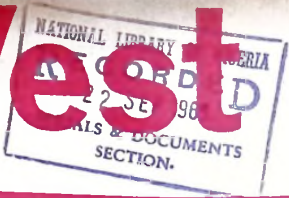


# West Africa



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## Clearing Nigeria's Air

**M**ISUNDERSTANDING of remarks made by General Gowon on his return to Lagos from the OAU conference has led many eagerly to grasp the possibility of immediate Nigeria-Biafra talks "without conditions". The Federal Government, it is true, now says that it is imposing no conditions itself for talks with Biafra. It considers itself bound, however, as the Biafrans should be, by the resolution on the conflict supported this month by all members of the OAU except five; and these did not oppose it but abstained.

The resolution, drawn up after the most patient consultation, asked the two parties to accept immediately "the suspension of hostilities and the opening of negotiations intended to preserve the unity of Nigeria...". The word "intended" was carefully chosen since it does not ask the Biafrans immediately to renounce secession but only to join in talks which could produce the outcome which not only Federal Nigeria but the vast majority of OAU members feel essential for Nigeria and for the peace of the continent as a whole. But from the Biafran point of view even that imposes a condition.

So the Biafran reaction has been to denounce the OAU, while spokesmen of the countries which abstained from voting at the OAU have since been more outspoken in their opposition to Nigeria than they were at Addis Ababa. The prospect of negotiations remains unlikely so long as Col. Ojukwu and his colleagues insist that the only possible future for the tiny area which they now hold is independence, and that talks can only be held on that basis.

A long period of virtual stalemate has convinced the Biafrans and their friends that the federation can no longer win a military victory and that continued resistance will in the end ensure independence. This view is sincerely held, but its supporters ignore certain factors which would make such independence unreal and impermanent. This tiny land-locked enclave, whatever nominal independence it might briefly enjoy, would be totally unviable; if independent it would require as much

assistance from the outside world as it does now.

Yet the Biafran leaders appear even now to ignore the reality of their situation. They remain determined, whatever the resulting sufferings for their people, not to appear dependent to the slightest degree on a Federal goodwill whose possibility they deny. The Federal Government has agreed, as we in common with many others had hoped, that daylight flights can now go into Biafra from the neutral airport of Cotonou after inspection of cargoes by Nigerian and other observers. This is the answer to the Biafran fear that if flights originated in Federal territory the food might be contaminated. The Federal Government retains the right to "call down" for further inspection any relief aircraft flying over Federal territory from Cotonou, as all must do. This is an elementary right for any nation and we are certain that it would be used sparingly. No doubt Colonel Ojukwu would refuse to accept an aircraft that had been thus inspected in Lagos. For that refusal he would have to answer to his own people, and to those who labour for Biafra abroad.

In fact, however, it seems unlikely that this system will ever be put to the test, for Col. Ojukwu declines to accept daylight flights of the kind now agreed. His argument is that the Federal Government would use the opportunity afforded by the suspension of anti-aircraft precautions, to accommodate relief aircraft, to send in aircraft to attack Uli. He insists, therefore, that relief must come only at night.

It is in this way that relief aircraft provide a cover for arms carriers. There is no doubt, therefore, that if the arrangement now proposed for daylight flights worked in the case of the Red Cross the Federal Government would ask all other relief agencies to follow. Then there could be no doubt that any aircraft attempting to fly into Uli at night was carrying military or other non-relief stores and would be a legitimate target. To that extent daylight flights do offer the Federal forces, and night flights the Biafran forces, a mili-



## AZIKIWE A Tour of the States

## GHANA Election post-mortem

## FREETOWN Will Siaka recognise Biafra?

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lary advantage. But we are confident that the Federal Government, would not bother to make an agreement so helpful to the rebels unless it was concerned with world opinion anxious to relieve Biafran suffering. It would not use the daylight flights that it reserves to military advantage. Ojukwu alone must now be considered responsible for the failure of Red Cross supplies to reach his people.

