

# West Africa

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SECTION.

## ECA and OAU

AT the first meeting of the Economic Commission for Africa, tension appeared between the then colonial powers and the African spokesmen, since the colonial powers were apprehensive that, in some way, establishment of the Commission, as a United Nations body, might lead to "interference" in their African territories. At the meeting in Addis Ababa this week to celebrate ECA's tenth anniversary, some African delegates have complained of "interference" from outside the continent in the commission's work.

The African fears expressed this week are as baseless as the European fears ten years ago. In both cases they arise from the fact that ECA is a UN body which should be, and is, a means of attracting outside assistance for Africa and publicising African needs outside the continent. Just as ten years go it would have been disastrous if ECA had become a small colonial body, so now those who want it to be narrowly African, misunderstand both its function and their own needs.

In a series of articles, of which the last appears on page 144, a correspondent has surveyed the history and work of ECA. Such a commission would be important in any continent, but in Africa its importance could become crucial. This is simply because, leaving aside South Africa and Rhodesia, there are 41 independent states in Africa, the greatest number in any continent, with half a dozen more to come. No fewer than 27 have populations under five million, some under a million; all are poor. This means not only that they have not the resources for development in isolation (there are many sources of assistance for countries in this plight), it also means that many kinds of development make sense for them only if undertaken in co-operation with their neighbours. Few have viable economies or attractive markets and partly, but by no means wholly, as a result of the colonial partition of the continent, economic relations between these states have been, for the most part, tenuous.

In its first ten years what has ECA done to meet this challenge? Mr. Robert Gardiner, the Ghanaian Executive Secretary, whose name always comes to mind

when ECA is mentioned, has pointed out that while everybody can recognise the need for economic co-operation in Africa, this recognition is not the same thing as "the patient evolution of studies, policies and institutions designed to satisfy the need and achieve the advantage". Now, he claims, the essential "multinational approach" is becoming an increasing reality in Africa, largely as a result of ECA's work in many fields.

It must be remembered, too, that ECA does a great deal of training of African experts and, because of the scarcity of material and the inadequacy of the resources of individual States, has itself to do a great deal of research before many of the problems with which it deals can even be discussed. If, to the outsider, ECA's work in these ten years seems largely to consist of organising meetings and issuing documents, rather than of planning and executing actual projects, this reflects less the inadequacy of the organisation than the situation of the continent. And if the meetings have established the multinational approach, the documents, in Mr. Gardiner's words, are probably "the most comprehensive and intensive studies of the problems, opportunities and measures for the economic development of Africa".

A turning point came in 1963 when the Addis Ababa conference which founded OAU decided that the new organisation required ECA assistance. Subsequently, OAU made ECA virtually its economic arm. This does not mean that relations between the two, although they are in the same city (admittedly at different ends of it), are happy, and Mr. Diallo Telli has told the ECA conference that they are not.

It is natural that OAU, with its small staff and uncertain budget, should feel a certain envy of ECA. In its imposing premises ECA has a professional staff of 137 and a non-professional one of 236, sustained by a budget of \$4.65m. The staff and the budget, however, are not extravagant. That in any case, is not the point the critics make; they are concerned that some 40 per cent of senior staff are non-African, but miss the point that as this is a UN body,



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sustained by UN money, there is nothing incongruous in its employment of non-Africans. And when no African is available, to refuse to employ an African is no service to the continent.

The problem of ECA is not its staff but its members. The "interference" with its work comes not from outside Africa but from within. If African governments paid heed to ECA's advice and attempted, even at some apparent sacrifice, to implement its recommendations, there would be no need for a long-sighted and short-sighted competition about the alleged interference of the outside world in its work.

## Francophones and Anglo-Saxons

THE adherence of Mauritius to the French-speaking Afro-Malagasy Common Organisation (OCAM) reported on page 165, raises again in a slightly different way an old question: can English-speaking states join OCAM? Mauritius is an exception. There is no doubt it is true, is an exception. There is a considerable French-speaking minority there, it is considered (with the exception of the chellies) to be part of *la francophonie* and the Prime Minister himself, Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam, like many of his officials is bilingual, so he followed the proceedings at OCAM's shasha meeting where he was an observer.

We are told, however, that any state can join the OCAM club, provided its rules are accepted. The membership of OCAM, for example, has sometimes been suggested, and there was some interest in Kenya might be interested in joining. Mauritius has set a precedent by being the first Commonwealth country to join membership of the two associations. Sir Seewoosagur, is complementary. In reality, the adherence of an English-speaking country to the OCAM, the influence of Ghana or Kenya to a French-speaking organisation, even though the political of its leaders may be in line with pragmatic moderation of which OCAM leaders are proud, presents obstacles.

On the one hand it would estimate the organisation as a much less political threat to the OAU than it presents at the moment: there would be little difference in criteria for membership that the one might seem to suit the other.

Conversely, the ties which unite have bound OCAM states together been linguistic (all are French-speaking commercial (all are associates of the EEC) and cultural (the majority are former French colonies). It has been difficult enough for the organisation to digest Congo-Kinshasa, from its membership most of the organisational difficulties have arisen, from Tshombe the mercenaries and the UEAC. The French are very much in OCAM, and while seeing the Continent as a sphere of cultural expansion, the



An example of one OCAM leader's concern about Nigeria. President Houphouët-Boigny receives refugee Biafran children.

apprehensive that such a large and rich addition to the club might be a Trojan horse for the Americans. How much more might the French resist the intrusion of the dreaded Anglo-Saxons in what could turn out to be an OAU takeover bid for OCAM.

President Senghor has rightly said that English-speaking Africans are indifferent to learning French, and even sometimes encourage Fashodas, or anglophone-francophone discords in Africa. But he is wrong if he believes this to be a greater obstacle to unity than France's continued "special relationship" with her former colonies—indefinitely more complex and umbilical than the loose and diverse ties of the Commonwealth (the Commonwealth countries have no comparable meeting to OCAM; they only meet as part of a world-wide Commonwealth). In this respect the preoccupation of OCAM leaders with the Nigerian war, even if their current attitudes are likely to increase Nigerian hostility to the whole French sphere of influence in Africa (see Report, "Is There an OCAM Peace Mission?" on page 165), may in the long run bring some benefits from the greater contact and interest involved.

## Dam At Work

By a Correspondent

WHEN the Niger Dam at Kainji was officially opened on Feb. 15 the most important project in Nigeria's Six-Year (1962-1968) Development Plan will have come to fruition, despite the general shelving of this plan after 1966, and despite the serious effect on construction of the dam of the disturbances in that year. The distribution system for the dam's power still has to be completed, but, since supply of Kainji power to Lagos began last December, the project

as a whole has been completed almost exactly on schedule, despite the disruption due to the war—which has affected imports through Lagos port, for example, though the dam is far from the war (it is about 220 miles NNE of Lagos).

The possibility of constructing a dam on the River Niger was considered from 1951. In 1954, the Electricity Corporation of Nigeria (ECN) commissioned the Netherlands Engineering Consultants (Nedeco) to undertake a navigation survey of the Niger and Benue; then Nedeco were commissioned, with Balfour Beatty, UK engineering consultants, to study the feasibility of siting a dam on the Niger above its confluence with the Benue. At the same time, two other firms of consultants, Sir Alexander Gibb & Partners and Preece Cardew & Rider, were asked to survey a site for a dam at Shiroro on the Kaduna river.

The UN Special Fund, the agency (now merged in the UN Development Programme) co-ordinating technical assistance for pre-investment projects, agreed in Dec. 1959 on a more detailed survey of the possibility of harnessing the Niger river's power. The World Bank was chosen as executing agency, and carried out the survey between March 1960 and April 1961, aided by Balfour Beatty and Nedeco. It recommended that, as the first stage of the project, a dam and a power facility with a capacity of 320,000 kW, an auxiliary dam, navigation locks and a power distribution system should be built, at a total cost of \$208m. (£74m. at the then exchange rate). It was also suggested that hydroelectric facilities might be set up at Jebba, 64 miles downstream from Kainji (the site suggested for the main dam), and at Shiroro Gorge: these could provide nearly 1m extra kW of power. In the Development Plan the project's cost was estimated at £68m. for the first phase, which would include a dam, a power station, a system of locks, a major reservoir suitable for fishing and irrigation. The second and third phases would consist of the subsidiary dams in the World Bank plan.

It was estimated that the dam would pay for itself by electricity generation alone (though it was always possible that natural gas might provide a cheap alternative means of power generation); but many important subsidiary benefits were hoped for, including facilities for large-scale irrigation in a relatively poor and underpopulated area (about 60,000 people had to be resettled because of the Lake, which flooded old Bussa).

A Niger Dams Authority and Niger Dams Advisory Board were created in 1962. Balfour Beatty and Nedeco, still consultants to the project, invited tenders for the main contract in 1963, after contracts had been awarded for preliminary work. In 1964 Impregilo s.p.a. of Milan, contractors for the Volta and Kariba Dams (and, now, for the planned Kossou Dam in Ivory Coast) won the main contract; their tender of £35.5m. was lower than that of any of the other

four contenders (who included Dumez, French contractors for the Niger bridge at Onitsha). At this time a World Bank loan was far from uncertain, though the Bank had already been involved with the scheme at many stages: it gave its approval to the project in 1963, after forming, in 1962, a Consultative Group of aid-giving countries to seek finance for Nigeria's Development Plan. The Bank in March 1964 loaned \$30m. to the Electricity Corporation of Nigeria for general construction of transmission lines and distribution facilities. Initial site works at Kainji had already begun when the World Bank made a loan of \$82m. (£30m.) for the Dam—its most important contribution to the project.

By the end of 1964 a total of \$238m. (£85m.) had been committed, including \$84m. (£30m.) from the Nigerian Government, \$82m. (about £30m.) from the World Bank, \$26.1m. from Italy, \$15m. from Canada, \$14m. from the UK, \$11m. from the USA, and \$6m. from the Netherlands. With this help work proceeded smoothly for about two years. The dam itself, 215 feet high and 1,800 feet across, was at an advanced stage, and coffer dams built across the right hand stream of the river to divert the flow, by the middle of 1966. Then, in September 1966, came trouble—first a minor strike following an accident, and then the pogroms, in which several Eastern Nigerian workers at the dam site were murdered; 1,000-1,500 others were evacuated by Impregilo after this, leaving a big shortage of skilled labour. This was replaced very soon, however, and the departure of many Italian workers about the same time had only a limited effect on work.

The last bucket of concrete was poured into the dam on July 1967. With the closing of the intake gates a year later the harnessing of the river was complete. The flow of water through the spillways was then (August 1968) stopped while the lake level rose to the required level, and later resumed; during dry seasons the flow will continue, and the lower level of the Niger below the dam at those times will, it is thought, be compensated partly by tributaries, such as the Kontagora and Oli rivers not far below Kainji; but attention is being given to the supply of water downstream from the dam.

The power house contains four 80 mW generating sets; provision has been made to increase the number to 12, raising capacity to 960 megawatts.

The UN Development Programme is financing the initial operation of a Kainji Lake Research Centre; and it is thought 10,000 tons could be added from the lake to Nigeria's annual river fish catch. One beneficial side-effect of the project has been the pioneering for the sake of workers of pest and health measures: river blindness (onchocerciasis) has been brought under 95 per cent control in the dam area by river dosing techniques, and malaria has been reduced by bush spraying.

## 10 YEARS OF ECA: 4

## Linking up the Mini-States

This week, at its ninth full session, the UN Economic Commission for Africa celebrates the tenth anniversary of its foundation. In a final article on ECA our correspondent describes its efforts to improve transport between African countries, and to promote industry.

FROM all ECA's multifarious fields, I select two for examples of what ECA might do for Africa. They are co-ordination of transport and industrial promotion.

In colonial days transport systems were designed to convey the produce of each African country to ports, and were directed primarily at overseas trade with the metropolitan powers. Although there was considerable co-operation among the various territories of the two French colonial federations, in West and Central Africa, there was virtually none between them and non-French African countries. Trade between African countries is very small, but it could and should increase. Improved transport between them could at least help to increase it, even if it is unrealistic to pretend that the absence of transport between them is the chief reason for the low level of trade.

One of the earliest jobs of ECA was to study co-operation between neighbouring countries, in the use of roads, railways and harbours (co-operation in the running of airways, as shown by the West African Airways Corporation, actually worsened after independence chiefly because Dr. Nkrumah wanted a separate airline).

So far, as in other fields, ECA has not done much beyond research and outline planning in transport. But at West Africa transport conference discussed, among other things, standardisation of vehicle legislation and signals, called for a study of soil stabilisation in roads and concrete surfaces, and the use of local materials. It suggested a permanent body for the creation and running of a sub-regional transport network in West Africa for land-locked countries.

There has also been a study of the problems of transport across the Sahara, resulting in an application to the UN for finance for a pre-investment study.

More important, in 1964 the Secretariat arranged detailed studies, with the co-operation of non-African countries, of sub-regional transport networks. A team from Federal Germany prepared a study which covered Niger, Upper Volta, Ghana, Togo, Dahomey and Nigeria. A Belgian team prepared a report on possible transport developments in an area embracing Chad, Cameroon, the Central African Republic, Gabon, the two Congos, Burundi and Rwanda. A French team studied similar problems in Mauritania, Mali, Senegal, Gambia, Liberia and the Ivory Coast. An Italian team studied transport developments in the Sudan, Somalia and Ethiopia.

A preliminary study of eight proposed road links within the Chad Basin area has been completed at the request of the Chad Basin Commission, and its

major recommendation accepted. USAID is completing a study of Middle Africa transportation, which will cover copperbelt area of the Congo, Zambia, Tanzania, Malawi, Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi and Botswana.

In West Africa according to "A Venture in Self-Reliance," the booklet produced by Mr. Robert Gardiner, the Executive Secretary, to mark the tenth anniversary of ECA, "consideration of transport problems has gone beyond the preliminary examination of proposals. As a result of a meeting which took place in Lome in March 1968, it has been recommended that pre-investment studies be made of the following links: (a) Ouagadougou-Lome trunk road through Koupele and Bhatta, (b) Ouagadougou-Niamey trunk road, (c) links between Upper Volta and Dahomey, (d) liaison between Niger and Dahomey, and (e) trunk roads from east to west. A similar development in areas west of the Ivory Coast will mark a significant advance towards the creation of a West African road network extending from Mauritania to Nigeria."

In river transport there is a current study of the navigability of the Niger with assistance from the Netherlands.

