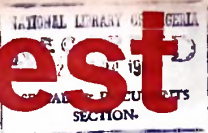


# West Africa



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## Stevens' First Year

WHEN Sierra Leone became independent on April 27, eight years ago, Mr. Siaka Stevens was in detention. His newly formed APC was suspected of complicity in disturbances that might have affected the pleantries of the independence celebrations. Seven years later, almost to the day, he was sworn in as Prime Minister of a "national" government. This month he has reconstructed the government so that it is now, with the exception of a handful of independents, entirely APC. The SLPP, which under Sir Milton Margai once seemed destined to rule Sierra Leone for ever, is now reduced to 12 members in the House of Representatives.

Although there is no doubt that the APC won the general election of 1967, this change in the parties' fortunes has not come about peacefully. Sierra Leone, which eight years ago seemed likely to enjoy stability under the benevolent authority of Sir Milton, has since experienced the corrupt and despotic rule of the Margai regime, martial law, the military coup, the eccentric rule of the former Brigadier Juxon-Smith, the mutiny led by privates which overthrew the military regime, and the tension between the mutiny and the swearing in of Mr. Stevens and his civilian government on April 26.

There followed the anxious period when the army and police officers remained in jail, and last year's state of emergency resulting in violence in by-elections which finally sealed the fate of the SLPP. Astonishingly, Sierra Leone survived all this, and a balance sheet of the state of the nation can be drawn up.

Although election petitions are pending against some APC MPs (the electoral commission itself expressed uneasiness about the conduct of some by-elections) Sierra Leone now has a House of Representatives which represents political feeling fairly. SLPP members may now constitute only a fifth of the House, but they can be an effective opposition. It now looks less likely that the APC will attempt to turn Sierra Leone into a one-party state—Sir Albert Margai tried and failed. Political violence, on the other hand, appears to have become endemic and, while both parties are to blame, the ruling party sometimes seems unable

to control its wilder elements.

In some parts of the country the position of chiefs, which under Sir Milton, who knew how they could be used as a stabilising force, seemed more certain than in most African countries, is in question. Particularly in the North, where, because of the overwhelming strength of the APC, political violence is less serious than in the South, there are constant outbreaks of violence against chiefs.

The SLPP came into being as a protest against the attempted domination of Sierra Leone politics by those who did not regard themselves as part of a developing nation but as representatives of an elite. But tribalism, as understood in Nigeria, did not for many years seem likely to be a political problem in Sierra Leone. Now, although the ugly outbreaks last year were contained, tribalism must always be regarded as a factor in the country's politics. This most hospitable of countries, too, whose own people have migrated up and down the West African coast, has also adopted a restrictionist attitude to foreigners, of which the most extreme example is the expulsion of the Ghanaian fishermen.

It is, however, foreigners who probably bear the main responsibility for one of the country's most serious problems—the illicit digging of diamonds, with the lawlessness and social evils to which it gives rise. At last the government appears cautiously to be weeding out some foreigners from Kono, but this particular problem is now far worse than it has ever been. On the other hand, while smuggling remains important, official purchases of diamonds are at record levels, and there is little sign of the exhaustion of the deposits which, even eight years ago, was widely prophesied.

In 1961 it seemed possible that low grade iron ore deposits at Tonkolili might be developed. That now seems a remote prospect. But there is record production at the Marampa mine, where expansion is assured by long-term Japanese contracts. The long delayed production of rutile by Sherbro Minerals has started, but, though now improving, is still at a low level. Bauxite production, however, is flourishing.

The Marketing Board has recovered from the mismanagement of the Margai

been for the last seven months. The difficult terrain of Bende Division and the town of Arochuku are much less important from the federal point of view. Another federal objective is probably the exclusively mobile Biafran radio station, without which Biafra would have much less credibility.

So many factors must be taken into consideration that firm prophecy about the future course of the war, or about its conclusion, is impossible. Although the fall of Umuahia may mean the end of effective Biafran civilian administration, the army can continue organised fighting so long as arms and ammunition continue to come in to Uli. Uli is protected to the north by hills, but can be approached fairly easily from the south; except for the possible capture of Biafran leadership, however, Uli is a matter far less to the Biafrans than does Uli.



## GOWON Wedding in Lagos

## GHANA Politicians Get Ready

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regime in time to take advantage of high world prices for cocoa, and money is again circulating in the palm production areas. Rice cultivation is improving, and self-sufficiency is now prophesied. The balance of payments crisis has been surmounted, although partly because of the contractor-finance "white elephants" which the Prime Minister listed in his speech last month, the burden of external debt is very heavy.

The recent wave of strikes, which the Government handled firmly and skilfully, reflects discontent with the rising cost of living, and there may be trouble over the "phasing out" of the railway. But on the whole the economic picture is far happier than it was a year ago, and probably than it was eight years ago.

This, then, is not a bad balance sheet and Mr. Stevens has had only a year in office. If the economic trends continue, if political violence, from any quarter, can be contained, if illicit diamond digging can be controlled, if chiefs and people can be reconciled, and if the bitterness of the past can be forgotten; then Sierra Leone can justify the hopes held out eight years ago.

## Red Cross Figures

ACCORDING to recent reports of the relief work on both sides in the Nigerian war, the International Committee of the Red Cross feeds about 989,000 people in Federal territory and 960,000 in Biafra. Personnel on the spot number 1,323 (265 expatriates) on the Federal side and 696 (79 expatriates) on the Biafran, together with 33 (all expatriates) at Cotonou and 20 (all expatriate) in Fernando Po. It uses two ships for transport of relief from Lagos to Port Harcourt and Calabar, a DC4 base in Lagos for relief airlifts in Federal territory, four DC7s based in Santa Isabel and, for the main airlift to Biafra from Cotonou, three DC-6B, two Stratofreighters and a Transall, while there are two other Stratofreighters ready in Switzerland. To March 27 flights to Biafra from Fernando Po and Dahomey totalled 1,105, carrying 10,753 tons of relief supplies.

For transport the Red Cross operates 369 lorries on the Federal side and 46 in Biafra. In Nigerian-held territory there were 36,600 tons of relief stock (45 per cent. cereals, 20 per cent. yam, 20 per cent. garri, the rest beans, m. stockfish, etc.) and 22 distribution centres in Biafra no stocks are kept, but there are 11 distribution centres, while there are stocks in Santa Isabel (2,600 tons) and Cotonou (1,800), and 41,644 tons en route from Europe for both sides. The stocks for Biafra are 40 per cent. stockfish and 125 per cent. milk. ICR medical assistance given to 130,000 people (50,000 in Federally-held areas) while 1,097,000 children have been vaccinated against smallpox and 457,000 against measles.

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## After Umuahia What?

By a correspondent

**A**FTER several days of rumours especially prevalent in Lagos, it was finally announced at a news conference on Wednesday by Chief Enahoro, Commissioner for Information, that Umuahia had been captured by federal troops of the First Division, commanded by Col. Shua. The only details yet available, said Chief Enahoro, were that the first federal troops arrived at the outskirts of Umuahia on Friday April 18 and the main attacking body arrived on Sunday, April 20. "The battle then started and by yesterday (April 22) all rebel resistance in Umuahia had been broken. Federal forces are now well to the west and south of Umuahia."

The operation to take Umuahia began at the end of March with a two-pronged operation from the federal held towns of Okigwi and Afikpo, capturing the small town of Uzuakoh on April 2, and a few days later the rail-road intersection village of Ovim. Then, last week, the second prong, moving in from Afikpo, mainly through bush roads, they took the town of Bende (on April 15), 12 miles east of Umuahia. One report says that in this offensive, "forsaking their conventional tactics of clinging to the highways, they took the Biafrans completely by surprise by zig-zagging along jungle paths".

## The Town Evacuated

On Sunday April 13 came the first reports that Umuahia was being shelled, repeating the time-honoured pattern of federal advance, seen at Asaba, Enugu, Port Harcourt, Aba, Owerri. When it first started there was panic among the civilian population, and the Biafran police reportedly prevented people by force from leaving the town, by firing shots over the heads of the crowd. After a couple of days, however, the flight of the civilians was no longer prevented although vans continued to patrol the streets saying "Umuahia is not threatened. All civil defence and night watch should come out and help the army." By mid-week the Biafran government also started to move to its new provisional capital of Nkwere, a small town six miles south-east of Orlu, one of the largest remaining towns left to the Biafrans, and about twenty miles from the "Annabelle" airstrip at Ulihiala. The International Red Cross in Geneva announced that it, too, had evacuated its headquarters from Umuahia to Orlu and to the neighbouring village of Umuowa, 12 miles from Uli on April 17, although Red Cross teams were working close to the front at Abiriba, south of Umuahia.

Biafra radio returned to the air on

April 17 after a four-day silence; this was felt to indicate that the transmitters, which have been moved in the past on more than one occasion, have once again been transferred. The new site is likely to be in one of the villages round Orlu, but there is no positive confirmation. West German Caritas has said that their radio link with Umuahia has gone dead without explanation (it was mounted on a truck). Other telecommunication links have reportedly become increasingly difficult. The much used Umuahia-Lisbon Telex has ceased to function, and it is only from Uli that it is possible to communicate with the outside world; one reporter noted that this method has the advantage of freedom from censorship.

Col. Ojukwu himself, according to intelligence reports reaching Lagos, was one of the last to leave the capital at the weekend, which apart from the military presence had by then become a ghost

been for the last seven months. The difficult terrain of Bende Division and the town of Arochuku are much less important from the federal point of view. Another federal objective is probably the elusively mobile Biafran radio station, without which Biafra would have much less credibility.

So many factors must be taken into consideration that firm prophecy about the future course of the war, or about its conclusion, is impossible. Although the fall of Umuahia may mean the end of effective Biafran civilian administration, the army can continue organised fighting so long as arms and ammunition continue to come in to Uli. Orlu is protected to the north by hills, but can be approached fairly easily from the south, except for the possible capture of the Biafran leadership, however, Orlu and Nkwere matter far less to the Federal forces than does Uli.



The unshaded parts show approximately areas still held by Biafra.

town. Philippe Decraene of *Le Monde*, who has been in Biafra, has written graphically about the exodus of refugees on the road between Umuahia and Orlu (some estimates say there were well over half a million people in Umuahia). Decraene has also described present activity at the Uli airstrip, where last week traffic in both relief and arms planes seemed to be continuing. Decraene records that the arms seemed to be less than 20 tons a day, almost entirely rifles and ammunition.

The Biafrans are now reported to have dug in on the banks of the Imo River a few miles to the West of Umuahia. There have been few reports from other parts of the front, although the federal garrison in Owerri is still apparently surrounded by Biafrans, and the reported "reorganisation" continues of the Second Division, whose lack of progress may also, perhaps, be attributed to the "zig-zag trenches" on the Onitsha-Uli road. The capture of Umuahia bids fair to cut Biafra in half, as one can now expect a link-up with the Third Division troops on the Aba-Umuahia road. The number one federal objective is still surely the Uli airstrip, as indeed it has

## Pausing for Breath

The Federal forces themselves may now require one of the "pauses" which have always followed their capture of a major objective—to rebuild supplies, reorganise units, and re-think tactics. Federal supply lines are now longer, and federal forces more dispersed, than ever. While the rains may not seriously affect the movement of units which normally keep to the roads, and tarmac roads at that, they do affect flying, particularly into Port Harcourt. There are plenty of bridges and culverts for the Biafrans to destroy in the hope of impeding advances, particularly those of the armoured cars.

If Uli is taken and Biafran forces retreat westward, where they still appear to hold the bank of the Niger, they will presumably attempt to cross into the Ibo areas of the Mid-West State. Dr. Arikpo says that the Onitsha-based Second Division has already taken precautions to deal with this, but there may still be considerable infiltration to the Mid-West, where there has been some guerrilla activity, now successfully contained.

For a Federal advance the crowds of civilians may be the main obstacle, for both humanitarian and tactical reasons. Even if many have stayed in the areas now overrun by the Federal forces and others have actually come over to the Federal side, there must be vast numbers now in the area of the Uli airstrip. If General Gowon had adequate paratroops and aircraft, the capture of the airstrip might be relatively easy. For ground forces the task is likely to prove far more difficult, and the air force has never shown itself capable of putting the airstrip out of action, or of effective combat support for ground troops.

It must be remembered, however, that both the soldiers and the civilians will now become more dependent on food flown into Uli, and that the danger of epidemics, miraculously kept at bay so far, will be intensified.

## Ghana's Politicians Get Ready

By a correspondent

GHANA'S "Third Force," which is to become one of the new political parties when the ban on parties is lifted on May 1, claims that it has been operating for three years. This shows that, though the NLC's decree immediately after the coup of February 24, 1966, prevented the actual formation of political parties, it did not apply to informal gatherings of politically-minded people. It could hardly have done so: the beginnings of many other political parties, besides this one, may also go back some way. But there was for long a considerable weariness with all political parties, and perhaps because of this, the NLC's civilian rule programme for a time provided maintenance of the ban on parties as long as possible, though it always allowed that the ban should be lifted before parliamentary elections.

When (after last May) it was planned that the Constituent Assembly should be directly elected, one big question was whether political parties should be allowed to re-form to take part in these elections. The May 1968 programme did not envisage this, but some commentators wondered whether it should, or could, be avoided. That programme provided for lifting of the ban only after the end of the Constituent Assembly's discussions, which were expected then to begin in May 1968 and to take three months; the Assembly may in fact take about five months to agree on the Constitution; this would have allowed about a month for parties to organise legally and prepare for the elections which would produce a civilian government.

Last October General Ankrah announced that the Constituent Assembly would not be directly elected, and that a date for the lifting of the ban on parties would be announced after it began its discussions. When the Assembly began its work last January, however, it was widely felt that the work would be disrupted if parties revived too soon. This was greeted by, for example, Mr. Justice Adu Crabbe, head of the Assembly's Business Committee. But there were strong feelings the other way, and, soon after he took over from General Ankrah, Brig. Afrifa announced that the ban would be lifted on May 1.

### Busia's Progress Party

In the past few weeks the Ghanaian newspapers, notably the independent daily *Pioneer* of Kumasi, have been filled with previews of Ghana's post-ban political scene. Prominent in that scene, it now appears, will be the Progress Party to be led—according to Mr. Oshenbi Kwow Richardson—by the old United Party leader, Kofi Busia. The UP, banned when Ghana became a one-party state in 1964, remained illegal when the NLC took over. By 1967 it was assumed all round that Dr. Busia was a candidate for political office after the return to civilian rule. His appointment as head of the organisers of the centre for Civic Education in July 1967 led to some criticism, on the grounds that a former political leader should not be responsible for simple education of people in their civic and political rights; he defended himself by saying that he never gave a political character to the work of the Centre, and clearly this was acceptable to the NLC.

For two years Dr. Busia also headed the Political Advisory Committee, and its successor (from July 1967) the National Advisory Committee; this was dissolved last October. He has since been making speeches at the Centre for Civic Education, at the Constituent Assembly (where he represents his home district of Wenchi) and elsewhere. He cancelled, however, a new conference which he was to give on March 28 to give details of his political plans; and it was his former lieutenant, Mr. Richardson, who gave details of the new Progress Party. Dr. Busia's leadership of the party, he said, had been approved by the founders, comprising "old colleagues," some "progressive" members of the old régime, and people newly coming into politics. On the policy of the party he said it would aim at a progressive, liberal and democratic society, with basic rights for all and no tribalism, nepotism or discrimination.

### Defections and Splits?

What of other former leaders of the UP, several of whom (such as Messrs. Victor Owusu, Reginald Amponsah and Modesto Analo) have held high offices under the NLC? Here some insight was offered by Kwame Kesse-Adu, the columnist of the *Pioneer*, in his "Accra Diary." One of his diary, called "Politicians and the Campaign Trail," ridiculed talk of a split between Dr. Busia and some of these men. He said that Mr. Apaloo had gone with Dr. Busia to address a meeting at Keta (in the Volta Region—in the heartland of the supporters of Dr. Busia's rival, Mr. Komla Gbedemah) at about the time that a split between the two was rumoured; and that Mr. William Ofori Atta (who was chairman of the Cocoa Marketing Board from 1966 to last year) and Mr. Amponsah were at Dr. Busia's home "planning their campaign strategy" at the same time as similar rumours were made concerning them.

Mr. Richardson, however, has now said that as people like Messrs. Owusu, Amponsah and Joe Appiah were men of their own ideas, it was "most likely" that some might not follow Dr. Busia and his new party. Messrs. Victor Owusu and R. R. Amponsah (who was a detainee for seven years, having earlier been Secretary-General of the NLM) have, no doubt by coincidence, both recently lost Government positions, leaving them free to enter politics if they wish. But they have not been frequently mentioned as leaders or as separate candidates for political leadership. Mr. Appiah has. An ex-detainee who, like Mr. Amponsah and many others, went over from the CPP to the UP, he is now head of the Ghana Bar Association, a representative of the Association at the Constituent Assembly, and a frequent speaker. Like Messrs. Owusu and Amponsah, he is from the Ashanti Region. Kesse-Adu admits Appiah has left the Busia fold but hopes he will return.

### Gbedemah and Coalition

The old Opposition's entry into politics has been fairly publicised compared with the activities of Mr. K. A. Gbedemah's following, and of the "Third Force." Mr. Gbedemah's plans to re-enter politics,

known for a long time, came into prominence when he was exempted from prison in public office for old CPP men in November. There was some hostile reaction then, and again last month when he gave a news conference and said he might be willing to join forces with Dr. Busia (the idea of some national reconciliation party or coalition is supported by the *Pioneer* among others). That he is seeking the support of some former adherents of the CPP is assumed. Both Mr. Gbedemah and Dr. Busia are about 56 years old.

