the final scene. In a sense this reflected the very real problem of how to convey cynicism, despair and apathy especially when the characters are somewhat unclear as to what it is that they are cynical and apathetic about. One could question the political value of concluding the play on so disillusioned a note, yet, if one chooses to do so its treatment must carry conviction. Towards the end of the play one of the characters remarks: "You know very well that you can't, as in a wrestling contest, force awareness on people"; on the one hand this provides a corrective to those who would foster new illusions with calls for a revolutionary optimism and a revolutionary politics, on the other it leaves unanswered the crucial question of the conditions under which such an optimism and such politics would be feasible and realistic.

At the technical level the play performed in a church hall suffered a booming acoustics problem. Not only did this intimidate some of the performers but it did scant justice to the imaginative sound track used to convey war, rain and ministerial speeches. I hope the play is performed again for it confronts important issues in a provocative if not always convincing fashion, it would also give a relatively inexperienced cast the opportunity to gain the sort of confidence and expertise necessary to do justice to the script.

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BOOKS and Publications

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SUCH HAS been the reputation among scholars of the leading West African University Presses (one thinks of the record of Ibadan and of Ife for a start) and of the series volumes by other publishers in association with West African universities (Longman's notable Ibadan and its newer Legon History Series at once come to mind) that it can only be a matter of pleasurable anticipation to welcome another West African venture. This is the arrival on the scene of Ahmadu Bello University Press's co-publishing undertaking with University Press Limited, successor to Oxford University Press, Nigeria.

In a way, of course, Ahmadu Bello University Press is not the newcomer such a public welcome implies. It already has to its credit a handful of paperbacks, some of wider interest than others yet virtually none of them known — probably not to students, possibly not to libraries, and generally not to run-of-the-mill booksellers — outside Nigeria. While this limited awareness may be understandable with respect to such *ad hoc* and largely locally aimed publications as R. B. Davidson's *Industrial Relations Decrees in Nigeria* or Andrew Hicks' *Introduction to the Nigerian Law of Hire Purchase*, neither of which practical text was born to be a bestseller, books like A. W. Urquhart's case-study of Zaria in the mooted series on *The Planned Urban Landscapes of Northern Nigeria* and Neil Skinner's skilfully translated narrative of Hausa oral history, *Ahmadu Mahmudu Koko Kano Malam* both deserve and would attract a wider audience — as the sales of the former to non-student purchasers in campus bookshops alone suggest — if only the one could be introduced to the other. In a way, this lack of social success, as it were, is exemplified in the unconvincing (even suspicious in the minds of *covert employer* buyers) publicity by Ahmadu Bello University Press to explain the dramatic reduction in price (not a reprint, but the same book) of Bruce King and K. Ogunbesan's useful introduction to a group of essays on the Study of Black literature in Africa, the Caribbean and USA. *A Celebration of Black and African Writing*, ascribed to being "due to the outstanding success of this title". Where Ahmadu Bello University Press has been able to make its mark outside the Nigerian market is in its excellent printing and publishing of *Savannah*, by now a well-established (and regular, something of an irregular attribute among African

university journals!) interdisciplinary journal which owes such a lot to its founding editor, Professor Michael Mortimore.

What is new, then, is not the birth of Ahmadu Bello University Press, but its coming of age — or better still, to continue the societal metaphor, its nuptials with the University Press Limited. Nee Oxford University Press. In the light of this eventual engagement, it is interesting to recall the approaches of other suitors way back in the 1960s, when Ahmadu Bello University was still under the age of consent. The now deceased Gaskya Corporation was one strong suitor, though felt by many in *loco parentis* — without prejudice to its earlier reputation for some fine issue — not to be endowed with sufficient health or potency to engender a vigorous offspring, despite its undoubted capacity to provide a leading name in the context of vernacular production. But now *old affairs do occur* are past, and it is to the consummation of this new alliance, that we welcome.

And it is their first set of triplets whose arrival we now celebrate. Two have already been reviewed here, Mahdi Adamu's imaginative and splendid study of Hausa migration before the present century, *The Hausa Factor in West African History* (see *West Africa* Dec. 10, 1979) and J. S. Hogendorn's *Nigerian Groundnuts Exports* (see *West Africa* Jan. 21, 1980), a careful economic analysis of how the Hausa peasantry undermined the hopes of the colonial government and British Cotton Growing Association that Northern Nigeria would become a major producer of cotton. Ever endowed with a quick eye for a quick profit, the Hausa farmer soon perceived that it was groundnuts, not cotton, which would bring the higher economic return. The last of the three volumes to reach review editors of USA and UK journals towards the end of 1979 (even though the Adamu volume sanguinely bears the imprint of 1978 — indeed, all three were promised, in an ABU publicity handout dated March 1978, for "publication about May 1978"; nor does much seem to be known in the trade about the fate of F. Besmer's *Horses, Musicians and Gods*, and widely announced for December 1978) is Sa'ad Abubakar's closely researched *The Lamibe of Fombina*, an account of the rise and fall of political authority and political community in the 19th century jihad state of Fombina, better known over the past hundred years as Adamawa, which pays

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particular attention to the Arabic sources for such an historical reconstruction.

Recently the ABUP/UPL parents have been proud to announce that further additions to their family are already on the way: in publishing as in marriage, as every Hausa peasant knows, prosperity can encourage procreation and procreation beget further prosperity. It is the ABUP/UPL History Series, to launch which a promising blurb was handed out at last July's joint International African Institute/Ahmadu Bello University seminar on "Pastoralists of the Western Savannah", which catches the eye and will make the scholar's mouth water Ibrahim Gambari's *Party Politics and Foreign Policy in Nigeria*, announced for 1979 but not yet sighted, is held by some authorities in the field of international relations to be the best of the three contemporaneously written theses on Nigeria's foreign policy which were completed in the early 1970s (the others were by Idang and by Akinyemi, both already published several years ago). Two other titles, now announced by the Press as appearing in 1979/80 (both were originally announced for publication at the end of 1978) are Michael Mason's *Foundations of the Bida Kingdom*, another older thesis which many have long thought deserved publication, and Paul Lovejoy's *Caravans of Kola: The Hausa Kola Trade*. Nigerian readers, by the way, may not quickly be able to come across Lovejoy's long and important article on plantations in 19th century Sokoto in the December 1979 issue of the *American Historical Review*. For

1980 — if both the authors and the readers are lucky — we are promised A. D. Yahaya's *The Native Authority Systems in Northern Nigeria, 1950-1970* (Dr. Yahaya is now the well-respected Head of the Department of Political Science at Zaria), A. J. Ayoob's *The Establishment and Development of Bauchi, and The Transformation of Katsina, c. 1400-1883*, the 1974 Ph.D thesis of Yusufu Bala Usman, today Zaria's Head of History. The Series programme looks ahead to 1981, when it will offer us P. K. Tibenderana's *Sokoto Province under British Rule, 1903-1939* (a Ugandan perspective on a Nigerian event should be especially interesting) and another book by Dr. Mahdi Adamu, *The Rise and Fall of Hausa Rule in Yawari*. Even if gestation has in several cases been longer than parental pride would care to admit, the promise of a happy, extensive family has all the makings of an event to be keenly looked forward to by the many well-wishers of these two newly-weds.

The ABUP/UPL Press is doubtless conscious of a number of imminent problems, some or all of which have been experienced by all or most university presses as they advance from inauguration to maturity. The quality of the books and the volume of their sales are two immediate priority considerations. That ABUP/UPL has got off to a good start on the former is beyond question. With regard to the latter, the contingent inability to meet announced publication dates has been commented on in the trade, and the whole area of publicity

distribution and sales is one on to which the UPL partner may be expected to bring its considerable bachelorhood experience to bear. Too many reviews editors of journals have not yet heard of, or been able to secure, titles from the ABUP/UPL Press. There is, too, a certain confusion among booksellers and catalogues and librarians, it would appear, as to exactly who the publisher is — ABUP, OUP Nigeria, OUP Oxford or ABUP/UPL. And for books with a 1978, let alone 1977, imprint to be sent out for review towards the end of 1979 is inexcusable. The time for such teething troubles should now be past. If the Press learns how to sell its books promptly overseas as well as in Nigeria, it will happily be over one of its major hurdles.

Overcoming academic insularity

Another landmark is when a university press begins to publish books from authors other than those who have taken their higher degrees there (in this instance at ABU) or are teaching on the faculty. The signs are that this welcome widening and reinforcement of reputation is already in train, for neither Michael Mason's nor Paul Lovejoy's was an ABU thesis and Mahdi Adamu, though now on the ABU faculty, wrote his thesis for Birmingham and A. D. Yahaya much of his at Manchester. A further stage in the development of a university's press's reputation goes beyond its readiness to open its list to scholars who

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are not connected with the university and is linked with when the university's own faculty are willing and able to have their books accepted by other presses, university or "straight commercial". Yet another problem, which may well be a continuing one, is the ability of a university press to combine a sense of service to its own staff members with an objective standard of scholarship. So anxious has at least one leading British university press been to avoid even a whisper of favouritism or internal pressure over the acceptance of manuscripts (and in Nigeria such pressures have understandably mounted over the last few years as academics realise that, with the settling down of the hitherto rapid pace of Africanisation and promotion, there is in future going to be no substitute for advancement other than the conventional academic one of a good record of publication and successful teaching) that it does not even include one local professor on the editorial board of its African Studies Series! ABU/UPL has been ahead of the game, and in its efforts to observe the highest standards of objectivity (exceptionally, charity does not always start at home where scholarly publishing is at issue, save in a risk role: in America, so they say, to be published by one's own university press is not *ipso facto* the same as being published by one's chosen press!) it has already demonstrated a readiness to seek the insurance of advice from outside readers on manuscripts submitted.

With a lead of almost 15 years, Ibadan and Legon Universities have successfully established a name for themselves in the world of scholarship. As always, part of a university's reputation is reflected in the respect in which its press is held, outside even more than inside the university — Cambridge and Oxford, Princeton and Yale, California and Chicago are no exceptions to this rule. Not only has Ibadan University Press been acclaimed for the quality of its list and of its printing, the University's Department of History has been vigorously helped in attaining its commanding heights of eminence by its widely acclaimed *Ibadan History Series*, published — like the companion Legon History Series — by Longman. Ahmadu Bello University's Department of History, starting much later, has still to make the name it deserves outside its own patch. Besides the inter-related quality of its teaching and visiting staff, the ability to attract good graduate students from beyond its own departments, and the calibre of its library resources, both secondary and primary, on all of which criteria ABU can be reasonably satisfied with its record, one other vehicle for the projection of its scholarship and scholarly reputation beyond Zaria and its environs is the launching of a sound and respected university press. The Ahmadu Bello University and University Press Limited link-up has now come about to meet this need, especially perhaps through its proposed ABU/UPL History Series. Inevitably, in Common Rooms as much as in kitchens, the proof of the pudding must ultimately lie in the eating. Impressed by

the performance so far, scholarly gourmets everywhere will wish to offer to Ahmadu Bello University and University Press Limited their most cordial wishes for a continuing menu of fine dishes from good cooks, elegantly served at reasonable prices.

A. H. M. K.-G.

25 years of the Trade Journal

The Nigerian Trade Journal (Silver Jubilee Edition 1953—1978), Federal Ministry of Information, 25 Koko

THE PUBLICATION of the Silver Jubilee edition (November—December, 1978) of the *Nigerian Trade Journal* bears an eloquent testimony to the fact that the development of journalism in Nigeria has all along taken into account the need to cater for special interests.

The past 25 years had been for the *Nigerian Trade Journal* most eventful. Originally a quarterly of only minimum pages, the journal was transformed to a bi-monthly with increased pages consistently serving the ends for which it was established in January 1953 and setting the pace for similar publications not only in West Africa but also elsewhere in the world.

The 55-page silver jubilee edition is prefaced with a flurry of goodwill messages from both the public and private quarters.

By its title, one can guess its mission, but in a foreword to the first edition, extracts from which are published in the latest issue, a former Governor-General of Nigeria, Sir John Macpherson plainly wrote of an urgent need for "a journal in which the businessmen can find, quickly and conveniently commercial information and news of economic interest". Macpherson then predicted that the *Journal* would be found of such "practical use to businessmen not only in Nigeria but also in other countries as later to justify monthly instead of a quarterly publication.