ECA has been active, too, in attempts to improve and co-ordinate African airlines and civil aviation facilities. Mr. Gardiner notes that African countries understand that the advent of giant aircraft makes small national lines even more unviable.

The Secretariat has made a survey of shipping freight rates in West Africa, and has discussed arrangements for improving port efficiency and co-operation between existing shipping lines and prospective national lines. Today 15 African countries operate their own shipping lines and the Secretariat hopes that these will become multi-national and that land-locked countries will be able to participate in them. Stabilisation of freight rates is urgently necessary.

In the field of transport, Mr. Gardiner says finally, it can be claimed that some progress has been made. "The principle has been accepted that without an appropriately planned network, intra-African trade will be difficult, if not impossible to foster. Moreover, it has been accepted that machinery for economic co-operation in each sub-region will include a specialised body in the field of transport. The scattered efforts of multi-lateral and bilateral donors are being brought together and, if under the leadership of the ADB priorities can be established, a programme in which individual countries, sub-regional groups and international organisations could carry out allotted functions could be

launched."

Development of industry is an obvious offer for ECA. Very few African states offer individually an adequate market for most modern industries, and very few have even the technical resources to attract outside industrialists. It is true that a reduction in import and export duties and harmonisation of procedures and improvement in transport, between African countries may be as important in the development of industry as direct promotion. But promotion of industry was one of the first tasks set for ECA with the emphasis on interest in co-operation, usually "sub-regional."

On this basis the following industries have been examined in detail and investment opportunities in them have been publicised: bricks, ceramics, refractories, rubber, textiles, electronics, cement, cement-based industries, synthetic fibres, beverages, tobacco, bagging materials, paint, glass, leather and shoes, non-ferrous metal industries, engineering industries, furniture, petroleum, iron and steel, chemicals, fertilizers, pulp and paper, mechanised timber industries.

Conscious that in many cases only side private capital could produce the funds and the technical resources, ECA convened a conference of industrialists and financiers in Addis Ababa in 1967 to interest commercial people in industrialised countries in African industrialisation.

Great importance has been attached to small-scale industries. These, says Gardiner, hold prospects of immediate results and offer a suitable means of developing African entrepreneurial spirit. A pilot advisory centre was set up in Niamey in 1966, to serve the West African sub-region. The centre has been providing technical assistance and advice to African governments.

Such contributions to industrial development, concludes the Executive Secretary, cannot be measured in terms of number of factories constructed, there is no proper yardstick for measuring services essentially of an intangible nature. "The central concern was to make industrialisation a fact of human attainment and not an ideal of human admiration." The advantage of accelerated industrial development through sub-regional co-operation is obvious, but they are not easy to achieve. "Therein lies the challenge: a considerable groundwork has been done in the last decade to meet this challenge. The practical details of co-operation have been submitted to searching examination. The benefits of co-ordinated industrial development have been technically demonstrated. The essential institutions for accelerated industrial development well on the way to their establishment."

The immediate tasks are to: (a) multi-national industrial institutions; (b) policy and programming, pre-standardisation and research; (c) realisation of selected multi-national projects.

## ROUNDBOUT Ten Years of Association

It is now just over ten years since the first agreement associating African countries with the European Common Market came into force, at the same time as the EEC itself, on January 1, 1959. Reflecting on the last ten years of association at a meeting last month at the Royal Institute of International Affairs, Chatham House, London, M. Henri Rochereau, who is the member of the Commission of the European Communities with special responsibility for Overseas Development Aid (and was visiting London for talks on aid to developing countries), recalled that the original association was an integral part of the treaty of Rome, as all the black African countries were at that stage overseas territories of France. France itself had raised the problem in the discussions leading up to the Rome Treaty, because of the extremely close economic links she had with these territories, which "might have threatened the formation of the Common Market." In the face of this, the options were to integrate the territories into the Market, or exclude them by making them totally "third countries".

Neither of these was acceptable, so the compromise of "association" was reached, as "a pragmatic attempt to adapt the new European creation to economic and political realities which they could not ignore." Today, he said, the formula of association had proved itself perfectly viable, and had, notably, survived all the changes there had been in Africa since 1958. He stressed particularly, that although the first agreement had been negotiated by European countries, the second one, the Yaoundé Treaty of 1964 had been freely negotiated by independent states. There were two essential points he wanted to make about Yaoundé: firstly there was no change in the structure of commercial exchanges, founded on the reciprocal preferential tariff areas. By June 1, 1968, the tariffs of all associates had been almost completely aligned with the treaty, but at the same time there was a provision for associates to protect their infant industries.

Although it was difficult to interpret statistics of the last ten years, M. Rochereau stressed that while France suffered slightly from the association agreement, the exports from associates\* to EEC countries other than France had increased between 1958 and 1967 at the rapid rate of 16.9 per cent a year. Overall exports of associates to the EEC only increased at 6 per cent a year, a figure less than those of the "third world" as a whole to the EEC, especially Latin America, North Africa, and non-associated Africa. The same trends are shown in the figures of associates' imports from the EEC, however. M. Rochereau also emphasises that the second associa-

tion saw a considerable expansion of financial and technical co-operation through the medium of the Development Fund. There was the increase from \$581m. to \$800m of the Fund, the introduction of loans as well as grants, which meant more aid for industrial development; the possibility of short term advances for price stabilisation; and the increased concentration on agriculture. He also underlined the organs provided for by Yaoundé—the Council of Association, the Eur-African parliamentary conferences, etc.—as a beneficial "permanent dialogue", and concluded by saying that the associates' preferences were for "protection" rather than "discrimination", and their abandonment would condemn certain associates to "an inadmissible economic and social regression".

### Built-in Strength

I am interested to see that next Sunday, February 9, what is described as a "Power Challenge" is being held at St Pancras Town Hall between a British challenger and "Power Mike," billed as "the strongest man in Africa." Power Mike is in fact Mike Okpala, a Biafran from the Awka area, who has been in Europe (partly in London, partly in Greece) for more than a year now and has recently done his act on the David Frost Show and on the children's programme Blue Peter. After schooling in the former Eastern Region he moved North some ten years ago as a trader dealing in rubber tyres, first in Maidu-



Power Mike and cement bag

guri, then in Kano. His strength, he says, was something he was born with, and was not built up with weightlifting. He used to do various strong-man acts for free at street-corner shows, at parties or in clubs, until five years ago he was persuaded to make a living from it. He was sponsored by the Nigerian Bottling Company (he appeared in the Coca Cola ads, under the slogan "Gives You Strength") and toured the whole federa-

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tion giving demonstrations of strength, including his acts of picking up a full bag of cement in his teeth (see picture), carrying two girls on each arm, bending a rod of iron in his mouth, and pulling two cars along together. In May 1966 his tyre store was burnt down in the Kano riots, and in July 1966 he left Nigeria for Ghana, from where he proceeded on a West African tour. From his book of press cuttings, one can see he travelled widely in Dahomey, Togo, Cameroon, Ivory Coast, the Gambia and Senegal. In the last two countries (known for the popularity of wrestling) he seems to have had especial success. Although not a wrestler himself, since going to Greece last year, he has taken it up, and is now anxious to return to Africa doing wrestling as well as the strong man stuff.

## Is Ob-la-di Deep Urhobo?

Another West African in the news in London recently, although indirectly, is the musician Jimmy Scott. Jimmy, is what is called a "session man" on Conga-drums, has been around on the British music scene for 20 years or so (having originally been a seaman) and has become known for what he calls his "words," phrases of what the Americans call scat. One of his favourite phrases—"Ob-la-di, ob-la-da, life must go on"—was perchance taken up by the Beatles and made into a song which topped the British charts for three weeks last month and is still an outstanding success. Jimmy, not surprisingly feels grieved about this, especially as the Beatles' song has a West Indian rhythm attached to it, because Ob-la-di is Jimmy Scott: "I have my whole Ob-la-di thing going, man, and nobody knows what it's all about but me," he says. He has made his own record called "Ob-la-di Ob-la-da story," and plans to bring out a long-playing record in which it is explained, but I gather from his friends that it could mean something in "deep Urhobo." For Jimmy is from the Scott-Emuakpor family of Warri in the Midwest State, and like so many Warri families is half Itsekiri, half Urhobo. Despite the fact that his "words" were stolen, he has been able to reap some of the fame of the phrase. I went to a concert that he took part in recently in London at the Round House, Chalk Farm, Mecca of the avant-garde, at which his newly formed group, which includes several Nigerians, provided a welcome change from the preceding soundstorm of the Pink Floyd (the centrepiece of whose act is frying an egg in front of the microphone). He plays a mixture of all styles, he says, rhythm and blues, high-life as well as the famous "soul" which is currently devastating Nigeria's popular music.

**Griot**

## Progress of the Probes

By a correspondent

WHEN General Ankrah set forth the civilian rule timetable last May and October he said nothing to suggest that the "cleaning-up" of the Nkrumah regime, through commissions of enquiry and prosecutions, should be completed before civilian rule returns. As the NLC has attached considerable importance to the exposure and punishment of the financial misdeeds of that regime, it might be expected that it would insist on seeing this job through before handing over. But a glance at the work still to be done by the Commissions will show that if civilian rule were delayed until their completion, it might be delayed a long time.

About 50 commissions and committees of enquiry were appointed after the fall of the Nkrumah regime, nearly three years ago; many were into allegations of malpractices, corruption, and other alleged offences by members of the old regime; the Apaloo Commission into the "Kwame Nkrumah properties," for example, and the Kom Commission (into the Workers' Brigade). These touched on political aspects of the old regime, though the Workers' Brigade probe, for example, dealt simply with actions by officers of the Brigade, not with the politics in which it was involved. Concentration has generally been on financial affairs and financial crimes. Only a few of these commissions dealing with these have touched on high-level Government actions. Among these few are the Apaloo Report already mentioned, the Azu Crabbe commission (into NADECO, the company formed to finance the CPP), and the Ollennu Commission (into import licences). These three presented their reports before the end of 1967.

Many commissions dealing with financial offences have examined organisations, companies, and other bodies of varying importance, working under the old regime. Examples are the Housing Corporation (Effah Commission); a state enterprise, the Furniture and Housing Corporation (Tsegah Committee); and the Cargo Handling Co. (Koranteng-Addow Commission). Reports on these show how the Nkrumah regime impinged on many aspects of life. So does the interesting report of the de Graft-Johnson Committee on cocoa purchasing, which deals at length with the dissolved UGFCC, which was the CPP farmers' organisation and sole purchaser of cocoa for the Marketing Board.

Some other aspects of the old regime have not been extensively probed. But the Ribeiro-Aych report gave interesting details about the Publicity Secretariat and various Nkrumah publications, while the report on prisons by the Commission under Sir Edward Asafu-Adjaye said something about Preventive Detention. Some Commission reports will be valuable documents for future historians; the



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Ollennu report is a classic study of corruption encouraged by sweeping ministerial powers, the Apaloo report gives an impression of a spendthrift life led by Dr. Nkrumah and many of his ministers, and the Asafu-Adjaye report is valuable for its section on Dr. Danquah and on prison conditions.

But the Commissions and Committees of Enquiry have not led to many prosecutions; some, after months of painstaking enquiry, recommend none at all. It has been entertaining for the Ghanaian public to see former politicians forced to account for every penny they spent at certain times, or to list their wives and children, or to reveal certain behind-the-scenes transactions with overseas businessmen that were never meant to become known; but one object of the exercise was punishment of the guilty. The heads of commissions are nearly all judges and lawyers who, if they do not (as they are not always obliged to) follow the same laws of evidence as courts must follow, know that these laws must be taken into account. So they could be expected to show caution in recommending prosecution, and not to do so when the evidence seems likely to be insufficient for conviction; sure evidence in cases of bribery, corruption, fraud, embezzlement and similar offences may often be very hard to find. But the frequency with which the courts acquit people prosecuted after commissions' reports, while it speaks well for the free-

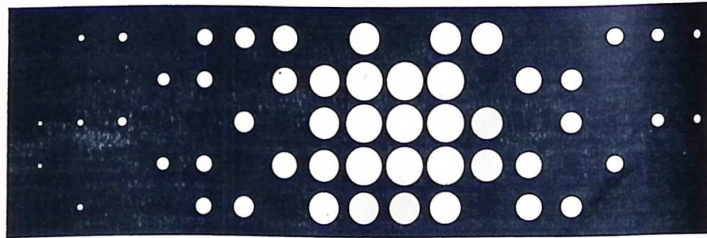
dom of the courts, also suggests either that the commissions may sometimes have recommended prosecution on (by judicial standards) uncertain evidence, or that the laws (all passed under the old régime) under which trials were held have too many loopholes. Anyway, some Ghanaians complain that the biggest profiteers under the old régime are still seat-free.

Apart from this, the Commissions have not all presented their reports, and some have not finished their work. We have still to read reports on the Accra City Council (Akyea-Djamson Commission), the Food Marketing Corporation (Amofo committee), the Black Star Line (Francois Commission), the Kumasi City Council (Totee Commission), the funds of the TUC (Munufie Commission) and the Preventive Detention Act (probed by two University men, Dr. Adu Boahen and Dr. K. E. de Graft-Johnson). Mr. Justice Ollennu, who headed the import licences enquiry, is now heading an enquiry into the finances of the University of Ghana, and there is another headed by Mr. P. E. N. K. Archer, into Cape Coast University College.

These will probably not deal in any important way with the Nkrumah régime; nor, presumably, will Mr. Justice Fred K. Apaloo's probe into the Land Laws or Mr. Justice C. E. H. Coussey's into Forestry Reserve Settlement. But Mr. Cromwell Quist's enquiry into the Star Publishing Co. and New Times Ltd.

(the old Guinea Press) will, and so will the Wiredu Commission into the F. Corporation, and the Acolatse-S. Commission of enquiry into the Da Marketing Corporation. This last sent its report to the NLC about a month ago, and there has been some criticism of the delay in publishing it (the best of this commission, and some of which were in camera).

Since a White Paper is issued with the report, some delay before publication can be expected in the case of reports, as of others already published. But many of those mentioned are expected to be published in the next few months; the only commissions which seem nowhere near publication of reports are the three Assets Commissions headed by Mrs. Justice Annie Jagge, Justice E. N. Sowah and Mr. J. S. M. Plange. Nothing has been published as a result of the immensely painstaking examination these have made of the careers, marriages, cars, bank accounts, properties, houseboy wages and minutiae of daily life of numerous régime leaders, except a part of the Sowah Commission's findings on a few people, including five ex-Ministers. The three commissions are still at work, and all have large numbers to deal with, particularly the Jagge Commission. Unless the coming civilian Government decides otherwise the Commission Enquiry may be with Ghana for a long time.



