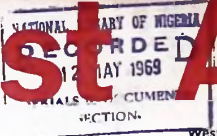


# West Africa



West Africa No. 2710 Saturday May 10 1969

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## Merit or Quotas

**A**CCOMPANYING advertisements of vacancies for senior United Nations staff, there now appears a "classification" of member states showing which have above-average representation on the staff, which average, etc. Thus Albania, Malawi and Mauritania for example, are classified under "nil", while Ghana and Nigeria are above-average. This, no doubt, is a polite way of indicating that applications would be more welcome from the under- than the over-represented nations. How long will it be before senior appointments for Federal Nigeria have to show a similar classification by states, for Ghana one by regions, for Sierra Leone one by provinces?

This is not fanciful. For throughout West Africa there are complaints about the alleged predominance, sometimes amounting to a monopoly, of senior official appointments by certain groups who, it is claimed, went ahead because of educational advantages, and then sought unfairly to retain this, lead; or contrary complaints of the injection into senior positions of people who, if not themselves politicians, are promoted for political, which usually means tribal, reasons. The truth of such allegations is often less important than the support they command. Nor are they unlike allegations that in Britain certain schools and universities have been able to establish a monopoly in some branches of the public services.

Of British legacies to Commonwealth West Africa none is more generously praised than the principle of an independent, permanent and expert civil service. Perhaps procedures are cumbersome and obstructive; perhaps the colonial machinery is not suitable for economic development and nation-building. But, it is said, the honesty, efficiency, loyalty and devotion of senior officials (nobody denies the corruption and idleness lower down) remain remarkable. The civil servants have ensured that the military regimes could work well; they even enabled Ghana to survive the excesses of the Nkrumah regime. From all this emerges the figure of the Permanent Secretary, politely but firmly advising his minister,

or perhaps his colonel, loyally carrying out any decision made after careful consideration, but never abandoning his independence or integrity.

It is an agreeable picture; but it is only half the truth. Whatever the basis of the allegations about group monopolies or the injection of unqualified people, those making the allegations believe senior officials to be people of political power, and not just of expertise. Under the military regimes officials have been obliged to assume political roles. Under the civilian regimes many were thought to be devoted to the interests of particular parties or politicians, and many more to be unready to face the risk of opposing, or even discussing, ministerial follies. Of corruption, it is true, there have been very few proven cases among senior officials—and civil servants are far easier to discipline than ministers. But in newly-independent states, apart from the problem of relations between individual politicians and civil servants and the reluctance of many ministers to concede the principle of independence to their officials, the composition of the officer corps, civil as well as military, will always be a political matter. To ignore this is to invite the destruction of such independence and permanency as the civil services now enjoy.

Yet if the principle of merit also applies, how can an apparent monopoly always be avoided? If that principle does not apply, must political "injection" be tolerated? Or must the UN quota system be applied?

Since, in much of West Africa, political parties reflect tribal feeling, the American "spoils system", under which a large number of senior official appointments change if the party in power changes, might be considered. But Americans themselves deplore the effects of this system, which has been greatly limited in recent years. And there is no possibility of applying it anywhere in West Africa, since the chronic shortage of administrators must mean that totally incompetent people would be given leading responsibilities.

The other feature of the American system which is often urged as appro-



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appropriate for West Africa—the appointment by an executive president of ministers who are expert rather than politicians—important—has considerable merits. But it could accentuate the problem of educational imbalance.

Should West African ministers be allowed to bring with them into the ministries, as French ministers call trusted aides to form a cabinet? They are not enough men, and the disruption and corruption, which might result from this method of ensuring that the government machine appears to be a political feeling more closely.

In Ghana Dr. Nkrumah thought he had found an answer. This was to make certain jobs, notably those of "district commissioners", political jobs that "party boys" might have a share of the officials' prestige. On the other hand, again, although there are strong arguments for this course at the level of "Provincial Commissioner" or "Resident Minister" there are simply not enough men for politicians to take over administrative functions of civil servants at the level of District Commissioners—even if they would not create more political problems than they would solve.

One possible way of increasing the representation of educationally backward sections of the community in senior civil service jobs is to widen the field of recruitment. This does not mean a lowering of standards, but a different measure of them. A successful headmaster in Northern Nigeria, or a Northern Ghanaian with ten years' commissioned service in the army is likely to have as sound standards of administration as a young university graduate from the Southern part of the country. The integration of the senior posts in local government with those in national services could cut both ways. But the field of recruitment for civil services could be extended beyond graduates—the real problem.

In all the discussions of constitutional proceedings, or expected, the composition of the public services may not be properly discussed. Nor may this be a proper subject for inclusion in constitutions. But in their own interests certain conventions about the division of senior appointments must be developed. This does not mean, for example, that in Nigeria, if there are 24 Federal ministries there must be two Permanent Secretaries from each state. But if there are not, any marked imbalance in representation should be constantly reviewed and efforts made to remedy it should be as positive as those taken to replace Europeans by Africans in the civil services. In appointments which do not require specific qualifications the imbalance can more easily be corrected but it can easily appear. The aim is simple; no part of a country must be allowed to feel that the public services are "theirs" instead of "ours". Only so can the independence and permanence of the services be protected.

## MATCHET'S DIARY

Freetown

FOR the second time since he took over from the army mutineers just over a year ago, Mr. Siaka Stevens feels confident enough of the political strength of his government to visit distant capitals. Next week he goes to the United States where he will see President Nixon. From the US he goes to Japan and he will make a brief stop at Cairo on the way home—"to see our boys in universities", as he told me. The really interesting visit, however, is that to Japan, where he has already sent a ministerial delegation. "I believe countries like this can learn a lot from them", he explained to me. "We are too small to sustain even some medium industries—look at the oil refinery and cement works we've inherited from Margai—both totally unviable. But from all I've read the Japanese know how to establish light industries in rural communities while improving agriculture as well. That is what we need." Deeply concerned as everybody is here about unemployment, particularly its contribution to the growing lawlessness in this city and district, the Prime Minister does not expect or seek swift solutions. He is ready to press on with shutting down ("phasing out", is the polite word), the railway. In spite of union complaints that all railways lose money, he knows that the country simply cannot afford to subsidise heavily this inefficient form of transport—to meet the heavy capital costs, now looming, of reconstructing railway bridges and replacing rolling stock. There will be full consultation with the workers and every effort will be made to retrain and re-employ them, he said. But at least some will join the army of unemployed for whom this, or any other government, must find work if it wants to avoid serious trouble. So it is worth seeing what the Japanese might offer.

Unemployment is one explanation for the great increase in illicit diamond digging on the Sierra Leone Selection Trust leases in Kono. But without the capital and the organisation of the "strangers" the unemployed might not find so ready a labour market in Kono. The most important strangers are the Lebanese and at last the government is weeding them out. Well over 200, or almost half of them, Mr. Stevens told me, are being removed from the Kono area where, in addition, a more rigid system of residence permits, and of identity cards for non-Konos, is being introduced. It remains to be seen whether these steps hit the right men, and whether they or the other, African, strangers who have been removed will stay well away. The Prime Minister belongs to that genera-



Prime Minister Siaka Stevens, with pipe, and Mr. Justice Dove Edwin at the Sierra Leone House of Representatives during a reception to mark the eighth anniversary of the country's independence.

tion of Sierra Leoneans from whom Lebanese are an accepted part of commercial life—he told me that he could not see how legitimate diamond dealing in the country's vast alluvial production could be carried on without their acumen and capital. But I sometimes wonder whether, to prevent an upheaval later, the process of phasing them out should not be accelerated.

To his American hosts Mr. Stevens can boast that alone of the African countries which have had military rule, this has returned to parliamentary forms and a two-party system. Bitterness between the two parties is still intense and neither will allow you to forget the real or alleged misdeeds of the other. But this time I have not heard the advocacy of a one-party system which I have heard on previous visits from APC men who cannot forgive the SLPP for its attempts to suppress the APC in Sir Albert Margai's day. The Prime Minister told me that he believed the 12 SLPP MPs might be useful in the House while the Party in its divided state offered no threat to his own—"though they still won't accept that they have lost power". He will not, however, be able to give the Americans any clear news about Sierra Leone's progress to a republican form of government. The committee which is to consider this has not yet been named; but few expect it to be able quickly to find a way out of the Government's dilemma. It is committed to a republic, but unless it is ready for another general election ("We have not got the money, but they still have", said the Prime Minister) it cannot have a constitution of its own devising, but only the republican constitution, passed but not implemented by the Albert Margai government, and opposed by the APC because of the "obnoxious clauses" which gave the Prime Minister such sweeping powers.

I am not confident that the committee can find a way of altering these clauses while observing the letter of the present constitution. Mr. Stevens himself is deeply interested in the Ghana constitutional discussions and feels that Sierra Leone may learn something from the type of presidency likely there, with the president retaining some power. "In this place nobody likes to give all the power to one man".

In the provinces men who did once have complete power are now learning how fickle is fortune. In the North chiefs who gave their complete loyalty to the SLPP when it was in power, although their people supported the APC, are in trouble. "Many of them went further than their duty obliged them", the Prime Minister said drily. Have all the chiefs taken kindly to the removal of their control of local courts, an essential source of power and one which countrymen easily assume they still have? Some chiefs are reported to go to elaborate lengths to retain control over court members. "But in spite of everything we still need them for local administration", said Mr. Stevens, "at present there is nothing else." He hopes that his new "Resident Ministers" in the three provincial centres will help to ensure that chiefs and people do not draw apart again. "Under the old regime provincial ministers were just party bosses with one main job. My men are not just party stalwarts—two of the three were elected as independents. They are respected local men who can step in before things go too far, and let me know. That is one of our troubles, communications. You know, I sometimes feel that if I write a memorandum I might as well deliver it by hand myself—apart from that being much quicker I can explain it better. I am a great believer in talking to people before things go too far".

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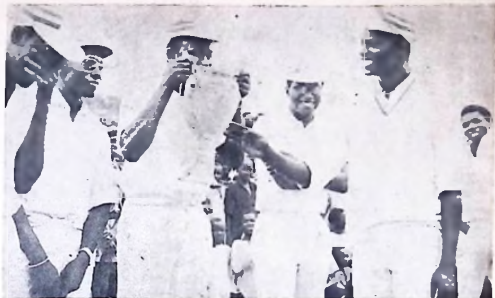
### The Algiers Festival

Two approaching events in the cultural field are well deserving of mention. Firstly, it is a serious omission not to have written before on the forthcoming First Pan-African Cultural Festival which is to be held in Algiers from July 21 to August 1 this year. This is the first major cultural occasion to be held in Africa since the World Festival of Negro Arts in Dakar in 1966, and although the word "African" instead of "Negro" is used, it promises to be something along the same lines, although lasting less time, and not conceived on such an ambitious scale as Dakar. Just as there was Moroccan, Egyptian and Algerian participation in Dakar (although marginally "nègre"), so the Algiers festival will have a special place for Afro-American participation. More about this one in due course.

Also coming up shortly, in London this time, is an Exhibition of Contemporary African Art, which is to be held at the Camden Art Centre from August 10-September 7. At a news conference in darkest Hampstead last week, the organising secretary of the Committee for African Artists, Ella Winter, said that it was hoped to show some 50 artists from all over Black Africa. The list of artists who are so far committed to appear include many of the Oshogbo school, such as Twins Seven-Seven and Asiru of aluminium-panel fame, and some of the much admired soapstone and granite work of pupils of Frank McEwen in Salisbury (Oshogbo, incidentally, is listed by the organisers along with Nigeria, South Africa and Sudan as a "state"—not so much a possible future secessionist area, perhaps, as further evidence that Oshogbo exists as a country of the mind). The list so far seems a bit short on Ghana and French-speaking Africa, a deficiency it is hoped that can be made up in the next few weeks. But more of this one, too.

### David and Goliath in Bathurst

My remarks about the special place of cricket in the Gambian order of things seem to have been justified by the convincing success of the Gambian national team in the test match at the end of last month against Nigeria in Bathurst. Certainly *The Gambia News Bulletin* delighted in the occasion, headlining the seven-wicket victory across two columns with "We are the Greatest," relegating the resignation of General de Gaulle to the foot of the last column (*Dakar-Main* emblazoned it in its heaviest type right across its front page). It was a major Bathurst event, with the Governor-General, Sir Farimang Singhatch presenting the trophy, and the President of the Gambia



The Gambia's Captain Cappie Sarr (right), holding the cricket cup is E. M. Taul, centre is Sam Mahoney.

