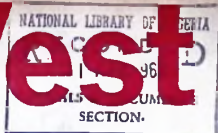


# West Africa



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## Traditional Trade?

**T**HERE are no reliable statistics for smuggling because of its very nature, but it would be safe to say that, considering West Africa from Mauritania to Congo-Kinshasa, smuggling probably constitutes one of the most important commercial activities. The second of our two articles on the smuggling between The Gambia and Senegal (see page 435) describes one example, and points to more, such as the smuggling into Senegal from Las Palmas, the traffic between Senegal and its neighbours, such as Mauritania and Mali. There are plenty of others.

The Senegal-Gambia example points to a special African phenomenon— that smuggling is carried on not only in consumer goods but also in produce. In some cases, as between Nigeria and Niger, groundnuts are smuggled to secure higher prices, but one can also cite the current smuggling of cocoa from Ghana into Ivory Coast and Togo, or from Nigeria to Dahomey. There are also of course large numbers of unauthorised livestock, especially cattle, which cross Africa's frontiers. Diamond smuggling is also a particularly West African activity, from Sierra Leone to the Congo.

The cause of this prevalence of smuggling is partly historical. National frontiers and all that they imply in terms of tariff areas, protection and import duties, only came in at the end of the 19th century with the colonial era, while "Traditional border trade" criss-crossed the interior long before.

In some cases it is merely a question of convenience: an area might be geographically much better placed to evacuate produce over a border. There are parts of Ghana's western region where it is physically impossible for some villages to use Ghana's road system. The pressing reason for much of the smuggling that goes on, however, is the fact that West Africa is divided into several different currency and tariff areas, some strong and some weak, some highly protected, some liberal and open.

The fact that the Liberian currency is the super-strong American dollar is one of the main reasons for the smuggling of diamonds and other produce into Liberia from Sierra Leone. It is often forgotten now that there used to be a high level

of smuggling from Sierra Leone to Guinea, which was transformed by the advent of the Guinea franc. Now the only traffic is by Guineans who bring palm produce and cattle in to obtain the currency to buy the plentiful available goods which cannot be obtained in Guinea; but this is nothing like the level of the former traffic. The different level in costs of living between Senegal and the Gambia, worsened by sterling devaluation, has been a major factor in the increase in traffic from the Gambia, but this applies less between other countries. Ghana's cost of living is high and most consumer goods are heavily taxed—an ideal opening for a traditionally free-trade country like Togo.

The pattern of smuggling often varies with economic conditions. Congo-Brazzaville's substantial revenue from exports of diamonds was due to the difficulties on the other side of the Congo river from 1960 onwards, as no diamonds are produced on the Brazzaville side. Since Nigeria introduced rigid controls the illegal traffic with Dahomey has intensified (taking cocoa out, bringing consumer goods in). The Marketing Board system, where a fixed price, often well below the world price, is paid for produce often encourages smuggling, especially if an official buying organisation depends on credit chits, which are usually anathema to peasants.

The different trading patterns, especially between French and English-speaking Africa, are conducive to smuggling, not only because of the high tariffs of the EEC associate (now sometimes matched by Nigeria and Ghana), but because of the inevitable preponderance of French goods in the franc zone, which also brings in the elusive factor of taste. In Bathurst there is a demand for dark tobacco Gauloises or Senegalese-made Camelias, while in Dakar there is a demand for British or American light tobacco cigarettes; both happen to be cheaper the other side of the border, so the demand is met in part by smuggling. It would have been difficult to foresee, however, in the colonial past, that one day "le whisky" would be smuggled from French to English-speaking Africa.

How harmful is smuggling? Governments, looking on the question in terms



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of loss of revenue from tax (especially those that depend heavily on customs excise to balance their budget such as Senegal), as well as competition to industries, tend to regard it with unbridled horror. The Senegalese have been especially perturbed at the way it increased. Bigger countries also in the way neighbouring mini-states (such as of doubtful viability) seem to batten on their misfortunes to make a little bit of easy money. Smuggling also involves a dangerous element of lawlessness, beyond establishing controls, to ensure that it does not get out of hand. In Senegal there has been a real effort to that illicit trade in all directions, not from The Gambia is growing too fast there is little governments can do apart from work to eliminate frontiers.

In West Africa this could only be done effectively in the context of regional groupings, especially the 14-nation West African grouping. At the moment even the summit to sign the proposed treaty establishing the grouping has been postponed to the end of the year. This looks like a long and laborious business. Even the proposed Senegalese-Gambian customs union, accepted in principle, will be extremely hard to achieve in practice as long as the present close ties with different European systems continue. The tight integration of the franc zone countries with France is a particularly tough obstacle.

It can be argued, however, that smuggling is not wholly undesirable. It kept to a certain level it lubricates trade and keeps goods and money circulating. Moreover, it can even be a political advantage. Our correspondent quotes Sir Dauda Jawara as saying that in some ways The Gambia acts as a safety valve for Senegal. One can point to the example of how Sierra Leonean farmers kept going, when the Produce Marketing Board, bankrupted by the Albert Margai regime, stopped buying produce, by the simple expedient of getting their produce in Liberia. Much the same process went on in Nkrumah's Ghana.

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# Making Ghana Democratic

By a correspondent

GOVERNMENTS in Ghana should be prohibited by the constitution from establishing a one-party state, the Constituent Assembly has unanimously decided. The Assembly's 154 members also decided that any government action limiting legal political activity should be unconstitutional. So the Assembly carries on with its task of preparing the constitution which, it is hoped, will ensure that Ghana will never again have to endure a regime as dictatorial and corrupt as that of Dr. Nkrumah. Now that party political activity is about to become legal again and Brigadier Afrifa, new Head of the NLC, has reaffirmed the military regime's intention of restoring civilian rule this year, how far has the Assembly gone with its work?

It is now almost three months since it first met to consider the draft constitution prepared by the Chief Justice and his committee, and although the original hope that it would finish its work by the end of May is unlikely to be fulfilled, any long delay would frustrate hopes of returning to civilian rule by the date announced by General Ankrah, September 30, since the draft constitution agreed by the Constituent Assembly has to be considered and approved by the NLC, completed by the lawyers and put into effect before a general election can be held.

The Assembly began by considering "constitutional principles" and then proceeded to a clause-by-clause examination of the draft constitution. When it became clear that this procedure would be too lengthy, five committees were appointed to consider different aspects of the constitution—the executive (but not the President), the legislature, the Judiciary, liberties of the individual (this committee has received a record number of suggestions) and "miscellaneous." The reports of these committees are now ready and this week the Assembly as a whole began to consider them. The whole Assembly, however, has in the meantime, continued discussions, and even before the committees' reports are published one can guess, in outline, what the Assembly's final decision will be.

So far the Assembly appears to have accepted the proposals of the draft constitution before it, far more readily than once seemed likely, even though it has turned down one or two proposals—for example, the one that some ministers could be appointed from outside parliament in order to widen the field of choice for the Prime Minister, and the one that the Attorney-General should be outside the government.

It always was clear that the Assembly, and people at large, would agree with the draft proposals that the President should be non-executive. He would be advised by a small Council of State, including the Prime Minister and the "Minority

leader". Argument has turned on his age—50 was suggested as a minimum but many think this too old—and on the precise nature of his powers which, many consider, the draft constitution made too great. It has been agreed, for example, that, contrary to the draft proposals, the Prime Minister and not the President should carry on the government after its dissolution until a new government is formed. The idea of a presidential commission to deputise for the President, as well as the proposal for a vice-President, have been rejected. It has been suggested instead that the Chief Justice, the Speaker

Additional safeguards against the executive are likely to include appointment of an "ombud-man" as suggested in the draft constitution and agreed by the Assembly, and the entrenchment in the Constitution of the position of the Supreme Court as final arbiter if which government actions are or are not constitutional.

The level of discussion has been higher than many expected from such a heterogeneous body. Naturally some members have used the opportunity to air views on political theory and practice which sometimes seem irrelevant to Ghana's needs. On the other hand there has been a lot of down to earth talking. Mr. Idama Asigiri, for example, a farmers' representative from the North, pointed out that individual liberties would matter



The opening session of the Constituent Assembly.

or some other office holder should automatically act for the President when necessary.

One of the liveliest debates so far, concerned the age for voters. In a country where such a high proportion of the population, and particularly of the literate population, is under 21, there has been a strong feeling that the minimum age should be 18. The proposal was rejected by the full Assembly, but cynics say that those who rejected it realised that they themselves would have little appeal to youth. There was also a proposal that candidates should be at least 25; here, however, the Assembly plumped for youth, deciding that the age should be 21.

Although many of its members must hope to be M.P.s, the Assembly decided that members of Parliament should receive no salaries.

One of the most interesting sections of the reports of the five committees will be that concerning Chiefs. So far there has been relatively little discussion of Chiefs although one member suggested that the head of state, should be a king, called the Ghanabene, chosen from one of the regional Houses of Chiefs. It has been agreed in principle that a National Assembly of Chiefs should be responsible for chieftaincy affairs but a proposal that Ghana should have an "Upper Chamber" (which, presumably, would have provided a place for Chiefs in the central government) has been rejected.

little to the citizens, if the police continued to arrest and prosecute people in the way that they have for so many years. Mr. Kofe Adjah, of the National Union of Ghana's Students, even ventured to poke fun at Chiefs and the "carefully arranged noise and the vast throng of multi-coloured people" who followed them. A Chief, however, Nana Kwamina Anaisie, made the very practical point that the £50 approved as adequate for a Chief's maintenance many years ago no longer allowed him to meet the demands on him.

Whatever the result of the Assembly's decisions for parliamentary democracy in Ghana, its members have shown by the way they have spoken and conducted themselves that, although Ghana officially became a one-party state in 1964 and has had military rule for three years, the habit of parliamentary discussion remains powerful. Mr. Justice Blay, who presides, is actually called "Speaker," and the Assembly produces a daily *Hansard* of its proceedings with the same speed and efficiency as the old National Assembly did. Popular interest, however, is not as great as was hoped. The galleries are not full, and newspapers seldom send their star reporters. On the other hand, the public is left in no doubt of the august nature of this Assembly, men wearing European dress have to wear ties and jackets if they are to be admitted.

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## ROUNDOABOUT

### The Two Professions

Lt. Col. Alexandre Banza, who has just been executed in Bangui, capital of the Central African Republic, on a charge of attempting to overthrow President Bokassa, was a visitor to London in May, 1966. It was only a few months after the *coup* of Saint-Sylvestre (New Year's Eve), which overthrew President Dacko, and installed the Bokassa régime, Col. Banza was travelling round in his capacity as Minister of Finance, trying to rustle up aid (the British government, it so happened, had already committed a grant of £50,000 to President Dacko the year before, so Banza's discussions were largely on how the aid should be spent—how many Land-Rovers, etc.). He told me then: "I don't wear my uniform any more because I am a politician and the two professions don't mix," which seems sadly to be the lesson of his tragic and futile bid for power: the official account of his abortive attempt last week suggests that, although entirely politicised, he still believed he had a power base in the army. As he was head of the paracommandos (having prudently kept his foot in the military door) one might have imagined that he could have obtained more support, especially in view of the detailed plans for a takeover allegedly found in his possession. But he seems to have been wildly overconfident, as the officers he asked to join him simply arrested him, "taking advantage of a moment of inattention." There is no news so far of any other arrests in the army, and Banza's only accomplices appear to have been a couple of relatives.



General Bokassa

February 1968, while still kept in second place on the government list as Minister of State, he was given the Health and Social Affairs portfolio, and in February this year he was moved dramatically down the government pecking-order.

### One-Man Show

Thus it seems almost certain to have been a one-man show. In the past General Bokassa has not been slow to uncover outside interference in Central African affairs; on occasion he has even seemed to have invented it. But this time there has been no whisper that, for example, the Congolese of Kinshasa had anything to do with it. Three months ago, when relations between Bangui and Kinshasa were at a nadir, he might have found a pretext for roping the Congolese in. Since the extremely cordial visit of President Mobutu to Paris last month, at which an appeal for magnanimity from a "great nation like the Congo" brought a sympathetic response from the Congolese President, it is hardly likely that either Bokassa or Mobutu would rock the boat of impending reconciliation.

### Natural Law?

A short while ago there was a story about the cloth that was made bearing the head of Lt. Moussa Traore, head of state of Mali. The rolls of this cloth were supposed to have been locked up in a wagon in a railway siding in Senegal, having been refused entry to Mali by the young head of state, who apparently abhorred such a symptom of personality cult. I can now reveal that the natural economic laws of Africa got to work and the cloth did not stay in the siding for long; visiting Kaolack I spotted two youths in the motor park wearing Moussa Traore shirts. And where Kaolack leads, can Bamako be far behind?

### Conakry on Afrifa

Conakry Radio has criticised both Gen. Ankrah and Brig. Afrifa, calling them tools of imperialism; "Ankrah goes, another takes his place," it said, adding that a referendum would show most Ghanaians to be in favour of Dr. Nkrumah.