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## MATCHET'S DIARY

**POLITICAL** interest in Ghana is now focused on the Constituent Assembly. Officially parties are still not allowed to operate; but nothing could be more political than the atmosphere in which the assembly meets, and is discussed outside. But as September 30, the date for return to civilian rule, approaches only two names are still mentioned with any confidence for civilian leadership—those of Dr. Busia and Mr. Gbedemah. This is extraordinary, since both made their political reputations many years ago, one as leader of the opposition to Dr. Nkrumah, the other as Osagyefo's lieutenant. It might be said indeed that this is the only significant difference between their political stands; and since Mr. Gbedemah, too, moved over to oppose Dr. Nkrumah and, like Dr. Busia, was for a long time in voluntary exile, it might be asked why they cannot join forces. It is a profound difference of personality rather than of tribal origin (Dr. Busia, an academic, comes from the royal family of the Brong State of Wenchi, while Mr. Gbedemah is a very competent self-made Ewe businessman) which ensures that for the time being, at any rate, they will be rivals. Mr. Gbedemah, however, has no embryo party behind him, while Dr. Busia has the old United Party. Inside this, however, his lead is challenged by Mr. Joe Appiah, also once one of Dr. Nkrumah's closest lieutenants but later one of his most famous detainees. Dr. Busia is now in the Constituent Assembly, Mr. Gbedemah outside. What effect this will have on their relative political fortunes (Mr. Gbedemah still has to be cleared by the Jaagge Commission on assets of former leaders of the Nkrumah regime) I don't know. Ghanaians who favour a "third force," which would make a national appeal to counter the incipient tribalism of Ghanaian politics, and attempt to use the talents of former CPP men, together with people who previously stayed well away from politics, feel that they might, when their own strength is established, call on either, or both, Dr. Busia and Mr. Gbedemah. This might suggest that the man at present holding back—and Mr. Gbedemah is lying very low—could in the long run find himself in the stronger position. For the future in Ghana surely must belong to those who look forward rather than those who base politics on settling scores from the past. Events in Nigeria and Sierra Leone, however, do not support that optimistic view.

Next week, West Germany's 74-year-old President, who is making a West African tour before his retirement, is to



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*Mr. P. B. Hunter envisages further progress in current year*

The 72nd Annual General Meeting of John Holt & Company (Liverpool) Limited will be held on the 28th February in Liverpool. The following are extracts from the Statement of the Chairman, Mr. P. B. Hunter, circulated with the Report and Accounts for the year ended 31st August, 1968:—

In my statement last year to the members of the company, I said that there were encouraging signs of improvement and I forecast that even if the Nigerian dispute were not settled, we should make a small profit. Events have proved that this was a pessimistic view. The signs of improvement which I then saw, continued and increased throughout the year with the result that the trading profit for the year amounted to £853,000, which compares with a loss of £355,000 in the year ended 31st August, 1967.

The breakdown of the profit figure appears in the Directors' Report. This shows that, in spite of the continuation of the war in Nigeria, our West African activities were able to return encouragingly improved results. The drop in turnover reflects the fact that we have, throughout the whole year, been cut off from our trading ventures, motor agencies and other activities in the East of Nigeria.

Improvement was also achieved in the wines and spirits side of our business, which now accounts for approximately one quarter of the Group's turnover and profit before charging Finance and Group central administration expenses.

By taking advantage of opportunities to improve our investment portfolio and to sell properties surplus to the Group's needs, we have realised capital profits during the year amounting to £433,000.

## SUCCESS OF BOARD'S POLICY

To some extent, the recovery which these figures reveal has been helped by the good trading conditions which we have experienced in those parts of Nigeria in which trading was possible during the year. Despite this, there can be no doubt that the results provide incontrovertible evidence that the steps which we have been taking to improve management and to control overheads, as described by me last year, are having success. It is significant that, in spite of the fact that costs were steadily rising throughout the year, the cost of finance and of our central overheads dropped from £684,000 in 1966/67 to £608,000 in 1967/68.

The company has started 1968/69 with a staff in good heart and strengthened resources. In Nigeria and in Ghana strict exchange control and import licensing apply. In the meantime, trading results from Nigeria, up to the time of writing, continue to be in excess of the corresponding periods last year. Traffic on the Niger and on the Benue is still prevented by the war, so that our river fleet remains almost wholly idle, but there is great activity in the oil regions round Warri in the Mid-West, and our modernised port there and its engineering workshops, with the damage of war made good, are in full operation and doing record business. I look for a big improvement in profit from this source this year even if the fleet remains tied up.

The wine trade also continues to improve. Lamb & Watt Limited, makers of British wines and cordials, moved into their new and greatly enlarged premises during last year and started to operate their modern plant towards the end of the year. With a capacity more than four times that of their old plant they are building up their turnover, and as a result we expect them to add this year a significant figure to the profits of the wine group.

## ENCOURAGING OUTLOOK

I therefore believe that, in the current year, we can confidently expect a further improvement in the company's profits from its present operations.

The improvement in the Group's liquid position has enabled us to resume our policy of development and diversification in the United Kingdom without restricting our activities in other parts of the world, and active steps are now being taken to find suitable opportunities for investment.

In these circumstances, the Directors have decided to recommend the payment of a final dividend of 17% making a total dividend of 20% for the year. The Treasury has no objection to this increase.

join in celebrations in Niger in honour of Heinrich Barth, who died in 1861. I know of no similar honour accorded in Nigeria, although as Thomas Hodgkin has said, Barth even today has a strong claim to being the greatest historian of Nigeria. He was German by birth in academic training but English by adoption. At the age of 28, when he was a lecturer in comparative geography at the University of Berlin, he became a member of James Richardson's expedition to the Western Sudan. He lived in this five and a half years' journey of intellectual equipment such as no previous European traveller in this region had had. Not only was he a distinguished scholar, a modern linguist, and an accomplished scholar, but he had already travelled widely in Arab territories. His account of the institutions of the Fulani and of Bornu in his great five-volume *Travels and Discoveries in North Central Africa* is still most valuable and his account of Kano's foreign relations in the middle of last century is of great interest. But he also established clearly the connection between these areas, in what is now Nigeria, with North Africa. He also discovered that the whole of Western Sudan, including what is now Niger. He also was probably the first European to have access to some of the most important arabic documentary sources of West African history. Dr. Luebke also opening an exhibition in Fort Loko to mark the centenary of the first journey of Gustav Nachtigal, another German traveller, who explored the River Niger which runs into Chad, crossed the Sahara from Tripoli via the Tibesti mountains and travelled to Khartoum by way of Bornu.

After three years as Permanent Secretary, Finance Ministry, Nigeria (population 29m.), two years as Financial Secretary for Sierra Leone (population 2½m.) and three years as Financial Secretary for the Gambia (population 350,000), John Taylor became Financial Secretary for the Gambia (population 15,000). This is self-imposed demotion. For since 1938, John Taylor, apart from a period in commerce, has been an overseas for the UK Ministry of Overseas Development. He was, in fact, the first official to be enrolled by the Gambia in its corps of specialists available for posting overseas, and, although the Gambia's prosperity has been good, the Financial Secretary's salary depends on the size of the island, his position in the UK Ministry of Overseas Development. The Administrator of the island, by the way, is Dennis Gibbs, a former administrative officer of Eastern Nigeria. I am sure that the traditional antipathy between officers in Eastern and Western Nigeria will not in this case be resurrected.

# books and publications

## FUTURE BELONGS TO FARMERS

*African Renaissance* by Leonard Barnes  
(Victor Gollancz, 45s.).

FEW writers on Africa have had such long experience as Mr. Leonard Barnes, and his new book is a result of much study and wide travel throughout the continent. It is both depressing and highly optimistic.

Events in Africa since independence might give a picture of "a high degree of political instability and administrative incompetence; a reckless squandering of economic resources combined with an absolutely king-size capacity for corruption and graft of all sorts in all social strata including the highest (indeed especially the highest); a perverse tendency to break up useful political and economic associations into ever less viable smithereens; and finally a morbid relish for meeting their difficulties with violence and savagery." All this, however, Mr. Barnes thinks, may seem irrelevant by the end of the century; but only if African states adopt a completely new approach to their problems.

There must be carefully thought-out family planning, or ever worsening standards of living are inevitable; and what Mr. Barnes calls, after a lecture by the Director of Ibadan's Research Institute, the "Onitiri gap," must be closed, i.e., the gap between the urban and rural areas. This is not just a social gap or a gap in income levels, but springs from the severance of peasants from the developing points of the domestic economy.

It is in the peasantry that Mr. Barnes places his faith, seeing them as genuinely "underdeveloped" and therefore still able, unlike the Western World (whose civilisation, in his view, is doomed to make a new start. "The African is in a real sense underdeveloped; his flaws are all deficiencies which can be made good. The white man is in an equally real sense overdeveloped; his flaws are all excesses too deeply ingrained to be unlearned. In the post-climax world the African may relive, in a new growing fashion of his own, all yesterday's seven thousand years, and so put the species back on the straight path. The white man's old wood cannot flower again. Humanity's chance of a second shot at civilisation, if it gets one, may be due in part to Africa's consistent refusal through the centuries to yield to the cultural aggression of the west."

There are, too, many percipient

observations. Mr. Barnes says that one of the great troubles about the unemployed in Africa today is not just that they are unemployed, but that they are probably unemployable. He also observes that if all now engaged in agriculture did a good day's work on efficient farms, there would be a deluge of unsaleable produce.

One wonders, however, if accurate generalisation is possible about African "peasants"—who include the Ashanti cocoa farmer with two sons at the university, and the wandering Somali nomad, the fiercely conservative Fra-Fra women of Northern Ghana who farm while their husbands work in the South, and the go-ahead Wachagga coffee farmers of Mount Kilimanjaro.

As subsidiary issues Mr. Barnes deals with Africa's balkanisation, and in particular with the currency division which works against economic co-operation. He dismisses most arrangements for economic co-operation as insincere, and is particularly critical of France's

arrangements with her former colonies and of the African agents of that policy.

In the Ivory Coast, he sees "expansion without growth" (growth being interpreted as a cultural phenomenon "expressed by changes in social organisation which tend to diffuse real income evenly. . ."). But there is Guinea, for Mr. Barnes the most hopeful country, which has experienced growth, although without economic expansion.

One can question many of Mr. Barnes's statements; e.g., on the strength of a speech by Brig. Afrifa, he seems to think that Ghana is "threatened with disintegration." He believes that the agents of the colonial powers (whom he blames greatly, although accepting that they did construct an infra-structure), had contempt for the tribal peasantry—many African intellectuals would complain of the opposite attitude. There is, too, rather a lot of generalisation about "Africans." Mr. Barnes takes to unreasonable lengths criticism of "aid," but is quite right to emphasise over and over again that Africa's solution must lie inside Africa, and, so far as possible, in lessening rather than increasing dependence on the external market, to which aid often leads.

This part of the argument has already been admirably stated by Mr. Guy Hunter in *Best of Two Worlds*, but it is interesting that Mr. Barnes, from a totally different viewpoint, should support it so strongly and should be so critical of the leaders of independent Africa. Mr. Barnes gives a most attractive and convincing picture of the kind of



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regenerating rural communities, complete with secondary industries, which could set Africa off on a different road from that which has already failed in the Western world.

All the time the book plugs away at the central theme. It urges Africans, whatever the crimes of colonisation and the Western World, to see that if you attribute your troubles constantly to others, then you will do nothing about them and will, instead, start witch-hunting against those thought to be agents and supporters of the guilty outsiders. "The great gain, amid all the disasters, of the first decade of 'independence' is this. It has become manifest beyond all cavil that the whole complex melting-pot of Africa's current troubles boils down to two cardinal issues, which need to be said are intimately connected—population and the relation between town and country."

Unhappily, at the end of this stimulating and farseeing book, there comes a quite unnecessary appendix, seeking to explain the Nigerian situation. At once Leonard Barnes forgets all the advice he offers earlier; his human sympathy for the plight and the courage of the Biafrans takes over. His history is reasonably accurate; but he is as obsessed as any Biafran propagandist with the idea of "Backward North-Progressive East," and flatly asserts that creation of new states in the North had modified the power-structure there "in no way"—tell that to the Tiv, or the Yoruba, or the Kanuri, or even NEPU men in Kano. Balkanisation, the book constantly reminds us, is one of Africa's greatest evils: but, not, it seems, if it follows the success of Col. Ojukwu.

More serious, all Mr. Barnes's prejudices emerge in one grotesque passage. Even if the Federation, he says, "contrives to buy the instruments of biological warfare from the Western powers, whose substantial help in Operation Overkill has been unworthily pressed upon it, those instruments will be incompetently applied in the field."

So, apparently, France arms Nigeria, not Biafra, the Americans have not banned arms to both sides, the British have been "pressing" arms on Nigeria; and the Soviet Union, whose example for Africa Mr. Barnes often praises in the book, is not supplying the most potent instruments of destruction. Nor does it interest Mr. Barnes that Sekou Touré, his favourite among African leaders, vehemently supports the Federation, or that Houphouët-Boigny, his pet hate, supports Biafra. One wishes that this appendix, unlike the others—on Rhodesia, the Chinese communes, and African statistics—had been omitted.

D. W.

**The Economics of Foreign Aid** by Raymond F. Mikesell (Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 63s.).

This book is announced as the first of a new series, Aldine Treatises in Modern

Economics, edited by Professor Harry G. Johnson of the University of Chicago and LSE. Written by the Professor of Economics at the University of Oregon, it is mostly about American aid and its attitudes are different from those commonly met in the United Kingdom when "aid" is discussed. The main problem, for this author, is how to influence the recipient. Aid "constitutes an involvement by the donor in the internal policies of the recipients". By and large, underdeveloped countries are in that condition because they have not made the necessary social and economic arrangements. A low skill level is "the essence of being underdeveloped". The purpose of aid is "improving the quality of human beings as producers, administrators and entrepreneurs".

Underdevelopment is something that can be cured, but only if the sufferer is prepared to co-operate. Self-help is the *sine qua non* of development, and therefore of successful aid. And it has not often happened: "success stories on foreign aid for development" are rare. The author sees no moral reason why rich should aid poor merely to level out the world's wealth, but he does think that rich countries have an interest in helping poor countries to achieve self-sustaining growth.