## Ghana's return to democracy

IN spite of the swearing-in not only of the Prime Minister but also of the Ministers and Parliamentary Secretaries, Ghana's National Liberation Council will still not hand over power formally to the civilian regime until September 30. But the civilian commissioners have begun to hand over to their material successors and shortly the Regional Chairmen, at present all soldiers and policemen, will be handing over to civilian regional administrators. It is also reported that President Nkrumah's great country palace on the hills outside Accra, Peduase Lodge, will be the presidential palace and offices while the Castle, the former Christiansborg residence of the British Governors, which Dr. Nkrumah moved before transferring his offices to Flagstaff House to be the residence and offices of the Prime Minister. In the meantime, Busia is using State House as an office.

In a sense during this brief transitional period Ghana has three governments: the Presidential Commission, which under the constitution, is supposed to exercise executive authority when there is no government in office; the National Liberation Council with its civilian commissioners; and Dr. Busia, who was formally given the powers of Prime Minister when he was sworn in by the Presidential Commission, with his Ministers. But the most serious problem which has faced the Ghana government since the elections, the disturbances at Yendi, has been dealt with under NLC authority.

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The disturbances concerned the appointment of the Ya-Na, Paramount Chief of the Dalbon state; but this became mixed up with party politics although the parties themselves did not welcome it. All now seems settled.

The other great problem, the position of Mr. Gbedemah, who formally took his place as leader of the opposition, is now the subject of complicated litigation, which is most unlikely to have been concluded when Dr. Busia finally takes over.

## MATCHET'S DIARY

Lagos

JUST before he left for Ilorin on the last lap of his countrywide tour I found Dr. Azikiwe positively bouncing with energy. The applause given him in every state capital, he had visited, including Enugu itself, had revived and rejuvenated him. After a week of travel and talk he was ready for another week of the same treatment. But what is the real consequence of his coming over to the Federal side? It has certainly done Federal morale some good—which it needed. I was assured on good authority that at the OAU meeting at Addis Ababa it had made an impression

a popular political figure in the Federation where anti-Ibo feeling is never far below the surface. Zik has been very courageous throughout his tour of the Federation and in Lagos I saw him on a platform with a spotlight making him the perfect target for any marksman. But it never occurred to him or to anybody else that he was in danger. In the end the most interesting consequence of his adherence to the Federal cause may be the strengthening of the by-no-means powerful feeling on the Federal side that all Nigerians are, indeed, one.

In Benin the war feels closer than in any other state capital, and not only because of Count Von Rosen's air attacks, and the Federal anti-aircraft fire. It is impossible for ordinary citizens to know exactly what military operations are going on in their state but everybody knows that there is considerable fighting in the Ibo areas. Yet two of the state's civilian commissioners are Ibos, as are a number of senior officials in Benin. It is lower down the scale that the Ibos are still missing, and in this state much of the manual work, such as rubber tapping, was long left to the Ibos. The energetic governor, Col. Ogbemudia, does his best to maintain business as usual in Ibo areas where, for example, earlier this month it

is also Africa's major rubber producing area, but the industry urgently needs rehabilitation. No state has such timber resources, although illegal felling is a serious problem. The armed banditry which is now a feature of most of Nigeria's big towns is probably more serious in Warri, the oil capital, than anywhere else in Nigeria. Altogether this is the Federation in microcosm, with all its prospects and problems.

Many of the Ibos who have returned to Kano have returned from the Mid-West. One of them told me that he now felt safer in Kano than in his home area. Kano's Sabon Gari, the strangers' quarter, is altogether different from the silent town it became after the massacres of October 1966. Many Southerners, particularly Yorubas, have returned, but there are also large communities of Eikis, Urhobo, and others. Of Ibos, however, there are still few. The Ibo traders in the past mostly served their own people, and these mostly worked for government or local authority departments, or for big firms. Although the local authority does now employ Ibos the firms appear less anxious—at any rate unless they change their names. There are, of course, the "assimilated" Ibos, Muslim in religion and Hausa in dress, who never left. But they are not in the Sabon Gari.