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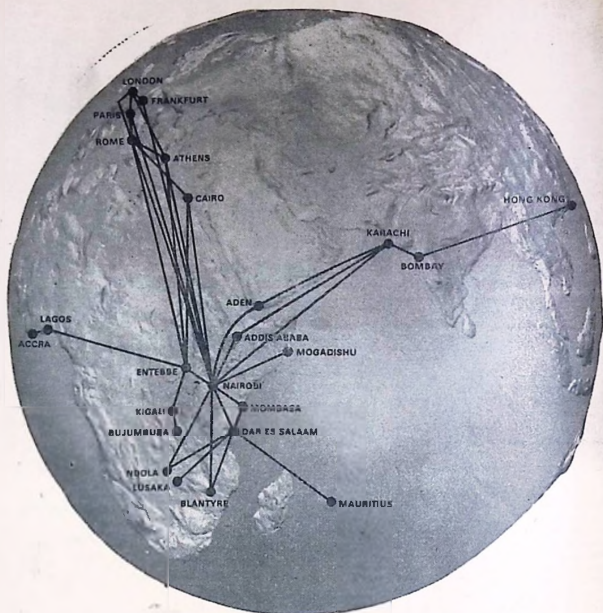
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What were his motives? Some commentators have noted that he comes from a Northern minority tribe of CAR, whereas General Bokassa, and his predecessor David Dacko (as well as their uncle, the late Barthelemy Boganda, the 10th anniversary of whose death has just been celebrated with great ceremony) are of the Mbaka, whose monopoly of leadership is sometimes resented by others. But the most important factor appears to be personal; as Captain Banza, in charge of the 1st Infantry Battalion at the time of the St. Sylvestre *coup*, he had played a key role in installing his friend and brother-in-arms Bokassa, but as so often in politics nothing is more dangerous than to have done somebody a favour. Banza found that, from an established position as the régime's number two, Minister of Finance, his status was slowly eroded in a series of government reshuffles. It was clear that Bokassa regarded him as a rival centre of power. It was rumoured that the General's sudden invocation of the Defence Treaty with France in November 1967 was related to discontent in the army and Banza's name was loosely mentioned. In



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## SENEGAMBIA

## The Smuggling Problem: 2

By a correspondent recently in Bathurst and Dakar

MY article last week described the nature of the smuggling between Senegal and The Gambia, and outlined the case of the Senegalese, made public in a report of the Finance Minister, Jean Colin, at a meeting of the National Council of the ruling UPS on January 11. The Gambian reaction to this was one of surprise, and a mild protest was made to the Senegalese High Commissioner in Bathurst that such complaints against a friendly country were not made through the machinery provided, i.e. the usual diplomatic channels, or the Senegambian secretariat, to be brought up at the routine Interministerial meeting scheduled for Bathurst on February 6 and 7.

By the time this meeting took place, the statement of M. Cohn on "economic aggression" and of President Senghor on "mortal peril" had had wide publicity in the public prints (usually a couple of duplicated sheets) in Bathurst. President Senghor visited The Gambian capital at the same time as the ministers were meeting, and a group of Gambians, mainly young people from various youth social organisations, asked permission to demonstrate, and took to the streets in spite of a refusal from the police, who moved in to clear the demonstrators, some of whom had burnt Senegalese flags and bunting and carried placards saying "Senghor Go Home."

The Senegalese President missed the demonstration, as he had been in Brikama for the ceremony twinning the town with Jos, but a reputation of the demonstrations on Friday, February 7, caused him to avoid attending the opening of the new Bathurst branch of BICIS (*Banque Internationale de Commerce et Industrie de Senegal*), a Senegalese bank financed largely by French money. The demonstrators broke the windows of the bank and of the Senegambian secretariat before being cleared by the police. Field Force using teargas (this was the first action the Field Force had seen since during The Gambia Workers' Union strike of 1961).

The Senegalese were upset by the demonstrations, and on the Friday evening, after his guest had departed, Sir Dauda Jawara broadcast to deplore the demonstrations saying that the Government and responsible citizens deeply regretted them. But while there was a certain hooligan element which perhaps took advantage of the situation to cause what the Prime Minister described as "pure acts of lawlessness and vandalism," there was no doubt that the sympathy of Bathurst was with the demonstrators, as was shown by the reaction to the communiqué of the ministerial talks themselves.

### The Implications of a Customs Union

This noted that after discussing various points on the cooperation on the fields of posts and telecommunications, road transport, movement of persons (within the framework of the Senegalo-Gambian Visa Abolition Agreement), and tourism, the ministers discussed cooperation for the purpose of eliminating smuggling. "The two Governments," said the communiqué, "agreed in principle to achieve a customs union . . . but in view of the complexity

of the problems involved, a study of the implications of such a Union would be undertaken by a Committee of Experts appointed by the two sides and their report submitted" to the next ordinary meeting of the Inter-State Ministerial Committee. In the interval before the creation of the Customs Union, "which is envisaged as a long-term solution," the two delegations agreed to submit interim measures which will be set out in a "protocol" to be submitted at an Extraordinary Inter-State Ministerial Committee. The measures were approved by heads of government.

What in fact seems to be happening is that the experts (who met in Bathurst last week) are submitting the protocol containing suggested interim measures to the Extraordinary Committee, which meets in Dakar on April 21, and will meet again to study



President Senghor—"apostle of dialogue."

the implications of the customs union. Sources in both Dakar and Bathurst placed more importance on the interim measures; the Senegalese in particular will regard The Gambian position on these as an indication of future goodwill towards the whole Senegambian relationship. The customs union question seems to have been raised as the best way of securing progress on smuggling; the two are intimately linked, but there can be few who imagine that the achievement of a customs union between a franc zone and a sterling area country would be a straightforward exercise, although the 1964 UN Report did say that "the abolition of the customs border might be among the early achievements to be considered"—adding that to impose uniform import levies would be a "serious ordeal" for The Gambia.

In the present political climate in The Gambia, however, it would seem unpropitious. The floating of the customs union project so soon after the menacing words of January seems to have brought to the surface certain fears that have never previously been expressed. President Senghor in a Press conference, later in February,

berated *Le Moniteur Africain* (the French-owned, Dakar-published weekly) for saying "it would be an error to facilitate the appearance of The Gambia," even though the news journal itself deplored such a possibility. The President, I was told, was annoyed that such a mischievous suggestion should have been made, however, he himself also seemed to be saying that *Le Moniteur's* comment was an implied attack on regional groupings.

An attack on the same journal by Bar Diouf, the President's Press secretary, in *Dakar-Matin*, caused much alarm in Bathurst by seeming to imply (the Senegalese say unwittingly) that it was Senegalese policy to "facilitate the disappearance" of The Gambia. As one Gambian broadsheet said: "Historically, due to their different colonial upbringing, Gambians have grown to distrust Senegalese and resent their sometimes condescending attitude. With independence the British left The Gambia, and the country stands without any visible means of support against possible Senegalese invasion." There is a widely held belief in Bathurst that the British would come somehow to their aid; this would seem to ignore the fact there is no Defence Agreement, as well as the strong disinclination in Whitehall for any kind of overseas military involvement.

### Ferry Flashpoint ?

In Dakar, however, I was assured in Senegalese government circles that there was no thought of annexation. Such a policy would surely be personally abhorrent to President Senghor, apostle of "dialogue." It is not hard, however, in Dakar to find annexationists, especially among younger, more nationalist, sections of the community. "*Les Gambiens nous embêtent*" ("The Gambians irritate us"), is a frequent comment. One is told there is an annexationist "party" in the army and the Ministry of Finance, and that arguments counselling caution, on the grounds that it would not be in Senegal's best interests, have come in part from the French business community.

One flashpoint could be the trans-Gambia ferry at Bambatenda, where Senegalese officialdom believes the Gambians deliberately cause delays: "Whenever they see a lot of official traffic, they take off the large ferry and put on the small one." I was told by Senegalese who had recently travelled to the region of Casamance, whose communications with Dakar depend on the ferry.

The Gambians' main grievance is the feeling they are being made a scapegoat for Senegal's economic difficulties; they point out that the traffic is largely in the hands of Senegalese, especially some of the big-time *marabouts* (in Dakar I heard reference to the "free zone of Mbaccké," a maraboutic centre, and one highly placed official source in Bathurst told me he believed dispensations to avoid customs were granted to Senegalese notables for political reasons). There are also Malians, Mauritians and Guineans, all of whom can be seen milling in Bathurst's main shopping streets as well as in the markets up-river. The Senegalese tightening of controls, and insistence that all Senegalese travelling to The Gambia should carry passports has had some effect, but in my own travels across the border controls seemed fairly perfunctory.

Since early February Sir Dauda seemed somewhat on the defensive on this issue (the two ministers who agreed to the Customs Union, Andrew Camara and A. B. N'jie, had been subject to a fair amount of criticism for "appeasement"). In Dakar it was even said that the demonstrations were not so much a Senegalo-Gambian problem as "Gambiano-Gambian," implying that they arose from the opposition to Sir Dauda. This is to misread the element of nationalism in the demonstration; for example, one group of demonstrating youths reportedly sang "Jawara is our leader, we shall not be moved." Moreover the Premier made an extremely forthright statement in the House of Representatives on March 5, which clarified The Gambian government's attitude and brought him congratulations from the opposition, even if it scarcely made their negotiating position *vis-à-vis* the Senegalese any easier. Sir Dauda said The Gambia had not committed itself to any interim measures and would not to any that would harm the interests of the Gambian people. On the smuggling he said: "if there is any organised attempt in Senegal today to convey the impression that smuggling from The Gambia is responsible for the economic difficulties of that country, this is greatly to be regretted, as nothing could be further from the truth."

### "Le Passoir"

He went on to say there was "incontrovertible evidence that smuggling on a large scale is taking place in the port of Dakar itself, as also from other directions. This is organised professional smuggling, not the traditional border trade which has existed so long between Senegal and The Gambia." (In Dakar the port is sometimes referred

to as *le passoir* because of the scale of the illicit traffic there, especially from the Canary Islands circuit. In fairness, it should be pointed out that the Senegalese stress that their remonstrations to The Gambia should be seen in the context of Senegal's nation-wide campaign against fraud of all kinds, to combat which a special Ministerial Committee has just been set up. It is estimated by the Senegalese that over 2,000m. CFA francs (£3.5m.) in revenue is lost through fraud and contraband of various kinds of which less than half is attributed to the Gambian trade.)

Sir Dauda also claimed that the traffic was not only one way, and that a "negligible portion" was illicit. "A greater part of Gambian goods imported into Senegal passes regularly through Senegalese Customs posts and duty is levied in the normal way." He also quoted statistics to show that the volume of The Gambia's unrecorded exports into Senegal was "minimal" compared with Senegal's total imports. The 1964 UN Report (which the Premier recommended to all Gambians as meriting "thorough study") computed in 1963-64 customs duties lost by the Senegalese government through smuggling amounted to only about one per cent of Senegal's total budget for that year, or about 2 per cent of the total Senegalese revenue from customs duties. "In the latest World Bank report on Senegal, it is alleged that about 5 per cent of Senegal's imports are taken from The Gambia. Even admitting that this figure is accurate, which we do not for a moment, it is impossible to conceive how this could have a mortal effect on the economy of Senegal."

In an interview Sir Dauda told this correspondent that at the February meeting the Senegalese had tried to rush through a



Sir Dauda Jawara—"The Gambia is a sort of safety valve for Senegal."

protocol on the customs union, but "cannot be rushed into agreements." He pointed out that although it had been possible to cooperate with Senegal in the political, administrative, and technical spheres, this had not been possible so far in the economic field, because of the different systems of the two countries. He repeated his view that the smuggling from The Gambia constituted in the main "traditional border trade," and pointed out that the Senegalese themselves had taken the question of smuggling of groundnuts from Senegal off the agenda at the February meeting. It was his view that "in some ways The Gambia is a sort of safety valve for Senegal."

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## letters to the editor

### AWO'S NEW NIGERIA

SIR.—After reading Chief Awolowo's new book *The People's Republic* I found myself in agreement with your reviewer of 1 Feb., but I failed to see any justification for his comment ascribing an "Anglophile" attitude to Mr. Awolowo.

I think it is a matter of opinion whether pure socialism can be introduced into Nigeria without serious upheaval, even given the transitional period prescribed by Awolowo. This pessimistic or, if you like, cynical view stems from the fact that those who are supposed to introduce it are themselves capitalists who have profited from the pre- and post-independence bonanza.