Six contributors wrote the pieces in this silver jubilee edition and they are experts of widely divergent background and specialisation. The first chapter gives the history of the setting up of the *Journal* and how it has been living up to its charges. That it has grown to become an authoritative reference on economic matters is emphasised by a quote from a column of the *Daily Times* of Nigeria which says: "There is no doubt at all that today in West Africa, *Nigerian Trade Journal* is about the most sophisticated and illuminating publication reflective of the economic scene". The editor of the *Journal*, Mr. Abiodun Sogunle, paid glowing tribute to those who had contributed to its sustenance over the years, notably the advertisers and officials of the department of trade, commerce and industry and later those of the Federal Ministry of Information. This particular contribution by the Editor represents an admirable mixture of reflective thinking and humour — a real journalistic treat!

Other contributions (apart from those written by information officers) are designed to excite scholars and to inspire

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policy makers on wide-ranging fields such as farming, co-operative and industries and mass communications.

These materials are illustrated with tables and statistical data, and there is often an impressive bibliography.

On the place of mass communications in the development of a modern nation, Professor Alfred Opubor, of the University of Lagos, contends that "a thorough policy-oriented analysis of our national communications system and needs will lead to a realisation of the loopholes in our present situation which may then lead, either to the creation of news service and research agencies or the modification of existing institutions to our nation's advantage".

As a silver jubilee edition, this publication should have carried ample extracts from past issues, a discourse on the progress or challenges of indigenisation decrees, a reflection on trade fairs, especially the Trade Fair '78, and educative contributions (not more goodwill messages) from bodies like the Manufacturers Association of Nigeria (MAN) and the various chambers of commerce, industry, banking, mining or agriculture. Indeed, where does the journal stand in the context of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)? All these would have provided for a better assessment and made this issue more bulky than it is but then a silver jubilee anniversary is celebrated only once in the life of a man or an institution.

Otherwise, this issue of the *Nigeria Trade*

Journal, lavishly illustrated with about 19 photographs and selected references, is very well produced in the fine tradition of a modern magazine. And will the remarkable rate of increase in the volume of Nigeria's internal and external trade soon be enough justification for turning the *Journal* into a monthly publication?

Titus Ogunmale

(Nigerian Institute of Journalism, Lagos)

Weakness, betrayal and deceit

Death and the King's Horseman by Wole Soyinka. (W. W. Norton and Co. Inc. New York \$2.95).

THIS PLAY, *'Death and the King's Horseman'*, is not about the "clash of cultures" but the betrayal of the trust and honour of a race, the Black race, by the custodian of its integrity. Literally that is. Figuratively, it is a metaphorical lament on the avarice of the African leaders, who for a million bucks would not hesitate to sell us back into slavery once more.

Elesin, performing the final rites of his suicide to join the deceased king, who has died one month earlier, reneges at the sight of "A beautiful young girl". Thus playing havoc with his "sleeping hours". Here is a man, an elder, who has tasted "the juiciest fruit on every tree" lusting at the appointed hour after a rib from his side! His young bride becomes more than an abyss, a

passage to the domain of the ancestors where he is to take the already departed king. She weakens and makes him a bird of prey.

In the play the playwright confronts us with the basic weakness of our leaders through Elesin's confession to his young bride: "For I confess to you, my daughter my weakness came not merely from the abomination of the white man... there was also a weight of longing on my earth-held limbs".

It is not the intrusion of the white man nor its aftermath that matters but the greed and excesses of our leaders. He is able to fool around with us now because of our antediluvian sentiments. To blame him for our misfortunes is the more reason to seek solace in his christianity. A defeatist attitude that leaves a laggard seating in a limbo. The white man would not sell us his technology much less transfer it to us. Our survival calls for learning the greatest art of survival — study and understand your opponent. Might be too late though for our ancestors but not for us. African men should not leave this to our women folk; too much a burden for mothers.

Death and the King's Horseman is based on incidents which took place in the ancient city of Oyo. According to the playwright its action is back-dated two to three years while the second world war was still on. Since 1939-45 was a global military period it suggests the play is set in the African military-rule era. But are our politicians not equally guilty of the same betrayal as the soldiers.

Afolabi Adesanya

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LETTERS to the Editor

The roots of crime

SIR: In January 7 issue of *West Africa*, Mr. Aaron T. Gana applied ideological arguments to explain the Crime Wave of the 70's in Nigeria. From his premise that capitalism begets the crime wave, he goes on to conclude that socialism will stultify crime.

In developing societies, the concepts of nationalism, discipline and productivity are in their infancy. There is a tendency to rationalise from ideological arguments, the continuing over-dependence on the more advanced states (Capitalist and Socialist alike) for the goods and services associated with modern development. The economies of the less developed societies centre around the exploitation of primary resources for barter against foreign goods and services.

Therefore, access to foreign goods and services, is the transient but real substance of status and wealth in these societies. The dichotomy between existing low levels of individual productivity and the institutionalisation of privileged access to foreign goods and services provides the potential for violent crime in developing societies. The existence of abundant easy access (in the form of unearned petroleum revenues) provides the basis for high intensity of violent crime.

I agree with Mr. Gana that violent crime by the unprivileged is no worse than the smart, unpatriotic commercial activities of Nigerian comprador classes. The Compradors and middlemen are of course privileged capitalists.

But socialism does not preclude privilege any more than capitalism. In a developing society, socialism institutionalises official privilege and stifles other alternative paths to maximum status mobility. For this reason, there is hardly a better prescription than socialism for ensuring greater incidence of violent crime, in developing countries like Nigeria.

Kaduna

H. K. E. ITEKE

Federal co-operation

SIR: I would like to comment on the explanation by President Shagari regarding the role of the federal liaison officers appointed to the states (*West Africa*, March 24). While this type of co-ordinative organisation at the federal level is operative in some countries like Tanzania, it appears to have acquired a political connotation in the Nigerian context for reasons not too far away to seek.

The writer believes that there is every necessity to co-ordinate federal establishments and projects in the states, at least to improve their management and efficiency. At the same time, it should be realised that State governments do not form part of the federal establishments and as such a line needs to be drawn if conflicts of interest and personality are to be avoided.

Newcastle

BERT EGESI

'Shallow journalism'

SIR: Your editorial on the Nigeria budget of *West Africa* (March 17) was utterly disgusting in its subversive symbolism and rhetoric. The term "prosperity" is a gross misrepresentation of the nature of social, political, and economic progress in Nigeria today. The editorial also reflected a delusive, or shallow brand of journalism.

You greeted the prospects of increased imports and the tendency for increasing foreign

investment with shameless glee. Suspicion that students of social development familiar with the concepts of dependency, neo-colonialism, and growth-oriented developmentalism would read between your lines may have led to the reference to Marx, even if out of context.

I believe that the time is coming when media of communication like yours will need to be seriously examined. This would be to determine if you have any respect for the interests of the majority of the people of West Africa, or if you are merely a corporate public relations document, serving the business interests that pay you, and the greedy oppressor class in West Africa that you titillate.

Specifically, my concern is that under the title of *West Africa* you are posing as a dependable source of information about and for Africa, whereas you may just be spewing out propaganda that is subversive to the interests of social progress (not economic prosperity) in that part of the world. In the future, a look at the works of Gavin Williams and Teresa Turner, may be very useful. A particularly good book to read is *International Mass Communication*, edited by the brilliant Finnish communication scholar, Kaarle Nordenstreng.

Los Angeles

YIMA SEN

Private practice

SIR: The recent criticism of the Private Practice Decree by the Attorney General, Chief R. Akinjide, could not have come at a better time. As early as 1978, the decree was also criticised by the former Chief Justice, Sir Ademola. The decree is not only counter-productive to professional men and women, but it imposes immense hardship on newly qualified professionals, particularly members of the legal profession. In its mildest form it discourages individualism, encourages "mild exploitation"

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and blocks room for successive practitioners.

It is submitted therefore that pupilage be restored to a maximum of one year, preferably during National Youth Service, when newly qualified lawyers could spend six months in a Government Ministry and the remainder in private chambers with a pupil master. In this way the lawyer would gain necessary experience, and be allowed to exercise his right to choose and also create room for successive lawyers.

I feel that a lawyer who waits till the end of five years to stand on his feet is not worth his salt nor would he be of any use in promoting or upholding justice. Our judges, Senior Advocates, and other eminent lawyers did not attain their present status by being sheltered, or being forced to serve apprenticeship for five years.

London C. OBI OKWUSOGU

Academic politics

SIR: It was interesting to note the dissent that came out in letters to the Editor on the controversial ideas of Martin Dent, not only on Gowon but also echoing his studies of Nigerian Politics.

Distinction should be made between an academic politician who tends to run acid (his evidence) to injury (the problem) and the university academic who endeavours to harmonise the two factors for cure. If, as an appropriate task, the student of politics is to accurately describe, preach certain ideals and then produce political ways of moving in the right direction, there should be no limits to research efforts.

That Martin Dent is non-Nigerian does not mean that he should flout and jump certain research stages on certain types of questions and problems if he is to get to the crux of describing reality. Politicians in all political systems the world over have been known to give answers to both "influential insiders and outsiders", conducting political research, without adequately weighing implications or otherwise.

The "fierce attack" therefore should not have been on Martin Dent's research endeavours but on the information supplied by the sampled population he studied and is continuing to study.

Newcastle PAUL C. LOGAMS

Bureaucrats and Leadership

SIR: Dr. Hilla Limann, Ghana's President gave the game away by reiterating, during an interview about his first 100 days in office, his determination to evolve a pragmatic approach to the governing of Ghana in preference to the formulation of an explicit ideology. My relatives and friends were urged to vote for any political party that campaigned on a pro-Nkrumaist platform. It was clearly indicated that PNP was doing that.

However, the choice of two bureaucrats as Presidential and vice-Presidential candidates amazed me. Because all over Africa bureaucrats have shown that they have one thing in common. They show no loyalty to any government, political party or ideology. They are prepared to serve the most bloody dictators and even allow the massacre of their own people without any apparent twinge of conscience.

PNP Government being proclaimed as pro-Nkrumaist is known to the whole world. It is a pity only few committed Nkrumaists are in the Government, this is not surprising because of the mould of those former bureaucrats empowered to nominate Ministers and make other appointments.

The issue now is where are those Nkrumaists—young Pioneer leaders, ideological school lectures and students, trade unionists and journalists of Nkrumah's era, Party secretaries and other cadres during the

leadership-tussle? After all, most of them came out from psychological and systematic defunct National Liberation council's witch-hunt clean.

There is an ideology of Nkrumaism which is, application of scientific Socialism to Ghanaian realities — abject poverty, squalor, disease, hunger, unemployment and excessive exploitation of the majority by a few. Of particular significance, however, is the stress Nkrumaism lays on the techniques of imperialism in the neo-colonialist period. This, the ideology warns, is the most dangerous form of exploitation because it is concealed.

London

NTIM GYAKARI

Ghanaian question

SIR: Nii K. Bentsi-Enchill asks (*West Africa*, March 10, 1980) why "ordinary Ghanaians are suffering so much today, and why the politicians seem unable to address themselves to even asking the first question".

The answer has long seemed to me to be as follows: Ghana at present is at the best a common services organisation for the various ethnic and professional groupings, and at the worst an association for self-seeking by power and authority holders. There is a consensus among these groups that those in a position to do so should pursue their own good, particularly at the expense of the so-called "state", there is no consensus that a man in power or authority should pursue the public welfare, which remains only vaguely defined in the latest Constitution. Until the predatory character of the state withers away through some sort of a miracle, journalists like Nii Bentsi-Enchill will continue asking the question he has raised.

London, Holland

KWAME ARHIN

Sports reporters'

SIR: I wish to draw your attention to sports reporting in your magazine. More often than not, sport is either totally excluded, or when reported, the quality leaves much to be desired.

A vivid example is the last Africa Cup of Nations competition, the finals of which were concluded in Lagos. One would have thought that such a big sporting event in Africa needed better coverage. For instance, the article, "Green Eagles bring Euphoria" (*West Africa*, March 31) does not state (or indicate) who their opponents were in the final, how they both got there, and what the final score was.

There are many Africans (West Africans in particular) abroad who would be interested in reading about sporting events at home. While one is not contending that *West Africa* be turned into a sporting magazine, opening up a sports page or column in it would not be a bad idea.

Bellevue

OTSE PETE B. IMOUDU

Dirty Accra

SIR: Why is Accra City so dirty and stinking. We cry for not having foreign currency and one way of achieving this is to encourage foreigners or tourists to come to Ghana for holidays.

Surely, the Cleansing Department of the Greater Accra City Council is responsible for cleansing the rotten gutters and the disgraceful public toilets in the city. At Kotoka International Airport, Accra, it is embarrassing to find that not even one toilet is functioning. A tourist gets his first impression of Ghana on arrival, then as he proceeds to the City he begins to smell the foul air of Accra and consequently becomes frustrated and wished he had not entered Ghana at all.