Reassuring the few in Kano . . .

on President Nyerere. It probably had little effect inside Biafra, although the constant attacks on him by the radio show that the Biafran leaders are not as indifferent to the event as they pretend. In Kano I found that the small number of Ibos who have returned were greatly reassured by his visit and by the way in which those in authority in the State and Emirate received him. On the other hand Ibos I talked to there wondered whether their fellow countrymen, inside or outside Biafra, would be any less fearful of returning to Kano because Zik had been well received. In Benin I was told, sadly, that not even the presence of Zik in the state capital could be much reassurance to the Mid-West Ibos, whose territory is now so largely a war zone and who seem likely in the end to be the war's major sufferers. But perhaps the most important consequence is that, for a time at any rate, an Ibo should be such

was found possible to launch a £3m. appeal for supply of electricity to Boji Boji. Ibo chiefs like the Obi of Agbor constantly show their attachment to the Federal cause, but non-Ibos in the state inevitably wonder just where the loyalty of the mass of Western Ibos lies. For the future of Nigeria the relations between Ibos and non-Ibos of this state are crucial. For this is the only state where there is a recognisable Ibo area as opposed to Ibo immigrants. Somehow, unless Nigeria is to founder into a welter of mini-states, the Ibos and non-Ibos of this state must live together.

As Nigeria's premier oil state, the Mid-West also illustrates the Federation's potential. For example, in the current year its estimated revenue is up over 50 per cent because of oil, yet one of the most important roads, that from Sapele to Warri, has in parts ceased to exist because of poor maintenance. This

For Ibos the great hope lies in the economic boom which the end of the war should bring. Not only should there be resources for rehabilitation but there should also be demand for skill and hard work of all kinds. The recent tightening up of import restrictions and the unsatisfactory administration of them makes it difficult for some expatriates to keep untarnished their faith in Nigeria's economic future. But in his office in the Central Bank, Dr. Clement Isong, the Governor, assured me that Nigeria was now climbing out of the trough, so far as external payments were concerned. Oil revenues, even allowing for setbacks this year, would continue to climb and foreign exchange earnings of cocoa and groundnuts would make the picture by the end of the year far more favourable than the present one. I gather that Nigeria's short-term liabilities in foreign exchange are not covered by the actual reserves of some £41m., although they are all expected to be met within 90 days of their acceptance. The problem is that the government insists on paying cash for all military supplies—which will be a great help when the war is over but imposes an enormous strain now. Nor is the government prepared to go, as it is entitled, to the International Monetary Fund for a "drawing", though Nigeria's entitlement is far less than some people suppose. But that refusal, too, will be a great help after the war. Nigeria then will have a very heavy internal debt, but, for a country that has been through a war, a remarkably small external one.



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## A MONTH IN THE COUNTRY—6:

## Saviours with (and without) a sword

Professor Dennis Austin, concluding his series of articles on Ghana politics, examines the prospects after the general election.

ALL the party argument in the world cannot alter the fact that the authors of the new Ghana revolution are the soldiers and the police. Busia and Gbedemah, Progress and NAL, ordinary citizens and friendly observers, have all paid their respects to the memory of Kotoka and have praised his fellow conspirators. Quite rightly so. And if the new Progress government can agree to govern in conjunction with a "troika presidency" for a further limited period after the formal dissolution of the NLC on October 1, all may be well. It may help to ease the old government out, and ease the new one in. One almost forgets now, in the excitement of the election, that it has been the NLC which has governed Ghana for over three-and-a-half years, although it was impossible not to be aware of its existence during the pre-election period as an armed shadow over the party battleground; and the disturbances at Yendi point to the need for a good, careful relationship between soldiers and politicians under the new civilian government.

One is beginning to forget, too, how rough a passage the NLC has had since 1966: Kotoka killed, Ankrah removed, the Otu affair, rumours and counter rumours of rivalries within the NLC, financial embarrassment, international problems of recognition, international problems of indebtedness. Many of the NLC members must have complained that when troubles come, they come not single spies but in battalions. And in 1967-69 it began to look almost like a copy book exercise in the "politicisation" of the armed forces: the army turns out the politicians who have their revenge when politics begins to infiltrate the army. Nor could the NLC be sure who their civilian successors be if an election were held. So much greater should the tribute be to Afrifa, Harlley, Ocran, Deku and Yakubu—let me spell them out in prose—in their dogged pursuit of a return to civilian rule. True, the army still has to disengage fully, and it still remains to be seen whether it can remain wholly detached from politics once it has disengaged. But perhaps something new can come out of Africa?