There may, however, be another competitor for former CPP men's loyalty in Mr. Imoru Eeala, former Minister of Health and of Industries. He was considerably junior to Mr. Gbedemah, who organised the CPP from scratch and was Nkrumah's right hand man for 12 years, in the old day. But he is a Northerner, and might prefer to represent some of the northern resentment against southern policy-makers. He said nothing about the North in a speech announcing his new party—when, however, he implicitly repudiated part, at least, of CPP rule, for he said, "If we do again we may never have another class to build the foundations and true traditions of democracy." Mr. Eeala was in "protective custody" for a while after the NLC took over.

Dr. John Bilson, of Kumasi University, is to be the leader of the party due to emerge from the "Third Force." He says it aims at new times, new leadership, and conciliation between the main parties. He himself, and some others reported to be in the "Force," have not been much involved in politics—but this is the part of the "Force's" point.

One person mentioned as a "Third Force" leader was Mr. Patrick Quaidoo, a former CPP member of parliament who criticised the Party in 1961 and was detained. He is now a businessman, though he ceased to be chairman of the Black Star Line when he failed to gain exemption from the public office ban last year (first then a new list of banned people has been published, excluding him). But now Mr. Quaidoo has announced that he will launch his own new party, to include "all men and women dedicated to building and developing this nation on sound and firm foundations of moral responsibility, economic realism, social well-being and justice and political tolerance." He pointed out that "a very large number of our people are heavily weighed down by lack of gainful employment, food, shelter, basic shelter, education and good health."

### A Ghana Labour Party?

Partly for this reason, it will be interesting to see whether the TUC decides to stay out of politics, to support an existing party, or to form a Labour Party itself. Mr. Benjamin Bentum has said it will decide a month after May 1.

Apart from this, one former trade unionist, Mr. John Alex Hamah, who failed in an attempt to replace Mr. B. A. Bentum as TUC Secretary-General last year, hopes to form a party. About 30 years old (younger than the major prospective leaders) he is a former exiled Opposition leader who, during his successful application for exemption from the public office ban, played records of old anti-Nkrumah songs to the Exemptions Commission (*Danquah Calypso, Nkrumah Change Your Ways*, etc.) and joined in the choruses.

## ROUNDBABOUT

### The Great French Arms Mystery

What is the position now about the French and arms for Biafra? As they have never officially admitted that they were supplying arms (although the Defence Minister, M. Messmer, let the cat out of the bag by admitting that Gabon and Ivory Coast were supplying arms, thereby confirming the story that their own arms stocks were refurbished by the French) they cannot deny that they have stopped. Thus the story that was first carried last week by *Le Canard Enchaîné*, the satirical weekly with a reputation for good sources for its material, that the French were stopping arms supplies to Biafra, has gained ground, and has seemed to be confirmed by other sources. The story in *Le Canard* was under the heading "Biafra: Fini", and said that on April 4 an agent specialising in "arms supplies to friends" visited Umuahia to inform Ojukwu that "eternal France" was stopping its arms deliveries, and that he should hasten to negotiate. This could not have been surprising to the Biafrans, said the paper. In the previous three weeks France had only sent 20 tons, where earlier the rate had been 25 tons a day ("doubtless so that they could get

used to doing without them"). The paper also said that there were two boatloads of arms at Libreville and one at Cotonou waiting to be returned full to Europe, and records that there was a "veritable depression" in Libreville, "rear HQ of certain *harbouzes*" (*barbouzes* were the counter-intelligence agents who fought the OAS in Algeria, using their own techniques).

*Le Canard* also, for good measure, traces a possible change in French policy following the visit to Lagos of the Centrist Deputy, Aymar Achille-Fould, who reportedly brought back a secret letter to the French government giving "interesting assurances about oil". The paper hints that there might be behind the move the rivalry between Messmer, who controls the French Secret Service (the SDECE, whose agent went to Umuahia), and "Foccart's little friends", or the personnel of the mysterious figure who is Secretary-General for African Affairs in the Elysée Jacques Foccart and who reputedly has fingers in many deep pies. Hence the visit of Achille-Fould to Michel Debré (the "bitter Michel") both before he went to Nigeria and after, as Debré falls into the Messmer camp, and the pro-Nigeria faction in France is strong in the Quai D'Orsay (the Foreign Ministry) which has its own reasons for disapproving of Foccart's activities.

There is clearly something in this

story, but it is hard to find any report on the subject which cannot be traced back to the one source. One is slightly unhappy at the report that one of the arms ships has been at Cotonou, which has never been mentioned before in connection with the supply of arms to Biafra. Indeed, if Dahomey has been involved in the arms trade it would create an international scandal, as the Nigerians, if they had evidence in that direction would surely raise the matter with such a strategically placed neighbour. President Zinsou has been made forcefully aware ever since he agreed to take on the International Red Cross airlift to Biafra, of the ease with which Dahomey's relations with Nigeria can deteriorate, and would *ipso facto* for his own security be unlikely to take such a provocative action.

### Machiavellian?

President Houphouët-Boigny's statement after seeing General de Gaulle that even if Umuahia were to fall, the war would continue, would also be more surprising if there had been such a French policy change. There is also the basic unlikelihood that President de Gaulle would be made to admit so readily that he was wrong about something like this, although he has in the past showed himself to be utterly Machiavellian in certain aspects of his foreign policy, as seen especially in the



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Middle East. French public opinion, too, has been so conditioned into pro-Biafran sentiments that it would be a curious step so soon before a vital constitutional referendum.

There seems to be no evidence from the other end of a drying up of supplies, although at the end of February they did stop for about three weeks, a development which brought cries of alarm from the Biafrans. The only other piece of circumstantial evidence which seems irrelevant for those trying to fathom this mystery is the sending of two companies of French troops to Fort Lamy in the middle of last week. Officially both these companies (a hundred members of the Foreign Legion from the base in Corsica, where they have been since they left Algeria in 1962, and 160 marines) are stated to be only for reinforcing the French military base in Chad. There has been speculation, however, as to their purpose, as they do not fall into the regular framework of reinforcements. One view is that they are standing by to intervene in Central African Republic, in case of trouble in the wake of Col. Banza's abortive coup of two weeks ago (see this column last week); this has been explicitly denied in Paris. A second possibility is the endemic state of rebellion in Northern Chad, for which French troops were used last year between August and November. A third idea which has been canvassed has been the possibility that the French are standing by to evacuate personnel from Biafra (and even maybe Biafran leaders).

### Treichville in Cinema-vérité

It was a rewarding experience suddenly to come across on BBC-2 TV an eleven-year-old film of Jean Rouch (described in the introduction as the pioneer of the now famous *cinéma-vérité* technique of film-making) called *Mot Un Noir*. This had been shown once or twice in London before (at the Institute of Contemporary Arts and at the Africa Centre) but it was the first time I had caught up with it, and putting it out on television meant that even on a high-brow channel like BBC-2 it would have had a sizeable audience, who I trust would have reacted as favourably as I did. *Mot Un Noir* concerns the life in Abidjan of a group of young men from Niamey (the sub-titles misleadingly referred to them as Nigerians), who had formed themselves into a *Fraternité* which looked after their social needs. Although they had come to Abidjan thinking it to have streets paved with gold ("in Niamey they call it the capital of money"), underlying the film are the deceptions of the big city. Most of the heroes have names of film stars, such as the narrator Edward G. Robinson, who works as a *bozzori* (a casual labourer in the docks); or Eddie Constantine ("agent fédérale américain") who is a cut above the others as a textile dealer selling cloth bought in

Kumasi, but in the end comes unstuck through fighting a policeman. There is also a taxi-driver called Tarzan and another *bozzori* called *Facteur* (post-man), because that was his job in Niger.

Edward G. describes the melancholy life of an urban labourer in a big, booming city: "Abidjan... every day a new building going up, always something new, but life is sad..." His sadness comes partly from alienation and homesickness for Niger, but also from sheer lack of money which means that he cannot interest the girl he hankers for, a *Nigérienne* called Dorothy Lamour ("God wants me to be alone, so I stay all alone"). The climax of the film comes on Sunday night, after a hectic weekend ("Saturday you can live your dream"), when, Dorothy Lamour having gone off with an Italian, Edward G. drinks too much beer and then cannot pay, tries to punch up the Italian in the grey dawn and is beaten, and goes disconsolate to work at the docks. But the film is in no way depressing, despite the constant repetition of phrases like "*Moi je suis triste*". It is above all a hymn to Treichville, the famous African suburb across the lagoon, a hymn to its streets and its society. Rouch's use of untried amateurs in this case pays off handsomely—the dialogue is fresh and authentic; and there are only one or two clues that the film was made in 1958—the demonstration of unionists (which you wouldn't see nowadays in Abidjan), the reference to the RDA, to Hogan Kid Bassey and the vogue for rock-and-roll and cha-cha-cha. Otherwise it describes a situation that is even more true now that it was eleven years ago. I liked, too, lines like: "In Africa no-one dies of hunger, or everyone dies of hunger"; the Sunday morning visit of Eddie Constantine to a mission "to see the girls" and the remarkable sequence of the Goumbé, a special urban social organisation for young people who hold a Sunday dance: "then they are themselves, the heroes of Treichville".

### Cricket Notes

My attention has been drawn to the fact that I wrongly claimed Berkeley Rice in his book *Enter Gambia* alludes to the special place of cricket. Going through the book again I can confirm that he makes no mention of it. My researches were not helped by the absence of an index and, incidentally, re-reading it reinforced my poor opinion of it. There is some wonderful material, but he continually does less than justice to it; and if he didn't mention cricket in nearly 400 pages, he should have done. I also stated that Alhaji A. B. N'Jie had been playing cricket in the national team for 40 years; without in any way wishing to belittle his remarkable cricketing prowess it should be said that, although he was a test cricketer for many years, he now only plays for the Fajara team.



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## Griot

## Textbooks for Ghana Schools

By a correspondent

GHANA'S primary, middle and secondary schools will continue to have textbooks supplied free, apart from relatively small payments by parents. A Committee of Enquiry\* which examined the current distribution system said its abolition would be "retrograde": many parents would be unable to pay for books, and education, already hampered by many difficulties in equipment, would suffer further. But the Committee, which enquired into the affairs of the Distribution Division of the State Publishing Corporation, is dissatisfied with the Division's administration of the free textbook scheme, and with the Publishing Corporation generally, and recommends several changes.

Before independence, and for a time afterwards, parents had to pay for textbooks, and many schools were very short of them, especially as supply arrangements were inadequate. After the free distribution began ("without any planning and advice being sought from experts", says the report), a company called Ghana Book Suppliers organised it in 1964-65, opening distribution centres and warehouses in every district and working "with such enthusiasm and industry that there was hardly any complaint about the distribution and supply of textbooks". It succeeded with generous help from the Government.

In September 1965 the State Publishing Corporation took over. The Committee says this organised on a regional, not a district level, and allegations of "delays and irregularities" in distribution, which it had been ordered to investigate, were true; and "these delays and irregularities still persist", though the Publishing Corporation no longer runs the scheme now. Instances are quoted of textbooks arriving a year or more late or sometimes in insufficient quantity. The report criticises the methods of sorting used by the Corporation. Late submission of lists of books was one cause of delays in delivery; delay or reluctance in payment by the Education Ministry was another.

The Central Advisory Committee on Education should be revived to assist the Ministry in *inter alia*, selection of suitable textbooks, says Mr. K. S. Essah's Committee. The present Textbooks Selection Committee should be a sub-committee of this; in that way the Ministry would regain control of choice of textbooks and allow a wider choice. The Government, in its White Paper\* on the Report, points out that the proposal for a National Council for Pre-University Education, made by the Education Review Committee,† has already been

\* Report (40 new pesewas) and White Paper (10 np) are published by the Information Ministry, Accra.

accepted; it agrees that the Textbook Committee members should have a living allowance.

### Who Runs the Scheme

These are detailed recommendations about the future running of the scheme. As for the question of who should be responsible for it, Mr. Essah and his colleagues point out that, a few months after they began their hearings in July 1967, the Ministry of Education took over the responsibility from the Distribution Division of the State Publishing Corporation. It regrets this, because it had been asked to examine whether the Ministry should take over. In a later chapter, however, it discusses the future of the scheme in spite of this, having decided textbooks should remain free, and says the State Publishing Corporation should no longer be responsible for distribution (especially because "the Corporation has not trained any of its own established staff for that job"), and rejects the solution already in force, of a takeover by the Ministry. This, it says, is already understaffed for its main work.

The Report therefore suggests the Presbyterian Book Depot should be responsible for textbook distribution in two regions, the Evangelical Presbyterian Book Depot and the Methodist Book Depot in one each, Ghana Book Suppliers (the former sole distributor) in three—Western, Ashanti and Brong Ahafo—and the Ghana Supply Commission in the two regions in the north. Detailed recommendations on the running of the scheme by these bodies are put forward. The Government simply agrees that the five bodies recommended should "be invited to participate" in the operation of the scheme.

The financing of the scheme has always been a major problem: in July 1966, after three years of great expansion, there were 8,067 primary schools with 1,143,779 pupils, and 2,277 middle schools with 272,435 pupils. The report has a detailed chapter on financing, which mentions a "significant departure from the original concept of the Free Text-book Scheme", hardly mentioned elsewhere in the report. This was the decision in September 1966 to soon after the NLC's takeover, to ask for contributions by parents at fixed rates (now 10 cedis for primary, 3 for middle and 12 for secondary schools). It recommends tighter control of the collection of these sums (certain teachers have pocketed them). In general the committee wants payments for textbooks and materials to be decentralised, suggests ways for the distributors to gain credit, continue gaining, and calls on the Government to try to clear the debt owing to the Publishing Corporation.

Later, the Report recommends that parents and guardians should cease to

† Report summarised in "West Africa", Oct. 26, Nov. 2.



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make these contributions. The Government accepts this in principle but says that "for the foreseeable future these contributions will have to continue."

On the problem of keeping books up to date, the Government says two years (suggested by the committee) is too short a minimum period of use before a book can be withdrawn from use, and the complaints of frequent changes should be seen against a background of changes in arithmetic books due to changes in currency, replacement of books "idolising the ex-President", and introduction of 8-year primary and 2-year continuation courses.

### Pacts with Publishers

In 1967 Caffrey, Saunders and Co. offered to become sole buying agents abroad for the Publishing Corporation, which agreed. The Commission claims that, although the firm charged no fee, the Corporation ceased to receive discounts in its favour from British suppliers, which it had when it dealt with them directly. It also says the abrogation of the agreement, which it recommends, "would bring an end to another form of monopoly, the very practice we seek to remove from other spheres in the book trade." The Government agrees that the present Caffrey Saunders agreement should end.

On the agreement with Macmillan, under which that firm has been publishing a large part of the State Publishing Corporation's new textbooks since 1964, the Government disagrees with the Committee's view that the British firm has a monopoly, but agrees that the agreement should be reviewed. On two particular complaints against Macmillan which the Committee considers justified, the Government rejects one but agrees, in the other case, that it was "unfortunate" that one book ordered from Macmillan and paid for was never published, and says unpublished books should not, as this was, be on recommended lists. On the main point concerning Macmillan, the Committee says the agreement brought little benefit to the Publishing Corporation apart from a loan.

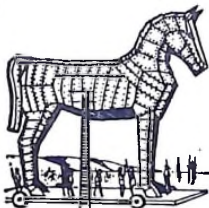
Among other miscellaneous subjects, the Report and the White Paper agree that compensation should be paid to Ghana Book Suppliers, as this firm had been taken over by the former government without compensation; and that all exercise books should be produced locally, as should any textbooks which can be (the Committee's statement that the Tema Press printed Macmillan books for other African states but not for Ghana is disputed by the Government). They also agree that the recommended list should permit a choice from at least two or three books; and that secondary schools should be allowed to place orders directly with publishers or agents. Any firm found indulging in "sharp practices" should be removed from the text books scheme, it is agreed.

## MATCHET'S DIARY

SOME unexpected points raised by members of Ghana's Constituent Assembly were mentioned in an article in this journal last week. This encouraged me to take a closer look at the Assembly's "Hansards". From them I pick the following items to show how fertile are the minds of the Assembly members. Mr. J. Opoku, the Asantehene's Lands Officer, suggested that Ghana might be renamed Voltorea to indicate a complete break with the past. There was a suggestion that parties should be limited under the constitution to two only. Mr. B. D. Addai, one of Dr. Nkrumah's foremost opponents, said that the term "republic" had no place in Ghana, where chieftaincy was so important. The country should be a monarchy—though the monarch should be elected. Dr. Susana de Graff Johnson (better known under her maiden name of Dr. Susana Ofori Atta), representing the Women's Society for Public Affairs, demanded that the constitution should include a declaration of the responsibility of the state to enact laws to protect children and the institution of the family. Mr. Abdul Saak, who spoke strongly about the differences between Northern Ghana and the South, wanted various Muslim holidays declared public holidays.

as the Christian ones are—the Speaker wondered whether public holidays were a proper subject for inclusion in a constitution. In the discussion on the age of voters one member suggested a compromise between 21 and 18—19. There was the idea of Mr. Owusu Ansah, who represents, unexpectedly, the Market Women's Electoral College of Brong-Ahafo, that there should also be a maximum age. For MPs he suggested 99, but for voters 104. He felt that Ghana politics were going to be too strenuous for those over 100.