Chief Awolowo says there exists such a thing as "one Yoruba Nation". In fact the idea of one Yoruba nation was pioneered by the early CMS missionaries way back in the 1850s. Rev. Koelle who wrote "Polyglotta Africana" in 1854 told us that: "For the last few years they (the missionaries) have very erroneously made use of the name Yoruba, in reference to the whole nation, supposing that the Yoruba is the most powerful Aku tribe, but . . . it is . . . unhistorical, having never been used of the whole Aku nation by anybody, except for the last few years conventionally by the missionaries . . . the name being thus incorrect, can never be received by the different tribes as a name for the whole nation." Similar statements have been made by Dr. P. C. Lloyd, Professor Ajayi and others.

Appeals to tribal ideology as a political weapon belong to a different age; we of the younger generation owe it to posterity to evolve ideology which will cut across tribes as the only means of building a Nigeria free from strife and internecine warfare. That is why I welcome the creation of states in Nigeria, imperfect though they are at present.

ADEKUNLE ALLI

### THE PEOPLE AND THE CONSTITUTION

SIR.—Mr. K. A. Gbedemah's statement that "the people had a right to change the Constitution if they disliked what the Constituent Assembly decided . . ." (*West Africa*, March 29) should be viewed with some apprehension, especially as he was a leading member of the CPP Government which so ruthlessly and fundamentally changed the old Constitution and succeeded in alienating the people, and as he is a potential leader in the country's coming civilian administration.

The CPP Government, like other pseudo-socialist governments, often used this phrase "the people" during its fifteen-year misrule, referring not so much to ordinary peasants and peace-loving citizens, to the CPP die-hards and party activists on whose support they could always count.

If it is these people Mr. Gbedemah is referring to as the "people" who may change the Constitution one day, he should be bold to say so. Even if not, when and how does he think the "people" will decide to throw the Constitution overboard? Will it be decided by a simple majority in Parliament or by a referendum? Is there anything

in the draft constitution he fundamentally disagrees with, or is it the whole Draft he intends to throw away? Is he going to make it an election issue? All Ghana awaits answers to these questions.

P. K. SARFO,

London.

### ENDING THE WAR

SIR.—Mr. M. K. Ashimi concludes his letter of April 12, 1966, thus: "How many more lives will Ojukwu sacrifice to achieve a dubious, and perhaps, an unviable (so-called) Biafra? When too will he realise the realities of the war? Should not Ojukwu stop this suicidal war, and *Gowon bend a little too?*" (my italics).

Mr. Ashimi, who seems a fairly typical "Western Nigerian democrat", presents a balanced argument. But the flaw in his democratic tendencies is his failure to realise the consequences of Gowon "bending a little too".

At the present time, General Gowon has his finger-tip on the pulse of the Nigerian nation. If he bent a little, he would destroy all he had and all that had been achieved in his name. The purpose of the entire crusade would be bent and obscured.

Unpleasant as the theory may sound, it is better to lose a few Nigerian lives today than to sacrifice thousands, if not millions, through secession tomorrow.

M. A. OGUNTIPARI

London.

SIR.—Let it be made known to the rebels' misled foreign collaborators that there is no country or colony called "Biafra" and

there never will be one. The so-called "Biafra" is Emeka Ojukwu's brainchild, born on May 30 1967 at 6.30 a.m. On his map there is only the Bight of Biafra, which is about 100 miles away from the heart of Iboland.

Mr. Simon Ayah (Feb. 1) cannot fool all the people all the time. He admits there are other tribes, apart from the Ibo, in the former Eastern Region, but since when did the Ibo come last in the list, after "an Efik, an Ogoja, a Kalabari", in the former Eastern Region, which they dominated in every facet of life? If the Ibo rebellion is not really to dominate perpetually the non-Ibo of the former East, I challenge "Biafrans" to demand "self-determination, the cornerstone of liberal democracy" for the Ibo alone. If they do I will know that they are really sincere and serious. But no; they cannot do so.

ORITEME KAMA-BINIBO

Buguma, Rivers State.

### GHANA PASSPORTS

SIR.—There is something radically wrong about the way passports are issued in Ghana.

There are instances in which it takes up to three years or more to get a passport. Many Ghanaian students in this country have been waiting for two years or more for new passports to be issued. If one makes inquiries one is told most annoyingly to pay another 14s. for emergency travel documents if one wants to travel before one receives the main passport. Why should one be made to pay double for a document one has already paid for?

C. O. BROBIE

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## MATCHET'S DIARY

AMONG the most interesting changes made by Brigadier Africa in the Ghana government is the appointment as Commissioner of Agriculture of Professor Twum-Barima. Professor of Agriculture at Kumasi University. He succeeds Mr. Albert Adomako, who had already left the job shortly before the reshuffle for a senior position with the UN Food and Agricultural Organisation. Professor Twum-Barima is a practical agriculturalist, who must be very conscious of the continued weakness of Ghana's agriculture. I wonder, in passing, what he thinks of the vast scheme put forward, as one answer to that weakness, by Overseas Land Development, of which Lord Ypres is chairman. This group has established a subsidiary in Ghana, Agricultural and Industrial Development, which is eventually to operate 200,000 acres, making an investment of £35m. over seven years, with an emphasis on dairy farming and live stock. Professor Twum-Barima's colleague at Legon, Professor Seth La Anyane, attacked the project, with its elaborate air-conditioned cowhouses and the rest, as unsuitable for Ghana in newspaper articles in March last year, and there have been other criticisms of it. Its progress has been slow (agricultural operations were originally to begin last August) but I am told that the Ghana company now has certificates for land to begin the project, and the other certificates necessary, and that we may see some action next month. It is still not clear who is financing the project, and the Ghana government's "holding" in the Ghana operating company, with capital of £10m., is only 45 per cent.

Some of the contractors connected with the project—Julius Berger, who built the new Lagos bridge, and Dawnay Steel, for example—are substantial and well-known. No tenders, however, have been called for, so presumably the contracts go to the contractors backing the scheme. It is also confusing to learn that the group which originally put up a similar project, Ghana Agricultural and Industrial Developments Ltd., with which Sir Patrick Fitzgerald, former Chairman of UAC in Ghana, was for a while connected, still appears to be in the field (further confusion was originally caused by the association with both schemes of the Ghanaian businessman Mr. W. A. Wiawe, who is now chairman of "Agricultural and Industrial Developments," and Mr. Ernest Slinwell, the business consultant, who now appears to be Lord Ypres' main assistant at the Overseas Land Development headquarters in London). It was known that Mr. Adomako opposed the scheme, although in a practical sense the support of the Commissioner for Lands and Mineral Resources was probably more

important. Here, too, there has been a change. Mr. Amegashie has been dropped.

Although he was actually at Ikeja Airport en route for London on leave, as soon as the late Professor Alexander Brown, who has died at the age of 58, saw newspaper headlines announcing that the Nigerian civil war had begun, he cancelled his bookings and returned to Ibadan. In a letter to this journal Professor O. O. Akinkugbe, Professor of Medicine at the University College Hospital, and Dr. B. O. Osuntokun, Senior Lecturer in Neurology, take this as an illustration of Professor Brown's devotion to Nigeria. The two writers recall that he came to Nigeria in 1948 as first Professor of Medicine at the University College at Ibadan, and played a major role in establishment of the University College Hospital. "He stands pre-eminent in the field of medical education in Nigeria," they say. He had had some experience of West Africa even earlier, as a major in the RAMC in Sierra Leone. He served for 21 years in Nigeria and, say Professor Akinkugbe and Dr. Osuntokun, "he did more than any single person to develop medical orientation from the rudimentary rustic colonial framework to a carefully contrived medical education at once germane to the needs of a rapidly developing country. The Community Health Project

at Ibarapa, which he dreamt and hatched and to which he devoted his final months is an embodiment of his greatest principle, that the needs of the country must be paramount, that doctors in Africa must learn to work in remote areas and be able to improvise." Scores of men who owe their standing to him are today leaders of the profession in Nigeria, and he attracted able people to his department from all over the world.

"In his long period in the University of Ibadan," say Professor Akinkugbe and Dr. Osuntokun, "influence and power came to him effortlessly because of this exceptional competence, his interest in professional politics and in university affairs. He was once Dean of the Medical Faculty and for several times he acted as the Vice-Chancellor of the University and was a member of its governing council. In Committee his expertise was keenly sought, his contributions were crisp and lucid and he dispensed this rich harvest of experience with bonhomie. He was endowed with a common-sense approach to difficult problems. He never sought the limelight yet he spoke in public and at meetings with an authority that compelled attention, aided by his inimitable Scottish accent. His brilliance as a raconteur was unsurpassed. . . . He had friends in every grade in the hospital, in University and in Nigerian society."

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# books and publications

## AFRICAN SOLDIERS IN POLITICS

The *Military in African Politics* by W. F. Gutteridge (Methuen: 12s. paperback, and £1 cloth).

*Strategic Survey, 1968* (The Institute of Strategic Studies: 7s. 6d.).

ON the cover of Mr. Gutteridge's book is a photograph in which the most prominent figure is General Ankrah. The inherent instability of military rule, however, is not one of Mr. Gutteridge's themes. Indeed he views the soldiers' efforts in government with considerable sympathy, and they could not ask for a more understanding chronicler. He was a pioneer in the academic study of African armies (this journal benefited from his research) and as a lecturer at Sandhurst he knew personally many leading African soldiers. His two previous books drew attention more to the potential than to the actual political importance of the armed forces in the new African states: the present,

much shorter, book is concerned with the examples of intervention we have seen in so many countries since independence, with short chapters on the origins and nature of the African armies.

A chapter on the East African mutinies of 1964 attributes the trouble to rash promises of politicians before independence about soldiers' pay, combined with a lack of any genuine interest in the welfare of the forces. The examples from Francophone Africa and the much fuller treatment of Nigeria and Ghana, with a more perfunctory one of Sierra Leone, only emphasise that it is difficult to generalise about the reasons for, or the nature of, military intervention in the politics of African states. Mr. Gutteridge clearly shows the special position of the armed forces in these states—to some degree cohesive and isolated, with technical advantages in transport and communication over other groups, quite apart

from the power of arms, and with professional camaraderie among officers. Even so, he maintains, general no military intervention attempted unless there is a prospect of popular support, either from the trade unions (a feature of Francophone countries) or generally.

The general conclusion is that "in a variety of circumstances with economic and other overtones military coups in Africa are usually about the distribution of power in society and to some extent about the proper status of the military within that society. There is also evidence that there is concern these days for the standing of the State in the eyes of the world, and that when things seem to go awry it is natural for the Army to step in because it is seen as patriotic by definition and possessed of unusual virtue and rectitude. The point at which the Army ceases to be the willing instrument of the Government of a newly independent state and takes over its power may occur when it feels threatened as an institution or when it is required to carry out policies which are unacceptable on behalf of politicians whose personal or political conduct is distasteful. All these elements could be observed at work in January and February 1966 in Nigeria and Ghana."

Military regimes, however, have not found it easy to make much headway against the economic difficulties which helped to bring them to power—Mr. Gutteridge may even exaggerate Ghana's

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success here. In the end popular disillusionment is almost inevitable, together with the possibility of counter coups.

Mr. Gutteridge has compressed a vast mass of material into his short book and, particularly in view of his tribute to this journal as a source, it is unfair to criticise points of detail. But the account of events in Nigeria is rather obscure and gives a false impression of the situation of both Grunitsky and Eyadema. He also falls into the trap of speaking of the mutinies in Nigeria in mid-1966 as being by "Hausa" soldiers, when the majority were certainly from the Middle Belt. He does not make it plain that the young majors who attempted the Nigerian coup in January 1966 were imprisoned and ceased to have any influence on events.

One or two other points can be mentioned—for example the coup in the Central African Republic was not "bloodless". More important is Mr. Gutteridge's failure to discuss the significance for all military regimes of the arrest on treason charges of the leaders of the Sierra Leone NRC. He does briefly mention, in his account of Togo, the possibility of "judicial revenge" (without explaining this) but the Sierra Leone experience, even if the Sierra Leone military regime was uniquely unpopular, must have some effect on the thinking of soldiers elsewhere who are planning to return power to the civilians.

Each year the Institute for Strategic Studies issues a world survey. Africa usually plays little part in this but this year there is an important section on Nigeria—written, one suspects, by Mr. Hugh Hanning. This throws little light on the military situation but gives a concise resumé of events during the year. It is suggested that "more imaginative diplomacy" is needed for a solution, that both sides might be persuaded to accept an arrangement in which Biafra surrendered sovereignty but recovered "at least the boundaries of the East Central State," to be safeguarded by an international force and a modest state self-defence group. Failing this, it is suggested the terrain holds out the probability of vigorous guerrilla action, particularly at night, in which determined Ibos would hold many of the advantages of the Vietcong in Vietnam. One can only say that there is no evidence to support this assumption, and that prominent Ibos who have come over to the Federal side regard it as most unlikely.

In a brief reference to the rest of the continent the survey emphasises the "modest striking power" of most sub-Saharan African armies. Recourse to mercenaries is one result; but now, it is suggested, it is realised that mercenaries cannot really help—Col. Ojukwu has found this and Nigeria has had the lesson of the Egyptian plots. Certain Franco-phone countries might still expect military assistance from the remaining French garrisons in Africa, but the same prospect is not open to Commonwealth countries, since British troops in Africa are now

reduced to a tiny garrison in Libya.