The author is much concerned with this problem: how does the donor influence the policies of the recipient without becoming politically offensive? The idea that the US would stop aid because a recipient had failed to achieve certain economic targets, he says, lacks political credibility—though he quotes two cases where it was done. He favours arrangements under which "program loan releases would only be made *pari passu* with actual expenditures on sectoral programs in accordance with the agreed-upon sectoral plans". Aid would flow like a round of golf: the recipient would have to put the ball down each hole before starting the next.

Unless aid succeeds in inducing policy changes, it is likely to do more harm than good. It may underpin regimes which are incapable of development, and bolster the *status quo*, that is underdevelopment. Unless the donor sees to it that aid is well used, recipients will very likely do the wrong things with it, e.g. set up high-cost industries which require a high level of protection. In the author's views, aid to India, by these tests, has failed. He urges close agreement between donors, because "influence tends to be minimal where aid is provided by several".

On his way to these conclusions, Professor Mikesell goes over numerous growth-theories: "a bewildering number of highly abstract models on the basis of stylised variables and assumptions regarding economic behaviour and organisation". He throws them all out of the window and concludes that the practical aid administrator should select strategic sectors or projects. Development strategy is "the searching out of bottlenecks and leverage points for pro-

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moting growth". The most essential sector is the export sector. Getting the balance of payments right, he thinks, is the most essential step towards self-sustaining growth. F.J.P.

**Aspects of the Biafran Affair**, by George Knapp (*Britain-Biafra Association, 2s. 6d.*). **Nigeria: Labour Party Talking Points No. 23** (*Transport House, 3d.*). **Biafra (Save Biafra Committee, 6d.)**.

The literature of the Nigerian crisis is still largely in the pamphlet stage although one hears rumours of works from universities, and journalists, and Nigeria itself is reportedly going to produce an official history of the war. Walter Schwarz' book was a pre-crisis study, and French books that have appeared on the subject are essentially pamphlets. The items reviewed here are very definitely in this category—the last item is like a supplement of *Peace News*. They add little to the considerable amount of literature already published of this nature. Knapp's booklet is the most interesting as a well-documented marshalling of the Biafran arguments against the British government's handling of the war (he very properly declares his interest as a partner in a consultants firm, External Development Services, which advised the Eastern Nigerian Government, and later the Government of Biafra on economic and political

matters). Intentionally polemic, he makes capital from some of the feebler performances of Her Majesty's ministers on the subject, in particular Mr. William Whitlock last August. I am personally weary of Second World War analogies, more misleading than they are helpful. But Knapp's partisanship is much more reasonable than that found in the Save Biafra Committee pamphlet, which is both hysterical and ill-informed. The Labour Party's "Talking Point" is something of a non-pamphlet, reading a little like those fact-sheets that the Central Office of Information put out; within these limits, useful. But we are still in the stage of small arms fire; the "Big Berthas" are still to come.

K.W.

**Richard Wright**, by Constance Webb Putnam (\$8.95).

**The Furious Passage of James Baldwin**, by Fern Marja Eckman (*Michael Joseph, 42s.*).

These two "biographies" of major literary personalities of Black America present an abrupt contrast in approach to the delicate subject of writing in depth about another writer. Miss Webb goes in for a massive, minute by minute life story, covering in 400 pages every possible aspect of anything anybody could wish to know about Richard Wright. Sometimes laborious, sometimes casting careful insights, she is

always remarkably confident in the authenticity of her material; so much that one would like to see some of the originals, such as "personal reminiscence, scholarship and literary analysis," but also on diaries, letters, unpublished novels and other material. Out of all this Wright, who died tragically early at the age of 52 in 1960, emerges as a considerable personality. Anyone interested in the man, his work and the evolution of Afro-American writing (the book, for example, considers at length his visit to Ghana, his coverage of the Bandung conference, his involvement with the *Literature of Presence Africaine* in Paris), should know much that is of great value in it.

There is less to be had from Eckman's book. For while aspects of Baldwin's life make extremely readable copy, the adulatory treatment, on a level of a high-class pseudo-intellectual gossip column, does him little justice permeated as it is with the kind of smothering liberalism of which he is always complaining.

## Books and Publications Received

**Human Rights** by Peter Archer (*Edinburgh Research Series, Fabian Society, 5s.*)

Centre of West African Studies Report 1967-68 from the University of Birmingham.

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## letters to the editor

### SIR HENRY LIGHTFOOT BOSTON

Sir.—The part Sir Henry Lightfoot Boston played in higher education in West Africa was of considerable significance.

For many years, hundreds of overseas students, particularly those from West Africa, received inspiration from the record he had set during his student days in London. Many newly-qualified Nigerian and Ghanaian barristers who passed through Freetown on their way home made great efforts to meet him because of his legendary abilities.

As the Queen's representative (our Royal Visitor) he held the position of Deputy Visitor to Fourah Bay College since 1962 in succession to Sir Maurice Dorman, now Governor-General of Malta. As Deputy Visitor he was regular in his attendance at Congregations, conferring degrees on graduates, and delivering addresses which were wise, instructive and inspiring. Durham University conferred an honorary doctorate of Civil Law on him for his distinction in matters of Scholarship, State, and the judiciary.

When the University of Sierra Leone was formed he was elected its first Chancellor by name instead of by office, as it was deemed important that the choice should remain with the University rather than be attached to a political office.

Sir Henry did not regard his duties at the College and the University as sinecures. He was always ready to give advice, when requested, either on University constitutional matters or on internal difficulties, and his wise counsel was invariably effective. He dined regularly with the students.

It was not generally known that during the final period of the last civilian régime, although he preserved his political neutrality in public, privately he wrote regularly in advisory and admonitory terms to those in power about the unsettled and restless atmosphere and the dissatisfaction of the general public.

During the Lansana coup he behaved with much restraint and dignity but in the face of house arrest and danger he was able to write a lucid and complete account of his actions during and after the elections. The final decision he took, to call Mr. Siaka Stevens as Prime Minister was his and his alone, and he stood firmly by it.

He was forced to proceed on leave by the Juxon-Smith régime and also summarily and unworthily forced to retire—a decision which was rescinded by the present civilian government, which continued to regard him as Governor-General until his death.

His last year in London was one of continuous ill-health, although he rallied once to insist on the BBC and other news media that he still held the position of Governor-General—an announcement which produced a reply from the NRC characteristic of the youthful impetuosity and inexperience which attended some aspects of that régime.

In its annual service in June this year his personal banner with its coat of arms will be lowered, and his stall vacated, in pomp and ceremony in the Chapel of the

Order of St. Michael and St. George at St. Paul's Cathedral—this being the custom for a deceased Knight Grand Cross of the Order, an honour first bestowed on an African in his person. It will symbolise the ending of the connection between his country and Britain which has lasted for almost two centuries under nine sovereigns, and which, although sometimes unclear and misunderstood in its final stages, will always remain a cherished memory in the forthcoming independent republican African State of Sierra Leone.

DAVIDSON NICHOL  
(Former Vice-Chancellor,  
University of Sierra Leone.)

### NIGERIA'S TRADE

Sir.—With reference to your leader, "Nigeria this Year" in the January 18, 1969, issue of your magazine, I wish to correct the statement that, "Nigeria was, however, still running an adverse trade balance last year—some £N30m. in the first 10 months."

In fact Nigeria had a trade surplus of £N14.6m. in the first 10 months of 1968:

Exports ... ..	£N166.0m.
Imports ... ..	£N151.4m.

Trade surplus ... ..	£N 14.6m.
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It is also not true that the backlog due to overseas creditors stands at £N25m. The fact is that the so-called backlog is, in large part, made up of the assets of some of the expatriate banks in the eastern states, which they treat as external liabilities of Nigeria when those states were declared seceded.

J. O. ADEKUNLE,  
for: Director of Research,  
Central Bank of Nigeria, Lagos.

### AFRICA'S FIVE STAGES

Sir.—As a keen observer of the newly independent African states, I think the following five stages of development occur in all former African dependencies which are now independent countries.

In the first stage the country is declared independent. This is immediately followed by jubulations on a national scale; politicians promise everything under the sun.

Stage two is "Operation Mismanagement." The leaders unexpectedly catapulted to heights of power find their former ideals of mass welfare swamped by the unenviable ideals of personal welfare. Their ill-acquired wealth is dumped in safe places abroad. Foreign investors are openly asked to grease the palms of "the powers that be"; this scares away genuine investors.

Thirdly, the country goes under the firm grips of "Mr. Bankruptcy." The Finance Minister is forced to go from one world capital to the other with cap in hand begging for loans. The masses begin to experience biting, pinching, poverty. In the fourth stage, there is either a mob rising against the government, or an army take-over followed by tribal warfare.

Finally, the country awards itself the BA degree in Political Science—the "B" for Begin and "A" for Again. The process of governmental machinery starts all over again with a new lot who may be as rotten, petty and incompetent as their predecessors.

This cap seems to fit Nigeria, Ghana, Sierra Leone and many other African States. I shall be indebted to any of your readers who will furnish me with a list of African countries whose post-independence developments are completely different from the pattern described above.

SAMI EDIYE

## Cie maritime des Chargeurs Reunis

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Nigeria:

Lagos Apapa, Union Maritime et Commerciale (U.M.A.R.C.O.), 5 Creek Road—P.O. Box 94 APAPA.

Port Harcourt, TRANSCAP, Ltd., 8 Azikiwe Road—P.O. Box 429 PORT HARCOURT

Ghana:

Accra (PALM LINE) Cables: PalmagePOB180  
Takoradi (AGENCIES) Cables: PalmagePOB212  
Tema (LIMITED) Cables: (via Accra)

Sierra Leone:

Freetown: TRANSCAP (SIERRA LEONE) Ltd. P.O. Box 704

U.S.A. (EAST COAST)/WEST AFRICA AND VICE VERSA SERVICE

Lagos:

Elder Dempster Agencies Ltd. P.O.B. 167.

Port Harcourt:

Elder Dempster Agencies Ltd. P.O.B. 46.

Accra:

Elder Dempster Agencies Ltd. P.O.B. 66.

Takoradi:

Elder Dempster Agencies Ltd. P.O.B. 210.

Tema:

Elder Dempster Agencies Ltd. P.O.B. 148.

Freetown:

Sierra Leone Shipping Agencies. P.O.B. 74.

Great Britain: London—GELLATLY, HANKEY & CO. LTD.  
Dixon House, 1 Lloyd's Avenue, E.C.3.

# commercial news

## ECA's Tenth Anniversary Meeting

**I**N Addis Ababa the UN Economic Commission for Africa began on Feb. 3 its ninth regular planning session, which this time also marks the tenth anniversary of the Commission. Representatives of 41 African states are attending the session—the first since the eighth in Lagos in 1967, since these full sessions are now biennial. This session is to concentrate on industrialisation and the modernisation of agriculture, and will examine a programme for the five years 1969-73; co-operation in education, research and statistical work (on which ECA has concentrated particularly) is planned.

Mr. Allison Ayida, permanent secretary of Nigeria's Federal Ministry of Economic Development, completes with this session (due to end on Feb. 14) his two-year term of office as Chairman of the Commission. Concurrently with the meeting, which is attended by observers from Great Britain, France and Spain (all associated with ECA), an ECA Exhibition is being held to mark

the tenth anniversary and to promote products of small-scale industries and semi-manufactured products of African countries.

U Thant, arriving in Addis Ababa to address the meeting, said the gap between rich and poor countries was the most serious problem to be faced in the next ten years, the gap between those who possess and those who have nothing was a "much more serious problem than that between the Communist world and the democrats." The Emperor of Ethiopia, who opened the meeting, called on richer countries to pay more attention to Africa's development needs.

In a message the British Minister of Overseas Development, Mr. Reginald Prentice, said the British Government was prepared to bilateral aid agreements with African countries or groups of states if the schemes were approved by ECA. ODM officials represented the UK at the meeting; M. Georges Gorse headed France's delegation. President Kenyatta also sent a message, calling on African states to give "more vigorous and deliberate support" to the commission.

\* See articles in "West Africa," Jan. 17 and 24, Feb. 1 and 8.

## Ghana Corporations Warned

All state corporations and statutory corporations in Ghana which now depend on Government grants should from this year become self-supporting or they will not survive for long, the Commissioner for Agriculture, Mr. Albert Adomakoh, has told the annual conference of the State Farms Corporation. He said the idea of state farms was a socialistic flavour, and the Corporation needed a spirit of commercial enterprise; this reason he was considering changing the name. The Corporation had, he said, made good progress towards supporting itself after cuts in spending (about a third of its farms were closed down after the 1966-67 season). The Commissioner said that in Ghana was an agricultural country, but agriculture was not up to standard, and production was needed.

● An African Civil Aviation Commission has been agreed upon by representatives of 33 African states, meeting in Addis Ababa. The International Civil Aviation Organisation is responsible for secretariat work of the new organisation, until it creates its own secretariat. AFCAC will have a chairman and four vice-chairmen, one from each of the Economic Commission for Africa's four sub-regions; it will promote development of civil aviation and defend the states' aviation interests.

● The acting managing director of Airways has announced that the Corporation's "pool" agreement with Nigeria Airways comes up for renewal at the end of March this year. Ghana Airways "reappraise the 1967 Agreement to see whether it is in the interest of Airways to continue" with it. Asked whether the Nigerian war situation, he said, affected the aircraft had been insured against risks. [The VC10 chartered to MEA and destroyed at Beirut, was not.]

## Cameroon Cotton

A report of Cameroon's organization responsible for cotton cultivation is progress in achieving the production of 75,000 tons of seed cotton per year by 1970-71, as projected under Cameroon's second Five-Year Plan. In the first years of the Plan, results were disappointing due to abnormal climatic conditions; but the area under cultivation has already increased above the hectares projected by the Plan, at a considerably increased use of fertilizers and mechanised farming, there is hope that the current season will show a sharp increase in production to a moderate level, between the 1965-66 level of 58,000 tons and the Plan target.

By 1970-71 it is hoped to achieve a yield of 38-39 per cent (it is 37 per cent present) by continuing the programme of improving the quality of plants, should give a total of nearly 100,000 tons of lint cotton in 1970-71, compared with 21,000 tons in 1965-66. A new factory has been constructed at Douala during 1968 for a capital investment of some 120m. CFA francs; this will increase the country's ginning capacity to 90,000 tons. A project for a new seed oil mill at Maroua at an investment of 360m. CFA francs has been in principle by the Federal Government who are seeking loans from France.