Turn now to the new Saviours without a sword. And already one or two distinctive features of Dr. Busia's govern-

ment are worth noting. For example, it is not at all ideological. That much at least Progress has in common with the National Alliance of Liberals. Neither of the party manifestoes laid claim to a "ism" philosophy of government; and "Socialism" is not merely out of favour, it is held almost in abhorrence, an unexpected achievement of the former Nkrumah regime, far removed from its founder's intentions! Such is the fate of the purveyor of second-hand ideas: the market turns against them—for a time—and what was once in vogue is now despised. The prevailing sentiment in Ghana when I talked to both parties was rather like that satirised in Brecht's *Threepenny Opera*: "Eats not Morals," and a quotation from an earlier play by that difficult playwright seemed to me an apt comment on the mood of the electorate at the end of the Nkrumah period: "Do you think I am going to rot in the gutter so that what you call the Idea can keep on the up and up? What's the matter with you: drunk?" Nor were such sentiments restricted to the older generation. Shortly after I left Ghana, I received a charming letter from a young Ghanaian whose father I had met, quite casually, at the Liberation Circle<sup>2</sup> near Barclays Bank in Accra. After saying how much he wanted to study in Manchester, he mentioned—in passing—the forthcoming election.

"The contest", he said, "is now between Progress Party which is led by Professor K. A. Busia an eminent and internationally-known Ghanaian and the National Alliance of Liberals led by Mr. K. A. Gbedemah . . . who helped the ousted President Dr. Kwame Nkrumah to dupe Ghana and turn Ghana into a Socialist state, a form of government which Ghanaians despise. The party which is going to win, surely sure, and I assure you, Sir, with an overwhelming victory, is the Progress Party. Thank you!"

The letter was written one week before the election, and was a great deal more accurate than forecasts by migrant editors and visiting professors. Alas! And perhaps the letter would not be worth quoting but for the fact that the writer was youthful enough to have been a Young Pioneer under the CPP on whom, presumably, the daily chanted slogans and weekly catechisms of Nkrumahism was so much water off a duck's back.

Progress is an empirical government, therefore, of intelligent, skilful, honest,

<sup>2</sup> Formerly "Kwame Nkrumah Circle" and, for a brief hilarious 24 hours in March 1957, "Kwame Nkrumah Circus", spelled out in neon lights, a mistake of the sign-writers which was quickly put right.

men including old campaigners like Willie Ofori Atta, the only one of the Big Six of 1948 to survive into high office. How the UGCC would have rejoiced! Its proper heritage gained at last . . .

Will the new cabinet work well? In one respect at least it may be better placed than the former CPP government. With members like J. H. Mensah and Richard Quarshie, it ought to be able to work easily and intelligently with the administration—a useful combination rarely achieved in the newly independent states where the party apparatus of power is often at odds with the administrative structure of planning and control. And its relations with the electorate? It is bound to move some way down from its present position: a fate suffered in turn by the colonial government, the CPP and NLC, and—surely sure—Progress Party. One quotation alone from J. H. Mensah's Budget Speech of 15 July 1969 (when he was still Commissioner responsible for Finance) is enough to make one cautious about what can and cannot be done in Ghana by any government in 1969-70. "The modest increase in the volume of economic transactions in Ghana in 1968 was not accompanied by an improvement in the employment situation." Expectation sits high in Ghana at this time, as in 1951: but the economy of the country in the 1970s is likely to be very different, and much worse, than in the boom years of the fifties. So discontent will grow and look for new outlets.