D.W.

#### Government Planning and Political Economy, Royer Lectures, University of California, (3).

This book presents five lectures delivered at the University of California during the "Berkeley Student Revolt". But no tumult here; each of the three lecturers (two do two each) speaks for the establishment of his country. Yngve Larsson has been planning towns in Sweden since 1908, and Pieter de Wolff has been advising the Netherlands Government since before the war. Both come from countries which leave a great deal to private enterprise, and enjoy exceptional prosperity.

Only one of the lectures printed here is relevant to Africa, and even that not much. It is Lauchlin Currie's second. In his first he tells how F. D. Roosevelt tackled "the major collapse of the Free Enterprise system". The theme of the second is, that a comparable approach is now needed in the developing world. He is concerned mainly with Latin America, and his observations there lead him to the conclusion that "aid" has failed, in the sense that it has not decreased the number of destitute people. He is pre-occupied with the population explosion, and says several times that the birth-rate ought to be reduced. He thinks that relatively small urban communities, including organised labour, are now able to upset the "equalising" effects of freely moving prices and competition. He concludes that development is not "simply a global process of Americanisation".

On the other hand, he rejects Gunnar Myrdal's idea that the under-developed countries can work things out for themselves: "this is asking too much." "The answer to the problems . . . must probably be given by the United States". The United States should concern itself more with human values than with measuring inputs and outputs. He rejects the primacy of consumers' choice, because it has resulted in undesirable patterns or modes of life, by which he means, too much for too few. He says there is nothing incompatible between intelligent planning to attain certain goals and the maintenance of the Free Enterprise system: "it can accomplish marvels".

It is hard to believe that sovereign countries will co-operate in arrangements which allow the United States to determine their social policies; all the more so when the policies to be sponsored involve such a difficult combination of central direction and free enterprise.

F.J.P.

Pages from Memory, by James Griffiths, C.H., P.C., M.P. (Dent, 50s.).

Of all Labour's parliamentary critics of Mr. Wilson's Nigeria policy, Mr. James Griffiths, who went to Biafra last year at the age of 78, is the most impressive. He was Secretary of State for the Colonies only for 18 months. During that time he was greatly con-

cerned with the emergency in Malaya, which he visited, and with the threatening situation in Kenya, which he also visited ("spreading goodwill," as the Governor noted). He started the negotiations which were to lead to the Central African Federation, but in his autobiography he blames his successor, Lord Chandos, for rushing the scheme through in the face of the African opposition that was beginning to emerge when Mr. Griffiths was in office.

In West Africa, Mr. Griffiths' main concern was the Gold Coast, and it was he who authorised the release of Nkrumah and his colleagues from jail after the CPP victory in the 1951 general election.

The book tells us little new about the British Government's colonial policies. It is far more interesting as a picture of an admirable type who is virtually disappearing from British politics—the manual worker (Mr. Griffiths was an underground coal miner) who, usually from a non-conformist home, educates himself and finally occupies great offices of state with competence and distinction. Mr. Griffiths, a strong critic of Welsh nationalism, also had the special pleasure of being the first Secretary of State for Wales. N.P.

Continuing Literacy (published by the Milton Obote Foundation's Adult Education Centre, Kampala) is the record of proceedings of the Third Conference of what is now the African Adult Educational Association held at Makerere in January 1968, and dealing with problems of providing reading matter as follow-up literacy lessons for adults. The conference dealt mainly with East and Central Africa (the Association was called "East and Central Africa" until this conference), but Emmanuel Haizel spoke on "Literacy and Adult Education in Ghana."

ILO: 50 years on by John Prie (Fabian Research Series, Foundation Society, 5s.). A short leaflet describing the International Labour Organisation's resolutions, its important work in setting up standards for treatment of labour, and its influence and effects (complaints of forced labour made in 1961 against Portugal and Liberia are briefly mentioned as examples).

### Books and Publications Received

Peace Proposals for Ending the Nigerian Civil War by the Right Honourable Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, P.C. (Colucci Ltd., 122 Shaftesbury Avenue, London, W1V 8HA); Dr. Azikiwe's Oxford lecture.

Balance of Payments 1963-1967 (Bank of Sierra Leone).

Import Substitution Potential in East Africa by Piyatosh Maitra (OUP 16s.). Annual Report of the International Tin Research Council 1968 (Tin Research Institute, Greenford, Midx.).

## Competing with France in Africa

**EXPORTERS** in Britain still fear that France, and to a lesser extent her Common Market partners, monopolises the markets of former French colonies: but the British could easily obtain a greater share in these markets if they took the right steps. A report by the British National Export Council mission, consisting of Sir Arthur Smith and Mr. Jack Davies (their report on Sierra Leone was summarised in last week's issue), on Senegal and Mauritania emphasises this, explaining that in both countries considerable capital investment is planned, offering opportunities to exporters.

Although the Senegal economy is largely agricultural, says the report, major improvements in the railway and the Port of Dakar, financed partly with international assistance, require equipment of all kinds. Intending exporters should pay personal visits now and establish local commercial contacts. Under Senegal's third development plan, to be published in July, there will also be considerable capital expenditure, and the Senegal government is interested in the credit UK firms might offer. In agriculture there is a need for packaging for rice for distribution to consumers, for simple sorting equipment for groundnuts, and for other equipment. A senior official of the UK Agricultural Engineers' Association has visited Senegal.

There is, too, a possibility for expand-

ing export of consumer goods, British prices for which are now competitive. Provided a British exporter has a resident agent the quota system need be no problem. The Japanese example is quoted.

Mauritania's export economy is based almost entirely on minerals. The vast investment in iron ore by MIFERMA is now being joined by one in copper by SOMIMA. In MIFERMA the British Iron and Steel Corporation have a 20 per cent holding, while Charter Consolidated of London has the major holding in SOMIMA. There is also a possibility of off-shore oil production. The BNEC mission emphasises the need for local representation and assessment of the market, which is certain to expand. The Mauritanian government is also anxious to secure external participation in further mineral developments. The mission notes "real possibilities" in fishing and in establishment of meat and fish refrigeration plants. There is scope for road vehicles, textiles and many consumer goods. Land-Rovers are already popular.

The mission also visited Liberia. There, they conclude, British exporters should concentrate on the private sector, built around the mining and plantation operations. Use of the English language and the absence of preferences for particular countries, and of exchange control or restriction of the movement of capital, make Liberia an attractive market in

some ways, although the public sector suffering from financial stringency, improvement in the standard of living of ordinary people, in spite of vast investment, is slow but the mission sees the possibilities for small manufacturing units to satisfy local demands. There is a small plant for paper bags and can a food processing plant and a clothing factory. Certain organisations show some interest in British partnership.

In the agricultural sector the great prospects appear to be the mission to development of exports of timber which Liberia has abundance. The problem is access, although this is improving. In the public sector there are prospects of a new harbour at the Palmas, but the mission is cautious about prospects for British participation. In the consumer goods market British exports are already prominent; an example in one supermarket the mission found that 25 per cent of the goods were from the UK.

Noting that the major investment in Liberian mining and plantations probably taken place already, the mission says that the operators are always anxious to increase their efficiency by use of modern equipment. In addition their staffs are of a high standard of living and expatriate companies make large purchases throughout the year. British consultants are doing a survey for a new iron mine at Wallageset which might result in a project on the scale of the vast Liberian operation.

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## Nigeria's Industrial Prospects

From a Correspondent

SO firmly based had Nigerian industry become that by the end of 1968 industrial production exceeded that in 1966, although nearly all industry in the three Eastern States, which had represented some 30 per cent. of production in 1966, had ceased. Import restrictions have stimulated local production so that many firms have been able to use their capacity to the full—vehicle assembly, tyre manufacture, food processing, packaging, metal containers, plastics and textiles are examples—while others have expanded capacity. But although this augurs well for industry after the war there are limitations on its expansion.

Some of these were mentioned in a paper to the Ibadan University conference last month on National Reconstruction and Development in Nigeria by Mr. Philip Asiodu, Permanent Secretary of the Federal Ministry of Industries. First is the restriction on the possibilities of developing industries simply for import substitution. Most of Nigeria's industry already produces for direct sale to final consumers, and there is already self-sufficiency in many items such as textiles and soft drinks. So further industrialisation must depend more and more on the production of intermediate and capital goods for sale to other industries; but at this point questions of scale become more important.

For example, said Mr. Asiodu, the profitable production of pulp and paper to serve the Nigerian industries which use these would require investment and production on a scale which will probably not be viable for some years for the Nigerian market alone. The proposed iron and steel industry, which would need investment of some £100m., might find that the existing steel using industries were inadequate customers. Moreover, said Mr. Asiodu, industries established purely to produce substitutes for imports were highly protected and might simply make local goods more expensive without greatly assisting the balance of payments or employment.

Unfortunately restrictions by developed countries, as well as the artificial boundaries created in Africa itself by tariffs and differing currencies, mean that Nigerian industry must depend largely on the Nigerian market. This makes an increase in farming incomes particularly vital. But Nigeria has other problems. Local industrial production tends to be very costly, partly because of the need for expatriate management and imported equipment and spares, and even raw material, partly because of the small scale of production (although in some cases the Nigerian scale compares favourably with that in developed countries) and partly because of the low productivity of labour. But there is also a "tradition of uncompetitiveness," said Mr. Asiodu.

A further problem arises over the competition of the former regional, and

now the State, authorities on the location of industry. Mr. Asiodu continued.

Under the first republic, he said, there was an impression of "wasteful rivalry" among regions for industries. But for production of intermediate and capital goods no duplication would be economic. On the other hand, individual state markets would be too small to attract these, and the government had means, for example by the granting of income tax reliefs, to influence location. In any case, industries based on local agriculture could be dispersed—for example sugar in the North, cassava plantations and factories in wetter areas, rubber and palm oil development in the Southern forest, etc. There was no need to argue about where industries based on natural gas and oil should be located.

Particularly if new industries were based on local raw materials, said Mr. Asiodu, would dispersal of industries be possible. He suggested that a local petrochemical complex, new sugar estates and factories, and more oil seed crushing were obviously possibilities. Apart from the iron and steel industry, there should be no lack of projects to fulfil an annual investment target of £60m. On the other hand, it was imperative that Nigerians should own more of the equity of manufacturing firms and retain more of the profit. It was in the interests of investors that all large scale plants, apart from those reserved for the public sector, should give at least 33 per cent. of their equity to Nigerian individuals and institutions. The money could be found from Nigerian sources. Even more important was Nigerian participation in management which required careful planning and training together with use of the immigration quota.

Mr. Asiodu concluded that it was clear from past experience and the continued progress even during the crisis that the prospects for rapid post-war industrialisation were quite hopeful. "The strategy is essentially to base ourselves on the Nigerian market and to expand rapidly to the sectors where rapid growth is possible—agro-allied industries, petrochemicals, some other intermediate goods industries. At the same time we would ensure through appropriate policies greater Nigerian ownership and participation in management to increase the benefits of industrialisation. The role of the foreigner will be largely determined by the extent to which he is prepared to make technology and management available and to transfer same to Nigerians. Given our resources it should not be difficult to achieve over the next seven years an average growth rate in industry around 15 per cent. per annum at the end of which one or two industries—textiles, food processing—should be more fully integrated and with an industrial structure better linked."



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But, joking apart, there was a time when, if they had banks or safety deposits in some pastoral communities, they would in all probability look more like cattle ranches than banks as we now know them. For in such communities cattle would be money—the actual medium of exchange against which goods and services were valued in other communities grain, wool, fish-hooks, skins, lurs, cowries and snells have been used as currency. Indeed, in parts of Nigeria, cowries and manilla were, less than 100 years ago, legal tender. If you were to lose your cheque book and you decide to write your next cheque on the flanks of a cow, National Bank of Nigeria will honour it—provided you do have an account with the bank and that all-legal requirements for valid cheques—dukes, etc. are complied with.

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# commercial news

## UAC in Nigeria's War

**T**URNOVER and profits of the United Africa Group increased in all parts of tropical Africa except Nigeria, and this "more than made up for the loss of business in Nigeria," says the annual report for 1968 of Unilever, parent of the United Africa Group. Businesses in Nigeria "were again adversely affected by the civil war"; import licensing and exchange controls were tightened, and losses due to the ending of business in the Eastern Region could be serious, though "we believe sufficient provision has been made."

Timber operations were unprofitable and a loss was incurred on them in Nigeria where a UAC subsidiary, African Timber & Plywood, operates in the Mid-West State. UAC department stores (run by the Kingsway Stores subsidiaries in Nigeria, Ghana and Sierra Leone) "did much better despite the troubles in Nigeria, where our large store at Port Harcourt was burnt down." Motors and technical businesses in English-speaking tropical Africa did well, and so did textiles, except for the closing of the Onitsha factory (also damaged in the fighting). The report records the starting of production at the Jaspang textile mill in Ghana, originally a state industry run with (mainland) Chinese aid but now in the hands of a consortium including UAC.