Ghanaians are clean and tidy people but certain irresponsible senior officials in the Greater Accra City Council are not doing their job.

London

MARTIN OWUSU

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ECONOMIC and Business NEWS

Budget opportunities from a correspondent

A CONFERENCE organised by the Nigeria British Chamber of Commerce in London on "The Nigerian Budget, 1980" attracted some 250 participants and had to be given in two sessions on consecutive days. There could hardly have been a more graphic demonstration of the interest of British industry and business in the Budget, even though this year the Budget process has been unlike that of the past few years. Then the Federal Military Government laid down what it had decided for the Nigerian economy, now the process is much more long drawn out. Last month President Shagari presented to the National Assembly the Appropriations Bill, as required by section 75 of the Constitution, which gave the details, inevitably at length, of the Administration's financial plans for the year (highlights have been reported in *West Africa*, March 31 and April 7).

Strictly speaking there will be no new Budget until the Appropriations Bill has been passed into law but the Finance Minister has announced some of the fiscal changes proposed which come into effect on, or will be backdated to, April 1, the first day of this year's 9-month financial "year" (*West Africa*, April 14). Although this year's Bill can be expected to be most thoroughly studied and debated, and amended in some details it not greatly in general, it is reasonably safe to plan on the basis of the Appropriations Bill.

What has been advanced is generally accepted as being very much an interim measure preparing the way for a more radical statement of NPN economic policy in the Budget for 1981. There has been some criticism that the proposals for the remaining nine months of this year include some deficit financing when it might have been expected that the government would take the opportunity to concentrate on inherited financial obligations and completing on-going projects so as to start next year with a clean sheet. It may be of course that, as it will probably not be possible to spend the money in the time, the Government decided not to upset anybody by appearing to prune.

The deficit financing is to be met by raising internal loans and by a little over N1,000m of external loans. Commenting on the external borrowing the Finance Minister,

Professor Sunday Eswang, had some observations to make about the wider international financial scene. He said that Nigeria would be making little more than token appearances in the Eurocurrency markets — just sufficient to maintain a presence — until the rates there had come back to something that might be considered rather more normal than the present figures quoted.

Main projects to be covered by External Loans — N1,065m.

Apaokuta Steel Plant	N148.6m
Delta Steel Co. (Steel Plant)	173.0m
3 Steel Rolling Mills	80.0m
Standard Gauge Railway	60.0m
Ports Development	50.0m
S. Chad Irrigation Project	35.0m
NEPA	25.0m
Steyr Armoured Vehicle Assy. Plant	13.0m
Ogun River Dams	25.0m
Sokoto-Rima Dams	35.0m

The above are on-going projects. New projects are:

Roads and Bridges	80.0m
Warri-Benin-Shagamu Road	50.0m
Newspint Plant Oku-Ibokun	20.0m
4 Roads	62.0m
P & T External Line Plants	12.0m
Nitrogenous Fertiliser Plant	28.0m
Lower Anambra Irrigation and Rice Mill	21.4m
Dadin Kewa Dam	12.0m
Zobe (Sokoto) Dam	19.0m

These are the main sector allocations (including External Loan elements):

Manufacturing & Craft	1,247.1m
Land Transport	918.3m
Mining and Quarrying	784.2m
Education	694.2m
Posts and Telecommunications	571.5m
Irrigation Projects	538.0m
Defence	500.0m
Housing	452.6m
Power (NEPA)	400.0m
Agriculture	260.0m
Air Transport	153.5m
Water Transport	118.7m
Health	110.4m
Commerce and Finance	84.9m
Police	80.0m
Information	59.9m
Livestock	38.6m
Fisheries	14.9m
General Administration	479.7m

Many of the proposals are primarily of internal interest such as the review of the Federal Mortgage Bank system — though the intention to build 2,000

housing units in each state coupled with the relaxation of pre-shipment inspection controls of imports of building materials is of external interest, it should be noted at the same time that building supplies industries get considerable help in the Budget. The Price Control Board is deemed to have failed in its objects and is going to be replaced with a price intelligence unit.

To encourage the geographical spread of industrialisation throughout the Federation a sliding scale of concessions on duties on imports needed to establish factories is to be introduced so that plants set up a long way from entry ports will be given higher concessions on necessary materials which they have to import. Raw materials generally and spare parts for industry are to be very much easier to import, though there are of course one or two increases in import duties to provide some protection for local manufacturing industries. There are going to be improvements in the Form M procedure to try to speed up the paperwork but the pre-shipment inspection system is going to continue though the Government is going to hold discussions about using other firms besides Société Générale de Surveillance to carry out the inspections and so reduce potential delays in shipment.

The National Supply Company is to be overhauled to improve importing practices.

The general administration head of expenditure mentioned above includes proposals to spend N118m on the Abuja Federal Capital and N40m on the National Science and Technology Development Agency and another N40m on rehabilitating ecologically degraded areas. This latter is a tremendously cheering development and one that might be adopted by a lot of other countries with a great deal of benefit.

As can be seen there are plenty of opportunities for businessmen in Nigeria, both in exports and joint venture investments? But, as Mr. A. J. Smith from the Department of Trade told the NBCC conference "British firms must send their best men to Nigeria to do business, as our competitors do. While there are opportunities for British business those same opportunities are also available to other countries as well." Professor Yesufu, executive director of the Lagos Chamber of Commerce and Industry, also emphasised this point and urged businessmen to make use of the Lagos Chamber's facilities for advising on the standing of Nigerian concerns and individuals.

Cocoa prices slide

Cocoa prices have dropped sharply in London under strong selling pressure from producers which has also triggered specula-

tive unwinding as particularly have been passed.

The selling coincided with a meeting in Brasilia of the Nigeria, The Ivory Coast, Ghana and Cameroon to discuss export policy now that the International Cocoa Agreement has expired. The talks intended among other things to establish mutually satisfactory minimum selling prices to regulate stocks.

It was rumoured though definitely confirmed that selling came from Brazil — it has also been rumoured in planning to abolish export duties on beans and cocoa products. The Ivory Coast (which has reported to be having a problems with quality on which could justify sales below reputed asking price set by Ivory Coast and acquiesced by other members of the C Producers' Alliance at various meetings recently) and Cameroon.

The Brasilia meeting does appear to have been an unusual success and will be followed in a month by a meeting of the full C — thus including Togo, Sao Tom and Principe, Ecuador, Timor and Tobago and Gabon — Salvador in Brazil when proposal to use the \$220m of the International Cocoa Agreement buffer stock funds to establish a fund to support export operations, on similar lines to that of coffee's Bogota Group, will formally be advanced by Brazil.

Another cause of the volatility of prices has been the withdrawal from the market by Russia and other East European buyers, who have recently been providing an effective floor for cocoa with their skillful buying. At the middle of last May contracts were about £1.3/tonne the £1,400 level was passed until December 1980 and even July next year was £1,480 a tonne.

Bogota Group meeting

The Bogota Group of cocoa producers is scheduled to meet in Panama this week.

The meeting could be able to approve the statutes of the International Coffee Company which would be the arm of the Bogota Fund that has been set up to control market prices by supporting operations. The committee would have its headquarters in Panama and an office in London.

The Bogota coffee producers will also review the firm operation and discuss world market trends.

Coffee has recently been up to highest prices of the year, mainly because of support buying by the Bogota Group, though it has slipped back a little. At the middle of last week in London contracts were about £1.64/tonne July £1.690 and September to March 1981 above £1.700.

OPEC strategy

The Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries has announced that 13 OPEC Oil Ministers will meet at Taif in Saudi Arabia, on May 7 to discuss the organisation's long-term strategy, following completion of a two year OPEC study on long-term goals.

A six-nation OPEC Strategy Committee has been meeting since 1978 to discuss policy issues such as linking oil prices to inflation, problems caused by currency fluctuations and the connection between oil supplies and industrial growth.

The last meeting of the Strategy Committee, attended by the Oil Ministers of Saudi Arabia, Algeria, Kuwait, Venezuela and Iraq and the Governor of Iran's Central Bank, was held in London in February.

The Taif meeting will consider a report prepared at the London session. If this is accepted by the whole membership, it will be referred to OPEC's 20th anniversary Summit Conference, to be held in Baghdad in November.

Oil Ministers will meet again in Algiers on June 9 for a regular price-fixing conference.

OPEC Secretary General Rene Ortiz said in New York recently, "Expect an agreement on a compromise decision for a unified OPEC pricing system in the second half of this year."

He noted that the gap between official prices and international prices was already narrowing. Under such conditions a single price structure was likely, providing the consumer nations restrained their demand, he added.

Mr Ortiz accused oil companies of indulging in what he called a "race for oil". He said world oil stocks had reached an unprecedented level of 5,000m barrels.

● A special meeting of the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) next month will consider increasing the OPEC fund to aid Third World countries by another \$5,000m, according to Sri Lanka's Finance Minister, Mr Ronnie de Mel.

ADB seminar

The Training Centre of the African Development Bank, in collaboration with the World Bank Economic Development Institute, is currently an eight-week Development Banking Seminar attended by 27 participants from 15 African countries, and the African Development Bank.

Opening the seminar the ADB's Acting President Mr G E Gondwe, stressed that the seminar had an important role in ensuring the availability of expertise in Africa, both within and outside the ADB, for formulating projects and implementing them financially and administratively. He thanked Governments of some foreign countries such as Norway, Sweden and Germany which made the

seminar possible by providing the necessary funds.

The main purpose of the course is to help up-grade the professional skills, techniques and judgement of the participants. The content of the programme dwells on the formulation, appraisal, follow-up and supervision of viable projects with particular reference to medium and small-scale enterprises. In addition, participants will be made to examine the interactions between projects financed and the policies and procedures of development banks and how they fit in the economic development policies of countries.

This seminar is the second of a series of courses organised by the ADB Training Centre, with the assistance of the World Bank Economic Development Institute, for some 200 senior staff members of development banks and similar institutions of member countries.

ADB loan to Senegal

The Board of Directors of The African Development Bank has approved a loan of \$m UA (about \$10.5m) to Senegal to finance the Sotexka project. The loan is repayable over 15 years including a grace period of four years.

The project involves establishing an integrated textile complex comprising three workshops (spinning, weaving and knitting) and two units (finishing and dressmaking). The complex to be sited at Kaolack, will be capable of treating 1,510 tons of cotton-fibre and 388 tons of polyester a year. It will employ about 1,500 people and will have a production capacity of 8,820,000 items of ready-made clothing a year.

● The International Development Association, has announced a credit of \$65m to Upper Volta for a project to protect, develop and exploit the country's forest reserves. The credit is for 50 years, including 10 years grace, at 3 1/2 per cent.

ADB loan to Ivory Coast

The African Development Bank has approved a loan of \$m Units of Account (about \$10.5m) to The Ivory Coast to finance The Ivory Coast's Education II project. The loan is repayable over 20 years including a five-year grace period.

The overall project comprises construction, design services, furniture, equipment, technical assistance and fellowships for four vocational training institutes in Man, Gagnoa, San Pedro and Odiéne. The ADB components consist of construction of LP (Lycee Professionnelle) San Pedro and LP Odiéne and furniture and equipment for the four vocational training institutes. It was agreed that ADB participation will be in two phases. The first phase approved by the Board in October 1979 incorporated the construc-

tion, furniture and equipment for LP San Pedro and equipment for LP Gagnoa and LP Man.

The ADB component for the Phase II comprises: (i) construction, furniture and equipment for LP Odiéne; (ii) furniture for LP Gagnoa; (iii) furniture and balance of equipment (not included in Phase I) for LP Man.

● The World Bank is to lend the Ivory Coast \$9.4m for a rural development project, which is the first phase of a \$211m integrated rural development programme for the North-East savannah over the next five years.

IDA credit for Upper Volta

The International Development Association, has approved a credit of \$11m to Senegal, for a project to develop a number of small rural operations, including irrigated cultivation of food crops, beef-keeping, and fishing in an effort to help the rural poor.

EEC helping Eq. Guinea

The European Common Market is to make a grant of \$3.2m to Equatorial Guinea to help it with economic recovery, particularly in the public health, agriculture, public works, fisheries and energy sectors.

The Community has also announced \$300,000 aid to Senegal for drought relief.

ADB loan to Zaire

The ADB has approved a loan of 7.5m UA (about \$9.9m) to Zaire to finance the Kananga Water II project. The loan is repayable over 16 years including a grace period of four years.