Cricket Association, Mr. E. H. Christiansen (Secretary to the Prime Minister) describing the match as "magnificent." The whole of the *Bulletin's* second page was taken up with a panegyric of the contest, making the most of his subject: for example, "the bearded Sonny Rollings... obviously in a mood to enjoy himself treated Bademosi with scant respect. To the shrieks of hundreds of small boys, he smacked him for three fours, a two, a cracking six and a single in one over, and then went out in the grand manner..." Stumps were shattered, situations were retrieved, tea "to the Gambians must have tasted like champagne," and at the end, with two minutes left for play that day "two runs needed to give David yet another victory over Goliath," the same Rollings (who in classic "village green" manner now runs his father's shop on the corner of the MacCarthy Square cricket field) hit the ball to the boundary and won the day. The Gambian captain, Sarr, while paying tribute to the Nigerians' fighting spirit under Captain Eno, said how proud he was that "the match was fought on a national basis with every Gambian playing as if his life was at stake."

### Africa at Kew

"In our filing cabinets we probably have all the secrets of preventing world starvation," an official at England's 300-acre Kew Gardens was quoted as saying last week. The truth is a little less dramatic than that, but the claim did draw attention to the valuable work performed by this 130-year-old institution, which is one of the world's most important botanical and horticultural centres. Its main function is to accurately identify plants and plant material and to serve as a centre for the distribution of plant material—the sending of cinchona in 1861 to supply India's need of quinine and of Hevea in 1877 to found Malaya's rubber industry are two examples. Kew also acts as a half-way house in which plants

passing from one country to another can be quarantined to ensure that pests or diseases are not transferred. Cocoa from Trinidad, for instance, has been passed on to Ghana, Nigeria and Cameroon. Specimens for identification pour in daily, to add to Kew's collection of five million pressed plants. When our man in London called in he saw a pressed plant, wrapped in a copy of the Sierra Leone *Daily Mail*, which had just arrived from Ghana. It was being identified, classified and, if not previously known, named (always in Latin).

International co-operation is now the key to much of Kew's work. "This is not just a white man's sphere," says Nigel Hepper, the principal scientific officer, who spent six months in Ghana, Nigeria and Cameroon on botanical research. "Unlike 100 years ago, when men risked their lives bringing back previously unrecorded specimens," Hepper, who runs the tropical Africa section, is very keen on encouraging constructive attitudes towards plant conservation. "No longer is it possible to rely on chance that the many plant associations will survive," he considers. "What is urgently needed in West Africa, as in other parts, is for a concerted effort in each country to assess the resources of natural vegetation and to set about systematically ensuring their safety."

Destroyed vegetation may contain plants which will later be found to have considerable economic or even therapeutic value. There is considerable research in Africa at the moment, for instance, into the chemical content of herbs which it is hoped will help in the fight against cancer. Most of the publications by Kew's experts are of a highly technical nature, but Hepper would like individual governments to publish books of a wider popular interest—such as *Nigerian Trees*, the first book published in Independent Nigeria.

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## Parties Return to Ghana

By a Correspondent

GHANA has now returned to party politics, after the publication of Decree No. 347 lifting the ban on political parties. Before the lifting of the ban confusion arose over the number of people who would be disqualified from forming or joining new political parties. In *West Africa* last week there was a report of a decree (No. 345) made on April 28, and banning large numbers of people, of whom three — Messrs. Komla Gbedemah, P. K. K. Quaidoo and Imoru Egala — were intending to return to politics. But on April 30 a new decree was published, amending this considerably.

The first decree declared no one could be a founding member of, or hold office in, a new party if he had, on or after July 1 1960 (when Ghana became a Republic), been a Minister of State in the Nkrumah Regime, a CPP central committee member, a CPP general secretary, or a special adviser to the president, a Regional Commissioner, District Commissioner, CPP regional secretary, CPP member of the National Assembly, member of the national or regional executives of the CPP, any member (with some exceptions) of the Presidential Detail Dept., a chairman or any member of the governing body of a statutory corporation or board appointed by the Government (again with some exceptions), chairman of a city or municipal council, or CPP regional propaganda secretary. The decree of April 30, however, said that only those who held most of these offices (those now omitted were the statutory corporation, company and related offices, and the CPP MPs) on the eve of the coup of Feb. 24 1966 were banned from being founding members, or holding office in, new parties.

The same second decree, however, also banned those so disqualified from entering parliament (as Independents); this would have been possible under the earlier decree. Of the three men who would have been disqualified under the first decree, none was covered by the second except for Mr. Egala.

The first decree set out rules for formation of parties, which were apparently maintained in the second decree. The rules forbade tribal or religious parties, or any party whose "structure and mode of operation are not national in character", and laid down a registration fee of 200 cedis. Applications for registration must go to the Registrar of the Electoral Commission, and must be accompanied by two copies of a party's rules or constitution, and names and addresses, and such other information as the registrar may require, about the first 54 members. An audit of the funds of a party may be ordered at any time. No aliens may hold office in or be a founding, ordinary or other member of a party, and no

alien, nor any company not all Ghanaian-owned, may directly or indirectly contribute to a party's funds.

On April 30, before the publication of the second disqualification decree, the *Daily Graphic* reported that Mr. Komla Gbedemah had said "I am number one contender for a better position in Ghana" and that he might call a press conference on the 30th, to give his views on the disqualification decree (he did not do so).

On April 29 Mr. J. K. Boison, a Takoradi businessman, announced that the planned National Youth Party, led by him, would merge with the Ghana Democratic Party, to be led by Mr. John Alex Hamah, a former opposition leader. This had been decided, he said because the two parties had identical views. The merged parties would take the name of the Ghana Democratic Party and would be led by Mr. Alex Hamah. At the same time Mr. Kwesi Robertson Saff, a Koforidua businessman of mixed Lebanese and Ghanaian family, said he would launch a Black Power Party, which would set up an Agricultural Marketing Board to help farmers.

Mr. Justice Vincent Crabbe, Interim Electoral Commissioner, met 19 representatives of planned new parties on April 30.



Harley—a warning against CPP men.

The NLC Vice-Chairman, Mr. J. W. K. Harley, said in a broadcast on April 30 that "We have evidence that certain persons, hoping to take advantage of the lifting of the ban on party political activity, are feverishly organising for the revival and imposition of objectionable ideology by which the disbanded CPP enslaved the people of Ghana." To allow these people to recapture political power, he said, would spell the doom of the freedom won in 1966.

On the eve of the coming into force of Decree No. 347 more political party leaders announced their plans. Mr. Mark Diamond Nii Addy, manager of the Accra City Secondary School, said



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a National Reconstruction Party would be launched on May 10, and would, if it came to power, tackle first the problem of unemployment; it would strive to remove poverty and want, and would extend the railway system to the north.

Mr. Modesto Apaloo, formerly a leading MP in the United Party, said he had parted company with his former colleagues of that party and would collaborate with other "citizens of like mind to keep the cause alive and to promote it."

Dr. John Bilson, who had already announced that he would lead an All People's Congress, said on April 30 that this would reject the old order, old methods and old assumptions. Speaking at Legon, he said the term "Third Force," applied to his group for some time, arose out of the feeling that there were only two polarised forces, the former CPP and UP.

The first political leader to launch a party was Dr. E. V. C. de Graft-Johnson, the 48-year-old barrister, who launched the All People's Party (APP) at Christiansborg Crossroads in Accra, amid drumming, dancing and singing of war songs. About 250 people were present. Dr. de Graft-Johnson said the party would try to reconcile all elements in Ghana and to promote the interests of major producers of wealth, particularly farmers, fishermen, workers, businessmen and professional people; it would aim at reconstruction, especially in rural areas, and rehabilitation of people who

had suffered economic deprivation as a result of political action.

Mr. Joe Appiah, a former UP leader, said on May 1 that he would form a party this week, and would convene a Congress as soon as the Registrar of Parties allowed. He was still considering the possibility of alignment with other parties, he added. Dr. J. B. Danquah's death in 1965, he said, had been for the United Party an irreplaceable loss. His (Appiah's) new party would have as motto "One country, one people, one destiny" and its symbol would be a broom (to symbolise strength in unity and a clean sweep of the country to remove corruption and bribery) and a corn cob as a sign of plenty.

The *Pioneer* reported that people in Kumasi were queuing up to join new political parties on May 1, some to join what they called "Busia's party." By that evening seven parties had identified themselves all over Ghana. Beside those already mentioned they included the Ghana Labour Party (leader, Mr. Frank Wudu, a trade unionist) and the Youth Party (headed by Mr. A. G. S. Grant, principal of the John Kennedy Preparatory School in Accra).

### Busia Launches Forth

On May 2 Dr. Kofi Busia formally introduced his Progress Party at the Community Centre in Accra. He called on all Party leaders to come together to agree on a code of ethics and principles for the election campaign. He

said his party aimed to win the election "from strength with carefully planned strategy and with scrupulous fairness," and in a peaceful and civilised manner without violence and the use of thugs. The Progress Party, he added, was a new party, not the UP or a revival of the UP; the UP had been dissolved by the NLC, and although they themselves thought this was most unjust, they had not protested; there had been no United Party since then.

The new party, Dr. Busia declared, was open to former CPP members and others; its motto was "progress in unity, justice and liberty and justice," and aimed at a democratic system, greater welfare, more health care and better housing for all, better education, protection of workers, encouragement of democratic trade union movements, bridging of the town-country gap, development of natural resources, further development of agriculture, rapid and sustained economic growth, increasing Ghanaian control of the economy, reduction of unemployment and the high cost of living, and friendly relations with all countries that recognised Ghana's sovereignty. At Dr. Busia at the meeting were Messrs. Reginald Amponsah, Simon Dombi Saki Sheck, K. G. Osei-Bonsu (former Commissioner for Information, who resigned over the dismissal of two editors by the NLC in December 1966) and Victor Owusu, the former Attorney General.

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# books and publications

## THE CONTINUING CONGO STORY

**Congo 1967, Les Dossiers du CRISP**  
(published by CRISP, Brussels, and  
INEP, Kinshasa, 450 Belgian francs).

THE annual volumes of the *Centre de Recherche et d'Information Socio-Politiques*, which have been appearing ever since 1959 (the spectacular year of 1960 merited two volumes), have become a great standby for information for anyone interested in the Congo. They were utterly invaluable for the confused post-independence period (as a sort of distillation of their equally essential bulletins), but even now that the Congo seems to be passing out of the turbulent years, they cast multiple rays of light on a country which, having been colonised neither by the French nor the British, tends to be bypassed by the main media about Africa, unless something sensational happens. *West Africa* itself has never been quite sure about whether the Congo comes into its orbit, ranking as it does as West, Central or East Africa, depending on how you look at it. Also, once you start considering such a vast and diverse area, you could fill a magazine with information purely on that subject.

Thus the works of CRISP have no competitor, more than that, they are of a quality and detail that is sorely needed in contemporary African history in other areas. I have pleaded before for a Nigerian equivalent of these volumes. In the last three years, this need has become more and more pressing for an annual collection of informed analyses, combined with reproduction of important documents.

The CRISP series have benefitted in the past from the objectivity of their compilers, which in the passionate circumstances of Congolese politics was a remarkable achievement. Now, however, that there seems to be a stable, increasingly powerful government, it is inevitably harder for a publication which is half Congolese, to present a genuinely detached picture. Even so, the contributors to *Congo 1967* have done a very creditable job; the first three sections, by P.-F. Kasongo, on "The Constitutional Referendum and the New Constitution", on "Ministerial Reshuffles" and on the Popular Movement of the Revolution, the political party which was born during the year, all preserve a certain detachment, especially in the sources quoted, although

the comment is a little more cautious, as when analysing the results of the referendum of June 1967.