## Westwind Africa Line

Regular Express Freight Service between  
U.S. Gulf Ports and  
West African Ports  
(Freetown, Monrovia, Abidjan, Takoradi, Tema, Lagos/Apapa,  
Douala, Warri, Luanda, Lobito)

- |                           |   |
|---------------------------|---|
| <b>S.S. Westwind</b>      | Sailed New Orleans Jan. 28, Houston Feb. 3, for Dakar, Freetown, Monrovia, Abidjan, Tema, Takoradi, Lagos/Apapa, Warri, Douala, Luanda. |
| <b>S.S. Buena Fortuna</b> | Sailed New Orleans Feb. 5, Houston Mar. 2, for Freetown, Abidjan, Lagos/Apapa, Douala, Luanda.  |
| <b>S.S. Sophie C</b>      | Sails for Houston Feb. 13, New Orleans Feb. 18 for Freetown, Abidjan, Lagos/Apapa, Douala, Luanda.                                      |

SHIPS' ITINERARIES SUBJECT TO CHANGE WITHOUT NOTICE

For rates of freight, and other information apply to: Southern Star Shipping Co., Inc., 29, Broadway Suite 1925, New York, N.Y. 10006, General Agents.

### WEST AFRICAN AGENTS:

**General Agents:** SOUTHERN STAR SHIPPING CO. INC.  
P.O. Box 318 Apapa, Nigeria.

**Other Agents:** Airline Ltd. (Freetown, Lagos, Monrovia, Port Harcourt, Tema, Takoradi, Warri)  
Socopao (Abidjan)  
Camata & Cia., Ltd. (Luanda)  
Luiz Teixeira Da Silva (Lobito)

**UK General Agents:** WAINWRIGHT BROS & CO. LTD., 15-17 Eldon Street, London, E.C.2, ENGLAND, and 19 James Street, Liverpool 2.

## WEST AFRICAN SHIPPING NEWS

### ELDER DEMPISTER LINE

**SOUTHBOUND**—From Liverpool:—DUMURRA slg Liverpool Feb. 13; AUREOL due Las Palmas Feb. 12; OBUASI slg Liverpool Feb. 11; OII slg Liverpool Feb. 27; DIXCOVE due Lagos Feb. 10.  
From Hull:—KOHIMA slg Hull Feb. 10.

From London:—EBOE slg London Feb. 11; ONITSHA slg London Feb. 21; EBANI due Victoria Feb. 14; SALABA due Luanda Feb. 9.

From Continent:—FORCADOS slg Hamburg Feb. 21; DALLA due Sapele Feb. 11.

**NORTHBOUND**—To Liverpool:—FOURAH BAY due Liverpool Feb. 9; DARU due Tiko Feb. 9; DONGA due Las Palmas Feb. 12; DUNKWA due Sapele Feb. 10; KABALA due Takoradi Feb. 9; OWERRI due Avonmouth Feb. 15.

To Dublin:—CITY OF GUILDFORD due Dublin Feb. 14.

To London:—BHAMO due London Feb. 18; EGORI due Madeira Feb. 17; OSSIN RIVER due Sapele Feb. 11.

To Continent:—FULANI due Tema Feb. 13.

**EASTBOUND**—From USA/Canada:—DUMBALA due Dakar Feb. 14.

**WESTBOUND**—From USA/Canada:—DEIDO due Jacksonville Feb. 12; FREETOWN due Abidjan Feb. 9.

From India/Pakistan/Burma:—NAIRNBANK due Apapa Feb. 8.

### BARBER WEST AFRICA LINE

**OUTWARDS**—TEMA due sail New York-Haitian (NS) mid-Feb. for Freetown, Monrovia, Abidjan, Tema, Lagos/Apapa, Douala, Takoradi, CORNEVILLE due sail New York/Haitian (NS) third week Feb. for Freetown, Monrovia, Abidjan, Tema, Lagos/Apapa, Douala, Takoradi.

**HOMEWARDS**—TITANIA due U.S. North Atlantic mid-Feb.

### JAPAN "K" LINE

**WESTBOUND**—From Japan (via Hong Kong and Cape) to Matadi, Lagos, Tema, Abidjan, Freetown etc.—NORWAY MARU slg Japan Feb. 5, due Lagos Mar. 15.

**EASTBOUND**—From Matadi, Lagos, Tema, Abidjan, Freetown etc. to Japan (via Cape and Singapore):—TSUNESHIMA MARU slg Japan Feb. 13, Tema Feb. 16, Freetown Feb. 19, due Japan Mar. 30.

### PALM LINE

**SOUTHBOUND**—From London:—IBADAN PALM due Matadi Feb. 2.

From Liverpool:—LAGOS PALM due Tema Feb. 2.

From Liverpool:—LOBITO PALM due Lobito Feb. 6.

**NORTHBOUND**—To London:—AKASSA PALM slg Takoradi Feb. 2.

To London:—ELMINA PALM slg Sapele Feb. 6.

To Continent:—BADAGRY PALM slg Douala Feb. 2.

### WOERMANN LINE

**MOSSAL BAY** ldg. Hamburg Feb. 10, Bremen Feb. 12, due Dakar Feb. 26; NERLUS ldg. Hamburg Feb. 10, Bremen Feb. 12, due Conakry Feb. 27.

### NOPAL WEST AFRICA LINE

**EASTBOUND**—NOPAL SUN sls. New Orleans Feb. 5, due Takoradi Feb. 25, Lagos Feb. 28, Warri Mar. 4; NOPAL TELLUS sls. New Orleans Mar. 6, due Takoradi Mar. 26.

**WESTBOUND**—NOPAL LUNA sls. Luanda Mar. 2, Takoradi Mar. 8, due New Orleans Mar. 26, Houston Mar. 30; NOPAL SUN sls. Luanda Mar. 17, Takoradi Mar. 25, due New Orleans Apr. 13, Houston Apr. 17.

### ROYAL INTER-OCEAN LINE

**INWARDS**—STRAAT BALI from China and Hong Kong slg. Hong Kong Jan. 8, due Lagos/Apapa Feb. 7, Cotonou Feb. 13, Lome Feb. 15, Tema Feb. 16, Abidjan Feb. 17, Monrovia Feb. 21, Freetown Feb. 22, Dakar Feb. 25, Conakry Mar. 2; STRAAT FRANKLIN from Japan

slg. Kobe Jan. 21, due Lagos/Apapa Feb. 22, Tema Mar. 1, Monrovia Mar. 5, Freetown Mar. 7, Abidjan Mar. 10, Takoradi Mar. 12.

**OUTWARDS**—STRAAT BALI from Nigeria/Ghana to Singapore, Hong Kong and China first half Feb.; STRAAT FRANKLIN from Nigeria/Ghana to Singapore, Hong Kong and Japan second half Feb. first half Mar.

### EDWARD NASSAR LINES

EMIR BECHIR slg. Famagusta Feb. 1, due Beirut Feb. 2, Gibraltar Feb. 18, Tema, Mar. 1, Lagos Mar. 4, Monrovia Mar. 10, Freetown Mar. 11, Famagusta Mar. 30.

### SCANDINAVIAN WEST AFRICA LINE

**SOUTHBOUND**—HJELMAREN ldg. Scandinavia and Bordeaux during Feb.; YARRA-WONGA ldg. Scandinavia and Bordeaux during late Feb./early Mar.; MANGARELLA ldg. Scandinavia and Bordeaux during Mar.

**NORTHBOUND**—INNAREN ldg. West Africa for Scandinavia second half Feb./early Mar.; MINNESOTA ldg. West Africa for Scandinavia during Feb./early Mar.; HJELMAREN ldg. West Africa for Scandinavia during Mar./early Apr.

### CHARGEUR REUNIS

CIRCEA arr. Lagos Feb. 12, Tema Feb. 18, Freetown Feb. 26; TANAGRA slg. Kobe Feb. 24.

### MITSUI OSK LINE

KINKASU MARU slg. Kobe Jan. 22, due Lagos Feb. 22, HOEISAN MARU slg. Kobe Feb. 4, due Lagos Mar. 14; KASUGASU MARU slg. Kobe Feb. 20, due Lagos Mar. 22.

### MAERSK LINE

ANETTE MARU sls. Bathurst Feb. 10, due Tema Feb. 13; TORBEN MAERSK sls. Luanda Feb. 21, due Matadi Feb. 22.

### HOEGH LINE

HOEGH AILETTE sls. Antwerp Feb. 10, due Dakar Feb. 18, Monrovia Feb. 21, Abidjan Feb. 24; HOEGH WILRI sls. Rouen Feb. 25, due Dakar Mar. 3, Freetown Mar. 7, Monrovia Mar. 8, Abidjan Mar. 11.

### HOLLAND WEST AFRICA LINE

**SOUTHBOUND**—From Continent:—SCHU-ETTING due Calabar Feb. 14; SENEGAL-KUST due Noint Noire Feb. 11; CONGOKUST due Freetown Feb. 11.

**NORTHBOUND**—To Continent:—OLDEKERK due Rotterdam Feb. 13; due Amsterdam Feb. 15; BALONG due Hamburg Feb. 16; DAHOMEYKUST due Rotterdam Feb. 20.

### HUGO STINNES TRANSOCEAN SCHIFFFAHRT GMBH

KOHLOF HUGO STINNES slg. Dunkirk Feb. 1, due Las Palmas Feb. 7, Dakar Feb. 10, Conakry Feb. 12, Monrovia Feb. 14, Abidjan Feb. 17, Cotonou Feb. 19, Lagos/Apapa Feb. 20, Douala Feb. 23.

### WESTWIND AFRICA LINE

**WESTBOUND**—BUENA FORTUNA sls. Luanda Feb. 7, Abidjan Feb. 8; SOPHIE C sls. Abidjan Mar. 16; WESTWIND-sl. Luanda Mar. 3, Lagos/Apapa Mar. 12.

### GOLD STAR LINE

SHAVIT slg. Cape Town Feb. 8, Lobito Feb. 12/13, Luanda Feb. 14, Matadi Feb. 15/16, Douala Feb. 17; NOGAH slg. Kobe Feb. 3/9, Keelung Feb. 11, Hong Kong Feb. 14/15, Singapore Feb. 19/20, Durban Mar. 6/7.

### BLACK STAR LINE/SEVEN STAR LINE/USNH/WA

**WESTBOUND**—BELLAVIA Luanda Jan. 22, Douala Jan. 25, Tema Jan. 27, Abidjan Jan. 29; SAKUMO LAGOON Ghana Jan. 26/Feb. 1.

### BLACK STAR LINE/CONTINENT/WA

**SOUTHBOUND**—KULPAPAN RIVER Dakar Jan. 20, Freetown Jan. 23, Abidjan Jan. 25, Takoradi Jan. 27, Tema Jan. 29, Lagos/Apapa Jan. 31; BIA RIVER Hamburg Jan. 20, Antwerp Jan. 22, Rotterdam Jan. 24, Dakar Jan. 30.

### NORTHBOUND—KORLE LAGOON

Takoradi Jan. 21, Rotterdam Feb. 3; BENYA RIVER Abidjan Feb. 12, Avonmouth Feb. 24, London Mar. 6.



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.

You won't find a branch of National Bank of Nigeria Limited or any of their correspondents in London, Paris or New York, in a church—not even a Greek temple. One or two have been known to be situated near churches, but there's no fear of religious or any other kind of fervour upsetting the bank! What's more, National Bank do know their own business—as you'll soon find out if you take your foreign exchange, trade or even simple things such as current accounts or savings—problems to them.

Why don't you try your nearest branch? You might even learn some more about how banking has progressed into the 20th Century while you're about it! Besides, they're "The Bank You Can Trust!"—Reason enough, surely!



**NATIONAL BANK OF NIGERIA LTD.**

Head Office: 82/86 Broad Street, Lagos, Nigeria

Branches throughout the Country

London Branch: Throgmorton Avenue, London, E.C.2. Tel. 4303

New York correspondents: French American Banking Corporation J. Henry Schroeder Banking Corporation

## commercial news

### Nigeria's Paper Mill At Work



The Jebba mill when it was idle—the notice said "No Vacancy."

THE Jebba Paper Mill in Kwara State, the first paper mill in Nigeria, has gone into production, making printing and writing papers (including cream wove, poster, calendar and super-calendar, and bleached and unbleached kraft). Built by Coutinho Caro of Hamburg at a cost of £4m., the mill—a contractor-financed project, like several others carried out by this and other companies in Nigeria—lay idle for over two years. It is owned by the Federal Government and managed by the managing agents' firm, Birla of Calcutta.

The long idleness of the plant was attributed to poor siting (not near the imported raw material sources, or the market) and to the doubtful economy of producing in Nigeria goods whose import was relatively cheap. The eventual starting of production followed surveys by a USAID team and a Canadian firm.

The raw material problem arose when it turned out that the mill would not be able, as officially expected, to use the bagasse, a sugar by-product, from the Nigerian Sugar Co.'s factory at Bacita, near Jebba. This destroyed the advantage of Jebba as a site, and, although the paper mill is now working, the drawbacks of the site apparently remain. The paper mill has no machinery for conversion of bagasse into pulp, though studies have now begun on the possibility of installing such machinery later; one problem here, however, is that the sugar factory uses its own bagasse as fuel, and would, if it were to sell it to the paper mill without loss, have to find cheap alternative fuel. Now the paper mill imports pulp through Lagos, and sends finished products back there.

Amalgamated Tin Mines of Nigeria produced 3,798 tons of tin concentrates in the last nine months, compared with 3,482 tons in the corresponding period of the previous year. The company, which paid 45 per cent. of its operating profits in royalties and income tax to Nigeria in 1967-68, has not obtained clearance for remittance of profits to the UK.

#### CORRECTION

Mr. F. J. Pedler has been appointed a director of William Baird, not of its subsidiary the Sierra Leone Development Co., as we reported in last week's "Commercial News."

### Feeders Forge Ahead

Nearly half the feeder roads planned under the programme started in Ghana in December 1967 have been built—225 miles out of 500. Apart from this work under the national feeder roads campaign, 47 miles have been built under the 107-mile pilot scheme for feeder roads in the Eastern Region. Roads completed in the national programme include links between Dunkwa and Twifu-Praso (Central Region), Kwam: Danso and Kojo Krom (Brong-Ahafo), Salaga and Bimbila (Northern) and Kpando-Alavanyo-Weibe (Volta).

The feeder roads programme was started because of difficulties in delivery of agricultural produce, one cause of periodic food shortages in towns.

Dr A. F. G. Markham, FAO representative in Ghana, stressed the importance of development of life for the rural population in an address to students at the Kwadaso Agricultural College. He said it was "not always enough" to ask people to go back to the land, without making any efforts at improving living conditions in rural areas. Also, "the greatest single impetus to production would be the development of a satisfactory marketing system which must involve credit and co-operation." Only by making the farmer's life better, and by raising his income, will a "stable rural population" be achieved.