Although, from the outbreak of the civil war, the United States has banned the sale of arms to Nigeria, the US State Department comes under heavy fire all the time from sympathisers with Biafra. Apparently not content with the ban on arms (which was not a very significant political move since Nigeria never has had arms from the United States), they want positive support for Biafra. I was under the impression that the sympathisers were in a tiny minority but when I asked a State Department official who they were, he replied: "Well there's the Catholics, then there's the Protestants, then there's the Jews, then there's the atheists; and I suppose the Buddhists and anybody else..." Of one group only can the State Department Africanists who, under Mr. Joe Palmer,



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former ambassador in Lagos, have stoutly defended the Federal cause from the start, feel confident. Negro establishment leaders appear to have no doubt about the disastrous consequences to Africa of Biafran secession—Congressman Charles Diggs is an example.

Few Americans are interested in African politics, or Nigeria, or are in a position to assess the Biafran case. To the mass of sympathisers the war must look exactly like a natural disaster—an earthquake or a famine. They certainly treat it like that and appear blissfully ignorant of the serious political issues. Indeed, I am told, some Americans (and not only Americans) really seem to feel that those who want to help Biafra should be able to do so without any regard whatsoever to the effect of their help on the war or the Federal Government. Few, I imagine, take the view that it is inconceivable that Africans can



Representative Charles Diggs greets South-East State dignitaries.

seriously be fighting and dying for political principles, but many act as though that is what they believe. No doubt for many Americans championing or helping Biafra is compensation for their frustration over Vietnam. But since the same attitudes occur in so many other countries which have no Vietnam, there is something deeper at work. The analogy with the bitter divisions caused in other countries by the Spanish Civil War does not work; for that war, and its outcome, were highly significant for the relations between European states, since it really was to some degree a trial of strength between the Fascist dictators, the democracies, and the Communist world. The Nigerian war is nothing of the kind; but in many countries it has become highly important in domestic politics.

After 20 years in Kano, Mr. T. W. Goodey, now aged 61, is returning to Liebigs in Britain. He was Nigeria's first "canning officer", employed by the former Federal Ministry of Commerce and Industry to investigate the possibilities of establishing an industry in the North so that less fortunately endowed parts of Nigeria could share in the meat which the North has in abundance. At that time 55,000 cans of corned beef were imported annually. Now none is imported but Nigeria is a considerable exporter—to Ghana, the

West Indies, Malta and Mauritius. That is not, however, Mr. Goodey's only achievement. I remember him coming to see me shortly before he left for Nigeria, and I was almost alarmed at his enthusiasm for putting things into cans, and knew he would succeed. I imagine that the story that the Agriculture Department in the then Northern Region had to stop him canning chickens, or there would have been none left, is untrue. But certainly, with the assistance of a lady from Benin, he developed the most palatable Joff rice and ground-nut stew. After the inevitable initial hesitation the Kano cannery's products, which started to appear in 1955, have been very popular in Nigeria itself. Mr. Goodey leaves behind for the Northern Nigeria Development Corporation, with which Liebigs and Holts were associated, one of Nigeria's most successful ventures.

On what might be called his second time round, Chief S. O. Okafor, the Ibo businessman who has deserted Colonel Ojukwu and is strongly criticising the Biafran leadership for continuing the war, is now receiving far more attention in London than he did last March, when he was doing the same thing. Last Saturday he contributed to the *London Times* the "lead letter," which is often a far more useful way of presenting a case than is a news story or, nowadays, an editorial in that newspaper. Then on Sunday Nicholas Carroll, diplomatic correspondent of the *Sunday Times*, who was in Nigeria for Mr. Wilson's visit but came early and stayed afterwards, reported Chief Okafor's story at some length, emphasising the Chief's claim that Biafra was really a police state and that the Col. Ojukwu's "Consultative Committee" was merely "laughable." Chief Okafor was also given the leading space in the *Evening Standard's* "Londoner's Diary", an entertaining feature read by many who would not normally bother their heads about the rights and wrongs of the Nigerian conflict (I am sure it was the diarist and not Okafor himself who gave the Chief the title of "the Onassis of Nigeria"—on the strength, I believe, of a single, chartered, vessel).

Nowhere in the world is news of the Nigerian war so keenly followed as on the coast of Northern Norway. This is the source of the stock fish (dried cod) which for so long has been an important ingredient in the diet of Eastern Nigerians. Before Biafran secession the value of the trade was some £6m. a year, but although the Norwegian government has bought considerable quantities of stockfish for the relief organisations in Eastern Nigeria, this has not made up for the loss of the ordinary market. According to a report in the *Huddersfield Daily Examiner*, fishermen are leaving for the towns, while stocks have been built up in processing plants.



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## letters to the editor

### AFTER ANKRAH'S FALL

SIR.—Admittedly the shameful and rather mystifying affair which led to the resignation of General Ankrah has dealt a blow to Ghana's reputation. But this can be compensated by the fact that, in Ghana, corrupt leaders clearly are not, and must not be tolerated. This is a cause for pride.

I wish to congratulate Brig. Afrifa on his bold decision to accept the chairmanship of the NLC. Ghanaians need not be reminded of their obligation of co-operation, support, advice and encouragement, as well as genuine and constructive criticism. I also say Bravo to the members of the NLC for their choice of him.

It seems the event that led to the change of leadership was a calculated attempt to make a total mockery first of the most honoured aim of the 1966 coup, to eradicate corruption, and, secondly, of the decree banning political activities. It is appropriate, I think, to suggest that a full public inquiry should be conducted, the monies involved confiscated and paid into the Government chest, and all concerned banned from public office for a specified period, when all the facts are known, and that the companies involved be dealt with accordingly. Such steps are not unknown in Ghana.

KWAME BEDIAKO AGYEMANG BADU,

London.

### SIAKA'S RESHUFFLE

SIR.—When Mr. Siaka Stevens made his "sweeping reshuffle" (*West Africa*, April 19) he did not seem to have appreciated the financial difficulties of the country. He had begun well upon forming his first Cabinet by announcing cuts in his salary and those of his Ministers as a compensatory measure for the large Cabinet which he claimed was necessitated by the formation of a National Government. But the recent Cabinet reshuffle, with 19 Cabinet ministers and six junior ministers—has made the Cabinet bigger than the National Government. Unless he makes further cuts in salaries the present increase will make the earlier cuts meaningless. The increase is more difficult to justify when it is remembered that he has virtually dissolved the National Government.

It has been felt that the military coup which brought constitutional rule in Sierra Leone succeeded to a greater extent than might have been expected, and the consequent smooth transfer of power to the civilians afforded Mr. Stevens an opportunity to restore confidence and sanity in civil rule. It now seems Mr. Stevens is gradually proving unable to avail himself of that opportunity. The national interest now calls for economy in public spending.

J. B. DAUDA

London.

### SENGHOR AND THE ACADEMY

SIR.—I read with some surprise in Matchet's Diary last month that President Senghor had been made a foreign associate member

of the French Academy. The impression was given that he had joined the *Académie Française*. This is surely wrong and misleading, especially because, as Matchet rightly mentioned, Senghor's absence from the *Académie Française* may be considered surprising.

President Senghor was on March 3 made a foreign associate of the *Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques*, not of the *Académie Française* as Matchet's reference to the "Immortals" would seem to imply. The Academy he joined is, like the *Académie Française*, a part of the *Institut de France*, which since 1795 has also included the *Académie des Sciences*, the *Académie des Beaux-Arts*, and the *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*.

The *Académie Française*, the most prestigious of all, was founded in 1635 by Richelieu. Its main duty is to maintain the purity of the French language, and in cases of difficulty or difference over this, to decide on the rules to be adopted. The *Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques*, founded in 1795, also has 40 members; they are philosophers, historians, jurists, economists and others. It has five sections and usually holds sessions at which learned papers are read. The other *Académies* already mentioned, and certain others besides, are all different.

AIX-en-Provence,  
France

K. T. OPOKU

### AWO'S NEW NIGERIA

SIR.—MR. Ali's letter (April 19) referring to your review on February 1 of *The People's Republic*, repeated your reviewer's claim that Chief Awolowo believed in "tribal ideology."

In Chief Awolowo's "My Political Aspirations" published in the *Sunder Times* of March 30, 1969 he said, "On March 15, 1957, I declare my intention to leave regional politics for good. I stand, as hitherto, inflexible by this declaration, today and for the rest of my life." How can someone who believes in "tribal ideology" based on 13m Yorubas aspire to lead Nigeria with a population of 56m? It is naive to think that Chief Awolowo's advocacy of States on a linguistic basis means "tribal ideology," or that the Chief is tribalistic.

The Chief advanced four principles which he said should be applied in creating States. In his "Suitable Constitution" Awo based his constitution on principle No. 3; that is, "If a country is bi-lingual or multi-lingual, the constitution must be Federal, and the constituent States must be organised on a linguistic basis." The present 12 States appear to be based on his principle No. 2, which states, "If a country is uni-lingual or bi-lingual or multi-lingual, and also consists of communities which, though belonging to the same nation, have, over a period of years, developed some important cultural divergences as well as autonomous geographical separateness, the constitution must be Federal, and the constituent States must be organised on the dual basis of language and geographical separateness."

The four principles are based on scientific analysis and empirical evidence. To people with unbiased minds, they are scholarly established.

SOLA OMONIRA

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# books and publications

## A LESSON FOR NIGERIA

**Federalism and Fiscal Adjustment**  
by R. J. May (OUP, 55s.).

READERS will hope to find in this book a magic formula for one of Nigeria's great post-war problems. The nearest thing to this the book offers is that one common, but generally unwritten, rule of the game is that all units be represented in the federal executive. But no financial formula is recommended for general adoption. No blame should be given for this to the author, an Australian banker at Nutfield. Financial relations in federations are matters of hard bargaining, and how hard the bargaining has been is clearly shown in his stories of Australia, Canada, and the United States. It goes right back to argument about the meaning of equality of treatment. Does this involve equal treatment of unequals, or unequal treatment of unequals in order to achieve equality?

The history of federal aid to the states in the USA provides some fascinating forerunners of the problems raised by American aid to developing countries. The pros and cons of aid with strings, the resentment of states against the influence of the federal aid-giver, the protest of the tax-payers, and the fear lest federal aid to state governments might unduly strengthen those governments *vis-à-vis* their own subjects, are all part of the story.

The dynamics of federalism lead to continuing adjustment in the relations between governments, through the bargaining process. There is no final solution. "It is impossible to allocate functions such that throughout the life of a federation both levels of government can meet the changing demands upon them for public services from their respective revenue sources."

It is perhaps in Germany and Switzerland that Nigerians may most hopefully seek guidance. Germany, like Nigeria, discarded a federal structure in which one state (Prussia) was larger than all the others put together, and now has a number of federal states among which none predominates, though they vary much in size and wealth. The German system of federal finance "allows for a substantial measure of financial redistribution from the richer to the poorer states, and this has been achieved without a marked degree of financial centralisation. The wealthier states appear to have accepted the need for

equalisation from the beginning and financial inequality between states has not been a source of much controversy."

Among writers on federalism "there is substantial agreement that economic integration is likely, for a while at least, to increase rather than reduce economic inequalities between regions." This has been taken into account by the Swiss, who are formally committed to the principle of the redistribution of revenue. "*La Confédération encourage la péréquation financière entre les cantons.*" They use a formula which takes account not only of a canton's resources and needs but also of its efforts to raise revenue from its own citizens. Any canton that relaxes its efforts by granting unjustified tax concessions incurs the penalty of being "placed in the next highest financial capacity group." The interesting thing is that the Swiss have the discipline and forbearance to work this kind of arrangement.

The references to Nigeria are curiously dated. The book, although published in 1969, must have been sent to the press in September 1967, for it leaves us with the Democratic Republic of Biafra and the Republic of Benin, and states that the status of Lagos was "finally" settled when Lagos became a federal territory.

The section on French West Africa, on the other hand, is too slight to be interesting.

This book, then, cannot offer ready-made solutions; but its earthy pragmatism may appeal to Nigerian readers, who will find here a statement of much experience which is relevant to their own. They will agree with the author's conclusion: political attitudes count for more than financial gimmicks.

F.J.P.

**Hausa Readings. Selections from Edgar's "Tatsuniyovi"** by Neil Skinner (University of Wisconsin Press, 47s. 6d.).

Although Hausa is the third most widely spoken African language, its study has been handicapped by the lack of traditional Hausa material for the advanced student. This collection, says the publisher, made by the Professor of African Languages and Literature at the University of Wisconsin (a former administrative officer in Northern Nigeria), seeks to fill that critical need. Included, with English annotations, are 32 Hausa "etiological tales, tall tales, proverbs, riddles, and folk history." The

## The Matabele War

### Stafford Glass

Written in depth and fascinating detail, this is an absorbing account of the war of 1893—and the aftermath. It is the story of early Rhodesia and the roots of colonialism; the picture, in full colour, of a war that was more than a battle for occupation between two armies; a battle of men with complex motives; a battle of which the causes and the course included a vast maze of intrigue.

In this new book by Dr. Glass, all these complexities are examined in a style and manner for both the history student and the general reader interested in the roots of his environment.

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tales, taken from Major Frank Edgar's collection, *Litafi na Tatsuniyoyi na Hausa*, first published in three volumes between 1910 and 1913, are often amusing, but are also a valuable source of anthropological and social material.

It is believed that the original manuscripts of the Edgar collection were originally written in Arabic script, and that most were transcribed into Roman script by Edgar himself, who served in Northern Nigeria as a political official from 1905 until 1927—the first major transliteration of Hausa writings from Arabic to Roman script at a time when Roman script was being introduced into Hausa schools.

Nine of the selections are given in both Roman and Arabic script, the latter photographed from an African scribe's handwritten transcription of Edgar's text. This assists the student to learn "Hausa Arabic." Notes after each tale cover points of language and idiom and discussion of the Hausa literary tradition.

N.D.

Several recent issues of the *Boletim Geral do Ultramar*, the bi-monthly Portuguese publication on the "Overseas Territories," have items of considerable interest, even though their articles are like hymns of praise of Portugal and its role in Africa, and one has the impression of sailing over a calm wide ocean of loyalty and devotion to the Portuguese (except for a few isolated rebels—and

apparently "mercenaries"—here and there). The issue for January-February 1968 gives a long account of President Thomaz's tour of Portuguese Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands, with many photographs, some of them of excellent quality (for example, those of Islamic Chiefs in Portuguese Guinea, and of crowds greeting the President there and in the Cape Verdes). The wars there and in other parts of Portuguese Africa are referred to from time to time; to a great extent, of course, life continues normally in areas not actually covered by fighting, and this publication gives a glimpse of one side of this normal life. In the July-August issue is published one of the last interviews given by Dr. Salazar, and an economic article on Portuguese Guinea. The following issue, for September-October 1968, records the illness of Dr. Salazar which ended his 36-year reign as Prime Minister, and has photographs of Dr. Caetano, his successor. There is also, in this issue, a picture of some Biafran children arriving in São Tomé for medical treatment, and an article on labour problems in São Tomé and Príncipe (it appears there is now a labour shortage; in the old days slaves and semi-slaves used to be taken there from the mainland). The November-December issue was more about Dr. Salazar and a picture of the Governor of São Tomé inaugurating a new tarmac road; and some Biafran children are photographed on their way to spend

Christmas with their families after treatment on the Portuguese island.

There are short English and French summaries of most of these issues printed after the Portuguese text (*Agencia-Geral do Ultramar, Lisbon*). I.D.

The publication *Marchés Tropicaux-Méditerranéens* has recently brought out two of its special editions, one on L'Automobile (March issue) and the other on L'Automobile-Mer (April 5 issue).

The first contains over a hundred pages of details of the market in all the former French colonies of Africa (except Guinea, for obvious reasons, as Mauritania, because its "statistics are never available in time"). It records that 1967, the last year for which statistics are available, was in the franc zone as France a year of "moderate expansion. Certain imports into African countries showed increases, especially fertiliser and agricultural equipment. African export of produce were variable. Ivory Coast, Cameroon and Madagascar should be selected in particular as countries attracting labour, and where the economies are being built up.

The second deals with all African countries, from UAR to the Republic of South Africa, as well as the Overseas Departments and Territories of France, and considers in particular the different market for vehicles in each country working on import statistics. P.S.

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## 40 YEARS of UAC: 1

From a Correspondent

**R**ATIONALISATION, said an article in the May 4, 1929, issue of this journal, had "burst" upon West Africa like lightning during a storm. "What has the lightning struck, dead wood or fertile trees; whom has it struck, superfluous agents or unfortunate traders?" The reference was to one of the most important events in West Africa's commercial history, the formation on April 29, 1929, of The United African Company Ltd. by merger of the African and Eastern Trade Corporation and The Niger Company. Each company held half of UAC's capital of £13m. and Sir Robert Waley Cohen, Chairman of African and Eastern, became first chairman of UAC.

Each of the merging companies itself had a long history in West Africa. The Niger Company went back to Goldie's United African Company, formed in 1879 as an amalgamation of traders on the Niger. It began trading as the National African Company in 1882. In 1886, as the Royal Niger Company, it was given the charter under which it governed, as well as traded in, the Niger river areas. In 1900 the Crown assumed the company's governing rights and the company dropped its "Royal."

African and Eastern arose from an amalgamation of several companies, some of great age—Miller Brothers, Millers Limited, F. A. Swanzy and the African Association (this was formed by an amalgamation of several companies including Hatton & Cookson).