Palm Line (a Unilever subsidiary) did better following the ending of the freight war in the West African trade, "and has 15 owned ships and one on charter. In French-speaking Africa, UAC subsidiaries "had a record year" (a new textiles plant in Ivory

Coast is due to start working in the second half of 1969); and in Congo-Kinshasa "the political situation was more stable and our sales, especially of general goods, increased sharply . . ." Profits were up in Sierra Leone and The Gambia.

The United Africa Group consists of the UAC, based in London and a wholly owned subsidiary of Unilever, and many subsidiaries of UAC in Africa, such as UAC of Nigeria, and Kingsway Stores of Ghana. Unilever also has other subsidiaries in Africa, many of them plantation enterprises. The main crop grown there is the oil palm: palm oil production rose from 85,900 tons in 1967 to 98,700 in 1968, most of the increase being in the Congo. In Nigeria Unilever returned to its Calabar rubber estates last May, and, with damage less than feared and training of new employees going ahead, "we should again be in full production in 1969." Palm oil prices fell initially in 1968, but palm kernel prices continued to rise because of war in Nigeria and hurricanes in the Philippines, and the fall in liquid oil prices was checked in the latter half of the year. The report expresses concern at the EEC's plan to find an outlet for the huge butter surplus by measures against margarine production (a major activity of the Unilever group).

The Unilever group's total turnover in 1968 was £2,877m. (£2,523m. in 1967). The group, whose employees all over the world number 312,000, made a net consolidated profit of £170m. in 1968, compared with £142m. the year before.

## UK Cotton Tariffs ?

● Our Manchester Correspondent writes:

The main topic of conversation in textile circles at the moment is undoubtedly the major report on the Cotton and Allied Textile Industry, which has just been released. Briefly the report considers that the Government should introduce a tariff on Commonwealth cotton textiles; prevent a disruptive rise in imports while the industry is adjusting itself to reliance on tariff protection alone; take swifter and more effective action to stop dumping and other malpractices which result in distortion of trade. The report emphasises that the industry should increase the rate of re-equipment on the basis of estimated future market demand; move rapidly towards multi-shift systems of working and associated higher wage structures; develop closer technical and commercial links between the various stages of production and marketing by integration of the activities within existing groups and by forming new-integrated groups and consortia from among existing medium sized and smaller firms.

## Ghana State Industries Expand

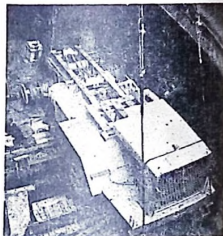
● The USAID has granted a 1 m. new credit loan to the Paper Conversion division of the Ghana Industrial Holding Corporation. The loan granted under the US Commodity Loans Agreement (part of the PL480 aid to Ghana) will be used to buy raw materials for the corporation, with its Takoradi plant, to meet its increasing production demands. The corporation was recently reported hit by a shortage of raw materials. Under the agreement, the US has ear-marked NC3.5 m. for ordering of certain commodities by Ghana.

● The NC600,000 Vegetable Oil Mills Corporation's factory at Esiam in the Western Region is soon to produce margarine locally. At present it produces edible oil; it is also considering possible manufacture of other by-products, such as soap and poultry feed. The general manager said success would depend upon adequate supply of copra to the factory. Copra producers in the Ashanti area, who are the main suppliers, are demanding higher prices.

## Lorho Men Join Holt Board

Lorho's take-over bid for John Holt the major shipping and trading group operating especially in Nigeria, has been accepted by 90 per cent of John Holt shareholders. Three directors of Lorho—Messrs. A. H. Ball and Roland Walsby ("Tiny") Rowland (joint managing directors), and the Hon. Angus Ogilvy—have been appointed to the board of Holt. Mr. F. James has resigned from the board because of other commitments.

(Lorho and Ashanti Goldfields—p. 451.)



Three 45-ton rear dumper trucks are being shipped to Lamco the big iron and steel venture in Liberia, by John Blackwood Hodge of Northampton. These, to be followed by three further trucks to be shipped from Glasgow by another cog liner of the U.K. (West Africa Lines Service) are being taken aboard the Eldon Dempster cargo liner "Dunkwa", which loaded them at Liverpool and is to make a special voyage to Lower Buchanan to unload them. Buchanan is the iron ore port for Liberia, at the end of a special railway from the Mount Nimba mines.

● William Mallinson has won the contest with J. Gliksten for the take-over of Denny Mott and Dickinson; valid acceptance of Mallinson's bid, together with shares acquired during the offer period, had given it 58 per cent of ordinary and 65 per cent of preference shares by the closing date this week. Earlier J. Gliksten had taken advertisements in British newspapers recommending its revised bid for Denny Mott, saying it was in securities which should (if added) have a greater capital value than what Mallinson offered. It also claimed it would give a greater increase in income and provide a higher proportion of equity than Mallinson would.

● Mr. R. E. Groves, of J. Gliksten, has been elected president of the Timber Trade Federation in place of Mr. Peter Morgan.

● Under a new trade protocol between Ghana and Bulgaria, Ghana will import such items as machines and equipment, industrial goods, chinaware, ceramic art goods, medical and pharmaceutical products, while Bulgaria will import cocoa, butter, timber, timber products and coffee.

● Ibadan University has decided that Doctor of Veterinary Medicine should be the graduate degree awarded by Ibadan to students of veterinary medicine. The Veterinary Council of Nigeria hopes that all Nigerian universities giving a veterinary degree should give the DVM.

## Cocoa Countries Meet

On April 17 the Cocoa Producers Alliance was due to start a week-long meeting in Accra. An announcement said Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Equatorial Guinea, Mexico and Venezuela had been invited to participate as observers. Discussion will be on the progress of the negotiations under the auspices of the Unctad for an international cocoa prices agreement.

Delegates from Brazil, Cameroon, Ivory Coast, Ghana, Nigeria and Togo will tour cocoa growing areas and port installations in Ghana during the conference the announcement said.

● The Cocoa division of Ghana's Ministry of Agriculture is to supply more than 1,600,000 gallons of gammalin 20 insecticide to cocoa farmers during the next four years. Mr. M. S. O. Nicholas, deputy chief cocoa officer said when he called on members of the Western Region Committee of Administration. A minimum of 400,000 gallons of gammalin 20 would be distributed to farmers every year, and the government had instructed the Ministry of Trade to issue "as a matter of urgency" import licenses for the insecticide. He said his Division and the Cocoa Marketing Board would be solely responsible for distribution of gammalin.

Mr. Nicholas said the quickest way of fighting against swollen shoot was to spray affected cocoa trees, adding that a minimum of 300,000 gallons of gammalin could have an effective impact in affected cocoa areas. (Gammalin 13 is primarily used against capsids, another pest.)

● London cocoa prices, for some time generally between 380s. and 390s. per cwt, rose sharply on April 14, ending up at 395s. for the July contract, because of rumours that May position was oversold. Earlier the market had advanced in anticipation of a 10 per cent. fall in first-quarter US cocoa grindings, and fell when the figures showed a drop of only 8.1 per cent. compared with the first quarter of 1968. (The figure for the first quarter of this year, 144,056,000 lb., has it is suggested, been distorted by the long US dock strike. It had been awaited as a sign of how high world prices might be affecting consumption.)

Ghana purchases, stated to be 314,875 tons, are slightly less than estimated main crop sales; sales of new crop are estimated privately to be between 50,000 and 70,000 tons. Similar estimates put Nigeria's main crop purchases at 187,734 tons, compared with about 220,000 tons at the same time last season. Sales of current crop are estimated at 180,000 tons, and of new crop at 50,000.

UK chocolate and sugar confectionery exports in 1968 rose by nearly 23 per cent. to a record figure of £30.9m. in 1968 (£25.2m. in 1967).

● General Foods of New York has announced a new bid, worth £48m. for the UK chocolate firm of Rowntree. It offers 153s., as against 120s. previously, for each Rowntree share. The offer was announced soon after the agreed £15.8m. take-over of Mackintosh by Rowntree; this, it has been announced, is to go ahead.

● The London Metal Exchange tin price has exceeded £1,400 per ton in the past 10 days for the first time since last December.

## BP in Nigeria

In his annual statement on 1968, Mr. A. E. C. Drake, chairman of BP, says that in Nigeria, after the outbreak of hostilities in 1967, it was not possible to resume oil production and exports until repairs had been made to the trans-Niger pipeline system and Bonny terminal. "Limited production began in late October and by the year end had risen to 40 per cent. of the pre-hostilities rate. Meanwhile, work continues on the construction of a second terminal at Forcados to handle oil from the Mid-West. It should be completed by the middle of 1969. Exploration in the Mid-West state, which was only briefly interrupted by the hostilities, led to the discovery of two new fields, those of Forcados Estuary and Jones Creek." Mr. Drake notes that the partly-owned refinery at Port Harcourt, Nigeria, had been inoperative throughout 1968, but was now being rehabilitated and should be back in service in 1970.

● The report of the Nigeria Employers' Consultative Association for 1968 states that a survey of new wage agreements negotiated and signed during the year indicated an average increase of some 5 per cent in wage levels, with the majority of agreements being for a fixed period of three years, usually with a wage reopener clause after 18 months, says the OEF (Organisation of Employers' Federations in Developing Countries) Newsletter.

The report states that at the end of July, 1968, the number of registered trade unions was 654, covering a claimed membership of about 433,923.

Office bearers for the Nigeria Employers' Consultative Association in 1969 are: President, Mr. G. W. Bevan, Vice-President, Mr. C. E. Abebe.

## East-West Links for Cameroon

A Cameroon correspondent writes: On April 17 and 8 new milestones to Cameroon reunification were passed with the official opening of the 30-km Tiko-Douala road and the 35-km Mbanga-Kumba railway extension respectively. President Ahmadou Ahidjo performed the official opening of these two major links between West and East Cameroon in colourful ceremonies.

The Tiko-Douala road, popularly known as the "Unification road", crosses dense mangrove forest and marshes. Work began in 1965. The overall cost is well over 2,000m. francs CFA, mostly provided by the French Government.

President Ahidjo in his speech during the inauguration of the Tiko-Douala road said the toll over the great Wouri Bridge, built by the French government and opened to traffic in 1955 will be abolished on July 1. It is estimated that the toll collected from the Wouri Bridge (in Douala) has since 1955 amounted to millions of francs CFA.

M. Ahidjo spoke on the government's plans to improve networks of roads in West and East Cameroon. He said that in the near future most of the Cameroon roads will be duplicated with railway links. Seventy million francs CFA had been car-marked from the Federal Budget for the Kumba-Mamfe road, and a loan of 2,000 m. CFA by the US government. The Bamenda-Bafoussam road will be financed by the EEC.

The Mbanga-Kumba railway extension, which cost the Cameroon government well over 8,000 m. francs CFA, is a feeder rail line from the Douala-Nkongson main line, and enters West Cameroon at Kumba.



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koko to soro bi agbon, omo an-hun akosoku, eru ko, omo  
ko, nwan ko ko ko, ko tan. Orun re o. Mrs. 'Bimpe  
Ekun, on behalf of the family.

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# dateline Africa

## SIERRA LEONE

### Siaka's Sweeping Reshuffle

A MAJOR cabinet reshuffle has been carried out by Mr. Siaka Stevens. There are changes in the Ministries of External Affairs, Interior, Agriculture, Education and Health, among others. On the other hand Dr. Mohammed Forna, Minister of Finance, retains his portfolio. Mr. Stevens has also revived the appointments of resident Ministers in the three provinces. Among new Ministers is Mr. Ibrahim Taqi, who was sworn in as a Minister by the Governor-General with Mr. Stevens in March, 1967, when the army intervened. He becomes Minister of Information. Mr. Stevens himself takes over the Ministry of the Interior which is responsible for the police, and remains Minister of Defence. The new External Affairs Minister is Mr. Cyril Foray, a lecturer at Fourah Bay College, who was detained under the Juxon-Smith regime. Mr. Alpha Daramy, a barrister, is the new Minister of Development in place of Mr. Solomon Pratt who has been dropped from office. Other new Ministers are Mr. Sembu Forna (Works), Mr. Kawusu Konte (Housing and Country Planning).

Ministers whose portfolios have been changed are as follows (their former portfolios are in brackets).

Mr. Luseni Brewah—Health (External Affairs);

Mr. S. W. Gandhi Capio—Social Welfare (Interior);

Mr. S. A. Fofanah—Resident Minister, Northern Province (Housing);

Mr. Prince J. Williams—Resident, Southern Province (No portfolio);

Mr. Frank S. Anthony—Resident, Eastern Province (Agriculture);

Mr. Soric Ibrahim Koroma—Agriculture & Natural Resources (Trade);

Mr. D. F. Shears—Trade & Industry (Communications);

Mr. Mohamed O. Bash Taqi—Communications (Minister of State);

Mr. J. Barthes Wilson—Education (Health);

Mr. J. C. Hadson Taylor—Minister of State & Leader of the House and Government Business (Information).