A steady rise in farmers' incomes, and birth control, are needed now to stop the drift of rural people to the towns, though in the long run this migration is a "sound phenomenon," Professor Z. L. Sadowski—Polish dean of the Faculty of Economics at the University of Ghana—said in a lecture at the School of Administration. Developing countries like Ghana should, he said, permit an optimum rate of population growth, perhaps about 1 per cent. per year.

### Cocoa Crops—Latest

Ghana's cocoa purchases for the week ending January 30 were 4,770 tons, bringing the total for the season to 307,563. Nigerian purchases to mid-January are estimated at about 157,000 tons.

The executive of the Ghana National Farmers' Union has called for restoration of the former constitution (replaced by the recent Ordinance No. 433) of the Cocoa Marketing Board and to give farmers a full voice in the affairs of the Board. The Ordinance reduced the CMB's powers and the farmers' representation.

The 42m.-cedis extensions to Accra International Airport will be officially opened on February 25, as part of the celebrations of the third anniversary of the coup. The *Daily Graphic* says it is hoped that General Ankrab will then confirm the change of the airport's name to "Kotoka International Airport."

Ghana's State Furniture & Joinery Corporation, a State enterprise which suspended operations in 1967, has now been closed down. Mr. J. K. Dodson, Managing Director of the State Enterprise Audit Corporation, has been appointed liquidator, pending a government decision on disposal of the assets and liabilities.

Mr. Gordon Thomson has succeeded Mr. William Duncan as General Manager of Barclays DCO in Lagos.

### Kainji Dam and Lagos Bridge

The second Lagos bridge was due to be opened on February 8, and the Kainji Dam on February 15.

The fibre bag plant at Jos, in Plateau State, produced over 160 million bags last year, more than in the previous year and well above the original target of 10m. a year. Last year it was able to meet the Northern States Manufacturing Board's demand for bags.

Nigeria's North Central State Commissioner for Education has called on the IDA (World Bank affiliate) to implement its loan of \$6.4m. towards expansion of post-primary education in the northern states. (Replenishment of the funds of the IDA, agreed upon last March, will become effective until the USA approaches the American contribution.)

Northern Breweries' plant in Kano, which makes Top Beer, has been set up by officials for the second time. Production began last June, because of excise payment arrears, alleged to have reached £256,000.

The North Eastern State Government to establish its own radio station. The state's Commissioner for Information, Edmund Mamiso, said all the other states in the north should set up their own stations.

A Japanese industrial concern is to set up a firm, petrochemical industry in Nigeria's northern states, to produce phosphate fertiliser for food and cash crops. The leader of a Japanese industrial mission said after a visit to the northern states. He said these states would be invited to participate through the New Nigeria (formerly Northern Nigeria) Development Company in which, it is planned, the states will have shares.

Vice-Chancellor of Ibadan University, Dr. Adeoye Lambo has said that the Institute of Petroleum Technology will be created at the university.

The Rockefeller Foundation has granted Ibadan University a total of £1.3m. over the past 10 years, for the Institute of African Studies, the Department of Psychiatry, Neurosurgery and Neurology, development of a drama programme, housing, and several other purposes.

A State bank is to be set up in South-Eastern State of Nigeria. It will have branches in each division.

### Commercial Publications

Simplified technical information guidance on end uses is given about 100 of the less well known West African woods in part two of the new *West Africa Company (Timber) leaflet African Hardwoods*. Nineteen species are described; the first part of this leaflet dealt with 19 of the better known woods.

New interest has been stirred, particularly in the UK, in these timbers by UACO's sister company, Holmes (West) Ltd. in Lincolnshire, who are exploring the commercial possibilities of African woods not previously extracted to any extent says UACT.

## NOTICE

## Western State Notice No. 24

## COMPETITION FOR ENTRY TO THE ADMINISTRATIVE AND SPECIAL DEPARTMENTAL CLASSES OF THE WESTERN STATE OF NIGERIA PUBLIC SERVICE, 1969

It is notified for the information of intending candidates that the 1969 competition for entry to the Administrative Class and the Special Departmental Classes of Auditors, Assistant Registrars of Co-operative Societies, Produce Officers and Inspectors of Taxes, all in Scale 'A', in the Western State of Nigeria Public Service will start in April 1969.

**2. The competition comprises:**

- (a) a qualifying written examination, conducted by the West African Examinations Council;
- (b) a series of tests and interviews, known as an Extended Interview, conducted by the Public Service Selection Board;
- (c) an interview before the Public Service Commission.

Only those candidates who reach the qualifying standard in the written examination will be invited for tests and interviews by the Public Service Selection Board. The Public Service Commissioners will subsequently select, in the light of candidate's performance at the Selection Board, those whom they will themselves interview.

3. To be eligible for admission to the competition, a candidate who is not already a serving officer in the Western State of Nigeria Public Service must hold a First or Second Class Honours Degree from a recognised University, or alternatively in the case of the Special Departmental Classes of Auditors and Inspectors of Taxes, a recognised professional qualification, i.e., the Final Certificate or Associate Membership of any of the following Professional Bodies:

- (i) Institute of Chartered Accountants;
- (ii) Association of Certified and Corporate Accountants;
- (iii) Institute of Cost and Works Accountants;
- (iv) Institute of Municipal Treasurers and Accountants.

**Note.** (1) For the Special Departmental Classes of Assistant Registrars of Co-operative Societies, an Honours Degree in Economics is preferable and for the Class of Produce Officers, the Honours Degree must be either in Agriculture or Economics.

(2) 'Recognised' in the above context means 'recognised by the Government of Western State of Nigeria.'

4. Candidates who are sitting for any of the above qualifications in 1969 will also be eligible for admission to the competition on the understanding that if they fail to secure the appropriate qualifications, they will automatically drop out of the competition.

5. The written examination will not be designed to test candidates on the subjects in which they hold degrees, but, to test their ability to think clearly and to understand and write English and also their knowledge of current affairs, with particular reference to West African Affairs. Notes for the guidance of candidates drawn up by the West African Examinations Council will be issued to all candidates in due course. The Examination will comprise the following papers:

(i) *English (Précis and Critical Appreciation)*. This paper will consist of a précis of a passage supplemented by a question asking candidates to comment critically on the central idea of the passage.

(ii) *Current Affairs*. This will be in two parts. Paper I will consist of three questions of the traditional Essay type, all of which must be answered. Paper II, an objective test, will consist of fifty questions, all of which must also be answered. In both papers the range of questions will be such as will cater for the graduate, the University student as well as the non-graduate. The questions are intended to test the in-

telligent awareness of current affairs which any educated person may reasonably be presumed to possess.

(iii) *General*. This will consist of two questions—one will test ability to detect dubious thinking, and will contain short passages of which the Logical Force is to be discussed critically. The other will test ability to draw Statistical Inferences from a table of numerical data.

6. The written examination will be held on the 25th of April, 1969 in Lagos, Ibadan, Ife, London, Washington and at such other centres as may be determined later.

7. Minimum transport expenses to and from London and Washington will be refunded to candidates who are in the British Isles or the United States of America respectively, who travel to and from those cities for the purpose of taking the written examination. In respect of attendance at the Public Service Selection Board, a detention allowance, subject to a maximum of two nights, will be paid to candidates who are neither serving officers nor resident in the city where the Board is held to help them in defraying the cost of their accommodation and transport expenses to and from the place of interview is also payable. In all cases candidates will be responsible for arranging their own accommodation and transport and meeting the cost in the first instance.

8. Each candidate will be required to pay an examination fee of £5 5s 0d which is not refundable.

9. Serving officers are being informed of the special arrangements affecting them. Other candidates who have already applied on Form WNPSC. 1 for appointment to one or more of the classes mentioned in paragraph 1 above should, if in Nigeria, send to the Secretary, Public Service Commission, Ibadan, Treasury Receipt for the £5 5s 0d competition fee or, if outside Nigeria, send £5 5s 0d by Money Order or Postal Order, crossed in each case, to the authority to whom they addressed their applications on Form WNPSC. 1 under a covering letter referring to their applications. These must be received not later than 20th February, 1969. This Commission will not accept any responsibility for money sent in any other manner than that prescribed.

10. Candidates who have not yet applied but wish to do so should send the fee in the manner prescribed above with their application on Form WNPSC. 1, to the Secretary, Public Service Commission, Ibadan, if they are in West Africa, or to the Recruitment Attache, Nigeria High Commission (Recruitment Section), 9 Northumberland Avenue, London, W.C.2, if they are in Europe, or to the Head of Chancery, Embassy of Nigeria, 500 Dupont Circle Building, Washington 6, D.C., if they are in the United States of America or Canada. The applications and fees must be received not later than Thursday, 20th February, 1969.

11. Instructions as to the date, time and place of attendance will be sent direct to individual candidates.

12. Further information may be obtained from the Secretary, Public Service Commission, Ibadan, the Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Establishments and Training, Ibadan or the Recruitment Attache, Nigeria High Commission (Recruitment Section), 9 Northumberland Avenue, London, W.C.2.

E. A. EMULFONO,  
Secretary, Public Service Commission

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#### NOTICES—Continued

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#### IKEJA DIVISIONAL UNION

The inaugural meeting of the above named Union will be held on

**Sunday, 23rd February, 1969,  
at 2 p.m. prompt.**

All Indigenous citizens from Agege, Ikeja and Mushin Districts are cordially invited to attend.

Meeting place: 9 City Mansions, North Rd., London, N.7. Nearest tube station, Caledonian Road. Buses 14, 17, 221, 196, 127, 253.

Conveners: R. B. A. Jafoto,  
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#### NOTICES—Continued

#### OGBOSOSO PARAPO (Gt. Britain and Ireland)

#### ANNUAL CONVENTION

This is to inform members that the Annual Convention of the PARAPO will take place on Sunday, 16th February, 1969, at All Saints Church Hall, Prince of Wales Drive, Battersea Park, London, S.W.11.

**STARTING FROM 12 NOON prompt.**

#### AGENDA

1. Reading and adoption of minutes of the last meeting.
2. President's Report.
3. Correspondence.
4. Finance.
5. BREAK FOR REFRESHMENT.
6. Debate on President's Speech.
7. Motion to amend the constitution—Mr. A. Emiola.
7. Election of Officers.

**DUNNI AYANDIPO,  
Publicity Secretary**

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#### THE AFRICAN CITY (6)

"Alien Minorities in African Cities"  
by Mr. Simon Abbott.

Tuesday, 11th February, 7.30 p.m.  
Admission: 5s. 6d. Members free.

African Centre,  
38 King Street, Covent Garden, W.C.2.  
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#### NOTICES—Continued

#### IJESHA UNION OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

There will be a general meeting of the above union on the 16th February, 1969.  
**PLACE: 103 GOWER STREET, W.C.1.**

**TIME: 2 p.m.**

**K. O. OLAITAN, General Secretary**

#### MEETINGS

#### IJERU-REMO UNION.

Notice is hereby given that there shall be an ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING of the above Union on Sunday, 16th February, 1969 at Student Movement House, 103 Gower Street, London, W.C.1, at 2.30 p.m.

**ALL IJERU-REMO PEOPLE  
IN UK ARE INVITED  
ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING  
16 FEBRUARY 1969**

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**COMMONWEALTH BAR STUDENTS ASSOCIATION** is holding a meeting in Nibbles Hall on Tuesday the 11th February 1969, at 6 p.m. Mr. Peter Bucknell Q.C., Benchler of Inner Temple will speak on students problems. All Bar students are invited.

## SITUATIONS VACANT

## Vacancies for

**GHANAIAN MOTORS SPARE PARTS SUPERVISORS**

Africa Motors a member of The United Africa Company of Ghana Group, has vacancies for Ghanaians to take up positions as Spare Parts Supervisors in Ghana which offer good prospects for career advancement.

Applicants should have been educated up to West African School Certificate standard or the equivalent. They also must have had some years practical experience in keeping a Motor Vehicle Spare Parts Store. If they have attended courses in spare parts administration, this would be an added advantage.

Applicants in the U.K. who are planning to return to Ghana before the end of 1969 should apply to The Recruitment Manager, The United Africa Company Limited, 1 Blackfriars Road, London, S.E.1.

Applicants in Ghana should apply at once to:-

The General Manager, Africa Motors, P.O. Box 1642, Accra, Ghana.

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Those who satisfactorily complete the training will proceed to Lagos to become members of the Company's Computer Centre Staff.

Applications are invited now from students in their final year of Degree Courses. The subject of the degrees course is not important so long as applicants are capable of logical thought and have an aptitude for this type of work.

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**dateline Africa****GHANA****Otu Enquiry: Story of Coup Plot**

A N elaborate plot to overthrow the NLC, led by its leaders, instigated Air Marshal Otu as head of a new military administration last December, and restore Dr. Kwame Nkrumah to power by March this year was alleged by the Director of Public Prosecutions, Mr. J. N. K. Taylor, at the opening of state evidence before the Amisash Commission, inquiring into Air Marshal Otu's alleged subversive activities. Mr. Taylor claimed that General Ankrah, Messrs. Hartley and Doku of the NLC, the Attorney-General (Mr. Victor Owusu), Mr. Kema Gbedemah—former Finance Minister—and a businessman, Mr. Mark Coffie, were all marked down for death, and Dr. Kofi Busia and Mr. Joe Appiah for arrest.

Some security men who went to Guinea from China with Dr. Nkrumah after the coup, and some students sent from the USSR to Guinea, were given military training in Guinea, Mr. Taylor said; a Guinean army officer supervised training at a camp on Tamara island, and boxes of arms and ammunition were shown to trainees at the Alpha Yaya camp, where—Mr. Taylor added—it was said they (the arms and ammunition) would be taken by sea to a place near Nzima in Ghana's Western Region [Nzima is Dr. Nkrumah's home district]. Dr. Nkrumah, as well as the security chiefs Ambrose Yankey senior and junior, addressed the trainees, said the DPP, adding that the ex-President had a radio transmitter and receiver seized from the Ghana mission in Conakry, and acquired a powerful receiver from the USSR, so that he could listen in to messages from Ghana army and police headquarters (he listened to reports of the April 17, 1967, rising, Mr. Taylor added).