The two companies operated in the same areas, and to a large extent handled the palm kernel and palm oil market. It was palm produce which attracted Lord Lever to Nigeria, since he wanted to ensure supplies of raw material for his factories. In 1911 Lever Bros. purchased W. D. McIver. He extended his interests, and in 1916 bought out a small fleet to counter Elder Dempster. Then in 1919 he bought the Niger Company.

Soon African and Eastern and the Niger Company were in bitter competition throughout West Africa, competition which after the end of the post-war boom was almost ruinous.

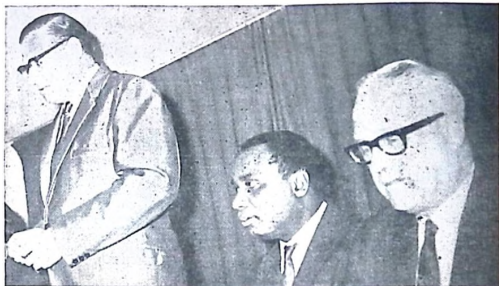
*West Africa's* article noted that it should be possible for the new company to reduce staff, to hold smaller stocks, and to specialise. But who would benefit? shareholders, staff, consumers (including those of West African produce exported by UAC), or a general expansion of trade now that capital might be available? Arguing that the company was over-capitalised, the article concluded that shareholders were doing well enough, having been saved from possible disaster. Among the staff who should benefit should be the lowest, including domestic servants. Since African purchasing power had not gone up to the extent of the price of imports, the African consumer had an obvious

case. The more efficient marketing of produce should also make West Africa more competitive with the rest of the world—the merged companies now controlled 60 per cent. of palm oil, 45 per cent. of palm kernels, 60 per cent. of groundnuts, 50 per cent. of cocoa produced in West Africa, of all of which West Africa produced a high proportion of world supplies. West Africa, however, the article said, now faced one of the greatest economic problems of all times; "how to enjoy the admitted advantages of 'combinés' without submitting to the tyranny which they can exercise."

This question has cropped up in many ways over the years; it recalls occasions such as the refusal of cocoa farmers shortly before the war to sell their crops, and the 1948 protests in Ghana against the "Association of West African Mer-

It was in the days following 1945 that UAC probably had its easiest passage—many would say too easy. During the post-war difficulties in Europe, in the late 40s, UAC and Unilever's African plantation companies were providing between one third and one half of Unilever's profits, and perhaps a quarter of turnover. But by 1967 UAC's share of the turnover was down to 9 per cent., and of profit to 10 per cent. There was no decline in the African operations, but a great expansion elsewhere in the world and a change in the nature of the African operations.

UAC gradually withdrew from West African produce trading in the Commonwealth countries—sometimes against the protests of local governments. It was formerly the biggest participant, but the establishment of marketing boards reduced even a firm like UAC to the status, and rewards, of a "licensed buying agent", a task which



Mr. A. W. R. Wood, Chairman of the United Africa Co. of Ghana, reading the annual report to shareholders at the latest annual meeting of Kingsway Stores of Ghana. With him are Mr. David Andoh, a director of UAC of Ghana and group legal adviser, and Mr. J. A. More, deputy chairman.

chants." Today, however, with its African directors and senior executives, African shareholders in Ghana's Kingsway Stores, in Nigerian Breweries, and in Guinness (Nigeria) in which UAC is a partner, and with belated development of the specialisation to which *West Africa* looked forward in 1929, UAC appears to be a permanent and acceptable part of the West African landscape.

For the companies' merger came in time to allow them to prepare for the slump of the 30s, which might otherwise have reduced African and Eastern to bankruptcy. But UAC never was the agency for supplying raw material to Unilever that Lord Lever had envisaged, but became a vast trading organisation in its own right. Its buying operations—palm produce, coffee and cocoa, groundnuts and timber, hides and skins—were of vast importance. But so was its sale, primarily to African consumers, of goods like salt, flour, textiles, beer, hardware, etc. Recovery of commodity prices between 1932-36 allowed some expansion.

increasing numbers of local firms and individuals could shoulder.

Along with the threat to produce-buying, says Professor Wilson, in his history of Unilever, came an equal threat to the import trade and sales of merchandise. "For in practice the two were complementary. Everywhere African traders who had acted as middle men and buyers for the company now began to operate on their own. So did many of the retail shopkeepers, African mummies, market stallholders, and wholesalers. Admirable salesmen of hardware or clothing, they readily took over the organisation of the retail trade, assisted by support and guidance from the company. Legislation, competition and social change combined to demand new policies for The United Africa Company. If it was not to be extruded from Africa, it had to find new functions to perform, new areas of investment in which European money and skill could serve the new Africa that was emerging."

## Will Farmers Desert the Land?

At last month's Ibadan University conference on national reconstruction and development in Nigeria, many speakers referred to the lack of progress in agriculture, as contrasted with industry and mineral production. The neglect by governments of their responsibilities for improving agricultural productivity, and the enormous, enforced, contribution to funds for general development that farmers had made, through the low prices paid to them for their produce by the marketing boards, were also discussed. The general situation was described in a paper by Professor Oluwasanmi, Vice-Chancellor at the University of Ife, and former Professor of Agriculture at Ibadan.

**I**n the 1962-68 development plan, only 13.6 per cent of projected expenditure was devoted to primary production; but even this was a vast improvement on the 3.4 per cent of the 1955-62 plan. Yet, Professor Oluwasanmi emphasised, agriculture was much the greatest contributor to the gross domestic product, accounting for 54.9 per cent even in 1966-67 after the industrial expansion of the previous years. The proportionate contribution of agriculture would continue to fall but, Professor Oluwasanmi maintained, it would remain by far the most important single sector in the economy for the next decade.

The major problem of planning during this period would be to develop "a desirable balance between the agricultural and non-agricultural sectors." So far, however, the Federal Government, the Professor asserted, seemed to regard agriculture as a regional, or now state, rather than a national responsibility, although it affected some 70 per cent of the working population. Nor were the objectives for agriculture at all clear-cut. For example, the Northern Regional government's plan for 1962-68 said that they must increase agricultural output per worker and per acre, increase meat production and exploit the fisheries to a greater extent. But there was no precision about such objectives. In fact, real agricultural productivity increased

in 1962-67 by only about 8.2 per cent.

For Nigeria's development more and better food had to be produced, raw materials had to be produced for "agro-allied industries," and export crops maintained and increased to earn foreign currency. It was almost impossible to know how much food was now grown, but they expected a population growth of about 55 per cent together with a much higher level of per caput demand over the next two plan periods. What was clear was that Nigerians were under-fed in terms of "caloric intake," with an average of some 2,200 calories a day, compared with New Zealand's 3,200. The proportion of animal to total proteins in the daily per caput intake was some 40 per cent, compared with an average of 60 per cent in developed countries.

Even so the consumption in some parts of Nigeria was well below the average. In 1963-64 FAO estimated that in the former Eastern Region the average daily intake of calories was 1,774 against the Northern average of 2,719. This reflected the greater consumption of meat and milk in the North and of roots in the East, where the diet was superior to that in the North only in regard to fish. It was also important to replace food at present imported, worth well over £15m in 1966.

Throughout the country agricultural policy should be directed to considerable

increases in production of high quality protein foods like meat, fish, milk, eggs, and at a reduction in the heavy intake of starch. With higher incomes consumer preferences would mean some change in diet but this could be influenced, particularly by a reduction in prices.

Nigeria, Professor Oluwasanmi continued, was still importing textiles, bags and rubber and timber products, although raw material could be produced and should be processed locally. Export products, cocoa, groundnuts, rubber, palm products, timber, cotton, hides and skins—should be exported mainly in semi-finished or finished form. Most timber was exported as logs.

The average Nigerian farmer still used traditional hoes and cutlasses. Professor Oluwasanmi emphasised that in the new plan improved and cheap hand tools were far more important than mechanical implements. The Federal Government must take far more interest in agricultural research, particularly into new tools and techniques, soil fertility and fertilisers, improving control of pests, irrigation, forestry, fisheries, and storage and preservation of food. He estimated that as much as 50 per cent of food grown at present could be wasted by poor storage and preservation.

A massive expansion of extension services was essential if the results of research were to be used. Land tenure would have to be drastically reformed and agricultural credit made available to farmers. Export crop producers must receive higher prices, both by the reduction of export taxes and by raising marketing board prices to world levels. Professor Oluwasanmi was confident that any loss in revenues from product export taxes would be made up by the expected dramatic increase in petroleum revenues. He recognised that reform of land tenure, whose present form effectively inhibited use of land for farming, was very difficult. He suggested that a tax of one shilling as little as 6d. per acre per year would induce "unproductive land owners" to sell their land to the State or to more productive farmers. Co-operative methods should also be developed, particularly because they allowed extension workers to do their jobs. The total of land under cultivation had to be increased if agriculture was to employ 6m. workers in 1974. The tsetse fly and poor drainage were obstacles.

Professor Oluwasanmi next discussed farm settlement schemes, with whose principles the attraction of educated young people to the land—he was in agreement. But he feared that if the settlements were to make any real impression on the problem of unemployment, they would require enormous capital sums. He felt that inefficiency and corruption had so far prevented existing credit institutions giving any real help to ordinary farmers, while such loans as had been made were often not repaid. Marketing boards or co-operatives might help.

Far more roads were necessary if all that was produced was to come to market. Nigeria only had just over 55,000 miles of roads for its 356,000 square miles. Proper storage would also allow farmers to sell more advantageously instead of being obliged virtually to give away surplus produce at the height of the season.

Unless agriculture became more attractive, Professor Oluwasanmi warned the conference, the land might be virtually deserted and the present enormous contribution of agriculture to gross domestic product and export earnings, not to mention its potential contribution, might be almost lost.

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# commercial news

## COCOA 1968 Exports; Accra Talks

GHANA exported 330,100 tons of cocoa in 1968, of which 72,575 tons went to the USA, says the *Tropical Products Quarterly*. The West Germans were the second customer (49,650 tons), followed by the Netherlands (42,405) and the UK (40,630) and the USSR (27,500). The figures showed great increases for West Germany (about 70 per cent.) and the Netherlands (over 100 per cent.), slight increases for the UK and USA, and a big drop from nearly 257,000 in 1967 for the USSR. Ghana's total for the year was very slightly up (having been 329,640 tons in 1967). (All these 1968 figures are provisional.)

Nigeria's cocoa exports fell from 244,262 tons in 1967 to 205,989 in 1968. The UK bought less from Nigeria (33,320 instead of 40,480), as did the USA (29,408 instead of 42,275). The Netherlands remained the biggest customer, though its purchases fell from 56,791 tons in 1967 to 44,586 in 1968; West Germany in 1968 came second (35,727).

Total UK imports were down 187,200 tons in 1967, 76,200 in 1968). Incomplete figures for other importing countries showed the USA remained by far the largest cocoa importing nation, followed by West Germany and the Netherlands.

\* Published by the Commonwealth Secretariat; price £6 yearly.

Mr. Richard Quarshie, Ghana's Trade and Industries Commissioner, opened the twelfth general meeting of the World Cocoa Producers' Alliance with an urgent plea for early agreement on cocoa price

stabilisation. He urged delegates from Ghana, Brazil, the Ivory Coast, Nigeria and Togo to resolve all their differences for the next negotiating conference.

The week-long meeting was being attended by observers from Colombia, Venezuela, Equatorial Guinea, Ecuador, the Dominican Republic and Mexico.

He said the urgent need for agreement stemmed from the fact that, like any other commodity, the more the efforts producers put into cocoa production, the less they obtained for total their effort.

• A hint of increased prices for Nigeria's cocoa farmers has been given in Ibadan by Brig Adebayo, Governor of the Western State. In a broadcast primarily dealing with measures to improve the State's local tax administration (see "Dateline Africa"), he said the Government would pay "adequate prices" to cocoa farmers. The State Marketing Board would make an annual grant of £250,000 to local councils for road improvement and build up reserves to enable it to stabilise cocoa producer prices.

• Nigeria's cocoa purchases, from the main Western State growing areas, are estimated at 176,380 long tons to April 10. The total for all areas is thought to be about 190,000, says Overseas Buyers.

Henry Gardner reports that "there are ample signs that a number of markets are still in need of current crops, and Bahia cocoa is not a satisfactory substitute for those chocolate manufacturers who rely on West African types."

## Log Jams in Ghana

"Difficulties continue to bedevil" Ghana's timber industry, the Standard Bank reports. The log pond at Takoradi is congested owing to a lack of shipping.

General trade and market conditions in Ghana are still depressed owing to a shortage of money, says the Bank. Many traders are holding back sales awaiting new minimum retail prices. Quantities of flour are being held back and current shortages include candles, sardines and cement. The shortage of cement is attributed to interruption of production at the Tema factory.

Licences are now being issued far more freely though there have been noticeable cuts in those issued to certain sectors of the trading community. Importers are being urged to take more advantage of the US loan, still largely unused.

## CORRECTION

Mr. Alan Ball is Chairman of Lonrho, not joint managing director as was stated in last week's "Commercial News."

## Holt's Profit Up

John Holt's profit in the six months ending last February was £923,000, compared with £321,000 in the first half of 1967-68, after deduction of £237,000 (£301,000) for finance and group central administration. Profits from West African general trading were £451,000 (£205,000), and profits more than doubled for all activities carried out mainly in West Africa (the rise being from £339,000 to £874,000).

• Over 10,000 employees of Rowntree's have offered to help their board fight off the new takeover bid by General Foods. The board said it would not recommend acceptance, and now the bid has been withdrawn.

• British Insulated Callender's Cables, an important supplier of electrical cables to Nigeria among other countries (for the main national telecommunications programme, for example) reports sales worth £327m. last year and a £22.1m. profit.

• Gourcock Ropework Co. of Port Glasgow is to build and supply fourteen inflatable warehouses for storing of relief supplies in Lagos.



The history of Banking dates so far back that no one really knows where or how it began! Archaeological evidence however abounds to prove that the Assyrians, Egyptians and Phoenicians had instruments similar to present day promissory notes, bills of exchange and cheques—and performing much the same roles—long before the Greeks and Romans! The earliest Bankers were indeed money changers who played a very active role in the trading transactions between people from different states with different currencies. The very word "BANK" is derived from the old Italian word *Banca* meaning a bench or counter. The counters of the money changers, upset according to biblical tradition in the Jerusalem Temple by Jesus Christ were indeed the bank.

Of course no one would dream of setting up a bank in a church these days, but the Temples of Greece at one time in history housed the earliest deposit vaults known to man.

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## WEST AFRICAN SHIPPING NEWS

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**DUNKVA** due Takoradi Apr. 26.

From London: — EBOE slg. London Apr. 29; ONITSHA slg. London May 8; FALABA due Lobito Apr. 27.

From Middlesbrough, Hull: — KOHIMA slg. Hull Apr. 30.

From Continent: — KADUNA slg. Rotterdam Apr. 30; FLAN due Douala Apr. 28; FULANI due Sapele Apr. 26.

**NORTHBOUND** — To Liverpool: — FOURAH BAY due Liverpool May 5; KUMBA due Liverpool May 4; OBUASI due Avonmouth Apr. 27.

**NORTHBOUND** — To London: — BHAMO due Abidjan Apr. 27; EGORI due London May 1; OWERRI due Las Palmas May 3.

To Dublin/Belfast: — TWEEDBANK due Dublin Apr. 27.

To Continent: — FORCADOS due Hamburg May 4; KABALA slg. Freetown Apr. 26.

**EASTBOUND** — From USA/Canada: — DALLA slg. Halifax Apr. 26; DEIDO due Lome Apr. 17; FREETOWN due Tiko Apr. 26.

**WESTBOUND** — To USA/Canada: — DEGEMA due Jacksonville May 5; DIXCOVE due Philadelphia Apr. 28; DUMBAIA due Freetown Apr. 29.

From India/Pakistan/Burma: — GOWANBANK slg. Colombo Apr. 15.

**JAPAN "K" LINE**

**WESTBOUND** — From Japan (via Hong Kong and Cape): — MATADI, LAGOS, Tema, Abidjan, Freetown, etc. — LOUISIANA MARU slg. Japan Apr. 6 due Lagos May 13.

**EASTBOUND** — From Matadi, Lagos, Tema, Abidjan, Freetown, etc. — to Japan (via Cape and Singapore): — LOUISIANA MARU slg. Lagos May 18; Tema May 21, Freetown May 25 due Japan Jun. 30.

**BARBER WEST AFRICAN LINES**

**OUTWARDS** — CORNVILLE now due Warri, Obenue Takoradi; FERNWOOD due Monrovia Apr. 27, thence Abidjan, Tema, Lagos/Anapa, Douala and Takoradi; TITANIA due sail Halifax, NS Apr. 28 for Freetown, Monrovia, Abidjan, Tema, Lagos/Anapa, Douala, Cabinda and Takoradi; TEMA due sail New York May 13, Halifax, NS May 16 for Freetown, etc.

**HOMEWARDS** — TEMA now due load Buchanan/Monrovia; CORNVILLE now due load Douala, Lagos/Ghana, N. Bound early May, Abidjan 1st week May, Buchanan/Monrovia 2nd week May; FERNWOOD due load Lagos, S. Bound about May 3, Douala May 6, Lagos/Ghana, N. Bound 2nd half/mid May, Abidjan 3rd week May, Buchanan/Monrovia 4th week May.

**FARRELL LINES**

**HOMEWARDS** — AUSTRALIAN GULF slg. Lagos/Anapa Apr. 30 for Abidjan, Monrovia and US ports; AUSTRALIAN ISLE slg. Matadi Apr. 30 for Luanda, Lobito and US ports.