The kaleidoscopic lists of members of the government, and of the President's personal staff, are extremely useful, and his comment on the intellectual "young Turks" brought in by Mobutu when he first came to power, that ultimately they are doomed to work for the politicians has subsequently been shown to be very true. For this was the year which was ushered in when Mobutu's great dispute with the Union Minière was at its height (the affair is also faithfully recorded) and the beginning of his slow move rightwards which followed its settlement (this, however, really belongs to 1968).

Nineteen-sixty-seven was the last really turbulent year for the Congo, witnessing the second, and more serious rebellion of mercenaries and Katangese gen-

darmes, who held out for three months in Bukavu, having been part of what has subsequently been exposed as a Tshombist plot, foiled, perhaps, by Tshombé's own kidnapping at the end of June. All these events are covered in detail, with some remarkable accounts of the campaign against the mercenaries (a section by Gerard-Libois and Verhaegen, two names well known to CRISP fans), and an exploration of the ramifications of the Tshombé kidnap affair: wisely the author makes no commitment as to which secret service was responsible, the CIA, the French SDECE, or the Russians (all of which have been suggested). The interest of Mobutu in having it done seems fairly certain, but the rest is obscure country indeed.

There is also a long and useful section on the powers of the provinces, a diversion into the last days of the parliament elected under Tshombé, which was finally sent packing by Mobutu after numerous vagaries (it has never been replaced, although the 1967 constitution provided for parliamentary elections), surveys of students, trade unions and women's organisations, and a long effective disquisition into the economy, the advances and set backs it experienced, dealing especially with the monetary reform of July (with devaluation and the introduction of the zaire), which all agree is at the basis of the Congo's present remarkable recovery.

K.W.

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## books and publications

**The Conch, A Biafran Journal of Literary and Cultural Analysis, Vol. 1** (Published by Conch Magazine Ltd., 9 Rue Valery, Paris, 16ème, price 85, 6NF, \$1-50)

In his introduction to the first volume of *The Conch*, the editor, Sunday Anozie, a Biafran operating from Paris, says that the publication is the child of the current war, and its original idea and inspiration is "a sense of duty to the memory of Christopher Okigbo." The volume is "In Memoriam" to Okigbo, and includes a "Triptych of Memories"—poems dedicated to Okigbo by Peter Thomas, formerly of Nsukka University, now a lecturer in English at Mackinnon College, Mackinnon Island, USA. There is also a long critical article by the editor of *The Conch*, called "A Structural Approach to Okigbo's Distances," which analyses one of Okigbo's more complex poems in the manner of Claude Lévi-Strauss, complete with algebraic interpretation, and a three-dimensional table representing the poem's rhetorical structure.

There is more to *The Conch* than just remembering Chris Okigbo. It is very much linked to Biafran nationalism, and as such is not surprisingly introspective, with on one level, Chinua Achebe writing evenly but passionately on "The African Writer and the Biafran Cause" (putting the case for committed writing: "that is what literature in Africa should be about today—right and just causes"), and on another level, Professor A. J. Shelton, of New York State University, writing on: "The Articulation of Traditional and Modern in Igbo Literature."

The current Biafran approval of things French finds expression in a glowing profile of André Malraux, and in an article in French, as well as reviews of books that have appeared in French devoted to Biafra (it is surprising how many there have been). It is good to find a publication so naturally bi-lingual. Time, perhaps, will show us a similar diversity of subject-matter. **K.W.**

**The Desert My Dwelling Place** by Elizabeth Hamilton (Hodder and Stoughton, 50s).

This is a new life of Charles de Foucauld, the French officer and traveller who became a hermit in the Algerian Sahara, where he was also an early researcher into the local people and their past, and where he was killed by Senoussi insurgents in 1916. Though not canonised, Père de Foucauld is widely venerated in France, and religious orders inspired by him now work in the

Saharan areas where he lived for fifteen years. Elizabeth Hamilton has written a life both scholarly and readable, somewhat brief about de Foucauld's irreligious early life and his conversion (she rather deflates some good anecdotes in other lives), but detailed and thorough about his travels and researches in North Africa, which the author has clearly studied closely, and about his religious life. The famous penitent never lost the fascination he won for North Africa in his army days; this book shows very well how, in other respects too, he changed little more than the rest of us do in the course of life.

Because of his strong patriotism, his active keenness on the expansion of the French empire and particularly on the conquest of the Sahara (where he helped the French forces with his intimate knowledge of the Touareg and other desert peoples), de Foucauld does not altogether belong "more to our age than to his own", as this author puts it. Some Catholics in Africa today may find these attitudes very distasteful, though they were normal enough in his day. But this biography shows that he was also a strong critic of the worst abuses of colonial rule, including its early toleration of Touareg slavery, and that he won respect among the Touareg and the other ancient peoples of the desert, who were once all under French rule but are now divided among several states. **J.D.**

The National Westminster Bank Quarterly Review for February 1969 has an interesting article, "Does Britain Pay its Way?" by A. R. Conan. Discussing the British payments deficits, he says large debts have been incurred on behalf of other countries. This includes direct aid, whose effect on the balance of payments—he says—is debatable but likely to be more adverse than it is sometimes estimated to be. Measures aiding the exports of other countries "impose an immense burden" on the British trade balance, and commodity agreements, by raising prices, have the same effect, says Mr. Conan, who criticises many of the arguments used to defend all these sorts of aid, suggesting that aid should be given only in times of surplus. This essay deserves attention, but it shows no awareness of the contrast between the developing world's real and enormous economic problems, and the "problems" of Great Britain, which are surely trifling by comparison. **D.J.**

(Obtainable from the Bank, in London.)

### Books and Publications Received

**Nasser's Egypt**, by Peter Mansfield and **The African Past**, by Basil Davidson (Penguin African Library, 6s. and 7s. 6d. respectively).

**Magna Carta**, by J. C. Holt (Cambridge University Press, 19s.).

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## letters to the editor

### HAUSAPHONES EVERYWHERE

SIR.—On Dec. 15th, 1962 you published a letter from me questioning whether Hausa would be the most suitable "lingua franca" of West Africa. My doubts were echoed in a letter you published on August 1st, 1964 from Aliyu Yerima Bida of the Nigerian Embassy in Fort Lamy.

Having just returned from a month's journey around the Sahara, I thought that the following further sightings on this subject might be of interest. I found Tuareg who understood Hausa in places as far away from Northern Nigeria as Tamanrasset and Djanet in southern Algeria. Hausa was certainly "widely spoken" in the predominantly Kanuri/Touhou oases of Bilma, Dirkou, Seguedine and Chirfa in north-east Niger, as well as in the Sonhai/Tuareg areas around Agades and in the Air Mountains.

While in Bilma I was surprised to find that traffic seems to be growing between the Niger Republic and Libya via this very remote oasis. At the time of my visit there were two large Libyan lorries in the township and I was told this was not unusual. Groups of Hausa labourers were sitting around, mostly from the Zinder area, hoping to find transport to the Libyan oilfields. I talked to about a dozen Libyan traders who had come down from Tripoli via Sebha and Seguedine and then over the track opened up a few years ago by the Berhet Expedition, but only one or two of them understood Hausa—they were selling cloth and other goods from Tripoli and would take back livestock and passengers.

I saw, by contrast, virtually no traffic (except for the odd tourist) between Niger and Algeria, mainly because of the very strict currency and customs controls imposed by the Algerians. The Tuareg I met in Algeria who spoke Hausa had learnt it when participating in the Bilma salt caravans, which still exercise up to 20,000 camels in the season (December-January).

T. G. BRIARLY

London

### TIME TO COMPROMISE

SIR.—After reading the news item "Nigeria: Federal Forces near Umuahia", in your April 12 issue, my heart was more sick than ever for my beloved country. In the name of Allah and of Christ, when will this madness and killing cease? Surely the agony of the Ibo people during the past eighteen months has more than paid for their sins of the past. And it is hard to determine who is more stubborn, unrealistic, or politically immature, Gowon or Ojukwu!

Have Gowon and his government ever seriously asked themselves what will happen if they are successful in their unrelenting pursuit of a complete military victory over Biafra? A crushed and subjugated Biafra, with Ojukwu and every member of his Consultative Assembly eliminated, still would not solve anything for Nigeria. The bleeding East Central State would remain, with its nine million hostile, bitter Ibos,

impossible to govern. When will we begin to accept Ojukwu, to live, work, and compromise with him and his Ibos, instead of continuing to kill, starve, and bomb them?

And Ojukwu, when will you face the hard fact that you and your people have lost the war? The world knows that you are pursuing an impossible dream, and that you will never succeed in regaining the territory you have lost. No matter how just your cause may seem, how much your people have suffered, how great their fear, reality insists that you find an alternative to Biafra's sovereignty. You must begin to compromise.

If these two, Gowon and Ojukwu, could, by some miracle, rise to the level of mature statesmanship required to achieve such a compromise, all of Africa, indeed all the world would applaud them. And thousands of the suffering, starving, homeless ones would call them blessed.

T. A. ADEKOYA.

University of Minnesota,  
Minneapolis, USA.

### SIERRA LEONE NOW

SIR.—Peter Tucker's temerity in venturing to comment on current affairs in Sierra Leone (*West Africa*, May 3) is, to say the least, staggering. Unfortunately, Tucker cannot go to his homeland, Sierra Leone, even on a visit. Consequently, he is out of touch with the state of affairs in Sierra Leone.

Is this SLPP propagandist unaware of the fact that the economy of Sierra Leone has never been better than today, under the APC government? Is Peter Tucker not aware that Mr. Siaka Stevens' government is repaying debts incurred by the corrupt Albert Margai regime through pre-financed schemes, at the alarming rate of Le 1½ million per annum?

In his inordinate haste to denigrate Premier Stevens' government, Mr. Tucker ignorantly and falsely states that the government has done nothing about the diamond situation in Kono. If he wishes to know who squandered public funds in Sierra Leone and thereby ruined the country's economy, he should read the Dove-Edwin, Beaku-Betts and Percy Davies Commission Reports.

S. Z. KAMANDA.

London

### ESCORTS FOR STUDENTS' CHILDREN

SIR.—Mankind owes the child the best it has to give. The Commonwealth Students' Children Society has very acute cases of hardship among African children in Britain and would like to arrange for them to travel home to join the extended family. Although the parents can pay the full fare of the children, they cannot pay that of an escort. These are the children for whom no other suitable arrangements could be made at present by the Society. Sending them to a member of the family in Africa would help to prevent emotional maladjustments and many difficulties.

We know that many people travel regularly to Lagos, Accra and Sierra Leone, and if they are willing to accompany a child, would they please let us know, giving us as much notice as possible of the date of their

departure. The Society would make arrangements for the child to travel with them in return for a small fee for this service. Helping African students and their children through this Society is a responsibility to be shared by all those who have the welfare of Africa at heart.

B. B. BOATING

General Secretary,  
Commonwealth Students'  
Children Society,  
Toynbee Hall,  
Commercial St., London, E.1

### IBADAN CONFERENCE AND SUSSEX

SIR.—In your issue of March 22 you published a letter from Mr. Dudley Seers, the Director of this Institute, in connection with his participation in the Ibadan conference on the future of Nigeria.

Mr. Seers' letter referred to an unnamed colleague who "feels strongly about the Nigerian war" and who had asked him to make it clear that his attendance at the conference was in a personal capacity, not as a representative of the IDS.

People at the conference apparently attributed this pressure to a member (or members) of Sussex University known for sympathy towards the Biafrans. I should make it clear, in my turn, that I, as a Fellow of the Institute, asked for the letter to be written, and nobody else.

MARTIN STANILAND.

Institute of Development Studies,  
University of Sussex.

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## FRANCE

### End of the Foccart Era?

By a correspondent

**I**N the wake of President de Gaulle's resignation, speculation in African circles in Paris has concentrated on what would happen to M. Jacques Foccart, the Secretary-General for African and Malagasy Affairs at the Presidency, who has been the faithful "right arm" on African affairs to the General since the 1950s. He was apparently ready to pack his bags like the rest of the presidential staff immediately after the fateful weekend when de Gaulle withdrew to Colombey-les-deux-Eglises, commenting "tout est perdu". All the members of de Gaulle's personal staff such as his Secretary-General, Bernard Tricot, resigned automatically.