I have no wish to be misunderstood. Progress is in with a thumping majority, and it can easily afford to lose a number of supporters. It ought to be in power for a very long time. But Progress is also in the familiar position of a "dominant party," like the Indian Congress Party some time back, in which loyalties are easily lost—and sometimes regained—because of the great size of its majority. The need for discipline is hard to stress in such situations, when the Opposition looks so small. Rival groups begin to form among the large party following, in and out of Parliament; there is a great deal of pushing and shoving at the bottom, and not much room at the top for new talent. A firm hand and a cool head are needed. And the right degree of control is most easily exercised when the leader brings with him additional gifts and qualities over and above his electoral triumph. Perhaps Busia can summon these gifts to his command: but the new cabinet may not be very responsive to the kind of leadership which is needed precisely because of the vigour and independence of mind of his colleagues—Victor Owusu, Willie Ofori Atta, R. Amponsah, Rich Quarshie, Kwesi Lamptey and others in the cabinet, B. J. da Rocha, Maxwell Owusu, and others in the party. In this respect Gbedemah—and Joe Appiah—may be far more useful to Progress present and active in Parliament than muffled and excluded from party life.

But if Progress is in for a very long

<sup>1</sup> Not admitted by the NLC of course: "the coup was planned in Kumasi by Colonel Kotoka, Mr. Harlley and myself. But Colonel Kotoka and Mr. Harlley are not Ashantis. The Ashanti and the Ewe, their tribes, are, however, traditional allies." A. A. Afrifa "The Ghana Coup" (Frank Cass, 1968). A somewhat sad comment in the event of the recent election.



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time, then it follows that NAL and other opponents may be in for a very long wait in isolation from power. Can the somewhat ragged group of NAL, PAP and UNP, plus P. K. K. Quaidoo and Harry Sawyer, work together in opposition? The Ewe-speaking members of NAL are likely to cohere (although efforts may be made by Progress to woo one or two away from the Alliance) but it is difficult to see what the northerners, Nzimas, and Ewe have in common apart from their exclusion from office. We are in back for the present almost to a *de facto* one-party state and a dissident regional opposition which, sour and resentful over its defeat, might be tempted either into a permanent boycott or into still more dangerous courses of action over the border. Both Lomé and Accra must want to avoid that kind of situation, and the only answer lies in a sensitive, sensible policy of co-operation between Progress and NAL. Dr. Busia and Mr. Gbedemah (it is said) once worked amicably together in the past in exile against the first Republic, and their present task must surely be to agree to co-operate as government and opposition within the democratic framework of the second republic.



### Spinoia and the PAIGC

If anyone were disposed to doubt the successes of the liberation struggle of the PAIGC in the Portuguese "oversea territory" of Guinea-Bissau, sandwiched between Senegal and Guinea, recent Portuguese manoeuvres should persuade them differently. After Governor-General Arnaldo Schultz, who tried the "iron hand" for five years, and failed, Governor-General Spinoia has switched to the "velvet glove". So much seems clear from the extraordinary events of August. They are well worth a glance.

Spinoia took the occasion of the anniversary on August 3 of the Portuguese massacre of some fifty Bissau dockers, in 1956, to make "a gesture of reconciliation". It was, he said in a speech in Bissau, "a date when tragic events occurred that we ought to forget. And forth from their prisons in Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands he then produced no fewer than ninety-two political prisoners, including Rafael Barbosa, president of the PAIGC, who thereupon, standing amongst his guards, proceeded to say his *mea culpa*. One may note that Barbosa had been arrested in 1962, before the liberation war began, had held no military command of any sort, is a man of elementary schooling who has never been outside the colony, and, moreover, has been in close imprisonment, often in solitary, ever since. None of this prevented Spinoia from claiming him as the "true leader" of the PAIGC, the "friend" of President Senghor, and, to boot, a member of the executive committee of the International Organisation of Journalists. Whereupon the Lisbon correspondent of *The Times*, taking up the song, hastened to present him as more important than Amílcar Cabral. Anyone who believes that, as the Duke of Wellington said on a famous occasion, will believe anything.