The three-year project is intended to provide 60 per cent of the population in Kananga with potable water as a result of a renovated and extended distribution network, and to an increased number of individual connections. With the implementation of this project, 25 per cent instead of the present 5 per cent will have their own individual connections.

The ADB loan will finance the entire foreign exchange cost of the project. The loan is intended mainly for the procurement and laying of pipes, tools and equipment and for financing part of the consultancy services. The Government of Zaire will finance local costs.

ADB loan to Mali

The African Development Bank has granted a \$0.51,212m loan to Mali for rural development in the Selingue area to re-settle families whose homes are to be flooded after the Selingue dam goes into service.

Togo's Development Bank received a \$413m loan for 15

years, with a three year grace period, to finance development of small and medium industries.

Mali drawing on IMF

The International Monetary Fund has agreed to a purchase by the Government of Mali, under the Fund's compensatory financing facility, equivalent to SDR 5.1m, because of export shortfalls during 1979.

The shortfalls centered on Mali's two most important export crops, cotton and groundnuts. The shortfall for cotton, Mali's major export, accounting for more than half of the country's total exports, was due mainly to price factors stemming from depressed international prices during 1979. The groundnut shortfall was entirely due to volume factors as the result of droughts in the major growing areas, which reduced output.

Commonwealth scholars

A total of 665 post-graduates and academic staff from 39 Commonwealth countries undertook further studies in British universities, medical schools and other institutions during 1978/79, according to the 20th Annual Report of the Commonwealth Scholarship Commission.

During the year, the Commission also selected and placed 213 students, from 33 countries, to take up new awards later this year.

The report gives details of the fields of study and qualifications gained within the separate categories of awards. The largest of these were the 452 Commonwealth scholarships, followed by 100 academic staff scholarships, 40 academic staff fellowships, 64 medical fellowships, six senior medical fellowships and three visiting professorships.

The Commonwealth Scholarship and Fellowship Plan exists to promote academic exchanges within the Commonwealth. A small number of awards are available for British graduates to further their studies in other Commonwealth countries. The report notes, with pleasure, that for the first time in many years scholarships have been awarded in Nigeria.

● The Royal Society has made an award, one of 18 under its Commonwealth Bursaries Scheme, to Dr T O Orebajo, of the Department of Biological Sciences, University of Lagos, to spend a year studying nitrate reduction in some tropical woody plants at the Department of Botany, University of Manchester, beginning this month.

The annual awards are to assist scientists to work in Commonwealth countries other than their own. They enable such scientists to pursue research, learn techniques or follow other forms of study in the natural and applied sciences.

SHIPPING News

BARBER LINES

EASTBOUND — TEXAS due Tema Apr. 21, then Abidjan, TAMPA due Freetown Apr. 21, then Monrovia, Abidjan, Tema, Apapa and Douala.
WESTBOUND — TEXAS loading West Africa between Apr. 19 and Apr. 26, for Norfolk, Baltimore, Philadelphia and New York. TAMPA LOADING West Africa between May 8 and May 14, for Norfolk, Baltimore, Philadelphia and New York.

BLACK STAR LINES

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

E.A.C. LINES

SOUTHBOUND — FIONIA Oslo/Mos Apr. 21, Copenhagen Apr. 20, Aarhus May 1, Hamburg May 2, Bremerhaven May 6, Rotterdam May 7, Antwerp Zeebrugge May 26, Rouen Le Havre May 27, for Tenefic May 31, Dakar June 2, Freetown June 3, Monrovia June 4, Abidjan June 13, Tema June 29 (with transhipment), Lome June 28 (with transhipment), Lagos/Apapa June 7, Douala June 11.
NORTHBOUND — FIONIA Port Harcourt Apr. 8, Lagos/Apapa Apr. 11, Cotonou Apr. 9, Lome Apr. 12, Tema Apr. 13, Abidjan Apr. 14, Monrovia Apr. 16, Dakar Apr. 17, Tenefic Apr. 20, Amsterdam Apr. 23, Antwerp Apr. 23, Bremen May 8, Hamburg Apr. 25, Aarhus Apr. 28, Copenhagen May 3, Oslo/Mos May 5, Le Havre May 11.

ELDER DEMPESTER LINES

SOUTHBOUND — DUMBAIA slg Calabar Apr. 21, PEGU due Abidjan Apr. 21.
NORTHBOUND — SHERBRO due Glasgow Apr. 22, SHONGA due London Apr. 20.
WESTBOUND — SEKI ROKAKO due New York Apr. 21.
EASTBOUND — BLUE AKEISHI due Lome Apr. 21, KADUNA slg Apapa Apr. 21.

FARRELL LINES

WESTBOUND — EXPORT BANNER Lagos/Apapa Apr. 15, Abidjan Apr. 17, Monrovia Apr. 19, New York May 2, Philadelphia Apr. 30, Baltimore Apr. 29, Norfolk Apr. 27.
EASTBOUND — EXPORT BANNER Norfolk Apr. 27, Baltimore Apr. 29, Philadelphia Apr. 30, New York May 2, for Dakar May 10, Monrovia May 14, Abidjan May 18, Lome May 20 (if sufficient inducement), Lagos/Apapa May 23, Douala June 4 (if sufficient inducement), Matadi May 25 (if sufficient inducement).

K LINE

WESTBOUND — IBERIA MARU from Japan, via Hong Kong and Singapore to Abidjan, Lome, Apapa, Lagos, Port Harcourt, Douala, Matadi, sailed Japan Apr. 4 due Apapa/Lagos May 10.

VEDAFRICA GOLDEN EAGLE/NIGERIA LINE

EUROPEWA — CAP BRETON Boulogne Apr. 12-14, Ipswich Apr. 15-18, Rotterdam Apr. 19-21, Hamburg Apr. 22-23, Lagos May 6, Port Harcourt May 11.

MEDITERRANEAN WA — ILLERBERG Lorno Apr. 8,

Marseilles Apr. 15, Barcelona Apr. 18, Valencia Apr. 20, Lagos May 3, Warrn May 8.

USA/WA — HEKTORFF Norfolk Apr. 8, Philadelphia Apr. 10, Port Alfred Apr. 14, Montreal Apr. 16, Lagos May 9, Port Harcourt May 13.
FAR EASTWA — ZIRIAH Yokohama May 10, Hong Kong Apr. 16, Singapore Apr. 22, Lagos May 17, Port Harcourt May 22.

MITSUI O.S.K. LINE

WESTBOUND — BRAVE PIONEER Kobe Apr. 10, Hong Kong Apr. 21, Singapore Apr. 21, for Monrovia June 2, Apapa May 22, Port Harcourt June 8, Douala June 15. AFRICA MARU last Japanese Port Apr. 5, Singapore Apr. 16, for Abidjan May 9, Apapa/Lagos May 14. HEROINAE slg Japan mid April, calling Hong Kong, Keelung, Singapore for West African ports mid May.

NIGERIAN NATIONAL SHIPPING LINE

SOUTHBOUND — RIVER RIMA London Apr. 16, Freetown Apr. 24, Tema Apr. 28, Port Harcourt May 2, Warrn May 11, Douala May 17, RIVER ETHIOPE Antwerp Apr. 2, Hamburg Apr. 6, Bremen Apr. 7, Rotterdam Apr. 11, Apapa Apr. 21.
NORTHBOUND — RIVER BENUE Matadi Mar. 28, Abidjan Apr. 9, Dublin Apr. 9, Liverpool Apr. 27.

OT AFRICA LINE AB

SOUTHBOUND — KAPRIFOL Felixstowe Apr. 24, Zeebrugge Apr. 25, Grangemouth Apr. 25, Rotterdam Apr. 25, Le Havre Apr. 26, Dakar May 4, Monrovia May 4, Abidjan May 5, Tema May 5, Lagos/Apapa May 6.

PALM LINE

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

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

SOUTHBOUND — VILLE DE BORDEAUX Dunkirk Apr. 23, Rouen Apr. 25, Le Havre Apr. 27, Bordeaux Apr. 30, Dakar May 6, Abidjan May 10, Lome May 16, Apapa May 13 (containers only), Douala May 18.
NORTHBOUND — SAINT LUC Libreville Apr. 18, Douala Apr. 20, Abidjan Apr. 24, Nantes May 4, Houfuer May 7, Dunkirk May 8.

SCANDINAVIA WEST AFRICA LINE

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

UNITED KINGDOM WEST AFRICA LINES

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

WESTWIND AFRICA LINE

EASTBOUND — WESTWIND Houston ETA Apr. 11, ETS Apr. 14, Abidjan ETA Apr. 29, Lagos ETA May 4, EASTWIND Houston ETA Apr. 21, ETS Apr. 24, Abidjan ETA May 9, Lagos ETA May 14.

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(iii) Some recognised publications in Learned Journals.
(iv) Experience in directing academic group discussions.
(v) Preferably some experience in inter-disciplinary group activities.
(vi) Candidates should in addition to the above hold a good honours Degree and Higher Degree, i.e. M.Sc./M.Phil/Ph.D. in any of the following fields:
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(b) Pharmaceutical Chemistry
(c) Pharmacognosy
(d) Pharmaceutical Microbiology

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In addition to stating the names and addresses of three referees, applicants should request their referees to forward references on their behalf direct to the Secretary College of Medicine.

CLOSING DATE:

Application and any supporting materials should be addressed to The Secretary, College of Medicine, University of Lagos, Idi-Araba, Surulere, P.M.B. 12003, Lagos.

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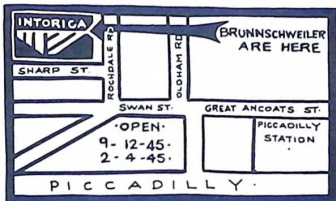
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Dateline AFRICA

GHANA

Dispute over appeal against AFRC sentence

There has been some controversy over the Special Tribunal ruling setting aside adverse findings against Mr. E. K. Owusu (see last week's issue). It began with a statement by Mr. Francis Amarteifio, the Accra barrister who investigated the affairs of Kowus Motors, to the effect that the Special Tribunal had no jurisdiction to review the findings of his "investigative committee" because under AFRC Decree 24 its jurisdiction only covered committees of inquiry. Mr. Amarteifio said evidence in his report was largely based on documents received from the Commissioner for Taxes, Ministry of Trade and Tourism, and the Special Branch. He asserted that Mr. Owusu evaded tax to the tune of £28m., that it was a matter of public record and not suspicion, and that the assessment was kept at the Central Revenue Department. "Indeed the existence of the accounts which formed the basis of the computation of Mr. Owusu's tax liability was not known to the tax authorities, so he could not have paid tax on it. If any tax was paid it must have been after my report", he said.

Mr. Amarteifio said his report never formed the basis for the trial in absentia of Mr. Owusu because he submitted his report after Mr. Owusu had been convicted. He added that it was also true that Kowus sold Saurer trucks about the Prices and Incomes Board-approved figure, reported the *Daily Graphic*. The *Ghanaian Times* said Mr. Amarteifio had found the Special Tribunal's ruling to be in direct contradiction of Section 15 (2) of the Transitional Provisions and AFRC 23 Subsection 3(i) and (ii).

That same day, both newspapers reported that Mr. Joe Reindorf, the Attorney-General and Minister of Justice, was considering taking action in the appropriate court to set aside and nullify the "illegal and future orders by the Special Tribunal... in other words, orders that cannot be enforced against the person who is ordered". Basing his statement on the reports of the previous day's two national newspapers, Mr. Joe Reindorf said if the Special Tribunal had indeed ordered the

Attorney-General to take immediate steps to have AFRC 60 repealed by the appropriate authority, and to see to it that the appropriate authority in Government sets up a new committee of enquiry, then in the latter case the Tribunal was making "an illegal order when viewed in the light of the provisions of Article 196 of the Constitution." The order "see to it that a certain law is repealed is equally an illegal order under Clause 2 of Article 75 of the Constitution which confers the legislative power on a Parliament in which the Attorney-General has neither a set or a vote."

As to how the Tribunal came to find null and void the takeover of Kowus Motors and other companies, Mr. Reindorf suggested that perhaps the Tribunal "omitted in the heat of their crusading zeal to read the text of AFRC 60 which clearly states in its very first section that that Decree shall take effect notwithstanding anything to the contrary". The Attorney-General then referred to a letter of February 21 from the Tribunal Chairman, Mr. Justice I. K. Abban, to the Minister of the Interior (copied to Mr. Reindorf) in which the Chairman himself found that the Special Tribunal had no jurisdiction in view of section 15, and 16 of the Transitional Provisions "... to interfere with certain cases already dealt with by the AFRC. Sections 15 and 16, said Mr. Reindorf, "briefly, forbid the challenge in any court of any executive, legislative or judicial action taken by the AFRC and also forbid the reversal of any confiscation of property or other penalty imposed by the AFRC".