Foccart's position was special, however, because the whole question of the continuity of France's policy towards Black Africa was involved, and he seems to have been prevailed upon to stay, at least until the end of the interim presidency of Alain Poher, although, like those Gaullists who could not refrain from expressions of disgust after their first cabinet meeting under President Poher, it must have been a bitter pill.

Then, on May 2, five days after the fateful referendum, and the day after Foccart had lunched with the General at Colombey, a curt announcement from the Elysée named Daniel Pèpy, Councillor of State, as Secretary-General for African Affairs in succession to M. Foccart. The statement said that by appointing M. Pèpy (a lawyer well known and liked in African circles, who has centrist affiliations), M. Poher had sought to demonstrate the personal interest he had in Africa, recalling that for the past three years he had been President of the parliamentary association of the EEC and Associated States. What is not clear at the moment is whether M. Pèpy will himself have to be replaced when a new president is elected, unless Poher makes it to the Elysée, on present form an unlikely eventuality.

The going of Foccart, who apparently had already supervised the evacuation of thousands of confidential Gaullist dossier and files from the Elysée on the Sunday night and Monday morning when it was certain that de Gaulle was resigning, marks the end of an era in Franco-African relations. Son of a Jew planter in Guadeloupe (he was originally called Koch-Foccart), he worked in family import-export business specialising in Caribbean rum between the wars, at became a Gaullist resistance work during the war (he was parachuted in France, and earned the Cross of the Legion of Honour, and the Rosette (the Resistance).

Like many who came under the cloak-and-dagger influence of the Résistance

he is surrounded by mystery and legend, but he is supposed to have met de Gaulle in London, and through his loyalty and ability (one writer has referred to Foccart's "corrosive intelligence") graduated into an important role in the General's personal staff. Foccart's reputation as a "spymaster" lingers with him to this day, as he was reputed an organiser of the strong-arm men of the fascist RPF days after the war. Later, when de Gaulle came to power in 1958, it was Foccart, the frequent caller at Colombey during the "crossing of the desert", and one of the Gaullist "directory" manoeuvring for the General's return after the Algiers putsch of May, 1958, who organised the notorious *barbouzes*, the counter-intelligence force which fought the OAS with its own methods.



M. Foccart — "guardian of the Gaullist oracle"

This association with the underside of the Gaullist machine (he had risen to become Secretary-General of the RPF before it was dissolved in 1955), has tended to make Foccart an ideal butt for the satirist of *Le Canard Enchaîné*, especially as he seemed to deliberately create an air of mystery and excessive discretion around himself, never talking to the press, the "contact man" *par excellence*. Thus he has been mentioned in such scandals as the Ben Barka kidnapping, and even, last year, the bizarre Vojvodi affair, in which Foccart was alleged to have been Moscow's man in the Elysée.

### Poker-Faced Functionary

All of this "James Bond" heat-haze has tended to obscure the real and important role of Foccart, mentioned in last week's *West Africa*, as the "machine minder" of President de Gaulle's intensely personal relationship with Africa. Even down-and-out ex-Presidents such as Hubert Maga and Nicolas Grunitsky, could obtain an audience with

de Gaulle, if they were well in with Foccart, and although the counter-influence of Madame de Gaulle is supposed to have prevented Foccart's advice that the French should intervene to save the tottering Abbe Youlou in Brazzaville in August 1963, the role and importance of the balding, poker-faced functionary in the blank-walled office in the Rue de Grenelle was not lost on African rulers.

Foccart undoubtedly obtained his status from his position as guardian of the Gaullist oracle (Maurice Yaméogo once said to him "You are our fetish"). But he seems, in spite of his unprepossessing manner, to have had a capacity for establishing close and cordial relationships with African politicians, often of a most unlikely kind. General Bokassa once waxed enthusiastic over him, calling him a close personal friend and colleague from the resistance days, and took him for a few days' safari in the Central African bush. It is true Foccart was on one of his typical trouble-shooting missions, trying to woo Bokassa back from the influence of Kinshasa, and that as a highly intelligent man he must have regarded the exercise with a certain amount of cynicism, but it was a classic vignette of the Gaullist era in Africa (For Foccart's role in the Nigerian crisis see Nigerian News page xxx.)

In some African circles in Paris it is thought the interim President abused his powers in replacing M. Foccart, since in theory the latter had been appointed in 1960 with the agreement of the members of the Community, not a very powerful argument since the Community exists only on paper (only four African countries remained in the Community in any case). But the concern of African regimes to retain Foccart (is it too strong to say that the survival of some of them depended on him and his agents?) does not seem to have been able to overcome the exigencies of domestic French politics.

One reason for his removal is said to have been that the supporters of Giscard d'Estaing made the suppression of the *polices parallèles* (the rivalry between Foccart's own organisation and the official counter-intelligence has been a well-known feature of the Gaullist era) a condition of giving full support to the candidacy of Georges Pompidou (who now looks the hot favourite for the Elysée). This does not mean that Foccart will not return to his old job under Pompidou, who has been performing political acrobatics promising the old guard of the Gaullists that he will not change the General's policies, while at the same time giving undertakings to M. d'Estaing that he will make modifications. Foccart, with his numerous connections, may be essential to control hard-core Gaullists in Parliament. His own relations with Pompidou are thought to be good, but he may find it difficult to work for anyone but the General.



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## WEST AFRICAN SHIPPING NEWS

### ELDER DEMPSTER LINES

**SOUTHBOUND**—From Liverpool:—AUREOL due Freetown May 11; FOURAH BAY s/s. Liverpool May 16; DUMURRA s/s. Liverpool May 20; OBUASI s/s. Liverpool May 22; DARU due Douala May 17; DUNKWA due Sapele May 12; PERANG due Monrovia May 13.  
From London:—ONITSHA s/s. London May 8; EGORI s/s. London May 23; FALABA due Pointe Noire May 11.  
From Continent:—FORCADOS s/s. Hamburg May 21.

**NORTHBOUND**—To Liverpool:—KUMBA due Liverpool May 9; DONGA due Abidjan May 11; OTI due Avonmouth May 9  
To London:—BHAMO due Dunkirk May 17; OWERI due Las Palmas May 10.  
To Continent:—FREETOWN due Calabar May 10; KARBALA due Amsterdam May 11.

**EASTBOUND**—From USA/Canada:—DALLA due Dakar May 10.

**WESTBOUND**—To USA/Canada:—DEGEMA due Fall River May 8; DIXCOVE due Baltimore May 15; DUMBIA due Philadelphia May 13; FULANI due Pointe Noire May 9.  
From India/Pakistan/Burma:—GOWANBANK due Douala May 25; BEECHBANK due Khulna Apr. 27.

### JAPAN & K'N LINE

**WESTBOUND**—From Japan (via Hong Kong) to Matadi, Lagos, Tema, Abidjan, Freetown etc.:—TEXAS MARU s/s. Japan May 2 due Lagos Jun. 1.

**EASTBOUND**—From Matadi, Lagos, Tema, Abidjan, Freetown etc. to Japan (via Singapore):—LOUISIANA MARU s/s. Lagos May 18, Tema May 21, Freetown May 25, due Japan Jun. 10.

### BARBER WEST AFRICAN LINE

**OUTWARDS**—FERNWOOD now due Tokoradi; TANANIA due Freetown May 12, thence Monrovia, Abidjan, Tema, Lagos/Apapa, Douala, Calabar and Takoradi; TEMA due New York May 20, Halifax NS May 23 for Freetown, Monrovia, Abidjan, Tema, Lagos/Apapa, Douala and Takoradi.

**HOMEWARDS**—Tema now due Fall River, thence Carteret, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore and Norfolk; CORNEVILLE now due load Buchanan/Monrovia; FERNWOOD now due load Lagos/Ghana N.B., Abidjan mid May, Buchanan/Monrovia third week May.

### FABRELL LINES

**OUTWARDS**:—AUSTRALIAN ISLE s/s. Abidjan May 17 for Monrovia; for US Ports, AFRICAN RAINBOW s/s. Douala May 23 for Tema, Tokoradi, Abidjan Jun 6 for Monrovia for US Ports.

**OUTWARDS**:—AFRICAN GLADE due Monrovia May 17 for Takoradi, Tema May 23, Matadi, Luanda and Lobito; AUSTRALIAN REEF due Monrovia May 27 for Buchanan, Abidjan, Takoradi, Tema Jun. 5, Douala and Lagos Apapa Jun. 11.

### HUGO STINNES TRANSCOZEN

**SCHIFFAHRT GBNH**  
KONSUL RETZLAFF s/s. Rouen May 2, due Las Palmas May 8, Dakar May 11, Abidjan May 16; INDAL RETZLAFF s/s. Dunkirk Apr. 30, due Dakar May 10, Conakry May 12, Abidjan May 17.

### ROYAL INTEROCEAN LINES

**INWARDS**—STRAAT MOZAMBIQUE from China and Hong Kong s/s. Hong Kong Apr. 8 due Lagos/Apapa May 10, Cotonou May 15, Lome May 17, Tema May 19, Abidjan May 22, Monrovia May 25, Freetown May 27, Dakar May 30, Conakry Jun. 3; STRAAT FREEMANTLE from Japan s/s. Kobe Apr. 21 due Lagos/Apapa optional, Tema May 30, Monrovia Jun. 3, Freetown Jun. 6, Abidjan Jun. 10, Takoradi Jun. 12.

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

### PALM LINE

**SOUTHBOUND**—From Continent:—ILESIA PALM s/s. Monrovia May 10

**NORTHBOUND**—To London:—IBADAN PALM s/s. Grand Berby May 10.

To Liverpool:—ELMINA PALM due Abidjan May 10.

To Liverpool:—LOBITO PALM due Victoria May 11.

### HOLLAND WEST AFRICA LUN

**SOUTHBOUND**—From Continent:—LAAT DERKERK due Lagos May 9; TOKOATI due Dakar May 20; GLEKERK due Dakar May 29.

**NORTHBOUND**—To Continent:—DARO MEYKUST due Rotterdam May 12, Antwerp May 16, Bremen May 19; KATSEDIJ AMSTERDAM May 13, Rotterdam May 16; LIBERIAKUST due Rotterdam May 16; Amsterdam May 28, Bremen May 29, Hamburg Jun. 3.

### NOPAL WEST AFRICA LINE

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

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

### HOEGH LINES

HOEGH BEAVER s/s. Hamburg May 2, Antwerp May 6, Rouen May 9, due Dakar May 18, Monrovia May 19, HOEGH BANIERE s/s. Bremen May 14, Hamburg May 16 due Freetown May 30, Abidjan Jun. 2, Tema Jun. 4.

### SCANDINAVIAN WEST AFRICA LINE

**SOUTHBOUND**—HJELMAREN s/s. Scandinavia including South Finland during May for WA Jun. early Jul; HOEGH BISCAY s/s. Scandinavia and Bordeaux during May for WA during Jun.

**NORTHBOUND**—SUNNAREN s/s. WA first half Jun. for Scandinavia end May early Jun.; MINNESOTA s/s. WA May for Continent and Scandinavia Jun. early Jul.

### CHARGEUR REUNIS

KERQUELEN due Lagos/Apapa May 6, Freetown May 20; CAPRIA s/s. Kobe May 2.

### MAERSK LINE

HENRIETTA MAERSK s/s. Lagos/Apapa May 2, arr. Tema May 3; JOHANNA MAERSK s/s. Luanda May 14 arr. Matadi May 15.

### MIITSU OSK LINE

HODAKASAN MARU s/s. Kobe Apr. 4 due Lagos May 19; HUSON MARU s/s. Kobe Apr. 21 due Lagos May 23; HAVANA MARU s/s. Kobe May 4 due Lagos Jun. 6.

**NIGERIAN NATIONAL SHIPPING LINE**  
**SOUTHBOUND**:—NMAIDI AZIKWE s/s. London May 13; AHAMADUBELLO s/s. Liverpool May 26.

**NORTHBOUND**:—RIVER BENUE due Half May 26; RIVER OGUUN due Avonmouth May 30.

### WESTWIND AFRICA LINE

BUENA FORTUNA s/s. New Orleans Apr. 30. Houston May 4 for Dakar, Lagos, Freetown; SOPHIA C s/s. New Orleans May 11. Houston May 18 for Lagos, Luanda, Abidjan and Freetown.