The two paramount chiefs who are in the cabinet are unchanged. They are: Paramount Chief Bai Kobo Pathbana and Paramount Chief Alimami Jaia Cai Kai.

There are also six new Parliamentary Secretaries.

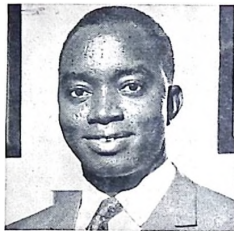
#### A correspondent writes:

With the dropping from the cabinet of Mr. R. B. Kowa, Minister of Education, the last SLPP man has left Mr. Stevens' government. He still has a small group of independents—Mr. Anthony, Mr. Brewah and Mr. Prince Williams—but the "national" government appointed a year ago on the return to civilian rule no longer exists and the SLPP, which now has 12 members in the House, is simply the opposition. The departure of Mr. Brewah from Foreign Affairs for the lesser Ministry of Health also gives the APC a key ministry.

The changes strengthen the position of Dr. Forna, who has been an outstanding success as Minister of Finance and whose retention in this job shows the Prime Minister's confidence in him and recognition of the confidence held in Dr. Forna abroad.

Another success appears to be Mr. Kamara Taylor, the Minister of Lands, Mines and Labour, who in the past year has had to deal with a number of strikes as well as with important negotiations with the mining companies.

The departure from the Ministry of Agriculture of Mr. Anthony, a graduate of Hampton Institute and an M.Sc. in agriculture of Cornell, who has been particularly



Dr. Forna — a man who stays.

known for his work in agricultural co-operation might be regretted, but the Prime Minister was short of someone with suitable public standing to be resident Minister in the Eastern Province. Mr. S. I. Koroma, politically one of the most important APC men, is now put to the test in the Ministry—he has also been concerned with co-operatives.

With the appointment of the resident Ministers, the Minister of the Interior becomes far less important, so Mr. Gandhi Capio, one of the members for Kono, the illicit diamond centre, one of the Ministry's main problems, has been moved to Social Welfare and the Prime Minister himself takes over. It is reported that the government has now started to remove from the Kono area some of the "strangers" said to be responsible for the illicit diamond digging on SLST leases. The dropping of Mr. Pratt is not entirely unexpected. He is full of ideas but appears to have little political basis and has achieved little in his year of office.

● Following the visit to Sierra Leone of a team of five educational experts, the possibility of a substantial World Bank loan for expansion of education in Sierra Leone has been reported. A request for a loan is now being prepared.

Dr. Victor King of Njala University college is to head the new Institute of

Education. The Government itself appointed a commission on higher education headed by Dr. David Carey, its economic adviser to the Government, is now director of the African Institute for Economic Development and Planning in Dakar. The commission includes four side experts and Miss Lettie Stewart, recently Principal Education Officer.

● Thirty-seven have been charged in connection with the by-elections in the Eastern provinces last year, which were postponed when the State of Emergency was declared.

● An agreement for supply of surplus agricultural produce to Sierra Leone has been signed. Three thousand tons of grain, 50 tons of corn and some 90 tons of tobacco will be supplied, at a cost of some \$336,000. The produce is sold for cash and the proceeds spent on development. This is the fourth agreement of this kind.

● In a speech to the National Council of Sierra Leone Women, Mr. Stevens said that he was now rampant in the country. He regretted that some police officers were failing in their duty. The government, Prime Minister added, was concerned about the level of school fees and hoped soon to do something about this.

● Purchases by the Government Dan Office (GDO) in March amounted to Le2,578,201, compared with Le1,476,500 in March last year. Since May, 1968, GDO average monthly purchases have risen to Le2m. Cumulative purchases for the quarter of 1969 are Le7,621,570 (vs. Le4,127,125).

## GHANA

### Brig. Afrifa's Commissioners

The new membership and portfolios of the Executive Council, after the Afrifa reshuffle, are as follows:

Chairman—Brigadier A. A. Afrifa\*  
Defence—Major-General A. K. Osei\*  
Interior and Chieftaincy Affairs—Mr. W. K. Hartley\*†.

Forestry—Mr. J. E. O. Nunoo\*  
Communications—Mr. B. A. Yakubu\*  
Works and Housing—Lt-Col. E. Yeboah\*.

Economic Affairs—Mr. E. N. Onuh\*  
Agriculture—Prof. K. Twum-Barima\*  
External Affairs—Mr. Victor Owusu\*  
Rural Industries—Mr. I. M. Ofori\*  
Finance—Mr. J. H. Mensah\*  
Information—Mr. Issifu Ali\*  
Labour and Social Welfare—Mr. J. V. Phillips.

Lands and Mineral Resources—Mr. P. Anin.

Local Government—Dr. A. A. Kyereanteng.

Trade and Industries—Mr. R. A. Quinsah\*  
Cultural Affairs—Mr. A. K. Doku\*  
Education—Dr. M. Dowuonat\*  
Health—Dr. E. Akwei†.

The Economic Committee of the SL now reconstituted, is as follows: Brig. A. Afrifa (Chairman), the Commissioners for Agriculture, Economic Affairs, Finance, Trade and Industries; Governor of the Bank of Ghana; Managing Director of the Ghana Commercial Bank.

\* NLC members.

† Portfolios unchanged.

● **Brig. Afrifa**, in his April 8 broadcast declared, "After three years of NLC administration, we can point to some significant successes, particularly in the fields of restoration of freedom and justice and the cleaning up of the economic mess. But there have also been some areas where progress has been slow and it is to these areas that we must direct all our efforts in the very short time available to us." He said that "in spite of the bold and sound, even if sometimes painful, measures we have had to take to improve our economy, the people of Ghana are still suffering from some difficulties. But we are determined that a bold and imaginative start will be made to reduce these difficulties." Some people may sometimes wonder, he said, "whether we have any men of integrity left in our dear country", he replied that there were, and "they should be encouraged to offer their services to the nation."

● It was announced on April 14 that Mr. U. V. Campbell, the Solicitor General who had been named as Acting Attorney-General in the reshuffle, had now been dismissed for refusing to accept the post. The new Attorney General is Mr. N. Y. B. Adabe.

● The Government of Ghana in a white paper published with the report of a committee appointed to inquire into the distribution of textbooks by the State Publishing Corporation says that if the Government accepts the committee's recommendations that the Corporation's agreement with Macmillan and Co. should be reviewed. The white paper adds that "the Government notes the committee's recommendations that the monopoly at present enjoyed by Macmillan and Company in publishing all textbooks in the UK be broken but points out that Macmillan do not in fact enjoy a monopoly of all textbooks in use."

The white paper also announces Government acceptance of the committee's recommendation that an agreement between the Corporation and Calfrey Saunders of the UK be abrogated. Calfrey Saunders, under the agreement, were the sole agents for the supply of textbooks to the State Publishing Corporation. The committee's report criticised Calfrey Saunders for causing the "disappearance" of discounts that had been enjoyed by the Corporation when it ordered its own books.

(More details from the Report and White Paper will be published later.)

● The *Daily Graphic's* first comment on the resignation of Gen. Ankrah as NLC Chairman was, "This has been a bitter piece of news and a sad one too. Bitter because of its implications and sad because everything had seemed so perfect for the eventual retirement of the old soldier... Unless there is evidence to show that Mr. Nzenbe and his associates who solicited for funds for the purposes outlined in the story, used force, threats or promises to elicit sums of money from the donors with the full knowledge and consent of the General, we think of the incident as one illustrating the kind of moral misdemeanour against which everyone in position of authority or trust must guard. For his error the General has paid, and rather dearly too..."

"The incident brings into focus an essential aspect of the Constitutional proposals—the Presidency. The President is supposed to be non-partisan when elected, but there is little doubt that for any aspiring candi-

date to have any hopes of success, he should have the support and possibly the nomination of one of the political parties yet to be born."

● Great Britain has agreed to make its first interest-free loan to Ghana, a £2m. loan for development projects and for purchase of British goods and services.

The third meeting of Western aid-givers to Ghana will be held from May 20 to 22, in Paris and under IMF auspices like the previous meetings.

● The Government is considering a complaint by the TUC against the dismissal of about 3,000 workers employed by the Ghana Cargo Handling Co., Inter-Continental Hotels and the Accra-Tema City Council. A copy of the TUC complaint lodged with ILO in Geneva in January has been despatched to the Government. The complaint related to certain actions by the Ghana government, which in the opinion of the TUC violated some international conventions of the ILO which the Government had ratified. The congress questioned the attitude of the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare and asked it to give correct interpretation of the Industrial Relations Act on strikes and lock-outs.

● Workers at the Kumasi jute bag factory have been on strike, demanding a pay rise and other improvements in service conditions. They locked the gates and allowed only policemen and journalists in, chasing away some factory staff and TUC officials. A spokesman said the strike was in protest at management's failure to carry out promises made three months ago of better service conditions.

## Ashanti Lease Agreement

On April 15, at the offices of the Ashanti Goldfields Corporation in London, Mr. Seth K. Anthony, the Ghanaian High Commissioner to the UK, signed an agreement on behalf of his Government for the fifty-year renewal of the AGC Lease of the mining land at Obuasi. Mr. Alan Ball signed on behalf of Lonrho, AGC's parent company, and Mr. R. W. Rowland (also managing director of Lonrho) signed as Managing Director of AGC.

At the Ashanti Board Meeting the same afternoon, the following four Ghanaian Directors were appointed: Nana Kwaantwi Barimah II, Adansihene (traditional ruler in the Obuasi area); Mr. Alfred Jones Prah; Mr. Michael E. Mensah, and Mr. Abayifaa Karbo. Mr. A. Ball, Chairman of Lonrho and The Hon. Angus Ogilvy, a Director of Lonrho, were elected to the Board of the AGC. To make way for the new Directors, three Directors of the AGC agreed to resign: Lord Ranfurly, Sir Miles Clifford, and Mr. Norman Pannell.

● Mr. Edward Boohene, suspended managing director of the Ghana Airways Corporation, has been asked by the government to revert to his post at the School of Administration in the University of Ghana. The Board of Directors of Ghana Airways is to be reconstituted.

A government statement at the end of March said the decision to ask Mr. Boohene to revert to his university post was not the result of any findings of guilt against him by the committee appointed by the government (under the chairmanship of Dr.

Dowuna, Commissioner for Education) to investigate certain complaints and allegations made against Mr. Boohene. While the investigations were proceeding, a controversy arose between the Board of the Airways and Mr. Boohene over dismissal of members of staff of Ghana Airways; the government then sent him on indefinite leave. The committee had generally exonerated Mr. Boohene from the allegations, and the government had accepted its findings.

● The Many-Plange Assets Commission submitted its Final reports on a number of witnesses to Lt.-Gen. J. A. Ankrah shortly before his resignation as Chairman of the NLC. The witnesses include Mr. K. O. Thompson, ex-Minister of Lands and Mineral Resources; Mr. J. H. Allasani, former Resident Minister in Guinea; and Mr. Joe Manno, ex-chairman of the Tema Development Corporation.

● The CID has sent detectives from Accra to assist investigations into the death of Mr. S. H. Aekun, senior manager of the Ghana Commercial Bank in charge of Ashanti, in Kumasi early last Monday. Mr. Aekun was found burnt to death in his car near the Kumasi Railway rest house, according to "reliable sources," quoted in *Pioneer*.

## CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC Coup Foiled

Lt.-Col. Alexandre Banza, Minister of Health, was executed by firing squad at dawn on April 12. A statement by Justice Minister Francois Gon said that "the permanent military tribunal had given Banza the opportunity for a full explanation, he had not denied plotting against the state, but he had claimed that he had only intended to arrest the President, not kill him."

Earlier, President Bokassa had broadcast details of the Banza plot, saying that Banza, armed and in field uniform had, on the night of April 10, gone to the Kassai military camp and asked army officers to muster troops and seize the head of state, kill him, and overthrow his government. "The officer in charge of the Jean-Bedel Bokassa Battalion refused to carry out the orders given to him. On the contrary, with the help of the unit's deputy commander, he took the opportunity of a moment of inattention on the part of Col. Banza to overpower him. Col. Banza, after being bound by the troops, was brought before the head of state on the same night." Handwritten documents found on him of a proposed instruction to the army, the text of a proposed broadcast and the composition of a new government "clearly proved his intention."

Subsequent reports named the Deputy Chief of Staff, Lt.-Col. Jean-Claude Mandaba, as having been influential in the foiling of Banza's attempted coup. Banza had reportedly offered him the portfolio of National Defence, currently held by President Bokassa.