"It would be of some interest", continued Mr. Reindorf, "to find out from the learned Judge how he distinguishes the conviction of Mr. E. K. Owusu and the confiscation of his property from the case of the petitioners whose prayer he refused to consider. AFRC 23 does give the Special Tribunal power to review adverse findings but it does not give the Tribunal power to reverse confiscations and other penalties... One wonders what happened since the 21st of February to cause [Mr. Justice Abban] to change his mind and to make findings and orders which are clearly illegal under sections 15

and 16 of the Transitional Provisions..."

Four days later, both the *Graphic* and *Ghanaian Times* led on their front page with the Special Tribunal's rejoinders to Mr. Amarteifio and to the Attorney-General. On Mr. Amarteifio, the Tribunal said it saw "no difference between a committee of enquiry" and the so-called "investigative committee" which Mr. Amarteifio says he headed. The Tribunal felt the distinction Mr. Amarteifio sought to make was unreal, and obviously intended to confuse the public about the status of his committee. It maintained its jurisdiction to review Mr. Amarteifio's committee of enquiry under Section 3(C) and 3(i)(C) and 3(2) of AFRC 23.

The Special Tribunal said the AFRC appointed a two-man committee to go into the affairs of Kowus Motors, and for reasons unexplained in his report, Mr. Amarteifio pushed aside the other member of the committee. With regard to the clear directions of the AFRC as to the membership of the committee, the proceedings of the Amarteifio Committee were a "nullity", said the Tribunal's statement while nevertheless offering to examine Mr. Amarteifio's report on the basis that it was properly constituted. The Tribunal added that it had the text of an AFRC press release of September 19 last year in which the AFRC accepted the "two-man committee which probed the affairs of Kowus Motors Ltd." The release went on to declare the penalties the AFRC imposed on Mr. E. K. Owusu and Kowus Motors Ltd. following Mr. Amarteifio's two-man committee report. On Mr. Amarteifio's allegations of tax evasion by Mr. Owusu and sales of Saurer Trucks above the controlled price, the Tribunal said there was abundant evidence to disprove those allegations. It wished to point out that Mr. Owusu was "tried in absentia on the basis of the reports which Mr. Amarteifio submitted to the AFRC before Mr. Owusu's trial and that the basis of the trial was the unproved allegations which Mr. Amarteifio made in his reports against Mr. E. K. Owusu and Kowus Motors Ltd."

The Special Tribunal also expressed surprise that the Attorney-General "should attempt to comment contentiously on a ruling of the Special Tribunal when on his own admission he has 'not yet seen a copy of the judgement alleged by the two papers to have been given by the Special Tribunal' and admits that he is therefore 'not in a position to say how true or accurate those reports are'". The Tribunal rejected the Attorney-General's view that its orders were "illegal" and "futile".

On Mr. Reindorf's reference to Mr. Justice Abban's February 21 letter, the Tribunal said he had "omitted in the press statement to refer to the fact that the

confiscation of property or other penalty imposed by the AFRC refers to the confiscation of property or other penalty imposed by the AFRC after a person had been tried under AFRC 3. The Attorney-General also omitted to refer to paragraph 8 of Justice Abban's letter which clearly indicates the position might be different in cases where the Special Tribunal is exercising its powers of review under section 6 of AFRC 23. Part of paragraph 8 of Justice Abban's letter states: "Furthermore as you are aware, the matters arising raised in the petitions herein are *not* matters arising out of the reports of committees of enquiry referred to in Section 3(2) of AFRC 23".

"It is unfortunate", continued the Tribunal's statement, "that the Attorney-General should create the wrong impression in the public mind by omitting to refer to this paragraph in Justice Abban's letter, because, clearly, the position of Mr. E. K. Owusu is different from those of others tried by the AFRC on charges which did not arise from adverse findings of committees of enquiry reports."

The Tribunal suggested that if the Attorney-General had "cared to wait for a copy of the Tribunal's ruling before pronouncing on the alleged illegality of the orders made by the Tribunal, he would no doubt have come to a different conclusion" about the Tribunal's powers. The Tribunal then declared "its commitment to do justice without fear or favour to persons against whom adverse findings have been made by committees of enquiry whose reports have been submitted to the AFRC. Consistent with this duty, the Special Tribunal will do all in its power to ensure that irrespective of their social standing, victims of unjustified reports of committees of enquiry do not suffer. The Special Tribunal will therefore, in appropriate cases, after reviewing adverse findings ... make such consequential orders as may appear to it to be just having regard to the circumstances. These orders may or may not be carried out by the appropriate Government Agency; but that will not stop the Special Tribunal from declaring that in the circumstances of a particular case, an injustice has been done, and that in the event certain consequential orders ought to be made".

In that day's *Daily Graphic* and the following issue, the full text of the Special Tribunal ruling was published. The following day, Mr. Amarteifio had his own rejoinder published in the *Graphic*. The day after *Graphic* attempts "to reconcile what appears to be counter claims by the Special Tribunal and Mr. Amarteifio have further revealed that ... Mr. Amarteifio's partner on the committee ... was Mr. Ken Acquah, "an economist who is listed among those given by Captain Boakye Djan, spokesman

of the AFRC, to be probed alongside AFRC members. Major Amarteifio who worked for the AFRC during its reign and retired from the Armed Forces recently, rebutted this information and directed the *Graphic* to verify from Mr. Ken Acquah himself". Unfortunately, the *Graphic* was unable to reach Mr. Acquah. There followed other "revelations" about Mr. Amarteifio, including the fact that he "has submitted various petitions to the Special Tribunal to set aside improper confiscations and penalties imposed by the AFRC".

The editorial in the same issue was called 'The Search for Justice'. Among other things, it said: "In terms of big money, Kowus represented to the average person the most daring action taken by the AFRC in bringing to book what had hitherto been regarded as an untouchable. And sight should not be lost of the fact that Kowus had already gained some measure of notoriety in the average person's mind with the headlines about the iron rods and what was widely believed to have been unfair advantages granted to Kowus, compliments of the then Head of State, late Mr. Acheampong, and the big import licences granted Kowus when many other companies were being starved of licences.

"What did it matter if these allegations and many more had not been proved, the fact remained that the company had in the eyes of many people a rather unenviable reputation ... the AFRC had come to the rescue in a matter which if left to conventional methods would not be resolved to the satisfaction of the average person. The problem arises from the methods that were adopted ... the dangers involved in the secret and improper methods being used ... all in the hope that after the events, arguments about improper methods would not be used to reverse what might very well be the right decisions.

"So patently unjust and unfair were some of the methods that were used in the AFRC's quest for justice and fairness that some of their decisions are being reversed and this is causing public uproar and confusion.

"The explanation that was given [in the Special Tribunal ruling] about why Kowus agency commission payments were being kept in an account in Germany and not being repatriated to Ghana can hardly hold much water with the ordinary person ... The question is, does it matter to what use the money was being put, did the law not require that such commissions be repatriated to Ghana? What would have happened if the textile factories, the gold mines, the timber companies all kept their earnings abroad to buy the spare parts and new machinery that they all undoubtedly need?"

"... In the search for justice, is the emphasis on the law or on

morality and is it possible to discount the June 4 atmosphere in the present evaluation of the cases? We believe that the request by the Special Tribunal that Kowus be probed should be taken seriously by government to settle the many questions that have been raised in this debate ... Or might it be that all non-legal minds are supposed to sit by and let the lawyers sort it out between themselves. Is justice really only a matter of the law?"

It could be said of this editorial that it only asks the questions it does not intend to answer, and similarly answers those it does not ask. If there is a feeling in some quarters that there was a gratuitous "below-the-belt" reference to Mr. Ken Acquah in the *Graphic* "revelations" above as a person "among those given by Captain Boakye Djan to be probed alongside AFRC members", it must be said in fairness to the *Graphic* that exactly one week before, it published a long open letter to Captain Boakye Djan from Mr. Kwasi Adu. The said Mr. Adu is a member of the June 4 Movement, and of the Confiscated Assets Committee. He wrote in response to an allegation made by Capt. Boakye Djan during a GBC television programme in March that certain people who were members of the June 4 Movement and of the Confiscated Assets Committee had opposed the AFRC spokesman's call for a probe of AFRC activities because they had "something to hide".

Mr. Adu, who felt personally implicated by Capt. Boakye Djan's allegation, wrote that the June 4 Movement had opposed the call for a probe of "the facts of AFRC rule", and not the call for a probe into allegations of corruption by certain individual AFRC members and those close associates. Mr. Adu said "those of us who know a little about our pre-June 4 activities will not fail to recall how steadfastly you championed the cause for Unigov. Remember that in 1977 I was the National Secretary of NUGS and you were then a Captain in Military Intelligence ... I have not forgotten how closely you tracked me to frustrate NUGS' fight against Unigov. You have not forgotten, have you, that you were Military Intelligence Officer responsible for surveillance on student leaders ...". The former NUGS national secretary said of Capt. Boakye Djan that "you were a Spokesman who did not speak during the crucial moments but now that the dust is settled you have become an orator. I would rather with the greatest respect to you, invite you to call on the Government to set up a Committee comprising other ranks to investigate the two of us."

And what of the Government in all this? The call by the *Graphic* for the Government to probe Kowus might cause some embarrassment since there are longstanding allegations about the affinity

between some former CP members and the Acheampong regime in any case. Mr. Adu is now suggesting that the FNP Government should have the other performing any important seven months after the last year and two months after the anniversary of June 4. What of the obvious flaws in the Attorney-General's statement, the Special Tribunal's ruling? Merely another "rushing into print", or all in line with feeding the uproar and confusion" made by the *Graphic*? After all, centre of all this was the Transitional Provisions Constitution, and the consequence attached to the 4 Revolution? Does President Limann's party and government want to uphold the spirit of the Constitution? Yes, ... writes a correspondent.

NIGERIA

Shagari appoints security adviser

President Shehu Shagari has sworn in Dr Bukar Shuaibu as his Presidential Adviser on National Security.

Dr Shuaibu was, until his appointment, Nigeria's Ambassador to Rome. He has served as permanent secretary in the Ministry of Agriculture and as the country's representative to the Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO) in Rome.

Water agreement with Sudan

Nigeria and Sudan have agreed to share their expertise and technical in the field of water resources.

Sudan will help Nigeria in design, construction, operation and management of irrigation projects for agricultural purposes will also help to train Nigerians in all aspects of irrigation technology.

Bar on WAEC exams reversed

The Federal Government has reversed the defunct military Government's decision to bar West African Examination Council (WAEC) from conducting public examinations in the country. The examinations are National Common Entrance Examinations, the Technical Grade Two Examinations, Technical Drawing Examinations. The decision to bar WAEC was taken after recommendation by the Justice Sobgbeni Inquiry Commission in 1978.

Meanwhile hundreds of candidates for this year's GCE Certificate of Education will be able to sit for the exams because in November/December WAEC's decision to accept money orders, WAEC

it was forced to take this action because it had N2.9m worth of orders which the Posts and Telecommunications (P&T) has not converted into money.

JAMB dissolution bill

A Government Bill seeking the dissolution of the Joint Matriculation Board (JAMB) has been published.

The Bill which also wants to repeal the JAMB Decree for 1978, specifies that each university shall, with effect from the day the Bill receives the president's assent, be responsible for the general control and the conduct of matriculation examination for the admissions of its candidates.

Tax periods

The government has announced that tax assessment periods will now cover January 1 to December 31 instead of April 1 to March 31.

The current assessment year began on April 1 and ends on December 31, but the normal 12 month assessment year will be resumed on January 1981.

However the procedure of having assessment on the income of previous year still stands. In respect of companies, the Federal Minister of Finance, Professor Sunday Eswang, said "for the assessment year 1980, the basic period will be the period beginning from the start of their accounting year up to December 1979".

Freight Company to recover debts

The National Freight Company has been directed to recover at least 60 per cent of the N3.5m owed to it by Federal Government institutions within three months. The Minister of State in the Federal Ministry of Transport, Malam Garba Wushishi, said the company would not now be facing financial difficulties if it had been efficient in collecting its debts. He warned that he would deal "ruthlessly" with the management if the company failed to recover the debt within the specified time.