**HOMEWARDS** — AFRICAN RAINBOW due Monrovia May 5 for Abidjan, Takoradi, Tema May 17 and Douala; AFRICAN GLADE due Monrovia May 16 for Abidjan, Takoradi, Tema May 25, Matadi, Luanda and Lobito.

**HUGO STINNES TRANSOZEAN SCHIFFFAHRT GMBH**

HEIN JENEVELT slg. Antwerp due Dakar Apr. 28, Conakry Apr. 30, Monrovia May 2, Abidjan May 4; ACHGELIS HUGO STINNES slg. Bordeaux Apr. 24 due Las Palmas Apr. 30, Dakar May 3, Conakry May 5, Abidjan May 9.

**ROYAL INTEROCEAN LINES**

**INWARDS** — STRAAT MOZAMBIQUE from China and Hong Kong slg. Hong Kong Apr. 8 due Lagos/Anapa May 10, Cotonou May 15, Lome May 17, Tema May 19, Abidjan May 22, Monrovia May 25, Freetown May 27, Dakar May 30, Conakry Jun. 3; STRAAT FREMANTLE from Japan slg. Kobe Apr. 21 due Lagos/Anapa optional, Tema May 30, Monrovia Jun. 3, Freetown Jun. 6, Abidjan Jun. 10, Takoradi Jun. 13.

**OUTWARDS** — STRAAT MOZAMBIQUE from Nigeria/Ghana to Singapore, Hong Kong and China first half June; STRAAT FREMANTLE from Nigeria/Ghana to Singapore, Hong Kong and Japan second half June.

**PALM LINE** — From Liverpool: — ELMINA PALM due Cabinda Apr. 26. From Liverpool: — LAGOS PALM due Tema Apr. 28.

From Liverpool: — LOBITO PALM due Freetown Apr. 26.

From Continent: — ANDONI PALM due Lagos Apr. 27.

**NORTHBOUND** — To London: — IBADAN PALM due Lagos Apr. 29.

To Continent: — BADAGRY PALM slg. Takoradi Apr. 26.

**HOLLAND WEST AFRICA LUN SOUTHBOUND** — From Continent: — LIBERIAKUST due Lobito Apr. 30; OFFIN RIVER due Douala May 1st. SENEKALKUST due Lagos Apr. 30.

**NORTHBOUND** — To Continent: — OLDEKERK due Rotterdam Apr. 30, Amsterdam May 3, Hamburg May 9; TOGOKUST due Bremen Apr. 30, Hamburg May 4; LELYKERK due Amsterdam May 6, Bremen May 12, Hamburg May 15.

**NOPAL WEST AFRICA LINE**

**EASTBOUND** — NOPAL LUNA slg. New Orleans Apr. 19 due Takoradi May 9, Lagos May 12, Warri May 16; NOPAL VEGA slg. New Orleans May 2 due Takoradi May 22, Lagos May 25, Warri May 29.

**WESTBOUND** — NOPAL SUN slg. Luanda Apr. 6 due New Orleans May 3, Houston May 12; NOPAL TELLUS slg. Luanda May 16 due Takoradi May 23, New Orleans Jun. 10, Houston Jun. 14.

**HOEGH LINES**

HOEGH BEAVER slg. Harburg May 2, Antwerp May 6, Rouen May 9 due Dakar May 16, Monrovia May 19; HOEGH BANNERIE slg. Bremen May 14, Hamburg May 16 due Freetown May 30, Abidjan Jun. 2, Tema Jun. 4.

**SCANDINAVIAN WEST AFRICA LINE**

**SOUTHBOUND** — MINNESOTA ldg. Scandinavia and Bordeaux during second half May for WA during May.

**NORTHBOUND** — JHELMAREN ldg. WA during Apr. for Scandinavia first half May; YARRAWONGA ldg. WA second half Apr. for Scandinavia second half May.

**CHARGEUR REUNIS**

KERGUELEN due Lagos/Anapa May 6, Freetown May 16; CAPRAIA slg. Kobe May 26.

**MAERSK LINE**

HENKIJETA MAERSK sls. Lagos/Anapa May 2 arr. Tema May 3; JOHANNES MAERSK sls. Luanda May 14 arr. Matadi May 15.

**MITSUBI OSK LINE**

HODAKASAN MARU slg. Kobe Apr. 4 due Lagos May 9; HUDSON MARU slg. Kobe Apr. 11 due Lagos May 7; HAYANA MARU sls. Kobe May 4 due Lagos Jun. 6.

**NIGERIAN NATIONAL SHIPPING LINE**

**SOUTHBOUND** — NNAMDI AZIKWE sls. London May 13. RICHARD DE LARRINGA sls. Amsterdam May 3.

**NORTHBOUND** — KING JAJA due Avonmouth May 6. ODODUWA due Antwerp May 2.

**WEST WIND AFRICA LINE**

BUENA FORTUNA slg. New Orleans Apr. 30, Houston May 4 for Dakar, Lagos, Freetown; SOPHIA C slg. New Orleans May 14, Houston May 18 for Lagos, Luanda, Abidjan and Freetown.

**WOERNIANN LINE**

WINDHUK slg. Antwerp Apr. 21 due Monrovia May 5, Tema May 9, Lagos/Anapa May 11; PAZIFIK slg. Dunkirk May 5, Rouen May 8, due Dakar May 15, Conakry May 18.

**GOLD STAR**

SAHAR slg. SINGAPORE Apr. 19 due Durban May 2-3, Lourenco Marques May 4-5, Cape Town May 8; TSEDEK slg. Abidjan Apr. 27-28 due Monrovia Apr. 29-30, Freetown May 1-2, Bathurst May 3-4.

**BLACK STAR LINE/SEVEN STAR LINE/AMERICA**

**WESTBOUND** — LAKE BOSOMTWE Tema Apr. 15, New York Apr. 29, Philadelphia May 1, thence Gulf.

**BLACK STAR LINE UK/CONTINENT/ WEST AFRICA**

**SOUTHBOUND** — BIA RIVER Hamburg May 3, Bremen May 6, Antwerp May 8, Rotterdam May 10, Dunkirk May 12; BENEVA RIVER Bremen May 21, Hamburg May 24, Antwerp May 27, Rotterdam May 29, Dunkirk May 30.

**NORTHBOUND** — SAKUMO LAGOON London May 9.

**EDWARD NASSAR LINES**

EMIR BECHIR slg. Gibraltar May 1, Fama-gama May 10, Beirut May 15.

## commercial news

### British Aid Prospects

The British overseas aid programme will be about £205m. next year, or the same last year, but will concentrate more on culture and less on industry, says Minister of Overseas Development, Reginald Prentice, in a White Paper agrees with the House of Commons Estimates Committee (with whose report last November the Paper deals) that should not be used for large industrial projects, except in the special case of Singapore. The Minister says he "wishes in appropriate cases to increase aid and technical assistance for food and agricultural development through co-ordinated projects and to improve procedures for their technical appraisal and management."

● A bill has been introduced in the House of Commons by the Minister of Overseas Development to raise the limit on borrowings made by the Commonwealth Development Corporation from the Treasury and on advances to the Corporation by the Overseas Development Mission and to extend the CDC's area of operation.

● The Daily Express of London said before the budget on April 15 that the UK aid programme should be cut by £110m. the year and abolished altogether the next.

### Between two Yaounde

The EEC has proposed arrangements for the transition period between the expiry of the Yaounde Convention on May 31, 1981, and the coming into force of the second Convention, now expected in the summer of 1982. The proposals would provide for continued reciprocal preferences; continued contribution from the EEC to stabilisation funds; and continued study of aid projects to take effect as soon as possible after the coming into force of the new agreement, and setting up of the new FED. Regulations covering right of establishment, services payments and capital movements would be carried over; so would existing institutions.

● The Committee of the European Development Fund has approved financing for eleven new projects, including \$100m (consisting of a \$9m. loan and a \$91m. grant) for the construction of high tensile cables as part of the Inga project in Congo-K; \$2.5m. loan for roads in Gambia; \$450,000 grant for the construction of equipment of the port of Nola on the Haute Sangha in CAR; and grants of Mali of \$2,384,000 for the improvement of the water supply for Bamako, and \$446,000 for urban renewal and health services in Mopti. The committee also approved supplementary credit of \$300,000 to enable Associates states to participate in projects in the EEC for a further year from May 31.

● Congo Foreign Minister Justin Bomboko has said there is disappointment among the African associated states at slow progress being made in the talks renewing the Yaounde Convention.

## Rubber in the World

DESCRIBING the recent rise in rubber prices, Mr. M. D. Farrow, chairman of the Rubber Growers' Association, said at the AGM last week that producers and the producing countries "are interested in a stable price at a remunerative level," and recent price rises must have appeared attractive to them; "but," he added, "are prices at current levels to their long-term benefit?" They could, he continued, cause consumers to switch to synthetics; but the world natural rubber price had for years been above that of the main synthetic rubber, so that "it would be surprising if most of the conversion which is possible has not already taken place;" and the USA's keeping of its stockpile of natural rubber suggests that this is superior to synthetic cis-polyisoprene.

Nigeria is the largest rubber exporter in West Africa, followed by Liberia. Most of Nigeria's rubber is grown in the Mid-West State.

Mr. Farrow also dealt with palm oil, in which RGA members are interested, and noted that world 1968 shipments were 640,000 tons, about 30 per cent. above the 1967 figure. Except for Nigeria all exporting countries showed increases. Congo-Kinshasa exports rose nearly 50,000 tons above the 1967 figure. Prices fell, and although they might rise this year, the promised big US soya bean crop and the EEC's plans for its butter surplus could affect them, Mr. Farrow said.

Despite the onset of the "wintering" season, lump rubber is still plentiful in Sapele, the Standard Bank reports. It is believed that manufacturers have built up buffer stocks sufficient to enable them to maintain full production until full tapping is resumed in Nigeria's Mid West state.

The demand for export timber remains good and prices, particularly for Nigerian hardwoods, continue to be very favourable. The local Mid West market, too, is brisk, with producers finding it difficult to keep pace with the requirements of the oil and construction companies.

Boom conditions persist in the Warri area as a result of the intense activity of the oil industry. It is reported that work on the EN15 million pipeline from Ughelli is on schedule and completion is expected in June 1969. Moorings will be available by that date for the largest tankers and it is expected that up to 375,000 barrels of oil per day will start to flow from this outlet.

The Crepe Factory Owners' Association in Nigeria's Mid-West State for a time stopped buying rubber lumps, because of the allegedly poor quality of those supplied by farmers. The decision was expected to have a serious effect on the state's rubber farmers. Later the State Governor announced measures to improve the quality of rubber.

General Gowon has made the chairman of the Niger Dams Authority, Mr. J. H. Ings, Commander of the Order of the Niger. A hydro-electric engineer, Mr. Ings will soon be returning to his country, Canada, on retirement after six years' service in Nigeria during which he piloted the construction of the Kajini hydro-electric project.

A two-day residential conference on "the selection, training and employment of expatriate staff in developing countries" is to be held at the Overseas Service College, Farnham Castle (Surrey) from May 27 to 29.

## More Ghana Aircraft

Ghana is to purchase two Hawker Siddeley 748 aircraft, together worth about £1m, with part of a £2m. loan granted by the British Government, it was announced by the Commissioner for Economic Affairs, Mr. E. N. Omaboe, shortly after he had signed the loan agreement with the British High Commissioner. They will replace DC3s at present used occasionally on internal flights.

The £2m. loan, which is the first instalment of a total loan of nearly £4m., some of which has been carried over from last year, has a maturity of 25 years with a grace period of five years.

The new chairman of Ghana Airways, Mr. B. A. Yakubu, has said the decision to buy the Hawker-Siddeleys follows the end of the "pool" agreement with Nigeria Airways. This started in June 1967.

Ghana Airways is to re-open talks with BAC for a trade-in of its two Viscounts and the purchase of the BAC 1-11, Mr. Yakubu said.

(New Airways Board—see p. 482)



At a meeting of the Commonwealth Telecommunications Council in London—the fourth meeting, attended by representatives of 20 Commonwealth countries and the British Overseas Territories—are three Nigerian delegates: (left to right) Mr. R. O. Khalidson (Chief Accountant, Nigerian External Telecommunications, and an Adviser to the delegation); Mr. V. A. Hoffner (Nigeria's Representative; director and general manager, Nigerian External Telecommunications); Mr. M. S. Adewale (Adviser to the delegation; Communications attaché at the Nigeria High Commission in Lagos, and former member for Nigeria of the Commonwealth Telecommunications Boards) With them (second from right) is Mr. C. J. Gill, Chairman of the Council.

A Liberian mission headed by Mr. J. Milton Weeks, Treasury Secretary, has been in the USA for talks with the World Bank on a possible \$2-3m. loan for dredging of Monrovia harbour. This is necessary to allow big-draught ore-carrying ships to use the harbour; they already use Buchanan harbour for the iron ore from Lamco's Mount Nimba mine, but three other major iron ore companies — Bong Mining Co., Liberia Mining Co. and National Iron Ore Co.—use Monrovia.

The Nigerian Institute of Architects is proposing to design cheap houses for people being rehabilitated in war-affected areas. Mentioning this at the Commonwealth Association of Architects meeting in Lagos Mr. A. A. Egbor, President of the Nigerian Institute, said the problem of the lack of Nigerian architects was particularly serious because of coming reconstruction needs; aid from other countries was therefore necessary.

## The War and Nigeria's Industries—

A *Daily Times* supplement article on Nigerian industries in 1968 mentions the Lafite Canning Factory's extension to include the manufacture of "Pepono" (a soup ingredient comprising peppers, onion and tomato); and the drug factory built at Ilupeju for Sterling Products International, employing 1,000 workers manufacturing Cafenol. Andrews Liver Salt and Milk of Magnesia. The Biscuit Manufacturing Co. of Nigeria, had a difficult year "due mostly to loss of its customers in the Eastern States," says the article, but Nigerpak, a leading light-weight packaging company (in the *Daily Times* Nigeria group) had a "boom year" and, with the installation of an additional plant, was able to meet the increasing demand for printed wrapping material requirements from local industries. Local industries in general, especially those in the East and in Federal-held areas which had relied heavily on raw materials from the East, have been hard hit by the war, and some in the North had suffered.

Factories which show marked improvement from available trade statistics include those for meat and dairy products, fruits and vegetables, fish, grain and mill products, sugar and bakery products, cocoa and chocolate and other confectioneries. Flour Mills of Nigeria at Apapa and the Nigerian Sugar Company at Ilorin—industries supplying the bakery industry with flour and sugar—had a good year.

## —and Shipping

Despite the war, Nigeria's shipping trade is "going well" says the *Daily Times* supplement mentioned above. The tonnage recorded for 1967-68 was 2,825,810 tons as against 3,021,773 tons for 1966. Although the figure fell short of the preceding year's by 196,000 tons, it was considered the second best annual figure. Maintenance of the harbours by dredging has "continued unhampered," as has "dredging of the approaches to the delta ports to a depth of 21 ft." In Lagos port, the completion of the container berth and berths 12 and 13 with their ancillary transit sheds have increased berthing and cargo storage capacity.

The Nigerian Government is to take over all foreign- and privately-owned parts in the Federation, so that they can be adequately developed to ease congestion in Lagos port, the Federal Commissioner for Transport, Mr. J. S. Tarka, said in Benin. Calabar port would be developed for evacuation of produce from the South Eastern, Benue Plateau and other states.

The Black Star Line, Ghana's national shipping line, is to get two new ships to increase its fleet to 16 this year—*Subin River* and the *Klotey Lagoon* costing nearly N4m. (a little above the usual price paid for ships of this class). Altogether four ships were ordered by the old régime, but the present government reduced this to two. The ships were built in Spain and are said to be "a little bit bigger" and "a little bit faster" than some of the present fleet, reports the *Kumasi Pioneer*.

New rich diamond fields have been discovered in Liberia, near Kataka (about 70km. north of Monrovia).

## ADVERTISERS ANNOUNCEMENT

# NIGERIAN INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT BANK LIMITED

STATEMENT BY THE CHAIRMAN,  
MALLAM AHMADU COOMASSIE

TO BE PRESENTED AT THE NINTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

It is my pleasure to present the Statement on the Report and Accounts of NIDB for the year 1968, its fourth full year of operation since the company was reconstructed.

#### Political and Economic Scene

The whole world is aware that Nigeria is engaged in a civil war to crush a misguided rebellion. In any country, a civil war, especially one of the magnitude of ours, would be bound to create tremendous strains and stresses on its economic, political and social life. It is a tribute to this country that, in spite of the emergency, normal life remains relatively undisturbed over 90% of the Federation. Most of the new political divisions of the country are coping admirably well with their responsibilities. The task ahead is still gigantic. On the one hand, we have millions of people to be resettled and to be politically re-integrated. On the other hand, we will need to spend millions of pounds in the reconstruction of infrastructure as well as the rehabilitation of private property and productive enterprises in the affected parts of the country. To tackle these complex problems all hands must be on deck, as this will require the concerted efforts of the government and the private sector. I therefore echo the assurance given by the President of the Lagos Chamber of Commerce and Industry that the private sector is prepared to play a full role in the task of reconstruction.