A Government reshuffle has given Banza's portfolio of Public Health to André Dieudonné Magale, who retains, however, the Ministry of PTT. A Secretaryship of State for Health has also been created, and given to Jean-Marie Wallot.

## WEST AFRICAN SHIPPING NEWS

### ELDER DEMPSTER LINES

**SOUTHBOUND**—From Liverpool:—DARU s/g. Liverpool Apr. 21; PERANG s/g. Liverpool Apr. 29; DUNKWA due Bathurst Apr. 19; From Aidsborough/Hull:—KOHIMA s/g. Middlesbrough Apr. 25.

From London:—EBANI s/g. London Apr. 18; FALABA due Freetown Apr. 19; EBUE s/g. London Apr. 29.

From Continent:—KADUNA s/g. Hamburg Apr. 23; FULANI due Warri Apr. 29.

**NORTHBOUND**—To Liverpool:—AUREOL due Liverpool Apr. 22; KUMBA s/g. Abidjan Apr. 19; OTI due Bathurst Apr. 20; OWERRI due Sapele Apr. 19.

To Avonmouth:—DUMURRA due Avonmouth Apr. 20; OBUASI due Las Palmas Apr. 19.

To Dublin/Belfast:—TWEEDBANK due Dublin Apr. 26.

To London:—ONITSHA due London Apr. 19; BHAMO due Abidjan Apr. 19; EGORI due Takoradi Apr. 19.

To Continent:—FORCADOS due Hamburg May 1; KABALA due Freetown Apr. 17.

**EASTBOUND**—From USA/Canada:—DALLA s/g. Halifax Apr. 22; FREETOWN due Colonou Apr. 19.

**WESTBOUND**—To USA/Canada:—DEGEMA due Abidjan Apr. 18; DIXCOVE due New York Apr. 17; DONGA due Pointe Noire Apr. 21; DUMBAIA due Carteret Apr. 24.

From India/Pakistan/Burma:—INVERBANK due Takoradi Apr. 19; BEECHBANK s/g. Calcutta Apr. 15.

### JAPAN "K" LINE

**WESTBOUND**—From Japan (via Hong Kong and Cape):—MATADI, Lagos, Tema, Abidjan, Freetown etc.;—LOSIANA MARU s/d. Japan Apr. 5 due Lagos Apr. 11.

**EASTBOUND**—From Matadi, Lagos, Tema, Abidjan, Freetown etc. to Japan (via Cape and Hong Kong):—DENMARK MARU s/g. Lagos Apr. 24, Tema Apr. 26, Freetown Apr. 30, due Japan June 9.

### HUGO STINNES TRANSCOEN

**SCHIFFFAHRT GMBH**

**EMALDI** RETZ Affr. s/g. Dunkirk May 3, due Dakar May 14, Conakry May 16, Abidjan May 21, Douala May 25, Libreville May 27, Pointe Noire May 25.

### FARRELL LINES

**HOMEWARDS**—AUSTRALIAN ISLE s/g. Matadi Apr. 23 for Luanda, Lobito, Abidjan, Monrovia and US ports; AUSTRALIAN GULF s/g. Anapa Apr. 30, due Abidjan, Monrovia and US ports.

**OUTWARDS**—AFRICAN RAINBOW due Monrovia May 3 for Abidjan, Takoradi, Tema May 15 and Douala; AFRICAN GLADE due Monrovia May 15 for Abidjan, Takoradi, Tema May 25, Matadi, Luanda and Lobito.

### BARBER WEST AFRICAN LINES

**OUTWARDS**—CORNEVILLE due Victoria Apr. 21, thence Douala, Warri and Takoradi; FERNWOOD due Dakar Apr. 23, thence Freetown, Monrovia, Abidjan, Tema, Lagos/Anapa, Douala and Takoradi; TITANIA due s/s. New York Apr. 22, Halifax NS Apr. 25 for Freetown, Monrovia, Abidjan, Tema, Lagos/Anapa, Douala, Cabinda and Takoradi.

**HOMEWARDS**—TEMA now due load Abidjan, thence Buchanan/Monrovia fourth week Apr.; CORNEVILLE due load Victoria Apr. 21, Douala Apr. 23, Lagos/Ghana N.B. end Apr./early May, Abidjan first week May, Buchanan/Monrovia second week May, Freetown mid May; FERNWOOD due load Lagos S.B. about May 3.

### ROYAL INTEROCEAN LINES

**INWARDS**—STRAAT FRAZER from Japan s/d. Koba Mar. 21 due Lagos/Anapa Apr. 21, Tema Apr. 27, Monrovia May 1, Freetown May 3, Abidjan May 7, Takoradi May 11; STRAAT MOZAMBIQUE from China and Hong Kong s/d. Hong Kong Apr. 8 due Lagos/Anapa May 5, Colonou May 14, Lome May 17, Tema May 19, Abidjan May 22, Monrovia May 25, Freetown May 27, Dakar May 30, Conakry June 3.

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

### PALM LINE

**SOUTHBOUND**—From London:—IBADAN PALM due Lagos Apr. 18.

From Liverpool:—LOBITO PALM due Dakar Apr. 21.

From Liverpool:—ELMINA PALM due Lobito Apr. 21.

From Continent:—ANDONI PALM due Freetown Apr. 19.

**NORTHBOUND**—To London:—AKASSA PALM s/s. Port Gentil Apr. 19.

To Continent:—BADAGRY PALM due Calabar Apr. 19.

### HOLLAND WEST AFRICA LUN

**SOUTHBOUND**—From Continent:—LIBERIAKUST due Bahinda Apr. 23; OFFIN RIVER due Lagos Apr. 23; SENEGALKUST due Freetown Apr. 24.

**NORTHBOUND**—To Continent:—OLDEKERK due Rotterdam Apr. 24, Amsterdam Apr. 28, Hamburg Apr. 30; TOGOKUST due Rotterdam Apr. 24, Amsterdam Apr. 28, Hamburg Apr. 30; HOVENKERK due Amsterdam Apr. 28, Bremen May 6, Hamburg May 8.

### NOPAL WEST AFRICA LINE

**EASTBOUND**—NOPAL TELLUS s/d. New Orleans Apr. 4, due Takoradi Apr. 22, Lagos Apr. 23, Warri Apr. 26, Sapele Apr. 30; NOPAL LUNA s/g. New Orleans Apr. 19, due Takoradi May 9, Lagos May 12.

**WESTBOUND**—NOPAL SUN s/d. Luanda Apr. 26, due Takoradi Apr. 15, New Orleans May 3; NOPAL TELLUS s/g. Luanda May 16, due Takoradi May 23, New Orleans June 10.

**HOEGH LINES**

**HOEGH AILETTE** s/s. Bremen Arr. 16, Hamburg Apr. 18, Antwerp Apr. 22, due Freetown May 2, Abidjan May 5, Tema May 7, Lagos/Anapa May 9, Douala May 14; HOEGH BEAVER s/s. Hamburg May 2, Antwerp May 6, Rouse May 9, due Dakar May 16, Monrovia May 19, Abidjan May 22, Lagos/Anapa May 25, Douala May 30.

**SCANDINAVIAN WEST AFRICA LINE**

**SIDSVENSKA**—MANGARELLA s/d. Scandinavia and Bordeaux first half Apr. for W.A. during May; MINNESOTA s/d. Scandinavia and Bordeaux during second half Apr. for W.A. during May.

**NORTHBOUND**—HJELMAREN s/d. W.A. during Apr. for Scandinavia first half May; YARRA s/d. W.A. during second half Apr. for Scandinavia second half May.

**CHARGEUR REUNIS**

**KERQUELEN** due Lagos/Anapa May 6, Freetown May 16, CAPRAIA s/g. Koba May 26.

**MAERSK LINE**

**HENRIETTA MAERSK** s/s. Lagos/Anapa Apr. 26, arr. Tema Apr. 27, OKANIS MAERSK s/s. Luanda May 13, arr. Matadi May 14.

**MITSUBISHI LINE**

**ARIZONA MARU** s/d. Koba Mar. 25 due Lagos Apr. 23; HODAKAN MARU s/d. Koba Apr. 4 due Lagos May 8; HUDSON MARU s/g. Koba Apr. 20 due Lagos May 19.

**NIGERIAN NATIONAL SHIPPING LINE**

**SOUTHBOUND**—HERBERT MACAULEY s/g. Rotterdam Apr. 1, OBA OVONRAMWEN s/g. London Apr. 27.

**NORTHBOUND**—EL KANEMI due Liverpool Apr. 19, NNAMDI AZIKWE due Hull Apr. 20.

**WESTWIND AFRICA LINE**

**WESTWIND** s/g. New Orleans Apr. 23, Houston Apr. 28 for Freetown, Lagos, Luanda; BUENA FORTUNA s/g. New Orleans May 12, Houston May 6 for Freetown, Abidjan, Lagos.

**WOERMANN LINE**

**WOLFGANG RUSZ** s/d. Antwerp Apr. 8 due Freetown Apr. 20, Monrovia Apr. 22; NAJADE s/d. Rotterdam Apr. 14 due Dakar Apr. 26, Matadi/Boma May 3.

**GOLD STAR LINE**

**NGH** s/g. Lagos Apr. 28, Freetown May 6; TSEDEK due Lagos Apr. 21, Freetown May 3.

**BLACK STAR LINE/SEVEN STAR LINE/USNH/WEST AFRICA**

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

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

**SOUTHBOUND**—BIA RIVER Hamburg May 5, Bremen May 6, Antwerp May 8, Rotterdam May 10, Dunkirk May 12; BENYA RIVER Bremen May 21, Hamburg May 24, Antwerp May 27, Rotterdam May 29, Dakar May 30.

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

**EDWARD NASSAR LINES**

**TERESA** s/d. Takoradi Apr. 6 due Famagusta Apr. 23, Beirut Apr. 24; EMIR BECHIR s/g. Gibraltar May 1 due Famagusta May 9, Beirut May 10.

## dateline Africa

### SENEGAL

In a broadcast on the eve of Senegal's National Day, April 4 (celebrated this year in St. Louis), President Senghor urged beyond the agitation in Senegalese schools and universities should be seen as an attempt at subversion telegraphed abroad, which threatened "national independence." He went on: "You know the importance of Dakar. Recall its suspension in the Second World War and efforts of the allies to occupy it. I will mention its cultural and political importance. Before seniors and difficult problems Senegalese intellectuals" were too timid to imitate those of the former metropolis, of facing the true problems of economic and social development. However, "We do not despair of our youth," he said, "the crisis is only the negro-African version of the crisis shaking the youth of the developed countries. If, in francophone Black Africa Senegalese youth has been the most active it is for the double reason that, in spite of critics, indeed precisely because of its critics, we are one of the most democratic regimes, and one of the least underdeveloped countries, economically above all, intellectually." Citing the amounts spent annually on education, President said that to call the government "anti-national" and "reactionary" is to believe that our young people can "swallow truths as large as elephants." He stressed however, that young people could not be allowed to destroy and sack, or attack, because this would lead to anarchy.

### SPAIN IN AFRICA

It is reported from Madrid that the dismissal of General Rafael Garcia Valdes, Chief Inspector of the Spanish Air Force, was because of a remark he made about Rio de Oro (Spanish Sahara), the Spanish colony which is claimed both Morocco and Mauritania. The remark which made headline news in Morocco, but which was ignored or ignored by the Spanish press, he said, was a personal judgment is that although other countries claim the Spanish Sahara, Morocco has right on its side (the country presumably being Spain itself). The General has subsequently been sent to Morocco, and has had talks with General Mizizian, Minister of Defense in Rabat. The affair has been accompanied by a new upsurge of demands for Morocco's long-standing claim to phosphate-rich colony be recognized.

● U Thant's personal envoy to Equatorial Guinea has returned to New York following the official information that Spain to the UN that all Spanish possessions have been moved from their former status with which Spain had indicated it was prepared to enter a new phase of "association and collaboration".

● Air Iberia has announced that its flight from Santa Isabel to Madrid were resumed on April 7, and the domestic service from Santa Isabel to Bata has also been restored.

● The OAU Deputy Secretary General, Mohammed Sahnoun, has reported Emperor Haile Selassie on his recent mission of investigation in Equatorial Guinea.

## NIGERIA

### Dividing Revenue for the States

**P**ROPOSALS for the division of revenue between Nigeria's federal and state governments, produced by an interim committee under Chief I. O. Dina, former permanent secretary in the Western State, have been rejected in Lagos by a meeting of Nigeria's Commissioners for Finance. The all-Nigerian committee had representatives from all parts of the country.

When the new states came into being a year ago it was decided that the allocations previously made to a region from the centre should be divided up among the new states in a region as an interim measure. As a further interim measure Chief Dina's committee was appointed to produce proposals to carry the country through until a complete constitutional review is possible.

The committee's proposals had already been considered by the state governments. The Lagos meeting, it is reported, considered that the committee had suggested changes in the present system far greater than its terms of reference would permit. In particular the proposals would go far to give the country a unitary constitution, and would remove powers from the states.