Hangers for Kano and Lagos

President Shethu Shagari has announced the construction of two modern hangers, one in Lagos and the other in Kano, for the maintenance of aircraft of all sizes, including DC10 and Boeing 747. In an address to this year's general meeting of the African Airlines (AGRAA) in Lagos, President Shagari observed that most African airlines still serviced their aircraft at various maintenance bases outside the continent. This practice, he said, should be reduced considerably if it could not be eliminated.

Leyland promotion

Leyland Nigeria, the first commercial vehicle manufacturer in Nigeria, has announced the promotion of Mr Oluwale Smith to the position of personnel executive.

Aged 38, Mr Smith joined Leyland Nigeria two years ago and has been responsible for the recruitment and training of the 750 staff now working in the factory.

National championships

The 34th All-Nigeria Senior Athletic Open Championships will be held in Lagos from Thursday April 24 to Saturday April 26.

The competition will be held in the Mam Bowl of the National Stadium, Surulere.

FROM THE STATES

Lagos

Lagos State has budgeted more than N612m for its services in 1980. This represents an increase of 72 per cent over the previous year.

According to the proposals the government expects to raise N126m from Pay-As-You-Earn (PAYE) income tax, N40m from direct tax assessment, N50m from the proceeds in the Office of the Governor and parastatals and almost N2m from pools betting levy.

The highlight of the proposal was the allocation of N93.5m to education, representing about 35 per cent of the total recurrent expenditure. The government also plans a rent subsidy of N15 per month to all junior staff from level 01 to 05.

Ilo

The State Government proposes to spend N722.1m in current financial year, N246.6m of the sum is for recurrent expenditure and N475.5m is for capital expenditure.

The expenditure is expected to be funded from revenue totalling N552.5m. The proposals therefore show a deficit of N169.6m.

The budget which was described by Governor Sam Mbakwe as development oriented, included the following highlights: introduction of education rates of N20 a year for male adults and N10 for females, the completion of a N3.2m Specialist Hospital at Abu, granting of vehicle advances payment of basic car allowances to civil servants.

Benue

The State Government plans to spend N108m on recurrent expenditure and N179m on capital expenditure in the present financial year. The total budgeted expenditure is nearly N37m more than the expected revenue during the year.

Education tops the list with N63.2m, followed by Agriculture with N42.7m. Governor Aper Aku explained that the next nine months are aimed at laying the proper foundation of the 'Green Revolution' in the state.

Governor Aku also said the budget hoped to achieve the objective of completing projects approved for 1975/80 Third Development Plan which, due to financial constraints and lack of political will were not implemented, and laying foundations for the 1981/85 Fourth Development Plan aimed at maintaining the existing facilities and the provision of new infrastructure for the rapid social, political and economic development in the state.

Borno

The government proposes to spend the sum of N265.1m in the current financial year, N177.9m is for capital expenditure and N87.2m is for recurrent expenditure.

In the proposals described by Governor Mohammed Goni as 'Budget of Hope and Aspiration' education got the highest allocation of N75.7m. The sum of N16.5m is budgeted for the provision of water, at least two boreholes are expected to be drilled each week of the financial year.

The Governor also announced the establishment of two new ministries, the Ministry of Home Affairs and Information and the Ministry of Establishment and Service Matters.

Oyo

Governor Bola Ige has submitted a N221.9m budget, N163m of which will come from statutory allocation from the Federal Government, while the rest would be generated internally.

The allocation of funds are as follows: education — 41.9 per cent, health — 14.12 per cent, integrated rural development, which includes agriculture, water supply, road development and electricity supply — 24.84 per cent, 19.14 per cent for other services, including administration, the legislature and the judiciary.

Kwara

The State Government plans to spend a total of N316.6m in the 1980 fiscal year, N134.6m is for recurrent expenditure, and N182m is for capital expenditure. The expenditure exceeds the total expected revenue by N150.5m.

Education has the largest portion of N32.56m, N2.25m has been earmarked for the establishment of a co-operative bank, and the government plans to set up industrial projects in each of the 12 local government areas in the state.

Governor Alhaji Atta described the state's revenue allocation as gloomy and pathetic, he then said

his government would impose a very tight control on the recurrent expenditure habits, concentrate on improving the state's internal revenue and avoid wasteful spending in the execution of capital projects.

Kano

A N357m contract for the construction of Challawa Gorge Dam in Kano State has been signed between the Hadejia-Jama'are River Basin Development Authority and the Kano State Water Resources and Engineering Construction Agency. The dam is expected to be completed within 30 months.

The chairman of the caretaker committee of the authority, Alhaji Bawa Bulkachuwa, said the dam, which will have a capacity of 470m cubic metres, will generate electricity, produce fish, and irrigate about 12,000 hectares of productive land in the downstream of Hadejia valley.

Rivers

The State House of Assembly has ratified the appointment of Mr Akpanika Akpat Ukoat as member of the Judicial Service Commission.

Mr Ukoat, who comes from Ifemo in Eket local government area, was Attorney General and Commissioner for Justice of the then South Eastern State until 1975.

Niger

The Niger State Government, in a move to boost agricultural production, has allocated N2.4m to be given out as loans to farmers during this planting season. The State Commissioner for Rural Development and Co-operatives, Alhaji Ibrahim Usman, said the granting of the loans will be carried out by the state's Credit Scheme Unit which is attached to the Ministry of Rural Development.

Sokoto

The State Government has directed that at least 10 per cent of all students being admitted into secondary schools in the state must come from other parts of the country. The Governor, Alhaji Mohammed Kangwari, said that his government believes that it is in the interest of the children in Sokoto State that they be allowed to mix with other Nigerians.

● The State Government has passed a Bill to control tsetse fly in the Dansadau forest in Anka Local Government Area. Tailing the motion, Alhaji Sheti'a Salifu, from the Dansadau Constituency, told the House that the cattle Fulani around the area have started migrating to neighbouring Kaduna State because of fear of losing their herds through diseases caused by tsetse flies. He said such an exodus was neither in the interest of the state nor the public in general.

SIERRA LEONE

No German visit for Stevens

President Siaka Stevens of Sierra Leone has postponed indefinitely his official visit to West Germany, which was due to have started on Monday, apparently because of the *coup d'état* in Liberia, the Bonn Foreign Ministry announced.

It said the President had informed Bonn that "unexpected and serious events" had forced him to postpone his visit.

New tax system

A new procedure has been introduced to speed up collection of income tax arrears.

Civil Servants and other employees under the PAYE System, and whose Income Tax is deducted from their salaries monthly by their employers will be given Clearance Certificates on a six monthly basis.

This system will enable the Income Tax Department to verify at the end of the first six months whether individuals are liable for additional Income Tax, as a result of additional earnings, such as directors' fees, dividends, rents, etc.

Professionals, business persons and business houses that have fully paid their Income Tax up-to-date, and are not owing Income Tax arrears, should be granted Clearance Certificates covering the period up to the eve of the date for the payment of their next Income Tax.

The Clearance Certificate for any period will cover the purchase of travelling tickets, and applications for Immigration Clearance before departure from Sierra Leone, Foreign Exchange, Import Licence, Commercial Vehicle Licence, Wine, Beer and Liquor.

Professionals, business persons, and business houses who are indebted to Government for Income Tax arrears should, without delay, satisfy certain requirements by acknowledging their liabilities in writing and by making some arrangements, acceptable to the Income Tax Department, whereby their liabilities can be conveniently re-scheduled for collection.

Thereafter, Clearance Certificates will be issued for a suitable period depending on the resulting re-scheduled payment timetable.

All Clearance Certificates should be signed by the Commissioner of Income Tax.

OAU arrangements

The OAU Secretariat in Freetown is busily preparing arrangements for the Ministerial Council meeting and the Summit in June and July. It has been decided that free accommodation and

meals will be given to two delegates from each delegation during the ministerial council meeting (drinks and laundry services not included) and two cars will be provided for each delegation.

For the Summit meeting, free transportation, accommodation, meals, drinks, etc. will be provided for all heads of delegation. Again two delegates from each delegation will enjoy free accommodation and meals (drinks and laundry services included) and two cars will be put at the disposal of each delegation.

Bangurah statement

The Government of Sierra Leone has issued a statement in connection with the death under mysterious circumstances of Mr. Sam Bangurah former Governor of the Bank of Sierra Leone. The statement says the police have been assiduously conducting investigations to ascertain the circumstances surrounding his tragic and grievous loss to the nation, but so far without positive result.

The government, the statement goes on, will welcome and appreciate information from the public that might help clear this matter.

Rice consignment

The first consignment of 12,711 tons of rice under the trade agreement signed last year between Japan and Sierra Leone has arrived in Freetown.

2,711 tons of the consignment is a gift from the government of Japan, while the other 10,000 tons have been supplied under a deferred payment scheme to be repaid over a period of 30 years, with a ten year grace period.

Another consignment of 10,000 tons is due to arrive at the end of May. A further 10,000 tons may be imported later in the year if negotiations between the two governments succeed.

Eighty batteries from the new consignment of 207 tractors which arrived in Freetown recently from Rumania are reported to have been stolen from the Queen Elizabeth II quays.

The United Africa Company (Sierra Leone) Limited has made a profit of Le462,000 before tax for its financial year ending September 30, 1979. According to the company's annual report, there has been a decline in profit attributed to factors such as difficulty in obtaining adequate supplies of merchandise necessary to maintain the profitability of the business.

In the report, the Chairman, Mr. A. R. Harns, revealed that some restructuring of the business may have to take place this year to affect further economies and in accordance with established policy, the company will dispose of commercial and residential properties which are surplus to their requirements.

Despite many difficulties, the Chairman said that there were a few encouraging developments last year such as the motors division which consolidated its local assembly operation of Isuzu vehicles.

The Sierra Leone Commercial Bank has announced a net profit of Le959,766, the highest so far since the Bank was established in 1973. A dividend of Le300,000 has been paid to government, the only shareholder of the Bank, bringing the total dividends paid since 1973 to Le1.1m.

Koroma praises WAEC

The First Vice-President, Mr. S. I. Koroma, has praised the role played by the West African Examinations Council in the development of manpower in the West African sub-region and in Africa as a whole. Mr. Koroma was welcoming delegates to the West African Examinations Council conference held in Freetown. Mr. Koroma said that without the work of the Council there is hardly any yardstick by which the talents of young people can be measured, and said that the East African Examinations Council is considered as the council's main competitor in the role of producing manpower needs.

Mr. Koroma assured the delegates that the Government of Sierra Leone will always give its support and co-operation to the council's activities, adding that Government is now taking stern action to stop the leakage of examination papers.

More gifts for Summit

The Sierra Leone Produce Marketing Board (SLPMB) has topped the list of donors to the OAU fund with a contribution of Le250,000. The company recently announced a profit of Le11.5m. for 1978/79.

Mr. S. B. Nicol-Cole, Chairman of Barclays Bank, has presented a cheque for Le50,000 towards the OAU Fund. Another donation of Le11,000 has been made by Mr. Ali Mustapha a Lebanese trader of Little East Street.

The Sierra Leone Fishing Company has presented the sum of Le25,000 to the government as part of its contribution towards hosting the forthcoming OAU Summit Conference this year. It is the first commercial company to contribute to the conference.

Presenting a cheque to President Stevens at State House, the outgoing chairman of the company, Mr. Bob Strasser-King, also presented the government with another cheque for Le75,000 as its share of the company's profits for the year ending 31 December, 1978.

LIBERIA

The following reports of events prior to the overthrow of Tolbert government, but which considered of relevance to current events.

Property clause correction

On March 28, 1980, the news organ of the True Whig, the *Liberian Age*, carried an on its front page where its sentence read as follows: "Legislature has passed an amending Section II Article of the Constitution of the Republic of Liberia to abolish the requirement for voters' qualification for voters." Government Radio carried announcement for a full March 28 only to announce on the 29 that the first announcements were a mistake and the Legislature had amended the property clause.

The former Liberia Government last week denied an international charge that encouraged people to kill opposition leaders and swayed Liberia was "in the vanguard of democracy and human rights." Amnesty had said that the government had promised to release up to 52,500 people captured "dead or alive" who allegedly belonging to the People's Progressive Party. It said the promise, made by Minister Joseph Chevon, was open invitation to political murder and called for the officers withdrawn and "the rule restored." Amnesty International also said some opposition leaders who had been arrested had been tortured. The Government denied said Mr. Chevon had made such a promise had merely offered a cash reward for information leading to arrest. The Government "astonished" at such an "impossible" charge, the Interior Ministry said.