Having thus liberated, at any rate from prison, 92 "politicals" whose actual presence in gaol or concentration camp the Portuguese authorities had never pre-



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### President Angie

Angie Brooks has been a well-known figure at the United Nations for some years now, having been in Liberia's Assembly delegations since 1954. Her nearly unanimous election as President of the UN General Assembly is a tribute to the solid work she has put in there over fifteen years, in which, as an Assistant Secretary of State in the Liberian government, she has at various times chaired the Trusteeship Committee; she was also on the Ruands-Urundi Commission in 1962. She is the second woman to hold the Presidency (the first was Mrs. Pandit of India) and the third African (the first two were Mongi Slim of Tunisia and Alex Quaison-Sackey of Ghana). She was chosen by the 41-member African group, on the understanding that this year it is Africa's turn for the post. Born in 1928 at Virginia in Liberia, the daughter of a preacher she trained as a lawyer, obtaining a doctorate at the University of Wisconsin (she has subsequently received other degrees, including a doctorate from London University). In 1957 she was admitted to the Supreme Court of Liberia and was for a time Assistant Attorney-General (while still holding her post in Foreign Affairs). In 1958, when both President and Secretary of State were absent from Liberia, she acted for a time as Chief Executive. She has also been President of the National Women's Social and Political Movement and Regional Vice-President of the International Federation of Women Lawyers.



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viously admitted, Spinoia continue to flourish his velvet glove. Bissau announced the formation of a "new party for a Better Guinea" (with Governor-General Spinoia as head, adding that this new party would work for "the progress and well-being of the country". But any action of this kind, of course, would have to be based on ending the war. And as the guese find they cannot end it by means, Radio Bissau proceeds to call for an appeal after appeal to the P. offering its soldiers and members peace of brave men". Let them lay down their arms, and join with the peace-loving and progressive Portuguese in building "a better Guinea". As a British ambassador in Lisbon long ago remarked, it really seems that the Portuguese have a sense of the absurd.

## Fought to a standstill

The truth of the matter seems to be that Spinoia does not know when to turn for help. With about ten per cent of its male population mobilised in colonial wars in Guinea, Angola and Mozambique, the Salazar-Carmona regime has evidently raised its military effort to the possible maximum. But by its allies, the regime may be able to carry on at this level. But carrying on at this level is not enough. Its air force has been fought to a standstill in Guinea and are nearing the same situation in Angola and northern Mozambique. And a standstill, for an occupying army facing a strong national army of guerrillas, means eventual defeat. Algeria proved and Vietnam is proving again. Illustrating this point after their own fashion, PAIGC commemorated August 3—the anniversary of the Bissau massacre—by launching cannon and bazooka attacks on sixteen of Spinoia's remaining fortified camps. Offering the velvet glove as a sign of strength so long as the hand retains its grip; otherwise, Guinea today, it can only be a sign of Portugal's weakening capacity and resolve.

## Whats in a name?

The French habit of coining names for the inhabitants of a particular region (Bordelais for Bordeaux, Bretons for St. Etienne) has a number of counterparts in francophonie. The names from my collection so far are Bobo for the people of Bobo-Dioulasso, Fortains for the population of Fort and Pontenagriens, for the inhabitants of Pointe Noire. The Spanish, too, for it, as the good folk of Santa are known as Isabelinos. But were inhabitants of Port Etienne known as Stephanoportois (nowadays are Nouadhibouiens?) And do they call people of Fort Archambault the Archambaultfortains?

Grie

# A New Mood in the African Novel

CONTEMPORARY African writing has seemed, over the past two decades in which it has been growing, to be moving in a single direction, that is towards a comprehensive exploration of the implications, social and spiritual, of the African encounter with the West. Although the perspective in which this general theme is dealt with has remained African, it involved in its various developments in the work of most African writers an immediate awareness of two worlds conditioning African life and consciousness.

At the moment however, a definite shift away from this situation can be said to have taken place. Although the original trend in African writing has not altogether lost its force, it has ceased to be significant, and today, African writers are turning to new themes in which the continent and its peculiar problems are presented in themselves and as arising out of an autonomous human situation. At the same time, a more intense critical outlook, an effort towards a more penetrating and more realistic portrayal of the tensions in African society, seem to accompany this new development.