The DPP mentioned many people who, he alleged, had visited Dr. Nkrumah in Guinea, including Mr. Ekow Eshun, former head of the CPP overseas branch and [as Mr. Taylor admitted, though it has not been officially admitted in Ghana before] now in custody in Ghana. He said Dr. Nkrumah had spoken to some people of many unsuccessful plots to return to power. On Air Marshal Otu, he said that there was one allegation putting the former Chief of Defence Staff on the list of those to be arrested after the planned coup, but that other evidence suggested he had written to the ex-President and had met exiled CPP leaders in London; that letters allegedly from him and someone else had been sent to another London Nkrumah supporter, Hubert Appiah; and that an officer who took a letter from Air Marshal Otu to this same Mr. Appiah during April 1967 implicated Otu in that month's attempted coup. Otu had, he alleged, told Gen. Kotoka shortly before the April rising of his (Otu's) meeting with Appiah and Eshun in London in December 1966, but had not told him everything about the meeting (where he had, in fact, Mr. Taylor alleged—spoken of overthrowing Nkrumah

Ankrah and Kotoka, though saying not wish to restore Dr. Nkrumah).

Mr. Taylor said the plot planned carried out on Dec. 12, 1968, was "Operation Double Celebration", it succeeded, he said, Air Marshal Otu has taken over and accused the NLC of enslaving and selling it to capitalism. Then he would have a state of emergency and allowed all refugees to return, according to the account, before calling elections to Dr. Nkrumah's return.

● Mr. B. D. Addai (Ashanti F) said in the Constituent Assembly Ghana should have a state stool, occupied by a "Ghanahene" as a state, so that the country would be a monarchy. The Ghanahene, he should be a chief from one of the 16 of Chieftains, who—together with high of learning, the Christian Council, Muslim Council—should elect him. Ghanaian citizen, he said, should be entitled to become heir to a royal throne since everyone belonged to a royal house.

Dr. Alex Kyerematen, Minister of Local Government, and Dr. Edward Adu, managing director of Ghana (now on leave), have proposed to the Assembly that a number of separate committees should be set up to deal with various aspects of the Constitution proposals. Dr. Kyerematen (representing Kumasi City Management Committee) any member of the Assembly should be on which committee he will serve, and submit his ideas to that committee; the committee should consider suggestions and forward the result to the Assembly.

Mr. S. N. Acquah (Amanfi Administrative District) said it should be into the Constitution that no prime minister or other minister should receive gifts for his personal. He also said the President should be Paramount Chief from a Region of Chiefs, on a five-yearly rotation and any foreigner who wished to be a Ghanaian should first have to renounce allegiance to a stool.

Public speeches on the constitutional proposals have continued outside the Assembly.

Proceedings at the Assembly standstill several times one day because was no quorum. The Speaker had the Marshals of the Assembly to the members' common room to members who were relaxing.

● The *Pioneer* says there is "genuinely" that electors may not be photographed. The Electoral Commission before general elections because the photographic equipment has been delayed. The Electoral Commissioner, Mr. Jim Cable, said he would be "in a hurry" if the photographing impossible.

● The Western Nzima Youth Association has been banned in the Western Region on the grounds that it was working for political purposes and was not properly registered under law. It is also accused of inciting people not to pay rates.

● The Government is to discontinue the orientation course for the 17 Russian-trained doctors, it is reported. The course was started because it was alleged that Soviet medical training was insufficient.

## SIERRA LEONE Economy on Recovery road

LED by Mr. Brian Quinn, former International Monetary Fund resident representative in Freetown, a four-man IMF delegation is this week in Sierra Leone. The visit is a routine one of the kind the IMF arranges to countries, which, like Sierra Leone, have stand-by credits from the Fund. Sierra Leone has had two drawings. The first, for \$3.6m. was in 1966, under the Margai Government and the second, for a similar sum, was made in November 1967, after an IMF delegation had visited the country to study measures taken to balance the budget and improve the balance of payments.

IMF credits are made to member states of the Fund not as loans or budgetary support but to provide foreign currency against local currency. They have to be repaid within five years. During this period the Fund expects a creditor to take steps to improve its balance of payments and its domestic financial stability.

A correspondent writes:

This time the delegation's visit is unlikely to be followed by a stand-by credit. This is not only because a third stand-by credit, unlike a first and a second, is by no means automatic for Fund members, but because Sierra Leone probably does not need one. The second credit has not been fully drawn and the economic situation, from the IMF's point of view, is fairly good. Overseas reserves, at some £114m., now stand at twice their level at the end of 1967, continued restraint in government expenditure is likely to produce a budget surplus, and economic activity is reviving.

Re-acquainted by its £2m. loan from the Standard Bank, the Produce Marketing Board is now able to buy all produce offered. It is believed that the board's marketing company in London has been handling bigger quantities than ever before, and that it has been able to take better advantage of booming world cocoa prices (although the crop is comparatively small—4,000-5,000 tons) than Ghana or Nigeria. Coffee prospects look good and palm produce marketing has been normal.

Last year sales of diamonds by small diggers were a record; long-term Japanese contracts will allow Sierra Leone Development Company to extend production profitably, and bauxite production is satisfactory. Rutile production by Sherbro Minerals, it is true, has run into serious technical difficulties, which appear to affect the dredge, while the quality of the vast deposits is also now questioned.

For mining, however, main source for many of the country's overseas earnings, the serious problem is the illicit digging on the Sierra Leone Selection Trust leases, now on such a scale that the company's operations may be jeopardised if the

government, pledged to protect the leases, does not reassert its authority.

The coming into production of the new oil refinery is not an unmixed blessing. BP is providing the management and other companies have participated in the equity. But because its conception, under the Margai régime, was unrealistic, the refinery is going to need subsidising in some form. The tourist hotel at Lumley Beach, one of the best examples of a "white elephant" in Africa, remains empty. Happily, it has been paid for (the trouble about the refinery is that the government still has to find most of the cost); yet no operator can be found who will take it as a gift.

Unemployment, the Prime Minister has said, is the country's most serious problem. It is particularly serious because some of it arises from retrenchment of uneconomic projects of the Margai régime. But there is little that the government itself can do to improve the situation, since as a correspondent has pointed out in the *London Financial Times*, any effort artificially to provide employment attracts yet more people from rural areas to the towns, and by creating purchasing power which is translated into a demand for imports, can affect the balance of payments. In the meantime

reports had drawn attention to corruption and incompetence nothing had been done. Other members suggested that the councils were too big and the members incompetent. The Minister of Finance alleged that unsuccessful candidates for parliament entered the councils.

Mr. Siaka Stevens himself, it has been reported, on taking office said that reform of the councils was one of his objectives.

The Deputy Minister in the Prime Minister's office alleged in the debate that it was usual for presidents of district councils to connive with officials to make out bogus contracts. On the other hand, the chiefdom administrations were equally corrupt. Other speakers maintained that district councils must remain, but need reform. The Minister of the Interior said that nothing hasty could be done, but that a committee would be appointed to examine the problem.

● Speaking at the opening of a new plant at the Sierra Leone Selection Trust diamond mine, the Minister of Mines and Labour said the government intended to review mining agreements to ensure Sierra Leone obtained maximum benefits from them. He noted that the SLST production now averaged 700,000 carats annually.



The Acting Governor-General, Mr. Banja Tejan Sic, and Mrs. Tejan Sic, together with the Prime Minister and Mrs. Stevens, walking in procession to the church and cemetery from Parliament building, for the burial of the late Governor-General, Sir Henry Lightfoot Buxton.

local production of food remains unsatisfactory. It seems, therefore, that as the *Financial Times* says: "Continued restraint in government expenditure, control of illicit diamond digging, increased local food production: this therefore is the simple but unappetising economic programme before the government. To enforce it, political stability and political strength are essential."

● Abolition of the 12 district councils responsible for local government outside Freetown and the Western Area has been suggested in the House of Representatives, by Mr. E. G. Kargbo. He alleged that the councils had been responsible for a "terrible waste" of public funds, running into hundreds of thousands of leones, and that they lacked competent staff. Mr. Prince Williams, the member for Bo town and a former chairman of Bo Council, said that in the past district councils had run effectively, but dishonesty and inefficiency had led to their downfall. Although time after time the Auditor-General's

reports had drawn attention to corruption and incompetence nothing had been done. Other members suggested that the councils were too big and the members incompetent. The Minister of Finance alleged that unsuccessful candidates for parliament entered the councils.

Mr. Siaka Stevens himself, it has been reported, on taking office said that reform of the councils was one of his objectives.

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● Treason charges against ex-Brigadier Juxon-Smith, other members of his NRC, and two former Attorneys-General will be held at a special session of the Supreme Court on February 24. The hearing of charges arising out of the military takeover in March 1967 against ex-Brigadier Lansana and 15 others began at a special session of the Supreme Court this week.

## OCAM

## Conference Decisions

THE summit of OCAM attended by ten out of fourteen presidents (see last week) was held in Kinshasa last week from January 27 to 29. The final communiqué recorded, notably, that President Diouf of Niger had been re-elected by acclamation to a third term as chairman of the organisation; satisfaction that Congo-K and Rwanda had decided to resume relations; a decision to co-ordinate their efforts in inter-African and international politics; a call for a united front in the renegotiation of the Yaounde Convention of association with the EEC for maintaining and reinforcing preferences, and obtaining price support and acceptance by the FED of the necessity for rapid industrialisation of associated states; a call for the removal of the convention before 31 May at the latest; a reaffirmation of solidarity with the OCAM sugar agreement, noting that the heads of state had studied means for improving its efficiency; approval of the creation of an African Cultural Institute, and of measures to increase the action of member states in international organisations such as the World Bank and the IMF, whose representatives addressed the conference. Other resolutions from the Council of Ministers meeting prior to the summit were also adopted, including notably the approving report of OCAM Secretary-General Fallou Kane. This said that the organisation had stayed generally within its 1968 budget of 242,800,000 CFA francs (£323,000), but the budget for the forthcoming year would be slightly reduced because some of last year's budget had not been paid: some countries were not even paid up for previous years. Reports differed, however, on the amount still owed.

The conference approved the admission of Mauritius to OCAM; the island's Premier, Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam, was an observer at the meeting. It was also agreed that the next OCAM summit would be held in Yaounde in January 1970.

In his closing speech to the conference, President Hamani Diouf announced that Congo-K and Congo-B had agreed at the request of OCAM (in a message transmitted to Brazzaville by President Eyadema of Togo) to normalise their relations in the economic field without delay as well as in transport, telecommunications and the free movement of people and goods. On diplomatic relations, a concrete solution would be found in time. He also announced that a special mission by President Lamizana of Upper Volta to Bangui had been successful and that Congo-K Chad and CAR had agreed to normalise their relations. The conference was followed by announcements that traffic across the Congo had been resumed, and that the Central African blockade of Chad had been halted. On his return to Fort Lamy from Kinshasa, President Tombalbaye of Chad said: "We cannot continue to quarrel, for quarrels risk compromising the interests of our peoples. Therefore, in the political and even in the economic view of OCAM and above all of the OAU we shall have to co-operate." In an airport interview while seeing off departing leaders, President Mobutu said that the conference had succeeded in restoring peace to Central Africa.

The day after the conference closed all leaders present (President Tsiranana of Madagascar left before the final closing session, to go to Paris on his way home)

there was a six-hour march-past on Kinshasa's Boulevard 30 Juin. President Mobutu presented the Grand Cordon of the Order of the Leopard to Presidents Bongo (Gabon), Lamizana (Upper Volta), Eyadema (Togo), and Mme Hamani Diouf. All other Presidents present had previously received this decoration.

(For report on the OCAM Nigeria peace mission, see page 165.)

## SENEGAL

## Talks with the Gambia

Sources in Bathurst indicate that the Prime Minister, Sir Dauda K. Jawara, has expressed "surprise" to the Senegalese High Commissioner in The Gambia, M. Babacar N'Diaye at public complaints by President Senghor and his Finance Minister Jean Colin at the level of smuggling from the Gambia to Senegal (President Senghor has described the smuggling as posing a "mortal peril" to the Senegalese economy, while M. Cohn described it as "economic aggression.") Sir Dauda is reported to have told M. N'Diaye that a matter such as this should be discussed through diplomatic channels. In a Press conference, he said that he had expressed concern and regret to the Senegalese. The Gambian government remained convinced that the interests of the two countries were best served by discussions "in the spirit of the 1967 Treaty of Association," not through "public accusation and counter-accusation." He also said "The Gambia sympathises with the Senegalese economic situation, and if there is anything she can help with, she will willingly do so."

The matter was high on the agenda of this week's meeting in Bathurst of the Senegal-Gambia inter-ministerial committee, which was to be followed by a meeting between President Senghor and Sir Dauda.

● A conference of experts of the organisation of Senegal River States (OERS) has met in Conakry to discuss stock breeding and measures to combat cattle diseases. This is the first meeting under the organisation's auspices since the coup in Mali in November. Representatives of all four member countries (Guinea, Mali, Senegal, Mauritania) took part for the first time at an OERS meeting, as well as an observer from The Gambia. An OERS ministerial meeting followed by a summit is due to take place in Dakar in March.

## IVORY COAST

Projects for a new coastal road linking Accra and Abidjan have been discussed by a Ghanaian delegation visiting the Ivory Coast capital (regular meetings were agreed after General Ankrah's state visit to Ivory Coast last August). The road would either run along the coast side of the large Aby lagoon, from Grand Bassam to Half-Assinie, via Assinie, or around the inside of the lagoon, via Aboboiss and Prestea to Tarkwa. Sources said that the African Development Bank, which has just held a seminar on transport in Africa at its headquarters in Abidjan (to make an inventory of existing and planned transport projects on the African continent), would be willing to finance the project. At the moment Accra and Abidjan are only linked by a long internal road via Abengourou and Sunyani, crossing the border at Dormaa-Ahenkro.

## GUINEA

The government has been re-elected and enlarged to include several new members of state. These are grouped in a few "key" ministers, such as Sidia Diawara (Finance), N'famara Keita (Foreign Trade), Ismael Touré (Economy), Li Beargou (Foreign Affairs) and G. Diagne Lansana (Defence), all of whom remain unchanged. Among the new members are, notably, Karim Ba (formerly Ambassador in Washington recently accredited in London), who is Secretary of State for Transport, Sekou Camara, formerly Ambassador in Peking, who is now Secretary of State for Trade. Another new figure is a military man in the government, Kaman Diaby, who is Secretary of State in charge of the new *Service Civique* (as being Assistant Chief of Staff of the People's Army), and a leading Diawara figure from the old opposition, the PDG of the 1950s, Barry Ibrahim Barry III, who is Secretary-General of the Government. It will also be that a Secretaryship of State for International Training has been created, held by Keita, formerly Assistant Secretary of the National Political Bureau of the P.