### WOERMANN LINE

PAZIFIK s/s. Dunkirk May 5, Rouen May 8, due Dakar May 15, Conakry May 18; LISSABON s/s. Antwerp May 5, due Las Palmas May 13, Freetown May 18, Monrovia May 20.

### GOLD STAR LINE

SHAVIT s/s. Kobe Apr. 30/May 9, due Keelung May 11/12; Hong Kong May 11/12; Singapore May 19; NOGATA s/s. Okatama May 28/30, Magaya May 29, Kobe May 30.

**BLACK STAR LINE/SEVEN STAR LINE/USNH/WEST AFRICA**  
**WESTBOUND**—OFFIN RIVER Ghana May 6, Halifax May 24, thence Great Lakes.

**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; OTCHI RIVER Hamburg May 27, Bremen May 29, Antwerp May 31, Rotterdam Jun 3, Dunkirk Jun 4.

**NORTHBOUND**—PR RIVER Hamburg May 23; SAKUMO LAGOON London May 11.

# commercial news

## Railways: keeping on the right tracks

**M**OST tropical African countries have failed to establish a satisfactory administrative structure between the Minister responsible for transport and the executive body which runs the railways, according to Sir James Farquharson in a lecture to the Royal Society of Arts in London.

There was need for an intermediate body, preferably a Board of non-executive, part-time members, to absorb pressures from the Minister based on political expediency or short-term judgments.

Competent management was also necessary to develop the capacity of railways, which were by far the lowest cost mode of transport over the long distances involved. The position at present was unsatisfactory as in some cases men with limited experience and minimum professional qualifications were being promoted to top posts. But in about 10 to 20 years the railways should have suitable managerial and technical staff to fill posts at all levels.

Railway staffs usually constituted the largest single block of trade unionists, which had resulted in above-average wages and salaries. Any attempt to widen the gap and place railway staff in an unduly privileged position in the community would be unreasonable and would ultimately affect the ability of the railways to meet competition from other modes of transport.

"Unions in Africa have too readily adopted the intransigent attitude of those in the western world, but there is still time to evolve more rational attitudes before the undertakings are driven into bankruptcy and prevented from giving effective service to their public owners," he commented.

"Throughout the world the policies followed by the railway unions are tending to prevent the railways from playing the part of which they are technically and economically capable in providing a nation's transport services."

On the closure of lines, he warned that some systems in Africa were facing financial problems and consultants would probably follow the easy course of recommending chopping off alleged loss making lines instead of trying to deal with the more difficult problems associated with the reduction in costs and improvements in revenues as a whole.

"African nations, generally short of transport facilities, should accept advice to close lines only after the most detailed consideration of all the factors involved," he advised.

● The United Nations is providing food-stuffs worth CFA 500m. to be used by 1,800 farmers being settled in the Kou valley of Upper Volta to tide them over the initial period of waiting for the harvesting of the first rice, cotton and maize crops. The 1,260 hectare site is being prepared by Formosan Chinese technicians.

● A maintenance programme for Congo-Brazzaville's entire road system will be drawn up by a survey financed by a £190,000 interest-free World Bank loan. The survey will also prepare the way for the construction of a 90-mile road leading to an area containing about 3m. acres of forest and for the upgrading of a 27-mile road between Pointe Noire and Bondi ports which gives access to an agricultural region and serves a potash mining area.

● The World Bank has granted a credit of \$42m. to Central African Republic for a highway project from Bangui to Mbaiki, in the agriculturally rich province of Lobaye.

● A total of 5,330 vehicles were sold in East Cameroon last year, 58.6 per cent of them of French origin. Of the 626 British vehicles sold up to 30 November, 413 were assembled in the Cameroon.

## Tourist boom

Tourism in Africa increased by 12 per cent last year compared with a world increase of three per cent. Tunisia topped the list with 260,489 visitors (a 38 per cent increase), followed by South Africa with 217,724 (a 10 per cent increase) and Rhodesia with 195,783 (a 13 per cent increase).

Other African countries lagged well behind: Kenya 70,000, Uganda 40,391, Tanzania 33,000 and Nigeria 17,957.

The money spent by tourists in Africa also rose by more than the world average: 15 per cent, compared to four per cent. But the continent's share of the world total, \$14,400m., was only \$235m.

## Aid for limbless

J. E. Hanger, English firm of artificial limb-makers, is providing equipment and materials for three new artificial limb centres at Lagos, Kano and Ibadan, where many war victims will be treated. Humboldt of Hull is providing 250lbs of plastic wood for the consignment—the biggest export order the company has ever received.

● France is providing £177,000 for the purchase of equipment and supplies for Upper Volta's health service and £76,000 for public service vehicles.

● The new Union Carbide (Ghana) pharmaceutical factory at Tema has begun producing pills. Built at a cost of 1.5m. cedis, it will employ 130 Ghanaians.

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m.s. "FERNWOOD" slg. from New York June 17, Halifax June 20 for Freetown, Monrovia, Abidjan, Tema, Lagos/Abapa, Douala and Takoradi.

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## commercial news

### Agency under fire

The United States Agency for International Development has been urged by senators to exercise greater financial control over the Afro-American Purchasing Centre, a private company set up with AID help and designed to act as a procurement agency for African Governments and to encourage the purchase of American products.

It was claimed that AID failed to act when it discovered that the Centre's procurement practices were "virtually fraudulent."

● The Dutch government should help developing countries to set up industrialisation departments as a way of promoting investments in those countries. Holland's National Advisory Council of Development Aid has recommended.

The Council also reported that a Dutch company took an average of 56 months to establish an overseas subsidiary, whereas the process could be reduced to about two years.

● Mauritania's first state printing press was opened by Herr Kurt Schmuecker, the Federal Assets Minister of West Germany, which provided financial and technical aid for the project. Possible further aid between the two countries was discussed during the Minister's visit.

● A seminar designed to improve the effectiveness of aid is being held in Dakar under the auspices of the United Nations. The participants are Ivory Coast, Upper Volta, Mali, Niger, Senegal, Rwanda and Algeria.

● The cabinet has approved the creation of an inter-state Institute of Veterinary Medicine and Science at Dakar University, as recommended by the OCAM summit of 1968.

### STOCK EXCHANGE FOR GHANA

Ghana is to establish a stock exchange in the next 18 months. Steering and advisory committees have begun preparations. Mr. E. P. I. Gyampoh, managing director-chairman of the National Investment Bank, who announced this at the sixth AGM of the bank in Accra, said the government had accepted a report on the stock exchange, prepared by the National Investment Bank and the Commonwealth Development Finance Co.

● Two French companies and the Congo-Kinshasa government are jointly setting up a tannery in Mbandaka which will be able to treat 40,000 skins a year.

● The Ghana Commercial Bank has given a loan of NC 5 m. to the Ghana Industrial Holding Corporation to resuscitate the divisions experiencing financial difficulties.

● A CFA 400m. textile factory has been opened in Libreville with Gabonese, French and Dutch capital.

### CUT IN COFFEE QUOTAS

Producers of Robusta and Other Mild Arabica coffee have had their quotas cut by three per cent. for the April-June quarter because prices fell below the minimum stipulated by the International Coffee Agreement. Robusta is mainly African produced.

Prices have remained so low, that there is a danger of a further cut of two per cent.

A meeting of economic planners and coffee experts will be held in June in London to discuss methods to be used by countries in drawing up national plans for the limiting of coffee production to bring supply into reasonable balance with world demand.

Only countries exporting more than 100,000 bags a year will be participating, but smaller producers are likely to send observers.

● The UN World Food Programme is to send 2,250 tons of Sorghum to Niger to help relieve a food shortage in four drought-stricken provinces.



Vincent Apotafia Kossivi, a fifth-year Togolese student of the veterinary faculty of the Ukrainian agricultural academy, prepares an injection.

● Following the arrival of 19,000 tons of crude oil from Gabon, the Sierra Leone Oil Refinery has got into its stride. The refinery is expected to continue to obtain its supplies of crude oil from Gabon until conditions in Nigeria make it possible to receive supplies from that source.

● Africa contributed £498,000 to British Ropes 1968 profits, compared with its 1967 contribution of £280,000. The company's annual report refers to "continuing progress" in African Wire Ropes and Nigerian Ropes.

● Guinness is to be brewed in Douala, East Cameroon. Work on the project has already begun and is scheduled for completion early in 1970. An annual output of 50,000 hectolitres is expected. The company has recently been importing 20,000 hectolitres a year into the country.

● Mainland Chinese experts are investigating the possibility of setting up a cement factory in Mauritania.

### Cocoa warning

If Ghana's cocoa rehabilitation programme is not allowed to operate successfully, output might drop from about \$0.6 to 300,000 tons, the chairman of the Ashanti Regional Committee of Administration, C. G. Yarbou, warned farmers in the Lafofong, Bosomtwe area, where about 700 farms produce beans, timber and some other goods.

● The Soviet Union will import cocoa beans, timber and some other goods from Ghana in exchange for oil, tractors, industrial plant and sugar under the terms of a trade protocol signed in Accra.

● Seed cotton equivalent to 305,000 bales of lint is reported to have been bought in Nigeria—a record for the country. The 1969-70 cotton prices will remain unchanged at 6d a lb net (Grade NA I), 5d (NA II) and 4.5d (NA III).

● The Cadbury Group, the major confectionery manufacturing firm which merged with Schweppes last month, recorded pre-tax profits of £10,551,000 last year, an all-time record.

● Last year was a record for Gill & Duffus, general merchants and cocoa products makers: profits totalled £1,057,000 compared with the 1967 record of £1,672,825.

● Consumption of chocolate products in West Germany rose to 294,052 metric tons last year compared with 285,796 tons in 1967. United States confectionery sales in February were estimated at \$156m, an increase on January's total of \$146m.

● Cotton production in Chad reached a record 148,600 tons last year it was announced in Fort Lamy. Meat exports also rose from 5,347 tons in 1967 to 79,500 tons last year.

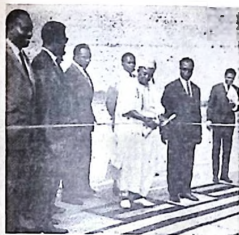
### Potash shipment

The first load of potash from Holle, 25 miles east of Pointe Noire, was shipped last month. The \$82m. Holle project, which is expected to produce potash at the rate of 500,000 tons a year, has been financed in part by the World Bank, the European Investment Bank and a consortium of French banks headed by the Banque Nationale de Paris.

● Senior expatriate staff at Consolidated African Selection Trust's diamond mine at Akwaka, Ghana, have been reduced from 139 in 1963 to 60 last year. At the same time, the number of Africans in senior positions has risen from 46 to 82, and milling capacity increased 50 per cent. These figures were given to the ninth Commonwealth Mining and Metallurgical conference which ends in London this weekend.

In another session, S. H. Bowie of the Institute of Geological Sciences, stressed the need for ensuring the availability of uranium reserves and cited Niger as one of the few places in which a substantial increase in production capacity could be foreseen.

● A concession for the exploration of diamond deposits in the western regions of Angola has been granted to a new firm linked with Diamond Distributors Inc. and United States company.



Sierra Leone's Transport and Communications Minister, Mr. Sumbu Forna, cuts the tape to mark the opening of the newly extended Lungi Airport, near Freetown. Also in the picture are the Minister of Works, Mr. Bash Tapp, the Director of Civil Aviation, Mr. R. Wright, and other Government officials. The airport has now been developed to first-class international standards and can be used as a traffic stop on major international routes.

## Aid reappraisal

A detailed reappraisal of British aid policies, country by country, and programme by programme, is urged by the Overseas Development Institute's third annual Review\* of UK development policies. It urges the British Government to take a more active and leading role in the international development effort by, for example, initiating talks on replenishment of the International Development Association (agreed in principle last year, but held up by a delay in US ratification). In its chapter on "international development policies" the Review says aid is losing support in donor countries, and has particularly suffered in the USA.