It is perhaps in the novel that the line of development from the old theme to the new has been most evident, as well as the preoccupation with finding more adequate

and accomplished means of expression for these new realities, which appears to be its aesthetic corollary. The point of departure for the present atmosphere of pessimism that dominates in most African novels, is afforded by the colonial situation as portrayed in the novels of Ferdinand Oyono and Mongo Beti. These two writers, especially the latter, were concerned with the moral consequences of the collapse under colonial rule of the traditional framework of values. In their examination of the human context created by this situation, they both present a bleak picture of moral disorientation, without any promising prospects for the future. The historical course of the disintegration which their novels depict is even more trenchantly brought out in the four novels of Chinua Achebe: *Things Fall Apart* and *Arrow of God* present the early stages of the process, the contemporary implications of which are developed in *No Longer at Ease* and *A Man of the People*. Running through the sequence established by these novels is the novelist's consciousness of a progressive drop in the quality of African life, of a distinct moral decline culminating in the chaos described in the last novel.

The kind of specific political situation dealt with by Achebe in his last novel serves as the explicit background for Camara Leye's latest work, *Dramouss*, in

which the bright vision of his earlier novels has perceptibly darkened. Personal disillusionment and social frustration furnish the material also for the latest novel of the Kenyan writer, James Ngugi, *A Grain of Wheat*. Similarly, the Senegalese writer Ousmane Sembène has given a new inflection to the social expression of his novels, and beginning with *Voltaïque* has related his social concerns more consciously to the present political and social realities of Africa, as illustrated by his long short story, *Le Mandat* (published in the volume *Vehi Ciosane*), his most competent work so far.

These are all established novelists, whose work spans the two phases in the shift of emphasis as well as of outlook now being registered in the current development of the African novel. The fact that both Oyono and Beti have ceased to write may not be without significance for a consideration of the perspectives which their work leads up to, and which is now being explored further in the novel.

For alongside the bitter and critical mood that emerges from the present trend in the African novel, a new manner of writing is also evident. The theme of Gabriel Okara's *The Voice* is perhaps not without relation to his experimental technique in that novel, but the earliest

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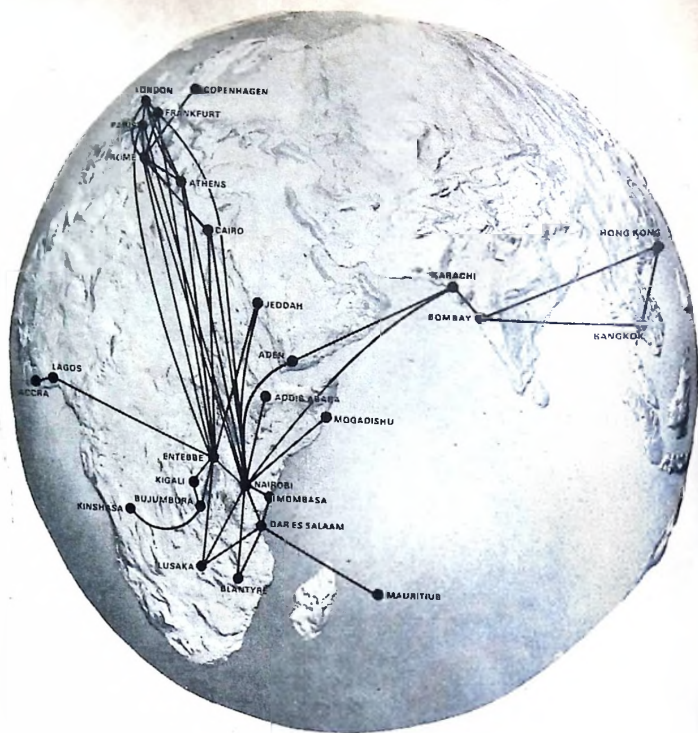


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pointer to the association between the new vision of the African novelist and the modifications in narrative method is afforded by Wole Soyinka's novel, *The Interpreters*, which is an attempt at a more expressive exploration of the complex social and inner realities of the contemporary scene in Africa.