Nigeria's economy has stood up well in spite of all difficulties, thanks to its inherent strength. In the early stage of the crisis, some fear was expressed that the economy would collapse. This did not happen. It is true, there were some dislocations in certain sectors but these posed only challenges which were quickly met. The Government's economic policies helped very much in achieving some stability and the economy did not seriously deteriorate. Agriculture, still the economic base of the country, did not suffer. Food production in the unaffected parts of the country was more than adequate so that food import that one might expect in the course of a civil war has been averted. Export of cash products was only slightly less than for the pre-war year. Income from cocoa was about £20m above the

previous year's earnings and groundnuts earned almost the same amount as in the previous year in spite of the fall in production. Petroleum production at 51,709,000 barrels in 1968 was approximately one third of the 1966 production. With the liberation of Port Harcourt and the intensive efforts made to restore full oil production, export of crude oil has been considerably stepped up and has now reached the peak level of 558,000 barrels a day achieved in June 1967 and may, by the end of 1969, reach the 1,000,000 barrels a day mark. Since the liberation of the South-Eastern State, the volume of palm produce being exported is also increasing. All the other crops performed reasonably well. For 1969, the prospects for all cash crops are likely to be equally as good as 1968.

If one looked back to the period between independence and 1966, all the economic indicators showed us signs of a country poised for what the economists call self-sustained growth. Gross Domestic Product (GDP) averaged over 4% annually (about 2% per capita), domestic capital formation was about 15% and domestic saving amounted to about 12% of GDP. Government revenue grew at about the same amount as savings and there was a corresponding increase in current government expenditure. Private investment over the period accounted for about 60% of gross domestic capital formation. All these growths were brought about by the combination of higher export crops, petroleum production and high rate of industrial production in addition to prudent fiscal policies. It is my expectation that the rate of growth achieved before 1966 will be surpassed after the crisis.

I should say a few words about the manufacturing sector for the obvious reason that it is the business of NIDB to promote manufacturing industries and for the fact that it is going to be the base for the country's long-term growth. Manufacturing industries started to feel the effect of the political crisis quite early with the mass movement of people, the loss of Eastern markets and scarcity of those raw materials that used to come predominantly from the former Eastern areas. These dislocations were short lived and, excepting the Eastern States, manufacturing soon picked up

from its immediate depression. The creation of new demand especially to meet the needs of the armed forces enlarged considerably in a short time. Import restrictions encouraged the export-import-substitution industries to expand and new lines of manufacturing were quickly being established. Total output for the manufacturing sector is estimated to have increased by about 20% in the last quarter of 1968 over the corresponding period in 1967. It would seem from the tragedy of the war we are now entering an era of industrial revival and self-sustained growth.

The external assets of the country were throughout the year reasonably stabilised in spite of the pressures that fighting of a civil war must necessarily exert on them. It is to the credit of Government and a testimony to its financial management that, in spite of this war, it has neither resorted to external borrowing nor defaulted in any of its foreign debt obligation. I note with satisfaction that there are indications that foreign investors are re-investing their profits in new industries and even bringing in more funds. It is my hope that all our foreign friends will not hesitate to come forward and participate in building a stable and prosperous Nigeria.

#### The Role of NIDB

In 1968 NIDB sanctioned EN579,000 in loans and debentures and EN30,000 equity to six new companies and approved EN73,000 in loans and debentures and EN40,000 in equity to two existing projects for the expansion of their operations. The total sanctions therefrom amounted to EN722,000 as compared with EN1,021,000 in 1967. The existing projects are engaged in the manufacture of yarn, colour woven, synthetic knitted textiles; pharmaceuticals; furniture and beverage goods.

During the period under review the disbursement amounted to EN550,000, out of which EN500,248 were in loans and debentures and EN50,000 in shares. Outstanding undischursed sanctions as at 31st December, 1968, amounted to EN1,280,496.

NIDB's total sanctions in loans and debentures and equity, as shown in Schedule I attached to this statement

## ADVERTISERS ANNOUNCEMENT

## NIGERIAN INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT BANK LIMITED

stand at £N3,237,714 and £N976,600 respectively. Our total portfolio at the end of the year consisted of £N1,947,955 in loans and debentures and £N856,386 in equity as shown in Schedule II. The industrial classification breakdown of NIDB's portfolio are £N829,025 in textiles, £N555,000 in food and processing of agricultural products, £N339,813 in metal fabrication, £N346,853 in rubber and the balance of £N733,650 in miscellaneous industries including wood.

During 1968 we were able to obtain reports on all our projects in the Eastern States except for one which is still in the rebel held area. We have also been able to send supervision staff to visit some of these companies and we are actively participating in their reconstruction. In almost all cases, the factories have been looted of all movable assets but plant and machinery have been left intact. Some of the machinery had deteriorated from exposure to damp, skilled workers have been displaced and records left on the premises have been disturbed. The problems now facing the management of these companies are the cleaning and maintenance of the machineries, repairs to the existing structures and the recruitment of skilled workers so that operations can be restarted.

The companies in the other parts of Nigeria have benefited a great deal by the restrictions on certain imports and many of them are planning on expanding their activities and volumes of production. Our supervision staff have visited all of these factories during the year and have been able to advise and help.

The manufacturing industry has responded to the increased demand for their products. We are proud to have been associated with their efforts but there are still opportunities to be explored for the further substitution of imports. The companies with Nigerian management have shown a greater awareness of their responsibilities to manage efficiently so as to be able to compete effectively.

**ICON Securities Limited**

ICON Securities (ICONSEC) was unable to put out any new issues during the year owing to the political situation in the country but it continued to play its stockdealing role on the Lagos Stock Exchange.

ICONSEC's portfolio as at 31st December 1968 consisted of 13 quoted industrial stocks with market value of £N216,027 and 15 government stocks with market value of £N7,213. This portfolio includes its holding in the Nigerian Cement Company Limited, Textile Printers of Nigeria Limited and the Nigerian Sugar Company Limited which are dormant. The market values of the holdings in these companies at the

last time there were dealings in them were £N11,190, £N28,263 and £N23,226 respectively.

The new Companies Decree imposes an obligation on any company owning a majority shareholding in a subsidiary to consolidate the accounts of such subsidiary with its own account. As a result of this law, NIDB and ICONSEC's Accounts are for 1968 consolidated. It will be seen from the consolidated accounts that ICONSEC last year suffered a loss of £N37,000.

**Company Results**

Applications for investments were slow in the early part of the year but gained momentum later. In terms of total sanctions and disbursement 1968 was not as good as 1967 for the company. While in 1967 total sanctions in loans and debentures amounted to £N697,000 and in equity £N324,000 in 1968 these fell to £N652,000 and £N70,000 respectively. Income of the company increased from £N315,042 in 1967 to £N364,560 in 1968. It is significant to note that income from equity holdings has increased very rapidly, from only £N2,250 in 1966 to £N21,910 in 1967 and £N43,875 in 1968. Income from loans and debentures has also shown very satisfactory increase. It was £N158,356 in 1968 as compared with £N127,595 in 1967. On the other hand, income from short-term investments decreased from £N72,615 in 1967 to £N50,150 in 1968. This decrease is a result of the normal shift that should take place in an operation like ours, from short-term investments to long-term investments. The reduction in the Central Bank discount rate from 4½% to 4% in May 1968 necessitated a general lowering of interest in bank deposits, bills, etc. with consequent fall in anticipated income.

The profit for 1968 before taxation for NIDB was £N228,400 an increase of over £N72,000 or 46% over the 1967 result (£N156,254) and £N88,000 over the 1966 result (£N140,442). This substantial profit increase has been achieved as a result of careful control on expenditure, growth in dividend earning and interest income. This I regard as praiseworthy.

**NIDB's Resources**

We have succeeded in our effort to augment our resources by the reactivation and consequent signing of the World Bank loan of 6 million U.S. dollars and the firm promise given by the Federal Government to pay the balance of £N1m. of the £N2m. loan in May, 1969. Our resources therefore would then increase by £N3m. and this with the balance from our previous resources should last us another two years. The World Bank loan has come at a most opportune time

to finance the foreign exchange component of our loans. The loan is also significant in that it demonstrates the international creditworthiness of NIDB and the World Bank's confidence in Nigeria.

**Prospects for 1969**

It is my hope that 1969 and the years to come will offer better prospects for our business than in the past. Once again, because we do not know the full extent of the damage to some of the industries with which we are associated, your Board has decided it will not be wise to declare a dividend on the ordinary stock. All the profit for the year has therefore been allocated to the Statutory Reserve and the Investment Reserve.

**Board of Directors**

Your Directors were pleased to welcome Mr. William Duncan and Dr. Wolfgang Jahn as members of the Board in place of Mr. Donald MacLeod and Dr. Silvio Borri who having retired with all the other Directors of the company in accordance with the provisions of the Articles 103 and 104, did not offer themselves for re-election. As Mr. Duncan's Alternate Director, we continued to benefit from Mr. MacLeod's experience as he often represented Mr. Duncan at our meetings. Dr. Silvio Borri has now retired as General Manager of Istituto Mobiliare Italiano after 36 years' service with that company. I am sure you will all join me in extending to him our best wishes for the future.

In accordance with these same provisions all the Directors of the company now retire, Messrs A. Coomassie, M. A. Adejoro, P. C. Asiodu, S. Malami, A. A. Khosropur, J. C. A. Okwes, E. C. McNestry, D. F. Fairbairn and John Lyons are eligible for re-election whilst the remaining three, Messrs William Duncan, Wolfgang Jahn and James Toillion have not offered themselves for re-election.

**Staff**

Mr. S. B. Daniyan continued during the year as General Manager. Mr. P. K. Doshi was seconded to us by ICICI as an Assistant General Manager. Our Principal Counsel and Secretary, Mr. M. O. Balogun underwent training courses with the IFC in Washington and with Freshfields (Solicitors) and Baring Brothers (Merchant Bankers), in London. It is the policy of the Bank to widen the experience of our staff members by attachment courses and staff exchanges with similar organisations. I am grateful to the above mentioned institutions for their assistance.

Before I end my statement I should like to commend once again all our staff for their hard work, loyalty and devotion to the cause of NIDB.

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MUST BE PREPAID**

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The charge is 3/6 per line (approx. six words), minimum 17/6. Display classifieds are £1 1/6s. per col. each. Box Numbers 2/6 extra. Copy is to be either PRINTED or TYPEWRITTEN and is required at Cromwell House, Fulwood Place, London, W.C.1, BY FRIDAY 2 p.m. EIGHT DAYS PRIOR TO DATE OF INSERTION. All orders for advertisements are accepted on the express terms—(1) they are subject to cancellation without notice at the discretion of the publishers and whilst every effort will be made to publish the advertisement on the date specified, no guarantee of insertion date can be given. Signatures of the two highest ranking officers must be received for advertisements using lists of elected officers. The proprietors do not accept liability for loss or damage caused by printed errors or inaccuracies and they may make any alteration or re-arrangement in the wording of any advertisement to ensure its conformity with the standards and style of "West Africa."

**NOTICES**

**EGBE OMO EKITI  
OF GREAT BRITAIN AND  
IRELAND**

The following officers were elected for the year 1969 at 1 South Villas, London, N.W.1—

President	Mr. C. O. Obatuyi
Vice President	Mr. Akin Adeyinka
General Secretary	Mr. J. P. Oyinloye
Treasurer	Mr. L. A. Ajayi
Assistant Secretary	Mr. S. A. Ogunmosin
Auditor	Mr. Raphael Abere
Social Publicity Secretary	M. Dayo Adedigba
Welfare Officers	Mr. J. F. Agbeli and Mrs. Ade Taiwo
Unofficial members of the Executive	M. P. Aladesuyi Mr. A. O. Ajibade

**SECRETARIAT,**  
63 TOLLINGTON PARK,  
LONDON, N.4.  
Phone 01-272 8476.

**IKOSI DISTRICT PROGRESSIVE UNION  
OF NIGERIA, UNITED KINGDOM  
BRANCH**

At the Annual General Meeting of the Union held recently at 357 Lording Lane, London, S.E.22, the following officers were elected for 1968-69—

President	Mr. J. A. Olatunde
Vice President	Mr. J. A. Olufowa
General Secretary	Mr. S. B. Alayi
Assistant Secretary	Mr. Kuya Sobbe
Treasurer	Mrs. Yetunde Aietunmbi
Financial Secretary	Mr. Y. O. Oluhshile
Social Secretary	Mr. O. Olufowa
Publicity Secretary	Mr. Shoye Olatunji
Asst. Publicity Sec.	Mr. Bolaji Ogunnusi
Organising Secretary	Mr. S. O. Amure
Auditor	Mr. D. O. Oduvanya

**Welfare—**  
1. North London ... Mrs. Dimphe Okubajo  
2. Central London ... Mr. Idowu Pelumi  
3. South London ... Mr. R. K. Anorin

**Ex-Officio Members—**  
Mr. S. O. Ajetunmbi  
Mr. E. O. Thomas  
Mrs. R. Solarin

**SHOYE OLATUNJI,**  
Publicity Secretary.

**LIMBO CLUB**

49 Greek Street, Soho, W.1.

Dine and Dance to the latest Pan-African Highlife and Blue Beat.  
Fully licenced bar open 6.30 p.m. to 1.15 a.m. Monday to Saturday.

**SITUATIONS VACANT**

**Sierra Leone Ports Authority**

Applications are invited from suitable Sierra Leoneans to fill existing vacancies for the post of Quay Superintendent in the above Authority. All applications should be enclosed in envelope endorsed:—

**"APPLICATION FOR POST OF QUAY SUPERINTENDENT"**

**SALARY RANGE:**

The Salary range is from Le.1,500—Le.3,000 per annum with incremental units of Le.100 per annum. There are prospects for promotion to higher grades.

**POINT OF ENTRY:**

Point of entry in the salary range will depend on the candidate's qualifications and previous experience.

**CONFIRMATION:**

The appointment is subject to confirmation after a probationary period of one year.

**QUALIFICATION:**

Candidates should be Graduates or Associates of the Institute of Transport Management. They must be well experienced in the use of modern cargo handling equipment, the economic use of labour and master portage and wharfing. They must also have a full knowledge of port and Customs documentation procedures.

**AGE:**

Candidates should normally not be more than 45 years of age.

**DUTIES:**

Quay Superintendents are required to control all operations on a berth of the quay together with general supervision of associated sheds and open storage areas. Applications giving full details in respect of age, present appointment and salary, qualifications and experience supported by copies of certificates, testimonials etc., should be addressed and submitted direct to the General Manager, Sierra Leone Ports Authority, Queen Elizabeth II Quay, Cline Town, not later than the 5th May, 1969.

**THE SHELL-BP PETROLEUM DEVELOPMENT  
COMPANY OF NIGERIA LIMITED**

require

For their operations in the Mid-West and Rivers States.

**REGISTERED MEDICAL OFFICERS**

Who are Nigerian nationals with at least 5 years post graduate experience in Obstetrics/Anaesthetics or Surgery (Registrar Grade).

Applications should be directed to:

The Head of Recruitment & Training,  
Shell-BP Nigeria,  
PMB 2418,  
Lagos.

Original certificates and Testimonials should not be enclosed at this stage.

**NOTICES—Continued**

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## MEETINGS

## NIGERIAN STUDENTS ACTION COMMITTEE

## ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING AND ELECTION OF OFFICERS

There will be a general meeting of the Action Committee on Saturday May 3rd 1969.

Place: Nigeria Centre and Hostel,  
20/22 Inverness Terrace, London,  
W.2.

Time: 4 p.m.

Agenda: Election of Officers.

Transport: Tube, Bayswater and  
Queensway; Buses, 12 and 88.

Will all state representatives please  
note.

General Secretary.

## MUSLIM ASSOCIATION OF NIGERIA (London Branch)

## GENERAL MEETING

Sunday 27th April 1969

At Exhibition Studio, 20 Camden  
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Time 9 a.m. to 12 noon

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General Secretary's new address:  
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## PUBLICATIONS

## Peace Proposals for ENDING THE NIGERIAN CIVIL WAR

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## GHANA

### Victor Owusu and U.V. Campbell

**M**R. VICTOR OWUSU, the new Commissioner for External Affairs, resigned on April 15, and Mr. P. D. Anin, Commissioner for Lands and Mineral Resources, was re-assigned the portfolio of External Affairs. Mr. Victor Owusu said his disagreements with the NLC's assessment of his talents and capabilities, and the dismissal of Mr. U. V. Campbell as Solicitor-General, were his reasons for resigning his new post. The former Attorney-General and Commissioner for Justice (appointed in July, 1967) said he disagreed with the government's assessment that his talents and experience suited him best to undertake the management of foreign affairs. "I did not agree with his assessment and though it was announced I had been made the External Affairs Commissioner, I had never stepped at the External Affairs Ministry to date." The former Commissioner, who was a leading United

based on an unwillingness to assume responsibility. Apparently referring to criticism in the press of the appointment of a non-Ghanaian as Acting Attorney-General, he said he did not wish to take up the post in view of this. After this he was dismissed as Solicitor-General. The official statement said there was no room for civil servants too sensitive to press criticism.

● The *Daily Graphic* has criticised, without naming it, the *Pioneer's* editorial on Mr. U. V. Campbell's appointment as Acting Attorney-General, calling it "an unfortunate example of journalistic irresponsibility". It praises Mr. Campbell's career and character and says it is "very disturbed that events have taken the course in evidence".

● A commission has been appointed to enquire into the disturbances at Ashanti Goldfield's Obuasi mine, where, during a



At the signing of the new Obuasi goldmine land lease agreement in London are (left to right) Mr. Duncan Sandys, former UK Colonial Secretary and a director of Ashanti Goldfields; Mr. A. J. Prah, Principal Secretary of the Ministry of Lands and a new director of the Ashanti Goldfields Corporation; Mr. R. W. Rowland, managing director of Lonrho, now owner of AGC; Mr. M. K. A. Agyeman, First Secretary, Ghana High Commission in London (standing); and Mr. Seth Anthony, High Commissioner.