The maintenance of the gold price, and agreement on a new currency in the form of Special Drawing Rights (SDR), in 1968 show that rich countries "are prepared to take radical initiatives," says the Review, but "only . . . when their interests are threatened and they stand to benefit from a new arrangement." Among particularly "disquieting" events in 1968, it adds, was the prospect of an increase in the developing countries' debt burden as a result of the World Bank's increased high-interest lending. The Review suggests that a British initiative to increase world interest in development would arouse considerable support, the UK "might consider a variety of unilateral actions, particularly in the field of trade."

Unctad II, the British aid programme, the future of the Overseas Development Ministry (plans for the merger of this with another Government department are rejected), the debate on the principles of aid, British trade policies, and the food problem are all discussed in the Review. The chapter on the food problem suggests that it seems "fears of vast famines a decade or so from now are totally unfounded," but there might be more danger later, and "a very considerable development effort" will apparently still be needed.

\*OBI Review 3: British Development Policies, Needs and Prospects 1969; edited by James Eamle, ODI, £2s. 6d.

## Senegal's huge rice bill

Ghana's wheat imports in 19:7 rose to 52,000 tons from 49,000 tons the previous year but her rice imports dropped from 48,000 to 39,000 tons, according to the latest issue of *Grain Crops*, published by the Commonwealth Secretariat.

Because of inadequate statistics and their comparative insignificance as grain producers and consumers, West African countries do not figure prominently in the publication, which shows that following a slight set-back in world production of the main grains in 1965-66 preliminary figures for 1968-69 indicate a continuation in the trend towards increased output.

Rice imports into the Ivory Coast fell from 82,000 tons in 1966 to 39,000 tons in 1967 and in Liberia from 46,000 to 30,000 tons but in Senegal rice imports consumed 14.2 per cent of the country's total import bill, the highest percentage of any country quoted.

## Oil discovered

A statement by the French state-owned oil group ERAP-ELF, says that oil has been discovered for the first time in Congo-Brazza territorial waters. It is not known yet whether it is in commercial quantities.

## COTTON GOODS SHIPMENTS DOWN

British exports of cotton goods to West Africa in 1968 were again at a depressed level because of reduced shipments to Nigeria, which took only 1.7m. sq. yds. compared with 3.8m. sq. yds. in 1967 and 13.2m. sq. yds. in 1965. There was a small increase in shipments to Ghana: 3.5m. sq. yds. as against 3.4m. the previous year (2.3m. in 1966). Sierra Leone took 1.6m. sq. yds. compared with 1.3m. in 1967 and 2.3m. in 1966.

Ghana and West Germany have signed an agreement on a new 2,500 acre agricultural resettlement farm for 80 families at Peki in the Volta Region. The West German Government will provide technical aid to the value of 900,000 cedis in the first three years of the resettlement scheme, this will include provision of technical experts, technicians, agricultural machinery of various types, equipment and fertilisers. The Ghana government will pay salaries of Ghanaian personnel on the project and provide accommodation for the settlers. There will be 80 settlement farms of 31 acres each.

A British Pump Manufacturers Association delegation will visit Ghana next October.

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# dateline Africa

## GHANA

### Ankrah Case Dispute: Nunoo Falls

**MR. JOHN E. O. NUNOO**, Commissioner of Police and member of the NLC, was dismissed on May 5 for divulging secrets of proceedings of the Executive Council to the press, and is to be retired from the police service. This followed a news conference by him on May 3.

On May 2 the daily newspapers had carried full-page or two-page advertisements from Jeafan Ltd., the firm employing Mr. F. A. Nzeribe (who was alleged to have been implicated in the payments of money to General Ankrah). Jeafan, said the advertisement, was registered in the UK and in Ghana, and had carried out numerous projects in 19 months: a National Readership Survey (conducted, it claimed, "in conjunction with the two largest Newspaper Publishing Houses in Ghana"); market surveys on consumption of beer, cement and other products, and on the demand for others (including nine kinds of nails and pins, and fish and poultry); research into "Spiritualism and Spiritual Institutions"; an opinion poll on the return to civilian rule and other matters; feasibility studies for firms making tyres, razor blades, poultry feed, etc. It had offered management consultancy service for several other firms, and public relations services, to the British-Indian Insurance Co. and United Arab Airlines, among others. Jeafan also claimed to be administrators of the only evening paper in Ghana, the *Evening Standard*, and former proprietors of the Sunday newspaper *Echo*.

### Nzeribe Deported

The same day—May 2—the Government announced that Mr. Arthur Nzeribe's entry permit had been withdrawn, and he had been ordered to leave (he is of Eastern Nigerian family). The same statement named four politicians as recipients of money which General Ankrah—according to the former NLC Chairman's own alleged admission—received from businessmen through Mr. Nzeribe and passed straight on to politicians. Statements had been taken from all the four, the statement said, but they had all denied receiving money from General Ankrah. The same statement named two firms as having admitted making some of the alleged payments to Gen. Ankrah.

On May 3 Mr. J. E. O. Nunoo gave a news conference where he apparently contradicted the NLC statement, and said General Ankrah had mentioned only one politician. He accused Mr. Victor Owusu of mentioning certain politicians in order to discredit his (Owusu's) opponents.

[Mr. Nunoo seems to have referred to alleged statements by Mr. Owusu at the Executive Council; the former Attorney-General has not been reported as making any public statement on the politicians concerned. Mr. Owusu and Mr. Nunoo both went, with Mr. Justice Ollenu of the

Appeal Court, to see General Ankrah about the allegations of irregular payments.]

Mr. Owusu said afterwards that his legal advisers were considering legal action for defamation of character against Mr. Nunoo.

Mr. Nunoo, who is 52, became one of the four police members of the NLC on its formation. Born in Accra, he joined the police in 1939, and became Superintendent in 1959. In 1962-63 he was seconded to the Tanganyika police force; he became Commissioner of Police on Oct. 1, 1966.

(Political parties: see p. 523)

● Mr. Benjamin Bentum, TUC Secretary-General, said on May 1 that trade unionists and workers should be vigilant and avoid being used directly or indirectly for selfish political ends. This was in a May Day message, where he also said, "Our concept of freedom should be directed towards freedom from all social, political and economic ills of the human society as a whole."

● Mr. Daniel Chapman Nyaho, former senior civil servant (at one time secretary to the cabinet) and envoy to the USA and to the UN, has declared in a press statement that he is "prepared to join hands with my fellow citizens of Ghana in a united 'Third Force' to give our country the efficient and honest government that it deserves and needs".

● A few days before the lifting of the ban it was announced that police in the Northern Region would be reinforced after May 1 to ensure peace and order.

● Dr. Busia announced his resignation as head of the Centre for Civic Education on April 30 at Akim Oda. He had been chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Centre since it was created in July 1967 for public, civic and political instruction. The Government, which has expressed appreciation of Dr. Busia's work, has dissolved the Board of Trustees, and said it will reorganise the structure of the CCE. Mr. Newlove Mamallah, executive secretary of the People's Educational Association, has been appointed interim director of the Centre.

● Mr. Edmund Nee Ocansey, a former Minister, has died at the age of 55. He had been planning to form a party (the Ghana Liberal Party) a few days later. A former building contractor, he became a member of the Mambri Party, the UGCC and then, in its early days, the CPP. He bought the *Accra Evening News* for £500 at a public auction, and then handed it back to Dr. Nkrumah when it was "fitted" by the instance of opposition leaders. Later he was an M.P., a Deputy Minister of Justice and of Agriculture and, in 1965-66, Minister of Parks and Gardens.

● Traditional authorities will have control over stool lands and skin lands restored to them under a provision in the draft constitution, now adopted by the Constituent Assembly. The Constitutional Commission said chiefs had had the right to be custodians of stool lands on behalf of the people from time immemorial, until they had been deprived of it for political reasons in 1946. The Assembly, adopting the Commission's proposals on this, has agreed that stool lands should be a stool lands account to receive "all rents, dues, royalties, revenues and other payments whether in the nature of income or capital from any such stool land."



Mr. R. S. Bly (above) Speaker of the Constituent Assembly, has complained recently at the lack of attendance at the Assembly, where there has sometimes been less than the required quorum. On one occasion, after a member said some members had gone off to launch a "social party", he sent ushers to the reading room and around the corridors, but could not get the attendance above 43. After some members had blamed political activities for the poor attendance, the house adjourned.

A National House of Chiefs is to be set up under the new constitution, with appellate jurisdiction in all matters relating to chieftancy, and with the duty to advise and be charged with responsibility in such matters. It will include five chiefs from each region. This provision is a completely new one introduced into the draft constitution by the Assembly.

All freehold lands held by foreigners will automatically become leasehold when the new constitution comes into force. The Assembly, deciding this, also resolved to set up a sub-committee to work out details of the change.

Under the Charter of the draft Constitution on Finance, adopted by the Assembly, an agreement on a loan will have to be made before Parliament, which must approve the terms before the granting of it becomes effective. The Government may not raise loans on its own behalf, or for any public institution, except under the authority of an act of parliament. The Assembly agreed on an audit service board, with members appointed by the President in consultation with the Council of State. The latter commission is to have five members representing all Ghana.

Kingmakers of the Dagomba Traditional Area—whose natural ruler, the Ya Na, died recently while a dispute over his appointment was still unsettled—have said they cannot, for customary reasons, go to Sumany to appear before the tribunal enquiring into the dispute. The eldest chief of the Area appealed to the Government to move the committee—headed by Nene Azu Mate Kolo, Konor of Manya Krobo and a leading southern chief—back to Tamale.

Mr. E. T. Dauda, a former Sports Editor of the *Weekly Spectator*, told the Amisash Commission at its resumed sitting here today that between Sept. and Oct. 1967, President Nkrumah, in Conakry, asked him to carry bombs to Ghana for subversion, he was given a bag full of bombs by a Guinea army officer for the purpose but "I threw the bag together with the bombs in a river in Mali when I stopped for a few days there before coming to Ghana." The Commission, after five weeks' recess, has resumed investigating the extent, if any, of the involvement of Air-Marshal M. A. Otu, former Chief of Defence Staff, and his Aide-de-Camp, Lt. B. O. Kwapon, in alleged subversion.

Mr. Dauda said he travelled from London to Conakry, to see the ex-President.

## SIERRA LEONE

### Bangura Promoted

Cel. John Bangura, who became commander of the Sierra Leone Military Force in April 1968 after the counter-coup against the army-police régime, has been promoted Brigadier and confirmed as Force Commander. He was formerly military adviser to Sir Albert Margai, and was arrested in Feb. 1967 on suspicion of a plot, after the following month's military takeover he was released and was given a job with the Sierra Leone mission to the UN. He went to Guinea later in 1967, and was there when the coup of April 18, 1968 took place.

Lt-Col. "Joe" Mameh is the new Deputy Force Commander.

The consumer prices index in Freetown in the last quarter of 1968 was 127.7, 3.6 points down on the previous quarter, with the main falls in food and drink.

In the *Gazette* listing details of minister's responsibilities after the reshuffle three ministers, resident in provinces are described as "prime minister's representative." As Minister of the Interior, the Premier is responsible for provincial administration and chieftancy matters. He is also responsible for police and public order, and public safety.

A statement allegedly made by Mr. George Panda, one of the accused, has been tendered in evidence and read at the treason trial. Warrant Officer Emadu Rogers has been cross-examined about events of March 1967. He claimed that Major Jumu, under whom he served at the time, had told him on March 20 that the next day would be "D-Day." He also said that he had been in a company of 100 men in charge of security in Freetown during the elections, and that on March 18 Brigadier Lansana (then Force Commander) had told him to have six men and transport ready.

Another witness, Mr. R. A. James, has testified at the trial that on the night of March 21, 1967, he saw only soldiers and no policeman, and some soldiers fired shots into his house and raided it.

A British lawyer, Mr. Desmond de Silva, has been charged with unlawfully conveying a parcel to a prisoner at Pademba Road Prison. He was accused of taking two small bottles of cognac to Mr. George Panda contrary to prison regulations.

Another cyclostyled broadsheet appeared for sale in Freetown this week. This is *Freedom*, which has a marked anti-government tone.

Newspaper headlines this week alleged that the Freetown police were conducting a campaign against mini-skirts. It was reported that many girls had been taken to police stations, although all were soon released. A senior police officer was quoted as saying that the skirts in these cases were merely "frills."