A month ago, the independent *Monrovia* newspaper *World News* quoted Mr. Chevon as saying that, if the opposition was being sought did not give themselves up within a few days, "I have to put a price on their heads and anybody who brings them alive or dead will get money." Ten days ago, he was quoted by the official newspaper, the *New Liberia*, as repeating the Government would have "put a price on their heads."

The latest issue of the *Age* — the bi-monthly magazine of ACP-EEC — carried an article by President Tolbert which placed earlier this year. In the text of it he was asked: "The True Whig Party is no longer the only party in Liberia. What are the steps in the liberalisation of political life?"

"We have been striving for our administration to live up to the principles of democracy and

in our Constitution. Our concern has also been to ensure the efficient and effective operation of the True Whig Party, which seeks to promote the interests of all of our people.

"Since becoming standard bearer of the True Whig Party and President of the nation, I have introduced many timely changes to improve the image of the party and to further strengthen its popularity at all levels.

"I am certain that with the new dynamic and progressive trend of the party, it will survive all tests to its continued viability.

"However, at the same time, we do not contemplate applying brakes to the process of political change currently going on in the country.

"As a manifestation of our continued commitment to further liberalise the political life of our country, we have recommended to the Legislature a reduction in the voting age of our youths from 21 to 18 years, without any property qualification.

"Certainly, with the young segment of our population, possessed of fertile and imaginative minds, added to the decision-making process of our nation, the political life of our country is bound to experience further liberalisation, and, in fact, a reher and fuller life."

President Tolbert was then asked, "The property clause is a limitation to democracy in Liberia. Would you favour its withdrawal?"

"In the last nine years, I have consistently and with constancy advocated the removal of all policies and practices discriminatory in any form of the citizenry of our country. Thus, one of our principal tasks during these years of my presidency has been to broaden political participation and to give full rights to all young people between the ages of 18 to 21.

"Thus, since 1972, one year after my ascendancy to the nation's presidency, I recommended the reduction of the voting age from 21 to 18 years, which was later given full approval by our Legislature.

"Noting, however, that age reduction without also the removal of the restrictive property clause would be almost meaningless, I again proposed the removal of all property qualification as a requirement to vote in my recent January, 1980 annual address to our national Legislature.

"It is my hope that they, too, will see the wisdom in this recommendation and accord their favourable consideration."

● Liberia last week strongly denied US press reports that it had agreed to allow an American firm to set up a plant in Liberia to dispose of toxic liquid industrial waste. The official Liberian News Agency (LINA) said the Government had "categorically and vehemently rejected" the proposal of the company, Environmental Management Service.

SENEGAL

Senghor on economic prospects

President Senghor says that Senegal plans, over the next decade, to transform itself from a producer of a few raw materials into an exporter of iron, fertiliser and possibly petroleum, AFP reports from Dakar.

The Senegalese leader made this prediction in a speech to the Economic and Social Council at the end of March. But he noted that, for the present, Senegal had balance of payments problems that stemmed largely from the increasing cost of oil imports and decreased peanut exports.

President Senghor said mining surveys done last year had shown that deposits in Eastern Senegal would yield 225m. tons of iron oxide after processing — or 12m tons annually for 20 years. The goal was for extraction to begin in 1986, he said, by which time iron would be in relatively short supply on the world market and it would be easier for new producers to make a start. The President said that European steelmakers had shown interest in the project.

He also announced that a joint state-private enterprise would begin construction in November or December of a plant to produce 396,000 tons of phosphoric acid a year and fertiliser. To feed the plant, 1.5m. tons of phosphate a year were to come from the deposits at Taiba and 400,000 tons a year from Thies, east of Dakar. The plant was to be ready for operations in 1983, President Senghor said.

He added that a deposit of 1m tons of light crude oil could come into production between 1983 and 1988 in the Atlantic off Southern Senegal. A deposit of 100m. tons of heavy crude in the same region, discovered 10 years ago, was not yet profitable to drill, but could become so as petroleum prices continued to rise.

President Senghor said that last year Senegal had experienced a balance of payments deficit of 50,000m. CFA francs (about \$200m.). The deficit arose, he said, from a deterioration in exchange rates (139 per cent between 1974 and 1978), from oil-price rises (the country's oil import bill has rocketed from \$20m. in 1973 to a predicted \$188m. in 1980) and from a drop in groundnut production due to drought.

● The opposition PDS party has called on the Government to hold round-table talks aimed at forming a national front government, and accused "favourites" of the regime of transferring huge sums of cash to foreign bank accounts and defrauding customs.

The Parti Démocratique Sénégalais, which has 16 members in the 100-seat National Assembly, also called for an end to credit restrictions to enable the economy to be relaunched, and demanded that the state "pay its debts without delay, particularly to companies

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and individual entrepreneurs, to avoid their bankruptcy and ruin". It was reported last week that police had dispersed a large gathering about to attend a PDS rally.

● Poland will give grants to 45 Senegalese for advanced training in commercial fishing. The decision was made here at the end of a meeting of the Senegalese Polish Co-operation Commission. The accord is linked with a six-year fishing agreement signed by the two countries in 1976. Another part of the 1976 agreement is the construction and equipping by Poland of a fishing port at St Louis, Northern Senegal.

● A court has passed the death sentence on a youth who cut off his eight-year-old cousin's head in return, he said, for 500,000 CFA francs (about \$2,000). The murder had produced a wave of fear in the region outside the capital, with rumours of a traffic in human heads to Southern Africa, where they were believed to help prospectors discover diamonds.

The killing occurred at Sebokotane, 40 km (25 miles) outside the capital.

ANGOLA

No break with Portugal

The state of relations between Angola and Portugal, ruffled by reports that the African state might be considering a break in diplomatic links, has been clarified in talks in Lisbon.

This was announced by the Angolan Trade Minister, Lopo do Nascimento, who was quoted last week by a Spanish paper as warning that alleged Portuguese interference in his country's internal affairs might lead to a break in relations.

Mr. Nascimento, heading a major economic delegation on an official visit to Spain, told Portuguese TV later that his remarks had been reported "incorrectly" and that Angola had "never" envisaged a break with Portugal.

On a private visit to Lisbon, the former Premier had talks with Head of State, General Antonio Ramalho Eanes and Prime Minister Francisco de Carnoto.

He had explained his statements in Spain to them. Sr. Nascimento told newsmen, acknowledging that they had "caused some controversy".

MALI

More ships

West Germany has granted DM6m (\$3.12m) aid to Mali to modernise the fleet of the State Navigation Company, which connects remote Northern Mali with the south via the Niger River.

The agreement was signed in Bamaki by the Labour Minister, M. Boubakar Diallo and the West German Ambassador, Herr

Erhard Holtermann.

M. Diallo said the company shipped more than 90 per cent of basic foodstuffs needed by the north.

Mali's only railroad runs from the Senegal border through Bamako by the Labour Minister, M. Boubakar Diallo and the West river is thus the major transport link with the north.

MAURITANIA

No hostility

The official Mauntanian News Agency has denied Moroccan press reports that a number of Moroccan teachers had been expelled from Mauntania. The agency accused the Rabat newspaper, *El Miliq El Watan*, which first reported the supposed expulsions of "falsifying the facts and putting out lies", and trying to promote the idea that Mauntania was hostile to Morocco.

WESTERN SAHARA

US favouring Morocco?

A member of a visiting US congressional delegation has said in Rabat that Morocco had the "unconditional support" of the United States in its "lawful battle to defend its territorial integrity". Mississippi Rep. David Bowen added that the US favoured negotiations between Morocco and Algeria to end the war.

The delegation, led by Clement Zablocki, chairman of the House of Representatives foreign affairs committee, would try to persuade the Algerian leadership to agree to talks for a "peaceful settlement of the Saharan question" and convince them of "the legitimacy of the rights of the Moroccan people". Rep. Bowen told a working session between the delegation and members of the Moroccan Parliament.

A correspondent writes: A clear tilt in the United States attitude towards the Western Sahara problem in favour of Morocco has become increasingly obvious after the visit here of two important congressional delegations, observers in this Moroccan capital believe. Earlier visits by Mr. Stephen Solarz and the former Ambassador to the UN, Mr. Andrew Young has been much more sympathetic to the Polisario Front.

During their stay, the Americans assured Moroccan questioners of "the unconditional support of the United States" in favour of the Moroccan people's "legitimate struggle" to preserve their national achievement and defend their territorial integrity. Never before, according to observers in Rabat, have American Congressmen so clearly and precisely expressed opinions in favour of the "Moroccan cause".

Before leaving for Algiers the leader of one delegation, Mr. Clement Zablocki, stressed that the

position he had outlined was also that of Washington. Mr. Zablocki is chairman of the congressional foreign affairs committee.

The first indication of a new orientation of US policy over the Western Sahara came in Congress's decision, at White House request, to authorise sales of anti-guerrilla weapons to Morocco, which has been fighting the Algerian — and Libyan — backed forces of Polisario for five years.

At an official level, Washington has not yet taken a position openly favourable to Rabat. But political circles in Rabat say the US, firmly opposed to the creation of a "leftist entity" on the southern flank of one of its oldest "natural allies", is nevertheless working behind the scenes towards a peaceful settlement of the conflict between the Governments of Algiers and Rabat. This position was put to Algerian leaders by President Carter's National Security Advisor, Mr. Zbigniew Brzezinski, last November. When Mr. Brzezinski returned to Washington he said the US would not allow Morocco to be attacked.

From the start of the Saharan conflict, the US has maintained a stance of neutrality which, with increasingly violent thrusts by Polisario into Moroccan territory, now seems more and more to be swinging in Morocco's favour.

ZAIRE

Explaining the crisis

Part of this year's testimony to the US Congress on aid included reports that food aid had the finance generated from been abused (*West Africa*, March 10). Similar allegations had been about US military equipment supplied to Zaire. As the present report for fiscal year 1981 indicates (*West Africa*, March 31), the US is prepared to continue its aid programmes to Zaire and the White House requested Congressional approval for an increase in the military aid to Zaire. In the Congressional hearings almost exactly a year ago American academic specialising in Zaire, David G. Gould, was interviewed his views on Zaire and US involvement there. His analysis of many cases already been borne out by subsequent events and others as applicable now as it was a year ago. We publish excerpts for evidence in March 1979.

The public administrative system is Zaire's largest industry, consuming nearly two-thirds of the national budget in salaries and operating expenses. It is where public pronouncements are contradicted in practice. It is where public performance in carrying out even the designed development programmes fatally damages nearly all government or reform efforts. In the current fiscal year budget, for example, the Government of Zaire estimated that "administrative reforms" would result in a 50 per cent increase in customs and income tax and administrative receipts over the previous year. If receipts were to remain constant to decline, however, the government's budget deficit would amount to more than one-third of its planned expenditures, plunging the regime deeper into bankruptcy and making it all the more unlikely for the regime to meet the population's basic social and economic needs.

Numerous administrative reforms were carried out in the earliest part of the regime, involving increased centralisation and politicisation of the bureaucratic apparatus. The civil service was no longer independent of the ruling party, and bureaucrats were forced to become politicians. Additional reforms have been proposed and in some cases they have formally enacted, including "decentralisation of economic decision-making", increased attention to "management", re-creation of the position Prime Minister, introduction of Ministries of Planning and Development, placement of Belgian, French and German officials respectively, in the Customs Service, Finance Ministry and National etc. All of these reforms are doomed to failure, however, to the extent the fundamental nature of the bureaucratic apparatus remains the same. The public administrative system is a disintegrative, disorganising, and developmentalist structure whose power levers are dominated by an elite at the top. Its fundamental goal is self-enrichment, and to the

Spain denies responsibility

Spain has strongly denied charges by King Hassan II that it was "responsible for the blood in Western Sahara". A Foreign Ministry statement said it "rejected all responsibility for desert fighting, which erupted years ago after Morocco. Mauntania occupied the Spanish colony after Spain drew.

Spain had not acted in any against the principles of Organisation of African Unity (OAU), which had called for decolonisation, the Ministry adding that Spain was ready times to help find a peaceful solution to the conflict. The King's remarks on French television Spain has become friendly and Polisario guerrillas in Western Sahara in recent years.

The guerrillas, meanwhile, reported from Algiers that had inflicted heavy losses Moroccan troops and equipped heavy artillery attacks on the bases as Bir Enzar and Esvabti, and at Touggou. In Libreville, Gabon's President Omar Bongo told AFP would soon go on another mission to try to end the fighting was urgent to find a solution which no one was the loser.

institutionalised corruption is the rule.