Party member and a detainee in the Nkrumah era, said present relations between himself and Brig Africa, were "very cordial." But, he added, "I did not believe in hanging on to an office or a post I have not got my heart in merely for the purpose of hanging on to an office."

On the dismissal of the Solicitor-General, Mr. Owusu said: "I think that the Government over-reacted to the contents of Mr. Campbell's letter, rejecting his appointment at Acting Attorney-General and I would have felt embarrassed if I had continued my association with a government that has meted out that treatment to Mr. Campbell for personal honour's sake."

In his letter to the Chairman of the NLC rejecting the post of Acting Attorney-General, Mr. Campbell said his view was not

strike early in March, fighting broke out and the police shot four workers dead. Mr. Atta Bebu, a Kumasi Circuit Court Judge, is to head the commission, which will enquire into the cause of the dispute and the circumstances leading to the police shooting.

● In its editorial on the fall of General Ankrah, entitled "The Law must Run its Course," the independent daily *Pioneer* of Kumasi points out that it had voiced suspicion of some time before of Jeevan's public opinion polls (Mr. F. A. Nzeribe, organiser of those polls, was named as the intermediary between General Ankrah and expatriate businessmen who allegedly made payments to him). It added, "It is time the people of this country launched a dawn-to-

dusk national onslaught against foreigners who appear bent on joining up with local political adventurers to propagate and pursue corruption, bribery, extortion and all the related crimes under the cloak of politics."

A member of the Constituent Assembly has asked the Speaker to call for confessions from any members of the Assembly who may have been among the politicians to whom General Ankrah (according to the official statement on the former NLC chairman's resignation) passed on money received from firms. The Speaker said he had no power to do this.

### Busia's New Party

Dr. Kofi Busia will launch a new political party, the Progress Party, when the ban on party politics is lifted on May 1, Mr. Oheneba Kow Richardson, general secretary of the former United Party, has announced. He said the old UP achieved its purpose, and, now that Nkrumah was no more, there should be a new name. (The UP, originally an amalgam of the Ghana Congress Party, the National Liberation Movement, the Northern People's Party and the Togoland Congress, was banned with other parties when the NLC took power, having earlier been outlawed when Ghana became a one-party state in 1964.)

Asked about rumours that some prominent members of the old UP had left Dr. Busia's camp, Mr. Richardson said, "For instance, Mr. Joe Appiah, Mr. R. R. Amponsah, Mr. Victor Owusu and the late Dr. Kurankye Taylor defected from the banned CPP and joined the Opposition and they are men having their own ideas, and it is most likely that some of them may wish not to go with Dr. Busia and his new party." He said the Progress Party would eschew tribalism, nepotism and discrimination.

Mr. Richardson has now said the Progress Party will be an entirely new party and not a revival of the United Party.

● Dr. John Bilson is to launch a political party for representing the "Third Force" on May 1 after the lifting of the ban. He has been unanimously confirmed as leader of the Third Force at a national delegates' conference.

Dr. Bilson, described in the *Pioneer* as "national organiser and co-ordinator of the Third Force", had earlier said "Third Force" aimed at new times, new leadership and conciliation between the old parties, and has done so since its foundation three years ago; it had "been hiding its time" but had gained (he claimed) nationwide acceptance.

Dr. Jones Ofori Atta, who represents the University of Ghana (Legon) in the Constituent Assembly, has denied that he is a member of the "Third Force".

Mr. Imoru Egala, former Minister of Industries, has decided to launch and lead a political party when the ban placed is lifted. He said his party would be nation-wide; his decision to launch it was motivated by approaches from groups and individuals who asked him to consider providing leadership and a rallying point "for the crystallisation of the essential ideas, the awareness and the democratic spirit which would help the process". He said, "If we miss again, we may never have another chance to build the foundations and true traditions of democracy."

## GHANA—continued

Mr. Benjamin Bentum, TUC Secretary-General, has said the Congress will decide whether to launch a political party or not a month after the legislation of parties. The decision would be taken at an extraordinary delegates' meeting which would discuss the alternatives of forming a Labour Party, joining another party whose aims generally conform to the TUC's, or staying out of party politics.

● Launching a new booklet, *Population Planning for National Progress and Prosperity*, the Economic Affairs Commissioner said Ghana's population was now 8.5m, and increasing at about 3 per cent every year; although this did not present an immediate problem, serious difficulties would arise before the end of the century. Mr. Omabae said: "If we want to alter the rate of growth, even marginally, in two decades' time, we must initiate action now", he added. (Fuller report later.)

● Mr. Reginald Amponsah, formerly a leading member of the opposition (NLM and UPI) and a detainee from 1958 to 1966, has been replaced as Chairman of Ghana Airways by Mr. B. A. Yakubu, Commissioner for Communications and member of the NLC. To succeed Dr. Edward Boohene, who after a year's leave from the airline was recently asked to return to his former university post (though cleared of allegations made against him by colleagues in Ghana Airways), Mr. C. Okatey-Akko has been named acting managing director.

Other members of the new board are Messrs. S. E. Arthur (Principal Secretary, Ministry of Finance), N. K. F. Owoo (Principal Secretary, Communications), E. R. K. Dwehoh (director, Civil Aviation) and Air Commodore N. Y. R. Ashley-Lassen of the Air Force.

## Assembly, M.P.s. and Ombudsman

● The Constituent Assembly has decided that, if there is only one candidate for a parliamentary election in any constituency, he should be declared elected (the Constitutional Proposals said an election should be held in such a case, and the one candidate should be declared elected if he obtained over a third of the votes of all qualified voters). This was decided during the debate on the report of one of the Assembly's five special committees. This committee's report, presented last week with those of the other four committees (set up early in March to discuss particular aspects of the Proposals), has been adopted by the Assembly after minor changes.

The Assembly decided in discussion of the same report that "there shall be as many members of the National Assembly as there are constituencies." In this it parted from the Constitutional Proposals, which said the National Assembly should consist of 140 members. Another proposal by the committee, for certain restrictions on formation of political parties, was referred to a seven-member select committee.

The powers of the Ombudsman have been extended by the Assembly, to enable him to act on individual complaints against any state institution, including the judiciary.

● A four-man IMF mission has been visiting Ghana, headed by Mr. Charles

Merwin, deputy director of the Fund's African Department, who has headed previous missions to Ghana from the Fund.

● Over 20,000 members of the Construction and Building Trade Workers' Union are to receive a seven per cent. pay rise and free medical facilities under a new collective agreement signed between the union and the Builders Federation of Ghana and the Ghana National Contractors Association.

The strike at the fibre bag factory in Kumasi, run by a division of the Industrial Holding Corporation, has ended. Grievances are to be forwarded to management.

A four-day strike of workers building the Barekese Dam in Ashanti Region has been called off. The workers demand leave entitlements and severance pay following the takeover of the construction of the dam by S.K. Contractors from Gammon (Ghana) Ltd., which went into liquidation last year.

● Prof. A. Adu Boahen, former head of the Department of History at the university of Ghana and one of the leading historians of Africa, has been appointed a professor at the Australian National University in Canberra, and hopes to start an African history course there.

Further to our report on April 5 of a journey by General Ankrah, while he was NLC Chairman, to Sekondi to settle a labour dispute involving locomotive drivers, it should be added that this dispute was settled soon afterwards, before the NLC Chairman's resignation.

## SIERRA LEONE Examining West Africa

After five years as Chairman of the West African Examinations Council, Dr. Davidson Nicol has resigned and has been succeeded by Dr. Lambo, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Ibadan. Dr. Nicol, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Sierra Leone and Principal of Fourah Bay College until he resigned in 1967, remained Chairman of the Council but his recent appointment as Sierra Leone's representative at the United Nations has obliged him to resign



Dr. Nicol addressing the WAEC meeting in Lagos this month.

He was the first African Chairman and under him the Council has remained almost the only executive body in which the four former British colonies in West Africa have co-operated fully and regularly.

At the WAEC's Lagos meeting was an observer from Liberia, which being also English speaking, is considering possible use of the Council's services. The Council's headquarters is in Ghana, where a new four

storey block is nearing completion, as well as an examination hall, seating some 1,500. The Council also has offices in Nigeria in Freetown; it is proposed to build examinations hall on Freetown's Tower. In 1968 there were 19,000 candidates in Nigeria for school certificate examinations, 11,500 in Ghana and 2,500 in Sierra Leone.

In a speech congratulating Dr. Nicol on his work Mr. W. O. Briggs, Nigerian Federal Commissioner for Education, said that in 17 years of close collaboration, it was inconceivable to imagine any reason for Council's disintegration. In Nigeria also it would, during the current year, be examined nearly 15,000 for certificate entrance and primary school leaving certificates. During Dr. Nicol's Chairmanship the Council's GCE was recognised by the Universities of Cambridge and London.

● Fuel from Freetown's oil refinery has been used for the first time for the Sierra Leone Airways VC10. SS Franca, which put in at Freetown during a tourist cruise, has also been bunkered from the refinery.

● Further rioting is reported from Kono in the Northern Province where the conduct of the Paramount Chief is the subject of a commission of investigation. Supporters and opponents of the Chief are said to have clashed.

● Four men illicitly mining diamonds on the SLST leases are reported to have been buried alive by a fall of ground.

● As part of a drive against "strangers" in the Kono area, centre of illegal diamond mining, 17 foreigners have been expelled. They include Senegalese, Gambians and Nigerians. Foreigners without residence permits are not allowed in the area.

● Tenders are invited from British firms for reconstruction of the Bo-Tabua section of the main Bo-Freetown road. A British interest-free loan is being used, and consultants are Ove Arup and Partners.

● Sir John Lucie-Smith, OBE, Chief Justice of Sierra Leone from 1946-50, has died at the age of 81.

## CAMEROON

A Cameroon Correspondent writes at the end of the first Convention of the Cameroon National Union (UNC) were elections for the new Political Bureau. El Hadj Ahmadou Ahidjo was re-elected as the National President of the party. Vice-Presidents now are Messrs. John Nji Foncha (Vice-President of the Republic), Simon-Pierre Tchoungui (Premier of the Cameroon), Enoch Kwayeb and W. N. O. Effiom.

Other members of the Bureau include M. Charles Assale, former Federal Minister of Finance and premier of the East; M. Emmanuel Tabi Egbé; Mr. Nzo Ebié Nkhang, Federal Minister of Labour; M. Moussa Yaya, Raymond Maloun, Valentin Atangana, Claude Djino and Mohamad Lamine; Mme. Julienne Keutcha; M. Augustine Ngom Jua, former (1963-67) premier of West Cameroon; M. Sadiou Daoudou, Minister of Defence in the Federal Government; Dr. E. M. L. Endolé (former premier of Southern Cameroon, now West Cameroon); and Dr. Bernard Fonlon, Federal Minister of Transport. Total membership of the Bureau is 33.

## GUINEA

Radio Conakry says President Sekou Toure has received a letter claiming that the Ivory Coast President has drawn up plans to have him assassinated by the end of 1969. The radio has also attacked President de Gaulle for obstructing the work of the Organisation of Senegal River States (OERS), whose extraordinary summit, scheduled for Conakry on March 27, never took place because of a new strain in relations between Guinea and her neighbours, because Guinea had obscurely implicated those neighbours in recent plots.

● Problems of OERS were discussed by Lt. Moussa Traore, Mali head of state, on his visit last week to Dakar for talks with President Senghor. Both heads of state reaffirmed their attachment to OERS.

Speaking after leaving the Elysee, where he saw President de Gaulle, President Houphouët-Boigny of Ivory Coast said: "You are forcing me to speak about Sekou Toure. We in the Ivory Coast do not really want to talk about him. Do you believe the French head of state has nothing better to worry about than Guinea? And do you think that we in the Ivory Coast envy Sekou Toure anything? No. If Sekou Toure would take the time to come to Ivory Coast, despite his attack on me he would see why we have no time to discuss him or plot against him. Those who plotted against him were his friends. And it cannot be said that Fodeba Keita and several of his accomplices are my friends; I do not know them."

● The Paris-based Organisation for Guinean Regroupment (ORG) has claimed that over 1,000 people were arrested following last month's plot. Two have subsequently died following torture, the organisation claimed.

## MALI

About three thousand pupils at secondary and technical schools, and establishments of further education have gone on strike in Bamako, in protest at a government programme of educational reform.

● Eight principal ambassadors have been recalled: they are Moussa Leo Keita (US), Mamadou Kante (UN), Mamadou Diarra (USSR), Amadou Diadie Ba (France), Seydou Traore (Belgium and EEC), Boubacar Kasse (UAR), and Fatogomo Kone (Chief Commercial Representative, East Berlin).

## SPAIN AND AFRICA

● Spain's Foreign Minister, Sr. Fernando Castiella, has been in Algiers for talks on common problems, including the future of Spanish Sahara, about which there has been a new capaign in Morocco in recent weeks. Both Morocco and Mauritania claim the territory, but the attitude of Algeria could be an important factor. Spain, in spite of a UN resolution calling for the independence of the territory which is largely inhabited by nomads, is thought to be anxious to retain some sort of control, because of the sizeable phosphate deposits there.

● Several dozen of the estimated 4,000 Spaniards who left Equatorial Guinea last month after the troubles there, have started to return. About 400 stayed on, in spite of the withdrawal of the 260-man Spanish civil guard requested by President Macias.

● Commercial relations with Spain are reportedly being resumed after a lapse of



President Macias—soon to start talking.

a few weeks. A large petrol tanker has already left Spain, and three cargo ships prepared to take on cocoa and coffee at Santa Isabel and Bata are also due to sail. The Spanish Charge D'Affaires, Sr. Emilio de Soralueze, is expected to return to Santa Isabel soon to begin political and commercial discussions with President Macias, after reporting to Madrid that the Guinean Government was anxious to start talking.

● The International Red Cross is to send 12 tons of emergency food supplies to Bata, in response to a request from the Guinea government. The food was taken from the Biafra stockpile on Fernando Po.

● The Labour Ministry has asked all employers for lists of employees who have been evacuated from Equatorial Guinea.

## IN BRIEF

The 4th session of the Niger River Commission has been held in Yaounde, with eight of the nine members present (Niger, Cameroon, Dahomey, Upper Volta, Chad, Mali and Ivory Coast; Guinea was absent, as from the last meeting in Lagos). The Commission heard a progress report from the Secretary-General, Desire Vieira, and approved the budget for 1969.

● Agreement on a common tax for textiles produced within member states of UDEAC, and on harmonisation of growth of textile industries in the union has reportedly been reached at a meeting of experts in Yaounde. (The four member states are Gabon, Congo-B, Cameroon and Chad.)

● A new student organisation, the Movement of Students and Schoolchildren of Ivory Coast (MEECI) has been created in Abidjan, following a three-day congress. The new body, which has agreed to operate within the framework of the ruling PDCI, replaces the previous union, UNECI, dissolved last July.

## SENEGAL

### Warning on Students' Strike

With the resumption on April 14 of the school and university term, the indefinite strike at secondary and technical schools in and around Dakar, and of students at Dakar University continued. Foreign students at the university also declared a 72-hour strike of solidarity. Schools were guarded by armed policemen. On April 17, the Minister of the Interior, Amadou Cleodor Sall broad-

cast a warning to the strikers that security forces would make them "respect the principles of republican legality and life in a society." He stated that on April 15 in St. Louis, and the next day in Dakar, "had attacked schools and damaged cars," thus showing their intention to use force to spread disorder and hinder the normal functioning of classes. Even a legal strike, which is not the case here, cannot interfere with the right to work." He also stressed the responsibility of parents. The following day the National Federation of Parents of Senegalese Schoolchildren issued an appeal to the strikers, their second since the strike started in March, to return to their classes.

● A law giving supplementary powers to public authorities if a state of emergency is declared has been passed by the Senegalese National Assembly. In such an emergency, however, civil authorities would keep control of the police, and maintenance of law and order. Military authorities would take over these functions if a state of siege were declared. The assembly has also approved a law concerning the detention of people, and the requisition of property, and another requiring all political propaganda material to be submitted for official approval before being distributed. Newspapers and magazines are not subject to this rule, but may still be banned. (Our report two weeks ago said the Assembly had already approved these measures; in fact they had only been approved by the cabinet at the end of March, and finally passed the Assembly on April 18.)

● The cabinet has approved the new budget, which covers the financial year July 1, 1969 to June 30, 1970. This totals 41,850m CFA francs (£71.2m.) comprising a recurrent budget of 37,850m. CFA (£65.1m.) and a capital budget of 4,000m. (£6.1m.). Last year's budget was 36,750m. CFA (£62.8m.) recurrent, and 12,672m. CFA (£21.6m.) for capital budget.

● A national conference on the economic, political, social and cultural situation in Senegal will be held on May 14 to be attended by members of the political bureau of the UPS, deputies, ministers, and the UPS youth and women's organisation.

## THE GAMBIA

A correspondent writes: A Gambian groundnut "summit" is being planned for July, to consider the whole future of the groundnut industry in The Gambia. The purpose will be to see whether it is possible to streamline the production of groundnuts, which at the moment pass from farmer to transporter to middleman to buyer without any real co-ordination, so that bottlenecks are created, and time wasting, economically damaging delays set in. It is hoped that consideration may be given to the possibility of decortication at source, as the present system depending entirely on the mills at central points (Kaur and Denton Bridge) causes delays at a crucial time in the season. A preliminary discussion of the arrangements for the "summit" is expected to take place in Bathurst fairly soon. The Ministry of Overseas Development in London is expected to be asked to send an expert of some substance to take the chair at the meeting.