● Several new ambassadors have been appointed, notably M. Fadja Kaba moves from the Moscow embassy to become Ambassador to USA and based in Washington, replacing M. Bangoura; M. Diouf Diallo, Governor of Guinea's Mali region, sent to Moscow; M. Ansou K. former Governor of Koundara region, envoy to Peking; Other appointments: Mr. Sakho (Havana), and M. O. Souare (Lagos).

● An agricultural scheme to make self-supporting in farm produce has been launched by the PGM.

## MALI

A joint Franco-Malian commission met in Bamako to discuss economic and monetary relations. This fourth meeting of the commission of France-Mali monetary agreements in

● A delegation of Egyptian hoteliers had talks with officials on a being built in Bamako with help Egyptian technicians. The hotel planned to house participants in the African Games which Mali has no other cannot host for reasons of expense.

● All political prisoners held at by the previous régime have been freed.

## IN BRIEF

Liberian President and Mrs. Tubman among 2,000 mourners at the funeral procession of former Vice-President Clarence Simpson. The President, in morning suit and top hat, led behind the cortège along the highway to the Palm Grove cemetery.

● President Hamani Diouf of Niger made a state visit to Britain from 31 to April 4.

● African Labour Ministers are to meet under OAU auspices in Algiers March 10 to 16.

## NIGERIA Bombing Raid on Midwest

A FEDERAL government statement has said that an unidentified plane flew over Midwest State last week, and bombed Ohagie village, killing four people and wounding others. Ohagie is eight miles from Benin, and there was speculation that the raid, the first on Nigerian-held territory since Oct. 1967, was aimed at Biafra airport. The statement said "another strange aircraft also suspected to be in the service of the rebels dropped four home-made bombs in the vicinity of Calabar airport. No-one was injured." The Nigerian air force is now on a "seek and destroy" mission in what was called the "new situation." It is understood that a similar aircraft had been seen over Benin earlier in the week, but no bombs had been dropped. The aircraft have also reportedly been seen at Sapele, Warri and Koko in the Midwest.

Meanwhile Biafra radio has said that Nigerian bombers attacked civilian centres in Biafra over the weekend, killing 57 people. Increased frequency of air raids has been confirmed by a number of journalists currently in Biafra.

At a press conference in Lagos at the weekend, Chief Enahoro, Commissioner for Information, said the raid might have been carried out by an aircraft used by a relief organisation, "returning from the rebel-held areas where it picked up the bombs," which he said were home-made Molotov cocktails filled with shrapnel, similar to those dropped on Lagos in 1967. The government believed the aircraft had come from Libreville or Sao Tome, he said, and was a medium-sized transport aircraft, not a regular bomber. Biafra has denied any responsibility for the raid.

There are still no definite reports of the start of the expected federal offensive. Lagos sources suggest the objective is to cut Biafra in two on the Okigwi-Owerri axis, rather than another frontal assault on Uli. Chief Enahoro, at last Saturday's news conference, said that the Biafrans had attempted to enter the outskirts of Owerri, but had been "beaten back with heavy casualties." He also said "something is brewing, I can't add to that." Sources earlier last week had said that the meeting of the army and air force commanders with the three divisional commanders in Benin had decided to "step up" operations.

● The new Red Cross relief airlift from Cotonou to Biafran-held territory has finally started, after three unsuccessful attempts when aircraft had to turn back without landing at Uli, apparently because of confusion over the landing codes for pilots (the codes are reportedly changed every week, to help the Biafrans control use of the airstrip). Later, when the difficulty had been overcome, three aircraft went from Cotonou to Uli on one night. August Lindt, International Red Cross commissioner general for West Africa, who had negotiated with President Zinsou the agreement on the airlift, flew on the first flight. Food stored in Fernando Po is being taken from there to Cotonou by air and sea (about 5,000 tons of food are thought to be in Fernando Po).

● The Dahomey government has been criticised by Radio Kaduna for "taking over the dirty work of providing the Inter-



Chief Enahoro—no authorisation for Dahomey.

national Red Cross with a base to resume its illegal flights"; the radio said it was hard to see how this could be reconciled with Dahomey's declared support for Nigeria: "While we do not like to think that Dahomey is toying the line of Gabon and the Ivory Coast, it is hard to believe which side she is supporting in the current crisis." Chief Enahoro told newsmen that the federal government was opposed to all relief flights outside Nigeria: "We have not authorised routes from Dahomey to rebel-held areas and indeed with the latest air action there is no prospect of giving them a free route. The federal government had no previous knowledge of the agreement from the Dahomey government, which was always regarded as a friend. The Red Cross informed us of the agreement after it was signed." President Zinsou told newsmen in Yaounde (where he was stopping over on his way back from the OCAM meeting in Kinshasa) that the flights were in line with his policy of getting the two sides round the conference table: "Dahomey is neither for Nigeria or Biafra in the conflict. I do not know what the attitude of the federal government is, but I am convinced for my part that it will agree with us that we should both try to help human suffering."

## Is There an OCAM Peace Mission?

THERE has been a certain amount of speculation about a possible OCAM peace mission arising out of last week's summit in Kinshasa (see page 142). The subject had been raised at the conference's opening session by President Houphouët-Boigny of Ivory Coast, who said that "the unhappy war between Nigeria and Biafra" would without doubt be discussed, and unofficial sources confirm that the Presidents had several meetings on the subject. No mention of the war was made in the official communique, however, and the OCAM Secretary-General, Fallou Kane, when asked if any peace move had been agreed on, would neither confirm nor deny such a move. A little more light was cast on the subject by President Tombalbaye of Chad, speaking on his departure at Ndjili Airport, he said that Presidents Diiori and Mobutu, "with their colleagues," had been entrusted by OCAM "with the task of going to a friendly country to meet both antagonists": OCAM had "the imperative duty to force these brothers to agree." It was not clear from this, however, whether it had merely been decided to encourage the

work of the OAU Consultative Committee of which both Niger and Congo-K are members, or whether a new demarche might be made. It has been known that for some time the OAU Committee has been making strenuous efforts to fulfil the mandate it had from last September's OAU summit in Algiers to resume the work adjourned in Addis Ababa shortly before, and it is expected to meet before long in Monrovia.

Federal officials in Lagos declined to comment on a possible OCAM initiative, and Chief Enahoro told newsmen that the federal government would not react to such peace moves until it heard about them officially. Early this week, however, Admiral Wey, Commander of the Nigerian Navy, took a special message from Gen. Gowon to Gen. Ankrah, who is also a member of the OAU Committee. On his return to Lagos, the Admiral said, when asked about OCAM: "We have no cause to doubt the ability of the OAU, but if anybody wants to try let him do so. But we feel the OAU is capable of handling the Nigerian crisis." It is reported that this affirmation of confidence in the OAU was the keynote of Gen. Gowon's message.

In an interview President Mobutu said that he thought the Nigerian war had been going on for too long. "When military men take power, it is normally to bring better conditions for the people. But in Nigeria we are watching a conflict which is, above all, tribal." It was time the leaders began to think and ask themselves "why are we fighting". He was quoted as saying that all participants in OCAM's summit were anxious for an early end to the war. Other reports said that most Presidents in the private discussions had felt that a ceasefire should be pressed for. Rumours about a possible peace mission had alleged that representatives of Cameroon and Ivory Coast might be sent to Biafra, and of Dahomey and Niger to Lagos.

● In an interview in the Niamey magazine *Niger*, Foreign Minister Abdou Sidkou said "We are in favour of Nigerian unity, without ambiguity." Asked if Niger's attitude was conditioned by the presence in Niger of over 1m. Hausa he said: "if we should think this we would ourselves be tribalising the problem. We are close to the people of the North, but we don't want them to rule us through their numbers."

● The Soviet Ambassador in Nigeria, Mr. A. I. Romanov, has warned all foreign powers to steer clear of Nigeria's internal affairs or face the consequences. The envoy said it has become crystal clear that some foreign countries, particularly the United States, were responsible for the prolongation of the current war in Nigeria. He deplored the dubious role of the Americans who, he said, were well known for hiding their faces after causing serious crises between two countries or internal conflicts between brothers of one nation. He warned that the silence of the Soviet Union in the Nigerian crisis should not be taken for laziness or stupidity, adding that the Soviet people were peace-loving and would not like to be dragged into a crisis which is the internal affair of Nigeria. Mr. Romanov was speaking at Kaduna airport before flying to Lagos at the end of a two-day visit to the North-Central State capital, during which he attended a conference of the Nigerian-Soviet Friendship and Cultural Association.

(More Nigeria News on next page.)

## NIGERIA—continued

## French Deputies' Visits

The leader of the four-man French parliamentary delegation visiting Nigeria told Chief Enahoro that the French were sympathetic to Biafra because they considered the Biafrans underdogs. The concern in France was based on humanitarian considerations. Chief Enahoro replied to this that there was only a thin line between humanitarian and political considerations. "Humanitarian considerations can predispose victims of propaganda towards political decision." A message was sent to the federal government from the Foreign Minister, Michel Debré, assuring Lagos that France would continue to recognise only the federal government. Before leaving Nigeria M. Fouad said in all his tour of the federation, he had "not the slightest impression of genocide."

A delegation of two Gaullist MPs visiting Biafra called on France at the end of their visit to recognise the secessionist state. While in Umuahia they had witnessed a large pro-French rally, with a vast picture of de Gaulle, and cries of "Ojukwu Power," "De Gaulle Power" and "We love the French." Speakers at the rally said that France and America could check the Anglo-Soviet offensive.

● On Friday last week the US Secretary of State, W. P. Rogers, summoned Nigerian Ambassador in Washington, Joe Iyalla, to discuss developments in the Nigeria-Biafra conflict. The same day, 27 Senators signed a resolution calling on the government to intervene for a cease-fire.

Nigerian students in America and the Caribbean have sent an open letter to Gen. Gowon calling for a quick end to the civil war to forestall US intervention for Biafra. The students claimed that a group of Senators and Congressmen, joined by Mrs. Pat Nixon, had launched a campaign to arouse sympathy for the secessionists, and that if the war continued "the United States will come in with all its military might on the side of the secessionists."

● The church relief bodies merged in Joint Church Aid, which has for several months organised the major relief effort for Biafran-held territory, have held their first meeting, in Copenhagen. They decided that Scandinavian churches would deal with transport contracts and recruitment of air crews. German organisations with sea transport of relief supplies, Vatican representatives with air links between Europe and São Tomé, and the World Council of Churches with press and information. Joint Church Aid is now able to organise about 17 relief flights per night.

● A Nigerian Army firing squad shot three Ibo civilians in a public execution in Enugu for trying to deliver a bomb to the commander of the First Division in Enugu. He said the bomb went off before reaching the headquarters in Enugu of Col. Mohammed Shuwa, killing two soldiers and wounding two policemen at a road check-point.

● Dame Margery Perham, who in September, following a visit to Nigeria broadcast an appeal on Lagos Radio to Ojukwu to surrender, has written an open letter to

General Gowon in *The Spectator* in London calling on him to negotiate rather than begin a final assault.

● A judge of the New York Supreme court has forbidden Susan Soss to collect more money for Biafra. She was accused of civil, not criminal offences: unauthorised use of the name of two Biafra relief bodies, and collecting her own Babies Appeal, which, she stated, was not registered under the law. Judge said Miss Garth had no basis to carry out her plans. She said later that had simply been "honestly raising money for the starving children of Biafra," would now go on collecting in the US.

## News from the State

Following a meeting in Lagos of education commissioners from the state the federation, it was announced that the "indigent students' scheme" should be scrapped. They recommended a revision scheme for university students, immediate federal government financial assistance for those of them who from war-stricken areas. Students declared indigent should continue to receive government aid. Earlier, Mr. I. Federal Commissioner for Education that under the scheme, for which federal government allocated £1.1 million annually, 621 students out of 1,387 applied had benefited so far. On criticisms from some northern states the scheme was not being equitably administered, Mr. Briggs said that no-one objecting to the principle of aid to students, but anxiety had been expressed as to "the availability of suitable means in certain parts of the country." He said that the federal government was aware of disparities in educational development in Nigeria, and was determined to close the gap without delay.

● Chief Obafemi Awolowo, Federal Commissioner for Finance, has received Report of the Interim Revenue Allocation Committee. The Committee was appointed in July last year to review the revenue system in the country with a view to "achieving a more equitable division of revenue among the twelve states of the Federation." The final arrangements will await the recommendation of the proposed Constitutional Review Assembly and the Fiscal Review Commission.

● From next April 1 various grades of staff in statutory corporations will receive reduced salaries, as recommended by the Working Party.

● The Somolu Assets Tribunal in Western State, with the approval of the Governor, has cleared another 51 officers, including S. O. Ighodaro and Piper and the Odemo of Ishara.

● Port Harcourt airport, closed to traffic since its capture last November by Federal forces, has been reopened. Nigerian Airways are preparing schedules for passenger flights to it.

● Chief S. I. Edo has resigned as Commissioner for Health in Lagos because he says his "many complex interests" were suffering. The *Daily Trust* urged him to resign because of reference to him in the George Report on Lagos Airways.

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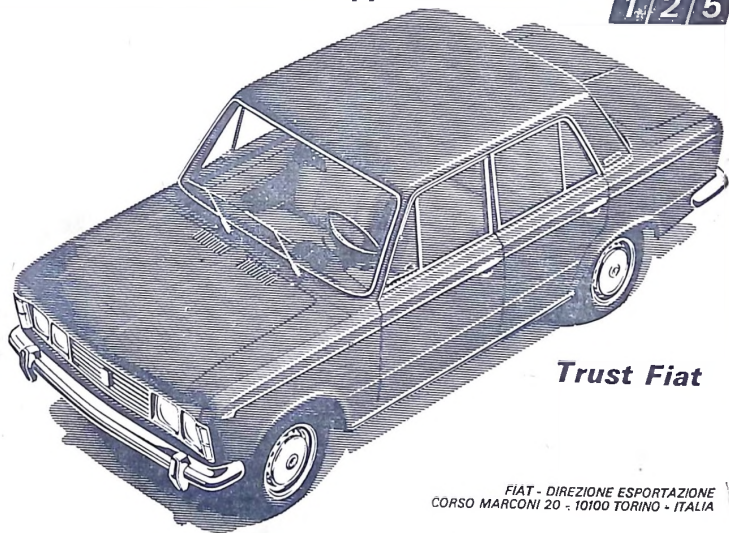
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