The ruling elite has "privatised" the public bureaucracy and turned it into an instrument for self-enrichment. Out of fear for their own survival, those at the top institutionalise corrupt practices making it virtually impossible for subordinates not to "indulge".

Clearly any reforms proposed or carried out within the public bureaucracy will be diverted to favour those at the top in whose favour the system is tilted. Indeed, of the many reforms instituted since 1965, those which may be said to have "worked" are those favouring the elites' interest (such as centralisation and "politicisation" and destruction of the autonomy of the civil service). At the same time, those reforms which have remained merely symbolic facades or outright dead letters (such as proposals to decentralise decision making, remove the planning function from the President's Office to a new Ministry, create an independent Rural Development Ministry, revamp the Customs Office) have been sidetracked precisely because they might have threatened elite interests within the bureaucracy. This point helps to explain why the "institutionalised reforms" insisted upon by the IMF and western banks and governments, and promised by the government for some years, offer no hope at all of meaningful change. The reform measures have had no noticeable effect on modifying the redistributive bias of the Zairian public bureaucracy in favour of the bureaucratic class. To put it another way, applying these reforms as a solution to what ails Zaire is tantamount to treating an advanced cancer patient with an aspirin and a mild lecture. Indeed, in giving the illusion of progress while mass impoverishment becomes aggravated and the underlying causes of underdevelopment go unchecked, the reform measures contribute to a worsening of the situation.

The West is the prime supporter

There is no doubt that the West in general, and the United States in particular, have been the prime external supporters of the current regime. In the words of a June, 1976, US Peace Corps report: "Whatever Zaire has become today, both economically and politically, the United States bears a large share of the responsibility." This abject dependency on the West was starkly demonstrated in Shaba I and Shaba II, in which foreign mercenaries not only had to protect the Zairian army from rebels, but since then have had to stay so as to protect the Zairian people and key foreign technicians from the Zairian army!

The rationale for continuing to infuse funds to "rescue" the regime from one "crisis" after another can, however, be questioned in four counter-arguments:

- (1) A successor regime (of the kind discussed in Point Two above) would be completely irrational to discontinue production of Zaire's national resources and their export to valued customers. Even in the extremely unlikely case of a successor regime similar in orientation to Angola's — unlikely because this would go against the traditions, habits and preferences of the Zairian people, and the forces in presence at the present political moment, as analysed above — Western technology, development aid, capital and markets would be needed.
- (2) It can further be demonstrated that by continuing to give aid and loans while the foreign debt in fact increases, we are in effect "throwing good money after bad". In view of its performance to date, it is difficult to imagine that the current regime will be in a position to repay its outstanding obligations, as indicated under Point One, its performance in carrying out the "reforms" — while underdevelopment grows — suggests that the debt, under the current regime, will only mount. In these circumstances, encouragement of an alternative, representative, inherently more political solution would provide a greater likelihood that American and other Western creditors would be repaid.
- (3) However, there is urgency. To continue support for the current regime, in the face of its eroded popular base and the potential for radicalising violence which this may portend, may tax the remaining patience and goodwill of the Zairian people toward the West and make that much less likely a harmonious succession in the interests of both the Zairian people and the West.
- (4) Finally, United States interests in Zaire also extend to the welfare of the people of the country. This is true not only because of this nation's concern for human rights, which is aroused in the face of the current regime's flouting of the Zairian people's most elementary rights — food, shelter, transportation, health care, work, security. Our concern for the well-being of the Zairian people may also be dictated by pragmatic considerations: mounting repression, disorder and misery create the conditions for violence and revolution of the kind that produce instability. Concern with stability in Zaire and in the region would dictate that policymakers examine closely the analogy of these two countries.

An analysis of how effective our PL480 food programmes, development assistance and foreign military sales credits have been in Zaire. For example, is there any truth to the allegations that PL480 food sent to Zaire is sold in Congo-Brazzaville or is unavailable to the poorest Zairians?

Continued US aid with few apparent conditions is viewed within and outside of Zaire as a powerful gesture of political support for the regime.

Moreover, it provides those in command of the bureaucracy with additional resources for themselves. In a structure marked by institutionalised corruption, in which most of the national budget is subject to theft and misuse. Foreign aid that is not spent on foreign experts' salaries and living expenses, but rather pumped in some way into the Zairian public bureaucracy, is thus fair game and subject to all the corruption mechanisms that have been uncovered and described. The aid that reaches the needy population, for whom it was originally intended by the donors, comes in the form of "crumbs" after the "bread" has been consumed by the bureaucratic elite. Several examples follow.

One way in which the needy poor are deprived concerns the geographical distribution of aid. Although 90 per cent of the Zairian population lives in rural areas, and only 10 per cent lives in the capital city of Kinshasa, fully 90 per cent of all foreign-imported goods in general and a very high percentage of foreign aid in the capital. This is because of the bureaucratic rulers' fear of the urban masses' revolutionary potential. For example, even though according to the latest reports nearly a half-million peasants are literally starving to death in the Bas-Fleuve area of Bas-Zaïre Region, Belgian paratroopers are sent in response to the Belgian Government's concern about the possibility and consequences of "food riots in Kinshasa".

Furthermore, to the extent that goods or food are made available directly to or through the Zairian bureaucracy, they are immediately "privatised" by the elites in command as part of their self-enrichment strategy. An example is the military supplies from the West (i.e., everything from trucks and guns to gasoline, K-rations and Coca-Cola) which are diverted by top military officials to their own private leaders and/or sold in the marketplace. Sometimes this occurs during "wartime emergencies", when resource flows increase and even donors' vigilance slackens; this was notably the case with General Bumba, in command of Zairian forces during Shaba I, whose diversion for his own use of over \$500,000 worth of Western and other supplies at the height of the battle was widely known at the time.

Another equally striking example is the more or less systematic misuse of American Title I, PL480 "Food for Peace" assistance. Under the terms of last year's foreign aid authorisation, \$17m. worth of food and supplies (half of which went for 30 MT of rice) was made available to Zaire with the avowed intention of providing essential foods and commodities as a token, giveaway price for distribution to the rural poor. Many so-called "self-help" conditions were imposed, e.g., establishing low, fixed prices, permitting some US Government control over the "approved list of businessmen" authorised to deal in rice, and exacting guarantees by the Zairian Government to take effective measures to stop hoarding, speculation, and smuggling of the rice by the designated merchants to Congo-Brazzaville (for foreign currency), authorising "independent verification" by the US Agricultural Attaché, etc. In addition, there is a solemn agreement between the Government of Zaire and the United States Government, dated August 25, 1978, requiring Zaire to "use the commodities provided hereunder... for specific projects or programmes which directly benefit the needy people of that country."

Flouting of the fixed prices

However, these noble intentions break down almost completely in practice. This becomes clear in reading the reports to Washington from the Agricultural Attaché and from personal observation and research in-country. As was to be expected, the merchants selected by the bureaucratic elite were top bureaucrats themselves or their relatives and friends. For the most part, the merchants selected to distribute the rice were wealthy and powerful businessmen-bureaucrats operating with the cover of state authority. Thus the fixed prices were flouted systematically. "Protected" merchants sold sacks of rice destined for sale in Kinshasa at 25 zaires, and in provincial cities at 29 to 37 zaires apiece, at four or five times these prices with virtual impunity. In addition, rice bound for distribution in Zaire was illegally exported across the river to Congo-Brazzaville, thus permitting greedy bureaucrat-merchants to obtain scarce foreign currency.

The result of these routine occurrences is the systematic misuse of American aid, the enrichment of top bureaucrats, and the further desperation and impoverishment of the very "needy people" and "poorest of the poor" whom the Congress intended to benefit from this legislation. A 100lb sack of Title I, PL480 rice, when available, costs well over 100 zaires, which for the average Zairian working citizen represents three or four months' salary. Considering that salaried workers, even at the ultra-low minimum wage of 30 zaires per month, are in fact a minority of the able-bodied population, it is clear that the "poorest of the poor" are completely excluded, by the dynamics of the Zairian bureaucratic system, from access to American taxpayer-supplied "Food for Peace". This situation can hardly be said to stimulate development. Rather, American participation in this fiasco demeans our country as it aggravates conditions in Zaire. While US Embassy officials attempt diligently to monitor the situation and to exact concessions from the Zairian Government as a condition for continued deliveries of American Title I commodities, the sad fact is that there is no real way to insist upon compliance once these scarce food items enter the Zairian bureaucratic-commercial circuit.

Opponents return

Some ten opponents of President Mobutu have left Europe for Kinshasa after a reconciliation with him, Jean Tshombe, an opposition leader exiled in Belgium has said in Brussels. Describing three of them as "emanating from the Zaïre Embassy in Brussels", Mr. Tshombe, whose father Moïse led the attempt to split Katanga from the former Belgian Congo, excluded the possibility of his joining with General Mobutu.

"I believed recently that the President really was beginning a development towards liberalising his regime. That's notably why I have met him, with the encouragement of some Western and African countries, but I was mistaken," Mr. Tshombe said.

The departures referred to by Mr. Tshombe do not involve the main Zaïre opposition movements in Brussels, but the Organisation for the Liberation of the Congo, which he founded, and the Restoration Action Movement.

In an earlier statement, Mr. Tshombe said the West German firm Otrag undertaking skyrocket research in Zaïre was directly responsible for a brutal anti-rebel campaign in the north of the country's Shaba Province (formerly Katanga). Mr. Tshombe said the 372nd Battalion of the Zaïre Army, based at Kamina and French-officered, was exercising a "pitiless" repression in North Kivu

with 250 Zaïre gendarmes against rebelling Baluba people.

He said that Otrag aircraft, still in Zaïre despite the cancelling of the Otrag contract, were transporting prisoners to the Lokandu Camp in the Kivu region. The rebellion — about which the West was "scandalously quiet" — began last July 16, said Mr. Tshombe. He said repression was particularly severe in the Kabalo, Malembankulu, Niuzu and Kabondulindu areas.

Otrag, which was working with the French company BRGM, a state mineral prospecting firm and the electronics combine Thomson CSF-Francais, was responsible for what was happening in Northern Shaba, he said, challenging President Mobutu to invite the international press to visit the region.

IN BRIEF

The lack of an effective mechanism to deal with urgent matters between summit meetings has been a major handicap to the operation of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), according to Somalia's Foreign Minister, Mr. Abdirahman Jama Barre.

Opening a six-day committee meeting in Mogadishu to review the organisation's charter, he called for the OAU's "highly-important" mediation commission to be "reactivated and established on a proper footing", with an independent secretariat.

Mr. Barre called an African

leaders to pay serious attention to human rights. Many Africans were being killed and massacred or were suffering inhuman degradation, he said, noting that there were more than four million refugees in the continent. He also said a concerted effort was needed to achieve economic solidarity and co-operation in Africa.

The review committee, comprising 14 OAU member states, was set up at the OAU summit in Monrovia last year. It was asked to come up with reform proposals to make the OAU's "institutions and mechanisms" more effective. Countries represented are Somalia, Morocco, Mali, Malawi, Cameroon, Burundi, Swaziland, Kenya, Congo, Uganda, Benin, Libya, Sierra Leone and Ghana. Egypt, Liberia and Algeria are attending as observers.

Food Aid Convention

Edouard Saouma, the Director-General of the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations (FAO), has welcomed agreement on the recent Food Aid Convention as a step towards world food security, but also stated that the total aid pledged fell short of the desired goal.

"I welcome the agreement on the terms of the Food Aid Conven-

tion, 1980," Mr. Saouma said in a statement. "The convention is a significant practical step towards world food security."

But, Mr. Saouma added, it is not a moment for complacency. The total amount of aid committed under the new convention — 7,592,000 tons — is still far short of the desirable figure.

Mr. Saouma said that the tons of grain as food aid called by the World Food Conference more a minimum level, rather than a target. "I therefore appeal to other governments to join the ranks of participants in the Food Aid Convention, 1980, with additional contributions in cash or kind," FAO's Director-General said.

The European Economic Community and 10 governments have announced minimum annual contributions in the convention signed in London last week — Argentina (35,000 tons), Australia (40,000 tons), Austria (20,000 tons), Canada (600,000 tons), Egypt (1,650,000 tons), Finland (200,000 tons), Japan (300,000 tons), Norway (30,000 tons), Sweden (40,000 tons), Switzerland (270,000 tons) and the United States (4,470,000 tons).

● Fily Cissoko, Guinea's former Minister of Youth, Sports and Popular Arts, has been named Minister of Livestock and Fisheries, according to Guinea Radio. He replaced M. Bah, whose new post was announced.

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