Our correspondent writes: I'm glad to report that there is no campaign against mini-skirts. In the course of a drive against criminal elements, who are making Freetown a dangerous place at night, the police appear to have questioned a number of young women thought to be harbouring or assisting criminals. In most cases suspicion proved unjustified and the girls—and perhaps some policemen—assumed that their mini-skirts alone had aroused suspicion. Some girls are said to be ready to challenge the police in the courts. This is not necessary in this case. The problem of the rights of all citizens in relation to police campaigns against suspected criminals is, however, a different matter.

Troops guarded important buildings in Freetown during celebrations of the eighth anniversary of independence. There were soldiers at airports, radio stations, telephone exchanges and other points, in parts of the provinces as well as Freetown. Celebrations included a march past by more than 3,000 children, masquerade dancing, and a state reception at Parliament House.

Mr. Albert Metzger has been appointed Acting Attorney-General in succession to Mr. Oliver Shaw, who has returned to the UK.

Slow recovery is reported in rutile production by Sherbro Minerals, which has experienced technical difficulties since it began operating. Nearly 3,000 tons were mined in January.

The three main Indian farms in Freetown, Chellaram, Chaitram and Chanrai, have concluded separate agreements with union leaders on wages and conditions.

## DE GAULLE

### African Reactions

In Chad, which was the first French colony to answer de Gaulle's call in 1940, President Tobalbaye said in a message, "We have learned with emotion of your departure from the Elysée. The Chad people and Government have always seen in you a symbol of universal brotherhood, a sure guarantee of world peace, and the champion of decolonisation."

President Ahidjo of Cameroon, which was the second French African territory to rally to the Free French, recalled this fact in his message to General de Gaulle, where he also said Cameroon was "one of the first to benefit from your generous policy of decolonisation."

President Houphouët-Boigny, who had called on General de Gaulle a few days before, said, "You can rest assured,

General, that Ivory Coast will remember you as a great man, one of the great statesmen of this century. In the eyes of the Ivory Coast people you will remain the symbol for the peoples of French speaking Africa notably of progress and peace, freedom, dignity and brotherhood." President Senghor thanked General de Gaulle in the name of the people of Senegal, saying he "gave independence to Senegal through negotiation and honour without a drop of blood being shed".

President Zinsou of Dahomey said, "Today more than ever we wish to affirm that history already holds, and will certainly confirm, General de Gaulle as one of the greatest Frenchmen of all time."

In Gabon, President Bongo said, "The action of General de Gaulle has led France to play a role on the highest plane in the international scene, at the same time instituting efficient and disinterested co-operation with developing countries, such as Gabon."

The Presidents of Togo and Upper Volta both said it would not be right to comment on the results of the French referendum. President Eyadema said, "We hope that General de Gaulle's successor can control the situation and that the good relations between France and the African countries can continue as in the past." President Lamizana's comment was: "Whatever happens I am certain that the fraternal ties that exist between France and Africa will stay."

In a message to General de Gaulle, President Diara expressed, on behalf of himself and the people of Niger, "our sentiments of gratitude in the action you have undertaken and completed between emancipation of my country and co-operation founded on mutual trust, esteem and friendship."

President Bokassa of the Central African Republic, who was the last State visitor of France to be received by Gen. de Gaulle, said, "For the son of God that you are there is nothing more noble than to have served your people in honour, in greatness and in wisdom. Yes, in 1958, you were recalled by the unanimous will of the French people for national revival. Today, after you have given the maximum of yourself, as history and observed facts show today, that people has given you back your freedom. Yes, we Gaullists have our freedom restored today, after a mission carried out with in honour, in greatness and in wisdom."

"*Oui, mon Général*, the Oubangui-Chari of 1940, the Central African Republic of today, and General Bokassa, FFL\*, are and will remain with you until the end of their existence. I know it is hard, but we soldiers have a faith which nothing can dominate. Let us accept the verdict which France has just given in its elections . . . and let us wish continued peace for the French people."

Lt. Moussa Traoré, who headed the last African coup before Gen. de Gaulle's resignation and is chairman of the Military Committee for National Liberation in Mali, spoke of "the admiration and sympathy of the Mali people for the work of decolonisation carried out, and the co-operation and rapprochement started between our countries."

President Mobutu of the Congo, who recently visited France, said "I do not think the new relations established between France and the Congo can be modified by the departure of General de Gaulle, but I

think what has just happened in France is very regrettable. . . . As for the official visit to which I was due to make to France next autumn, I think in fact that everything is now in doubt again. I was invited by General de Gaulle. It will be best now to wait and see what his successor will decide on the subject."

## Guinea Satisfaction

A communique from the political bureau of the Guinea Democratic Party (PDG) has "noted with deep satisfaction and real hope the results of the referendum in which the majority of the French people disavowed the policy of General de Gaulle." Accusing de Gaulle of making all co-operation with Guinea impossible, and of plotting against the Guinean regime, it said the people of Guinea "can today only rightly rejoice at the departure of a man whose hatred for Guinea is known throughout the world." It said de Gaulle's policy in Africa was to spread neocolonialism, react violently to the least resistance, and organise coups; and he refused to pay 8,000m. Guinea francs owed to Guinea; and it offered to France "frank and loyal co-operation based on moral and political values which will foster mutual understanding and friendship between the two peoples on the basis of equality and reciprocity."

President Tsiranana of Madagascar expressed "deep emotion" at the departure of General de Gaulle. There was said to be sadness in Tunisia and, in Algeria, some concern at future relations with France.

\* *Forces Françaises Libres*

## GUINEA

A report in *Le Monde* of a new wave of arrests in Conakry names Barry Diawandou (a former Guinean deputy in the French National Assembly), Accar Hajib, former Health Minister, and Seydou Conté, former Education Minister, among those arrested.

In a speech on May Day (celebrated in Guinea under the special title of "Defence of the Revolution"), President Sekou Touré confirmed that ministers, professional men and army officers were among those arrested: "they thought they could murder the present regime, usurp commanding positions, and with the help of foreign capitalists pressure our people. They were wrong, as de Gaulle was wrong in trying to disorganise the revolution . . . and upset the economic balance. Today the Guinean revolution is on its feet and it is de Gaulle who has gone." De Gaulle had acted, said the President, through mercenaries and puppets in Senegal, Mali and Ivory Coast. Some had also been hidden in villages in Sierra Leone and Liberia. He singled out President Houphouët-Boigny for especial attack: "he is always wrong, and will soon get the punishment he deserves."

The National Council of the Revolution would soon meet to discuss the degree of involvement of those apprehended, and the necessary steps to uncover "accomplices and agents still in our ranks."

## MALI

Jean-Paul Sartre, Simone de Beauvoir and Aimé Césaire are among left-wing personalities in Paris who have made an appeal on behalf of ex-President Modibo Keita, overthrown last November. He and his leading collaborators (who include such well-known figures as Ousmane Ba, Seydou Badian Kouyate and Madeira Keita)

"should be free to communicate with their lawyers, know what they are accused of and should be able to freely defend themselves. International opinion should be alerted to the fate and future of these men, who tried to lead their country out of underdevelopment through socialism."

● Conakry radio has condemned an AFP report that Lt. Traoré (Mali head of state) and President Senghor had discussed differences between Guinea and Mali and that Mali has also asked Mauritania to use its good offices. The radio pointed out that Guinea maintained an embassy in Bamako, and agreements between the two countries, on trade, banking and transport, remained valid and were being implemented. Air Mali and Air Guinea still operated between Bamako and Conakry. "It is imperialism's policy to create confusion and division where they do not exist. What differences could exist between Moussa Traoré and Ahmed Sekou Touré? A problem certainly exists but it is principally a Malian problem. It is the problem of the Mali Military Committee and President Modibo Keita's government, but it concerns the Mali people alone"; it was not for AFP to propose a mediator.

● A new Israeli ambassador to Mali, Mr. Meir Shamir, presenting his credentials to Lt. Moussa Traoré, stressed the importance of "this new sign of the rekindling of the bonds of friendship."

## UPPER VOLTA

Military missions have been travelling in all areas, explaining why the government has decided to allow a resumption of political activity in the last quarter of 1969, well before the planned date for final withdrawal of army rule (still envisaged for the end of 1970). The aim is to allow the organisation of political movements "without electoral fever". A message from President Lamizana, which the missions have been reading at country-wide meetings says "everyone must agree that electoral chiefs are no longer of our time. This is why we are inviting all citizens not to systematically return such and such a politician for tribalist or regional reasons."

● The trial of M. Yameogo has been continuing *in camera* in Ouagadougou. On trial with him is his former Directeur de Cabinet, M. André Compaoré. Informed sources have indicated that the funds he is alleged to have embezzled were from the former UAM, and the Council Entente, for aid to Upper Volta (one of Africa's poorest countries) but had been used for the building of a party headquarters in the Voltaic capital.

## CHAD

### Tombalbaye's Term Ends

President Tombalbaye's term of office ended on April 22, without any elections for a new President being held. The day before, he said in a broadcast that within 60 days legal measures would be taken under the constitution to ensure the regular functioning of the country's institutions. He expressed thanks to peasants, workers, civil servants, and others for their support during his seven-year term of office.

The political bureau of Chad's only party, the Chad Progressive Party (PPT), has called on M. Tombalbaye to serve at present for another seven years. He said he would think

the matter over and announce his decision after his return to Fort Lamy from the provinces.

The President of Chad is elected by an electoral college sitting between 10 and 40 days of a vacancy occurring. Ten per cent of the College consists of National Assembly members (the legal term of the National Assembly ran out last month without any new elections being held).



Tombalbaye—seven years up.

Earlier, the Government had decided to appoint two inspectors of general administration, to increase efficiency among civil servants. The President called on members of the Government not to tolerate breaches of rules by civil servants any longer.

● Two senior French civil servants have been placed at the disposal of the Chad Government, to present a report on the conditions for the administrative reform announced by President Tombalbaye in January. M. Tombalbaye said that General de Gaulle (then president) had insisted that the financial expenses on their mission should be borne entirely by France.

One of the civil servants is M. Pierre Lami, a former colonial administrator who began his career in Chad, and later became Governor of Ivory Coast and of Senegal where he was at the time of independence.

The other is Brig-Gen. Michel Amié, a marines officer who spent most of his career in the French empire, being posted to Chad in 1938 and serving with Lictor forces on their march from Chad to Libya; later he commanded the Larges post in Chad in the 1950s.

## TOGO

The celebrations of the ninth anniversary of the independence of Togo on April 27 included the laying of the foundation stones of the Entente Village in Lomé, which was agreed at the May, 1968, summit of the Council of the Entente in the Togolese capital. The 250m. CFA franc village, whose construction is being assisted by the Entente's Aid and Guarantee Fund, is similar to Entente flats, complexes and blocks which already exist in Ouagadougou, Abidjan, Niamey and Cotonou (those in Cotonou have not been used since the fall of M. Maga in 1963, nor those in Ouagadougou since the fall of M. Yameogo in 1966).

The ceremony for the twinning of Lomé and Calais, scheduled for April 27, had to be postponed, because the Mayor of Calais, M. Jacques Vendroux, who is Mme de Gaulle's brother, was unable to attend owing to the circumstances in France.

## dateline Africa

### NIGERIA

#### Plans to Retake Owerri

**SUPREME** Headquarters in Lagos announced last week that secret plans have been drawn up to recapture Owerri, lost three weeks ago to the Biafrans. General Gowon also sent a message to the 16th Brigade "for holding out in such difficult conditions in Owerri" and evacuating POWs and refugees with them.

In an interview near Ahoada with Sam Amuka of the *Daily Times* of Lagos, Lt-Col Utuk, the commander of the 16th Brigade (3rd Marine Commando), said that reports that the rebels had captured 75 per cent of federal supplies were exaggerated. They had captured some, because each time they were dropped from the air (anywhere in the town), "we had to fight for them with the rebels... but you can imagine the state of the ammunition after they fell from the plane." Asked whether supplies were morning, he said "Good Lord, you must be joking! If we had supplies regularly, every week, say, we'd still be in Owerri today." He also claimed that the refugees who had stayed in Owerri spied on the federal troops, and that the rebels had shelled Owerri when federal troops were in church on a Sunday morning.