It is understood that one main recommendation is that states producing mineral oil should no longer receive, as they have been doing, 50 per cent of royalties originating in the state but only 10 per cent. The Federal government would receive 15 per cent of royalties (as at present), 70 per cent would be divided among other states (in contrast to the present 35 per cent put into the "distributable pool") and 5 per cent would be put in a special account from which grants could be made to states. Rents of on-shore based oil operations, on the other hand, would go in full to the producing state, instead of 50 per cent, as at present. All off-shore oil revenues would go in the Federal government.

It is also proposed that 60 per cent of excise duties, 50 per cent of import duties and 15 per cent of export duties should go to the Federal Government. Revenues from external trade are collected by the Federal Government, but the states are at present paid in full export duties on produce originating in their areas, as well as the import duties (divided on the basis of estimated consumption), and other taxes, on petrol and tobacco. Excise on locally produced mineral oil products is given to states in proportion to consumption. Other import and excise duties are retained to the extent of 70 per cent for the Federal Government, the remainder going into a "Distributable Pool" used on a fixed percentage by each state. Personal taxes (with the exception of Lagos) are collected by the states, as are some taxes on agricultural produce. The Federal Government retains company taxation.

Chief Dina's Committee proposed that the Federal Government should assume full financial responsibility for prisons, maintenance of law and order, and scientific and industrial research. Maintenance of law and order is said to include the cost of the courts. Various minor sources of state revenue are suggested, such as fees for marriages under customary law; but it is reported from Lagos the main issue is the extra money to be received by the Federal Government.



One of the POWs recently freed from Biafran hands.

Two Federal prisoners-of-war who emerged from Biafran captivity during the current offensive and rejoined the Federal forces said that 125 other POWs, taken with them when an attack on Onitsha was defeated in Oct. 1967, had been starved to death. Sgt. Rashid Adekoya, one of these rescued, told the military observers that he had served with the Second Division for three months when he and the other 127 had been taken POW and sent to a kitchen at Ovim (where he was found); they were left without food or drink for days, he said, and 124 died.

### Bende Falls

After the Federal announcement of the capture of Bende on April 15, the civilian evacuation of Umuahia was reported to have proceeded during this week. Bende, 12 miles east of Umuahia, was one of the few towns remaining in Biafran hands. Its capture, said a *Financial Times* report, suggested that forces of the 1st Division were making a two-pronged attack, one due south towards Umuahia and another further east.

Another report spoke of a three-pronged Federal advance, one prong aimed southwards from Okigwi to cut off Umuahia from Orlu (to which the Biafrans might withdraw) and the Uli airstrip. The Federal report of the capture of Bende said Biafran forces had suffered "heavy casualties"; large numbers of civilians who had welcomed the Federal forces were being cared for.

Bende lies on the road linking Umuahia with the road southwards from Afikpo to Arochuku. The northern part of this road has been in Federal hands for some time, but the southern part has not. A year ago a Federal attempt, advancing northwards to take Arochuku by crossing the Cross River, failed, large numbers of Nigerians being killed. Since then there have been no reports of large-scale Federal advances in the area of Arochuku (an important pre-Christian Ibo religious centre).

Umuahia has come under Federal shelling, according to reports from relief agencies including Joint Church Aid (based in Geneva) and the Swedish Lutheran relief organisation. An International Red Cross spokesman said some food distribution teams had been withdrawn from the Umuahia area but teams in the city were

remaining there for the moment. The Queen Elizabeth Hospital is said to have started evacuating children.

A report from Biafra, published on April 11, said Federal aircraft had strafed both Uzuakoh and Ngu, which the Nigerians had claimed to hold. Although the Biafrans continued to claim that they held Uzuakoh (there was a detailed account of fighting in Uzuakoh), and one Biafran report said the leper hospital was threatened in a Federal attack, the Nigerian authorities said the town was fully in their hands, and reporters went there from the Federal side last week.

Before the capture of Bende was announced it appeared to some reporters that the Federal advance had slowed down; one quoted "official sources" as saying the assault on Umuahia might not be mounted for some time (it was not clear, however, that the capture of this temporary capital had ever been the immediate Federal objective).

Biafra radio was off the air for some days this week, after being heard only intermittently last week. This was thought to be because of the evacuation of Umuahia. Reports from the city spoke of life going on normally until just before the exodus of civilians and the administration began. A *Le Monde* report says shelling of the city began on April 15. Sir Louis Mbanefo in Libreville denied that Umuahia was nearly in Federal hands.

According to the *Financial Times* "unofficial Biafran sources" have claimed the recapture of Ikot Ekpena. There is no confirmation of this claim. The latest *Le Monde* report says the Biafrans still encircle large numbers of Federal troops in Owerri.

Chief Enahoro has said that while the possible capture of Umuahia would be a psychological blow to the Biafrans, it would not mean the end of the war. Federal commanders, however, had been given their objectives and time limits for attaining them.

Chief Enahoro said the 2nd Division, based in Onitsha, was being reorganised. He also confirmed that some of the Nigerians' Soviet-built aircraft were unserviceable, and this was affecting night operations.

### OAU in Monrovia

The OAU Consultative Committee meeting on Nigeria in Monrovia was expected to go ahead as planned at the time of going to Press. All heads of state of the six countries on the Committee were expected to be there, except for Brig. Afrifa, new chairman of the Ghana NLC, who was represented by the Vice-Chairman, Mr. J. W. K. Harley (earlier the new External Affairs Commissioner, Mr. Victor Owasu, had had talks on the situation on a private visit to Lagos). Gen. Gowon, it was reported, would not go to the meeting. Mr. Femi Okunnu, Federal Commissioner for Works, was to head a six-man Nigerian delegation, while M. Suleyman Hoffman, Director of the international studies office of the Algerian head of state, was expected to attend as a representative of the OAU.

Sir Louis Mbanefo, Chief Justice of Biafra, passed through Gabon on April 16 en route to Monrovia.

A report that President Kaunda of Zambia might attend the meeting was followed by a firm denial in Lusaka, where he had preceded over a meeting of East and Central

## NIGERIA—continued

African states, he referred to Nigeria in his opening speech there, as "fratricide unequalled in severity to anything this continent has known." Emperor Haile Selassie was among the heads of state at this meeting, after which he was thought likely to stop in Lagos and meet Gen. Gowon before going to Monrovia.

President Obote of Uganda, arriving in Lusaka during the meeting, said it would give delegates a chance to give their views on the war to the Emperor. Of the states represented, Tanzania and Zambia have recognised Biafra. Dr. Obote said the war was the "shame of Africa," and Mr. Wilson's visit to Nigeria had done harm by concentrating on relief while the real need was to end the war and stop Africans killing Africans. The Emperor had private talks in Lusaka with the presidents of Tanzania and Zambia.

Two Biafran representatives were in Lusaka during the talks—Mr. Austin Okwu, resident representative in East and Central Africa, and Prof. Eyo Ndem, Commissioner for Agriculture. They told a Press conference that Gen. Gowon's refusal to attend the Monrovia talks was "a slight on the OAU and Emperor Selassie."

The Emperor was reported to have promised to give "the highest consideration" to a peace plan suggested by the British Committee for Peace in Nigeria, whereby the OAU would propose a cease-fire at the Monrovia meeting and offer to provide a peace force. The plan also included talks on an arms embargo, neutral observers, and a "committee of good offices" headed by the Emperor.

● Benue-Plateau State has budgeted for a deficit again, but a smaller one than last year's. The Governor, Mr. J. D. Gomwalk, said expenditure on state services would be £5.8; there would be more spending on health and education, and (owing to the takeover of NA courts) on the judiciary.

North-East State is to have a £12,032,000 "consolidation budget" for 1969-70. £3.9 m. has been earmarked for capital projects. The military governor, Col. Musa Usman, said more sources of revenue had to be found. Over £3 m. would be spent on education, and £2.2 m. on roads, electricity and other infrastructure.

● Soldiers will take part in post-war reconstruction, Brig. Ejior (Director of Army Training and Planning and Commandant of the Defence Academy at Kaduna) said after a meeting of the Supreme Military Council in Lagos. He gave reporters a document on plans for training of soldiers and their gradual demobilisation. Old and disabled men and those taken away from their jobs for military service would be demobbed at once, he said, adding that adequate measures had been taken to ensure that disabled soldiers lived comfortably.

## Nixon's Man Reports

President Nixon's co-ordinator for Nigerian war relief, Mr. C. C. Ferguson, has returned to Washington after failing to obtain the Biafrans' approval for opening new relief supply routes into their area. Officials said he had not given up hope for finding ways to help ease the hunger problem in Biafra. Opening up new supply routes appeared possible only if the

military situation changed, the officials said. Col. Ojukwu rejected Mr. Ferguson's proposal for overland supplies of food land at the Federal-held Obilagu airstrip, gave military and security reasons. He rejected Mr. Ferguson's suggestion of daytime use of Uli on the grounds it would give Nigerian aircraft a chance to "relieve flights for bombing runs. The official said Mr. Ferguson expressed reservations about the feasibility of a new airstrip (which a Canadian group has offered to finance) because it would involve submitting construction materials for food on relief flights and would take time to build.

State Department officials forecast a 12-month famine in Biafra, likely to last until maize, yams and other fast-growing crops appear in June. Experts are reported saying a minimum of 460 tons of food every night must be flown in now, though in an airlift, after recent expansion, still brings only 200-240 tons a night.

● A *Scotsman* report says the airlift relief to Uli airstrip has been expanded recently, with Cotonou taking a larger share (while Douala airport, it says, is barred to relief flights because of the Cameroonian Government's fear of offending the Nigerians). Larger aircraft may now be used, says the report, including new C-130s sent to Cotonou for the Red Cross flights.

● A Federal Government spokesman said on April 12 that Mr. Lateef Jakande, managing director of the Nigerian  *Tribune*, had been detained for "security reasons" but added that the authorities were considering the possibility of his early release.

● Mr. B. S. Hundeyin, the Lagos State Commissioner for Works and Transport, has resigned his appointment, for personal reasons.

● Action Biafra International, a new organisation with headquarters in Stockholm, has been founded at a conference in London. Plans for demonstrations and European boycotts of British goods were discussed.

● On a one-day visit to Nigeria President Eyadema of Togo said the war was not African, not just a Nigerian, affair, while Toga fully supported the Federal Government.

● Reports from Paris suggest that President de Gaulle is stopping arms supplies to Biafra. One possible reason as assurances given in Lagos to French MPs about French interests once secession is ended.

● Dr. N. B. Graham-Douglas has been sworn in as Commissioner for Justice and Attorney-General of the Rivers State. Dr. Graham-Douglas was Attorney-General of the former Eastern Region, but fell out with the Ojukwu régime.

● A report in the *Daily Sketch* says Nsukka now has a water supply, and electricity is also being restored, while there is also trade, including sales of produce to the Northern States. A "public enlightenment committee of citizens of the East Central State" has toured the town and other areas to explain the rehabilitation and reconstruction programme, says the report. Another report in the same paper mentions a committee (apparently the same one) formed in Enugu to counteract Biafran propaganda.



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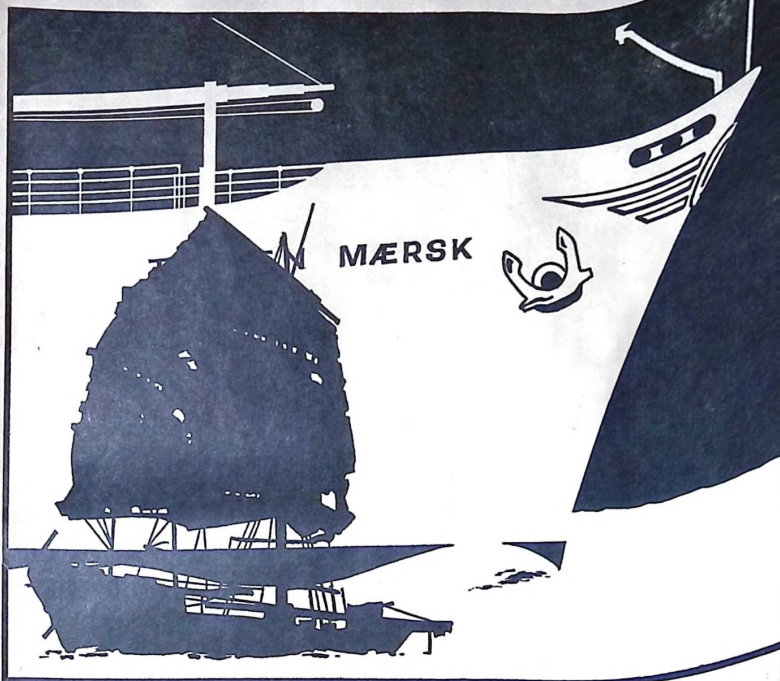
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