● Analysis of last month's by-election at Wuli made by *The Gambia News Bulletin* show an increase in the PPP percentage of

the poll over his UP opponent, as compared with the 1966 election. At last month's election, Mr. Della Singhateh (1,860) had a majority of 1,323 over his UP opponent, Mr. M. M. M'Jie (537). The PPP majority in 1966 was only 414, and the percentage of total votes was 40.8 per cent to the UP's 30.6 per cent, while this year the percentages were: PPP 63.9 per cent., UP 18.4 per cent. In 1962 the election was very closely run, with the PPP only 44 votes ahead of the UP (Over the past four months there have been three by-elections in the Gambia, all of which have been won by the UP. The new party, the PPN of Sherif Sisay, has not contested any of the elections.)

● Mr. H. R. Monday, Jr., 35, has been appointed substantive Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Finance. He has been acting in that capacity for several months, since the departure of the expatriate John Taylor, now in Montserrat. Mr. Monday, a graduate of the University of Exeter, has been in the Gambian civil service since 1960.

● In the UK Financial Year 1969-70, the Gambia is to receive a loan of £1m., the next instalment of the £32m. loan for development which is being granted over the three year period, 1968-71. The Gambia will also receive £11,000 as part of a loan towards its share of the cost of compensating overseas officers, and £31,000 as part of a larger loan for the Trans-Gambia highway ferry.

● Sir Dawda Jawara, Prime Minister, and Sir F. Singhateh, Governor-General, have sent messages of congratulation to Senegal on its 9th anniversary of independence.

## FRANCE AND NIGERIA Creating a "Pro-Federal Island"

*A correspondent in Paris writes:*

The French connections of S. G. Ikoku, the well-known Nigerian radical, have led to the formation of a pro-Nigerian pressure group here, the France-Nigeria Association, drawing its support from left-wingers, "groupuscules," French West Indians, Black Power supporters and African students. There are doubts about the validity of the political analysis which led to Black Power support, but it was decided that the priority must be to create a pro-Federal island in a sea of pro-Biafran sentiment.

Visiting Paris last December, Mr. Ikoku invited Frenchmen to tour the Nigerian side of the war. Last week (March 26) the visitors who included Henri Herve, son-in-law of the late Richard Wright, Maître Marcel Manville, a French West Indian lawyer and situationist writer Jean-Louis Brau, held a public meeting in which they reported on what they had seen. There was sometimes violent "contestation" from Ibo students and French supporters of the proliferating pro-Biafran pressure groups here. At the close of the meeting, the launching of the France-Nigeria Association was announced. Its vice-chairman is Maître Manville whose anti-colonial career has been distinguished by his defence of Algerians during their war of independence and last year of nationalists from Guadeloupe, who were in the main acquitted after a much-talked-about trial in the French capital. Chairman is Pierre Kalck, a magistrate to whom no political label can be attached, he is left-wing but Christian

Secretary-general is Pastor Jacques Baumont, who also went on the Nigerian trip. The aim of the association is to combat pro-Biafran propaganda in France and also to promote cultural exchange with Nigeria, so that good relations after war will not be prejudiced by present French feeling in the Federation. The political range of the France-Nigeria Association is widened by Aymar Achille-Fould, the centrist deputy who led a parliamentary delegation to Nigeria, and who has prominent support.

The war has produced an interesting range of forces supporting the two sides. For Biafra, besides elements of the majority of the Gaullist party, the France-Nigeria men claim to have detected ex-Communists. In addition the "Gaullistes de gauche" and other liberal left-wingers are pro-Biafran, as is a fair section of the French left-wing proper, represented by Jean-Pierre Sartre and others. For Nigeria, support varies from muted to vocal, including elements in the Quai d'Orsay and perhaps armed forces minister Pierre Messmer, Achille-Fould and the groupuscules.

Black Power supporters (there is a Paris "branch" composed of exiled Black Americans and African students) attempt to draw a parallel between a war that is perpetuated by white men at the expense of the Nigerians and the Biafrans and black-white conflict in the US. Maître Manville says he is against balkanisation in Africa in principle and what he saw in Nigeria convinced him of the sincerity of the Federal attempts to rehabilitate the Biafrans. Of the French government's position, he says, why encourage self-determination in Biafra while denying it to the West Indian possessions?

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## NIGERIA

### Failure at Monrovia

**T**he meeting in Monrovia of the OAU Consultative Committee on Nigeria was opened on April 18 by President Tubman, who said that all six heads of state were aware of the progress of the OAU in trying to avert and avoid the conflict. "At one time we were told it was an internal affair and did not admit of the interference even of other African states or of the OAU." But at Kinshasa in 1967, the OAU instituted the committee to use its "best endeavours" for peace. The battle, he said, could not be settled on the battlefield, but at the conference table. "The fate, not only of Nigeria, but of Africa, is in the balance." Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia, Chairman of the committee said he was glad to note that correspondence from both sides showed a disposition to co-operate.

The meeting, which started a day late, was attended by five heads of state (Cameroon, Niger, Ethiopia, Liberia, Congo-K) and the Vice-Chairman of Ghana's NLC, as well as delegations from Nigeria led by Commissioner for Works, Femi Okunnu and also including Mr. Allison Ayida, who has attended many previous peace talks, and Biafra led by Chief Justice Sir Louis Mbanefo, and including one of Col. Ojukwu's principal advisers, Mr. C. C. Mojekwu and Mr. A. E. Bases, as well as the Biafran representative in Abidjan, Mr. P. C. Chigbo. The Biafrans stayed at a government guest house, apart from the other delegations, who were all put up in the Dioron Palace Hotel.

Several heads of state had made declarations amounting to support for Nigeria's territorial integrity before arriving in Monrovia. President Ahidjo of Cameroon had been in Senegal, where he and President Senghor reaffirmed such support. The Emperor said: "If secession is allowed in Nigeria, what guarantee do we have that it will not take place in another African country?"

The meeting began with both Nigerians and Biafrans submitting their proposals for ending the war. The Nigerians said theirs were the same as at Niamey last July, sources mentioned especially equal rights for Ibo and other Nigerians, an Ibo in the Central cabinet, a predominantly Ibo police force in the East Central State, and a promise that "Ibos will not be treated as defeated persons", apart from the insistence that secession must be renounced. A spokesman for the Biafran delegation said they were prepared to drop their demand for a ceasefire as a precondition for negotiations. The following day Sir Louis' speech was released to the press: he accused Britain, Russia, Algeria and Egypt of "fanning the embers of war by providing huge armaments for the destruction of African lives", and accused the OAU of not seriously demanding that the Nigerians stop killing fellow Africans; a cardinal principle of "African adjudication" was the separation of the warring parties before attempting to reconcile them. The war had made political unity impossible, he said: "In the light of our experiences we are not prepared to entrust the security of our lives and property to any organisation outside ourselves".

Later the committee mandated Presidents

Tubman and Diouf to make contact with the Biafrans, which they did for several hours on the evening of April 18 and for three hours on the morning of April 19. The Emperor and President Mobutu sounded out the Nigerians. A final long session then met, ending in the early hours of the morning of April 20 without any conclusion. Most committee members left during the day, and in the evening a communique was released saying that the committee had urged that the two parties in the civil war "accept in the supreme interest of Africa, a united Nigeria which ensures all forms of security and guarantees of equality of rights and privileges to all its citizens. Within the context of this agreement the two parties should accept an immediate cessation of the

fighting and "the opening without delay of peace negotiations". The committee offered its good offices for negotiation. The communique noted "with satisfaction" that the Nigerians accepted the proposals. The committee appealed to Col. Ojukwu to accept them so that "reconciliation, peace and unity may be restored in Nigeria". The Biafran delegation later was reported to have said that with the words "a solution" in place of the words "united Nigeria" they would have been willing to accept the declaration in principle. They were not prepared to discuss the blanket OAU concept of territorial integrity, without some bilateral discussion of what this would mean.



Gen. Gowon with his wife, senior service officers and Military Governors at the wedding ceremony in Lagos.

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Sir Louis Mbanefo in a statement said that Biafra's fears had not been allayed. He complained that the OAU and in particular Diallo Telli, its Secretary-General, were supporters of a "One Nigeria" policy; he would have preferred to see the Committee's functions as bringing the two sides together for talks without preconditions. Had it been possible to agree on a truce, he said, Col. Ojukwu had been prepared to come to Monrovia "for full and meaningful discussions," but a truce or a ceasefire had not been discussed. The discussions had been mainly devoted to persuading Biafra to accept a united Nigeria. It was now clear he said that the OAU had neither the ability nor the genuine desire to bring the war to an end, and he called for "others" to take the initiative. Both sides said there had been no direct contact between the two parties.

M Diallo Telli told newsmen that for the first time the OAU had placed responsibility where it belonged, regretting that the Biafrans had rejected the OAU's proposals, and making another appeal to the leaders of the secession. He said contacts would con-

tinue individually and collectively but there were no plans for another meeting of the committee. A federal spokesman said that they were "disappointed but not surprised" at the failure of the meeting; another was quoted as saying there was no likelihood of further meetings involving the two sides. President Diouf, passing through Abidjan, said that the committee had not given up hope, and stressed that the Nigerians had been prepared to make concessions, and were no longer insisting that Nigeria had to be a federation; they would agree to a "united states" or "Commonwealth" of Nigeria. President Mobutu said the Biafrans had stuck to their demand for independence, and the Committee had no mandate to cover "secessionist tendencies".

President Houphouët-Boigny of Ivory Coast said, on leaving the Elysee after a meeting with President de Gaulle that he had not excluded the possibility of going to the Monrovia meeting, and had even been invited as an observer by President Tubman; "but if I went to Monrovia, even as an observer, it would be on condition I can take part in the search for peace." In the end he did not go to Monrovia.

Brig. Adebayo, Governor of the Western State, has announced concessions, including a 50 per cent cut in the water rates and "adequate prices" for cocoa farmers, to remove the causes of the tax riots late last year, into which a Commission headed by Mr. Justice Ayoola has enquired.

(Fuller details next week)

Major-General Yakubu Gowon and Miss Christina Zakari were married at Christ Church Cathedral in Lagos on April 19. The service, attended by about 800 people including many senior army officers, and drawing vast crowds outside the Cathedral, was performed by the Anglican bishop of Lagos, the Rev. Seth Kale. Rear-Admiral Wey, head of the Navy, was Gen Gowon's best man. After the ceremony there was a reception at State House; the next day General and Mrs. Gowon went to a Kaduna for a brief honeymoon. The wedding received the greatest publicity in Nigeria; a long special supplement in the *Daily Times* included dozens of special greetings advertisements.

The Commander-in-Chief's wife, a nurse aged 22, comes from Wusasa (Zaria province), where the Gowon family moved not long before Yakubu Gowon's own birth in Oct. 1934. While the Gowon family—the C.-in-C's father is still living, aged about

## NIGERIA—continued

95—is of the Angas tribe from the Middle Belt, the Zakaris are from among the early Hausa converts to Christianity. Malam Zakari, father of Victoria Zakari, was in the Northern Region civil service for many years, his last post, before his retirement two years ago, being that of secretary of the Northern Scholarship Board.

Before the wedding Victoria Zakari said she wanted as many children as she could: "I don't believe in family planning; I don't think we need fear for overpopulation in this country. There is plenty of food. The problem is distribution. . ."

## The War and the World

U Thant has defended the UN's lack of participation in efforts to end the Nigerian war and said no UN members were ready to involve the organisation in the affairs of a member state.

● MPs and leading personalities interested in Nigeria in the UK have formed a group to support Nigerian unity and counter what they claim to be a widespread bias in favour of Biafra. They include Mr. James Johnson, MP; Sir James Robertson (former Governor-General of Nigeria), Sir Stafford Foster Sutton, QC; Mr. W. H. Irvine, a former civil servant in Nigeria; and Mr. Ben Enwonwu, the Onitsha-born Nigerian sculptor. They accuse the secessionist leaders of preventing a peaceful settlement on the basis of the 12 states.

● Dr. Okoi Arikpo has been in London for a meeting of Nigerian ambassadors in Europe, and to "bring the British government up to date on developments since the Prime Minister's visit to Lagos."

● A Radio Nigeria broadcast on the visit of an Equatorial Guinea goodwill delegation to Lagos praised President Macias as a friend of Nigeria and a leader who has proved himself to be a man of courage and a genuine African Nationalist. Nigeria was in a unique position to assist Equatorial Guinea.

● Prof. Conor Cruise O'Brien, holder of the Schweitzer chair in humanities at New York University has said on a visit to Umuahia that Biafra promised to be the first truly independent country in Africa.

● Mr. S. B. Audifferen, aged 45, Assistant Director, Federal Ministry of Works and Housing, has been promoted Director. Mr. Audifferen, who comes from Ilesha, first joined the Public Service in 1947.

● The Federal Commissioner for Rehabilitation, Mr. Timothy Omo-Bate, has called for a country-wide law permitting the adoption of orphans by willing families. He said such a law would be needed because of the increase in the number of orphans. "At least five million persons have been affected by the crisis," he added.

More than £750,000 out of £1m. granted his commission by the Government had already been expended in buying foodstuffs, medical supplies, clothing and similar items for distribution in the war affected areas, the Commissioner said. It hoped to spend at least £100,000 monthly from now on to provide local staple food for displaced persons; the Nigerian Red Cross was already spending that much monthly. Efforts were being made to stock relief supplies for immediate availability to the field feeding teams. From the end of February, he said, those teams had been

reporting only limited cases of malnutrition and food deficiency.

● Joint Church Aid has announced a 2,000th relief flight to Biafra from Tomé, just over a year after the announcement of the Caritas flights, which later became an element in the major airlift begun in September.

In the first 13 nights of April the Cross airlift brought in a record 26 tons of relief supplies, in 185 flights.

● In a report on his visit to Biafra shortly before Umuahia was lost, Mr. James M. Cracken, executive director of Church World Service, said that in refugee camps set up last September people's health had improved, but he stressed the dependence on the airstrip. He also said traffic to Umuahia was directed by women who continued to wear white gloves but had their white blouses dyed light grey for fear of air raids.

## News from the States

The meeting of commissioners in finance just ended in Lagos has submitted to the Supreme Military Council recommendations on the allocation of revenue. The meeting set up an *ad hoc* committee headed by the Lagos State Commissioner for Finance, to look into various aspects of the Dina Report on revenue allocation which the commissioners had rejected.

Chief Harold Binye, Rivers State Agricultural Commissioner, has criticised the reported new plan for revenue allocation to the States.

● The Biafran Government receives about £1m. monthly to sustain its war effort. The Administrator of Nigeria's East Central State, Mr. Ukpaobi Asika, has estimated in a recorded interview televised in the ETV. Mr. Asika said that without this support "there would have been no war, and the phase of starvation and hunger which came on the scene only from April, 1968, would not have occurred." Mr. Asika, who also said that 50 per cent. of the Biafrans had come back to Nigeria. "So the allegations of genocide are incorrect. The war was created and perpetrated by a minority group of my friends who composed the Biafran leadership in an effort to starve and justify their rebellion."

● Technicians report that the new oil pipeline from Ughelli, in the Mid-West, has an offshore loading point for very large tankers, 17 miles from Forcados, will be completed by July 1, according to a feature article in the London *Financial Times*. The article, by Bridget Bloom, the newspaper's Africa correspondent, is entitled "Nigeria on the verge of a new oil bonanza." It estimates Ughelli area production by the end of the year as 350,000 barrels a day, three times present Mid-West production, and five-eighths of total Nigerian production just before the war.

## LONDON

The London monthly *Africa and the World*, a strong supporter of ex-president Nkrumah of Ghana and a radical exponent on African affairs in general, has resumed publication after six months' suspension due to financial difficulties.

● The first of a series of four meetings on "Tourism in Africa" will take place at the Africa Centre, Covent Garden, on May (at 7.30 p.m.). The topic will be "Tourism and the National Budget" and the speaker will be Harry Cowie of Maxwell Stuart Associates.



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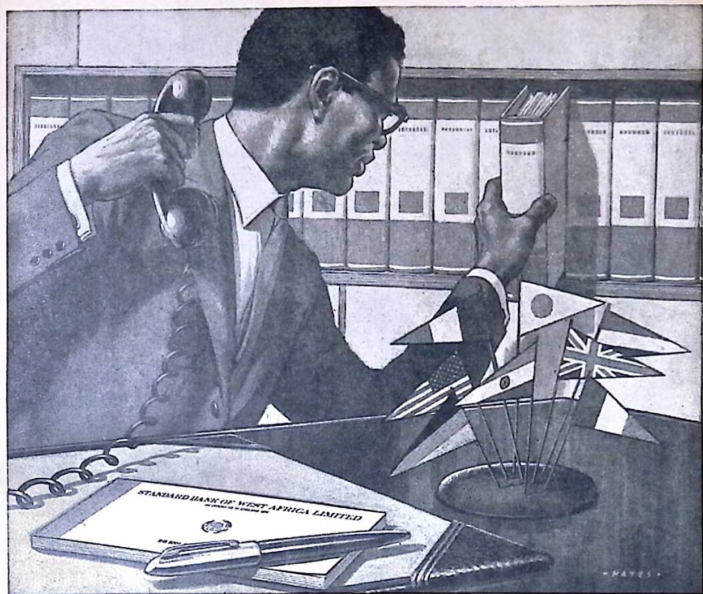
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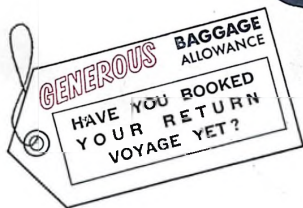
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