Biafran claims to have killed 1,000 federal troops in the battle for Owerri have been denied in Lagos. Army sources said that federal troops held positions 10 miles southwest of Owerri on the main Port Harcourt road, and 20 miles to the west of the town, blocking access to the Niger delta. The nearest Biafran position to Port Harcourt was 40 miles away. Col. Ojukwu, speaking in Owerri, claimed to hold villages 15, 20 and 25 miles south and west of Owerri. Reporters visiting Owerri from the Biafran side said it seemed as if shortage of food and water had been the main cause of the federal withdrawal. Some 70 per cent of the buildings in the town had been destroyed or damaged including the market, the post office and the Progress hotel. Relief teams had already entered Owerri and civilians were beginning to return; officials were inspecting buildings with a view to possibly establishing offices.

Col Ojukwu also claimed that fierce fighting was going on in parts of Umuahia, but foreign correspondents told there this week confirmed that Umuahia itself was securely in federal hands, although Biafrans were shelling the town from positions one mile outside.

The federal government has also denied the Biafra claim to have captured Aboh, on the Niger, but reporters in the Midwest say military sources told them that there had been a serious attack on Aboh, and although Aboh town had been recaptured, the Biafrans still held Aboh waterfront, and several neighbouring villages. The infiltrators were said to be Midwest I-bos of the 6th and 54th battalions under Lt-Col. Nzeffili. Reports from Benin indicate an influx of refugees from the disturbed areas.

● The Biafran Consultative Assembly met in Owerri on May 1. Col. Ojukwu, in an address, called for a cease-fire, and

suggested that both sides be allowed to keep to their positions before talks began; the Biafrans would not expect Gen. Gowon to give up the aim of united Nigeria or accept "the fact of our sovereignty" before talks, and the Biafrans should not be expected to recant their position—that "Biafra is sovereign and no longer part of Nigeria"—before a conference. There was no report of any positive Federal reaction to this proposal, which was thought in Lagos to have nothing new. One official was quoted as saying it was "another propaganda effort," and others restated the Federal insistence that a cease-fire must result from talks. Later a Biafran official was quoted as saying the only new suggestion made by Col. Ojukwu was for a meeting of "friends" nominated by both sides, perhaps under the chairmanship of Emperor Haile Selassie.

Col. Ojukwu was promoted general by a decision of the Assembly, but it was reported he would decline the promotion.

● The Supreme Military Council has been meeting in Lagos this week, to approve the budget for the 1969-70 financial year, and review progress in the war.

#### Arikpo in France

Dr Okoi Arikpo, Nigeria's Commissioner for External Affairs, has been in Paris for talks with French Foreign Minister Michel Debré. On his arrival he had said French-Nigerian relations should be discussed very frankly, and he would "see whether there are some areas which can be reviewed."

French sources following the meeting said that M. Debré had recalled the position of support for Biafra by the French government under de Gaulle, and said it was difficult to imagine that peace could be reached without direct negotiations between the two sides, and had expressed surprise that no African state which had recognised Biafra had been present at the Monrovia meeting. He is understood to have admitted to Dr. Arikpo that arms (mainly US and Czech) were going to Biafra from France, but that they were smuggled and the French government was powerless to stop them. M. Debré still indicated that France would prefer a vaguely "confederal" solution, but Dr. Arikpo is reported to have detected nuances from his talks, suggesting a changed attitude.

A correspondent writes: Dr. Arikpo must have been particularly satisfied at being in Paris on the day of the replacement of M. Foccart (see page 530), who reputedly organised the arms airlift to Biafra, using the arms stocks of third parties, Gabon and Ivory Coast, which were then replaced by the French. The meeting, the first ministerial contact between Nigerians and French since President de Gaulle announced his support for self-determination for Biafra last summer, had been arranged for some time, but it came at a suitably appropriate time to test the temperature of the water of *après-Gaullisme*. With an interim President the situation is still fluid, and no major policy change can be expected until June, but there have already been signs, from February onward, that French support for Biafra has been growing lukewarm. French commercial interests in Nigeria have been making their voice heard and French public opinion now seems a little less passionate. With de Gaulle and Foccart gone, the Quai D'Orsay, which has always been

more sympathetic to Nigeria, should have more voice.

● Sir Louis Mbanefo, Chief Justice of Biafra, has visited Ghana in his capacity as Chancellor of the West African province of the Anglican church, and chairman of the Church's House of Laity, to attend the provincial synod meeting of the Anglican Church in Takoradi.

● Dr. Clarence Ferguson, co-ordinator for Nigerian war relief, has said that he hopes African nations will make a bigger effort to provide aid for war victims. He said one problem was lack of resources in African countries, while some countries in the area were unwilling or unable to separate relief efforts from the political aspects of the war.

● The Federal Commissioner for Works and Housing, Mr. Femi Okunnu, has warned of the dangers of depending on foreign aid for the reconstruction programme. He said the final figure needed for overall reconstruction in Nigeria was about £300m., of this about £100m. would be spent on war-affected areas.

● The Red Cross has cut its relief flights from Fernando Po to Biafran territory because of a fuel shortage, but its airlift from Dahomey, and the Churches' airlift from São Tomé are uncut. On one night last week there was a record total of 40 landings by relief aircraft. A fire at petrol storage tanks in São Tomé is said to have had no serious effect on the flights. Mgr. Karl Bayer, secretary-general of Caritas, has said the agency cannot carry on its relief airlift indefinitely; each night's flights cost as much as a half hospital.

● About half a million more refugees have been created by the fighting which led to the fall of Umuahia. Mgr. Jean Rodhain, President of Caritas International (who recently visited Biafra), has estimated. He said 470 relief centres, manned by Catholic and Protestant missionaries, were now working in secessionist territory.

The displacement of large numbers of people in the Umuahia area has undone a great deal of work done by the Red Cross in tracing Biafran refugees for relatives and friends outside Biafran territory. The Red Cross has been performing this service extensively in the Nigerian war, as in other wars.

● Prof. E. B. Ndem, Biafran Commissioner for Agriculture, has said his country's survival of the Federal blockade is due to the peasants and officials in charge of agricultural production. He also declared: "The arbitrary division of Africa by the colonial powers ignored the most elementary rights of the people."

#### The War and the World

Nigerian press and radio reports have claimed that a box sent to the rebels by the Swedish Red Cross from Equatorial Guinea, apparently containing relief materials, was discovered by Federal forces who found it to contain very high explosives with detonating equipment. The box, they claim, was found at Utum after men of the First Division had captured the town. Lagos radio said this was "another clear evidence that some of the international relief agencies operating in Nigeria are giving military assistance to the rebels." (This is a frequent Nigerian allegation.)

The Swedish Embassy in Lagos says it

## NIGERIA—continued

has investigated the reports and is satisfied they are incorrect; the box contained a hydrogen generator which was to be used to produce gas for weather balloons, and it was to be used by the meteorological services at Obilagu airstrip when (as was proposed last year) the airstrip was to be used exclusively for relief supplies to Biafran territory.

● Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden have decided to increase grants for humanitarian aid to Biafra rather than endangering food deliveries by raising the war in the United Nations. Their foreign Ministers have set up a committee to study the situation.

● Eighty-three leading Scandinavian scientists and scholars, including Nobel prize-winners, have appealed to the UK to stop providing support for Nigerian military action.

● An attempt by an ad hoc "Biafra Action Committee" to stop London dockers from loading arms destined for Federal Nigeria failed when demonstrators found police blocking the entrances to the docks at Tilbury.

## News from the States

● At least four people were killed, including a traditional chief, in an anti-tax riot at the town of Ila-Orangun, 90 miles North-East of Ibadan, last Monday. The riot began when local people refused to meet official demands for payment of tax and rates, following the Governor's speech

making concessions on tax last month. Several people were injured, including three policemen, and the local police station and Oba's palace were burnt down. The town returned to calm after police reinforcements arrived from nearby Oshogbo.

● Brig. Adebayo has warned the public, especially former politicians, of the unpleasant consequences of involving themselves in political activities in defiance of the existing ban on politics. He said that in the recent past some former politicians had hidden under the cloak of certain Ibadan-based local newspapers to engage in sterile political discussions and agitations; they had consciously or unconsciously opened the old political wounds and divisions.

● "This is era of reconstruction. No politics," said a front-page *Daily Sketch* slogan, followed next day by another: "We must learn to love our political opponents."

● Alhaji Usman Sarki has abdicated as Etsu Nupé of Bida. No reason was given. Shortly beforehand there had been revived demands for his removal from office, and meetings in Sokoto of the North-West State's executive council and chiefs council were said to have considered the report of the inquiry appointed by the state governor last year and submitted early last month. Last October, people of Bida Emirate demonstrated against the Etsu on his return from the installation of the new Shehu of Bornu, and this made him go into exile. The government of the North-Western State then instituted its inquiry.

● Kano State now has its own separate and autonomous judiciary, following the decision to split the Northern States Judiciary into six, one for each of the

northern states. The upper area courts take over the functions of the former provincial courts while the principal area courts take over those of the Chief Alkalis' courts.

● Ibadan was without water for three days when the 4,000 members of the Western State Water Workers Union went on strike for better conditions.

● More than 500 employers have applied to offer jobs to Ibois through the Midland Rehabilitation and Reconstruction committee in the last two months.

● Mr H. E. Duke has been promoted to the post of Chairman of the Board of Customs and Excise with effect from September 15, 1968. He succeeds Mr Ayodele Diyan who died in a motor accident last year.

● A five-minute anti-aircraft gun practice has been held in Benin.

## LONDON



At a reception at the Sierra Leone Bicommunity to mark the eighth anniversary of independence the High Commissioner (Lt.-Col. Ambrose Gendo) is talking to the Nigerian High Commissioner, Bro. Ogundipe, and the Commonwealth Secretary General, Mr. Arnold Smith (right).

## LUSAKA

A meeting of parliamentarians of 18 African Commonwealth countries in Lusaka has condemned "military coups and fomented machinations in Africa." The first African Regional Conference of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association was attended by representatives of Sierra Leone, Uganda, Tanzania, Botswana, Zambia and Mauritania. The resolution on coups expressed faith in constitutional government and called for resistance to subversion; it followed an attack led by Sierra Leonean and Ugandan representatives against the overthrow of constitutional governments. The conference called on Great Britain to take immediate steps to end the Rhodesian UDI; its chairman (Mr Wesley Nyirenda, Zambian Minister of Education) said it would be left to the UK to decide how to do this.

Another resolution said Commonwealth African countries should be urged to consider the exchange of professional personnel to teach languages such as French. Economic co-operation and communications were also discussed (Mr Nyirenda said the communications problem was shown by the fact that Sierra Leone's delegation took four days to reach Lusaka; they would have done better to go to London and take a VC10, he said).

The Gambia was not represented at the Lusaka meeting.



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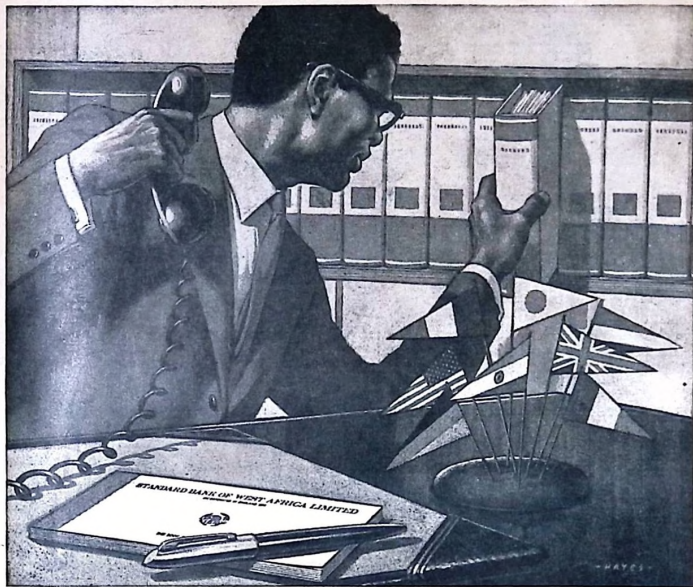
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