### Symbolic Sore

But the most telling departure in the recent development in the African novel has come from a new generation of writers who have appeared in the last two years. Their work confirms in a decisive way the trend towards a more attentive and more immediate concern with the African world seen, as it were, on its own terms, and almost exclusively from the inside. The first novel in the group is *La Plate\** by a Senegalese, Malick Fall, published in 1967. Fall had previously published in 1964 a volume of poems entitled *Reliefs* and it is instructive to note that the opening piece of that volume already suggests, with its title "La source tarie" ("The dried-up source") his search for a new subject. In this first novel, Fall has chosen the theme of the social outcast, who finds refuge in the singularity he derives from an enormous festering sore on his foot—hence the title. The novel relies on the symbolic projection of this sore upon the human community from which the hero, Magamou, finds himself isolated due to his affliction, which however, by an ironic twist, serves him as a vantage point to view the world around him. For Magamou, though half crazed, desperate, and even wild, possesses an acute mind, rich with insights, and it is through its workings that Malick Fall unfolds the picture of reality which he offers.

Thus in the series of interior monologues which constitute the bulk of the novel, Fall presents us with an individual endowed with a vigorous inner life, and indeed, so valuable is the private light of his perception to Magamou that when his sore is healed for him, thus causing him to lose his "privileged" station, he reopens it in order to return to his old life. The novel rests entirely upon this central character, who exerts a constant fascination upon the reader, despite deficiencies in Fall's writing and some serious incongruities in the language he employs. More important, in Magamou, Fall has created an entirely new kind of hero in the African novel, an individual who is realised almost wholly through the movements of his singular consciousness.

It is the same kind of hero that we meet with in the powerful novel of the Ghanaian, Ayi Kwei Armah, *The Beautiful Ones are Not Yet Born\*\**, and despite the gulf that separates the two novels in their respective designs, references and execution, they clearly belong together. The most obvious link between them is the dominant role played in both by a sordid

symbol, in Armah's case, that of excrement. Armah's elaboration on his chosen symbol is however more insistent, to such a point that the disgust he wants to create in the reader becomes a feeling of *malaise*. In a sense, the obvious character of the effects he strives for detracts from the overall value of his novel, for there is a suggestion in his manner of a certain immature indulgence in dirt for its own sake. Yet there is enough evident in the novel of the writer's tremendous talent, of a profound imaginative perception coming through in sensitive language which is the mark of a great writer.

The novel itself seems to have been meant as a transposition in African terms of the kind of metaphysical novel with which readers of contemporary European fiction have become familiar, and in its description of the vague existential *ennui* of his unnamed hero, recalls Sartre's *La Nausée*. Whether this transposition is appropriate or relevant is open to debate. But the fact that Armah's presentation of a universe of spiritual poverty and moral decay is directly related to the present social situation in Africa is indicative of the novelist's growing awareness of the predicaments which the individual in modern Africa is beginning to live with.

The ultimate in the development of this sombre mood in the African novel is attained by the Malian, Yambo Oulougoum, whose first novel, *Le Devoir de*

*Violence\*\*\**, won the Prix Renaudot last year. If Armah's novel recalls Sartre, Yambo's brings to mind at once Lautreamont's *Les Chants de Maldoror*, with its indulgence in incongruities of every conceivable sort. Yambo's novel is a meandering succession of sordid happenings, excesses and extravagances, presented as an historical narrative of a fictitious but "typical" African empire, whose modern ruler is a close kin of the "Mata Kharibu" of Soyinka's *A Dance of the Forest*. The leading idea of the novel rejoins that of Soyinka's play—that the past has only bequeathed to the present generation of Africans a legacy of crime and violence.

### Absolute Expression?

But Yambo's very excess makes one wonder whether some irony is not buried beneath his narrative, whether it is not all meant as a joke, or more precisely, in French student slang, a *canular*; if this is so, it is not surprising that it has taken in an influential part of the French reading public, since the novel presents them with the picture of Africa they are more disposed to accept. But unless Yambo wrote the novel with his tongue in his cheek, then it must be said that the present mood of disenchantment of the African writer has found in his novel its absolute expression.

Abiola Irele

\*\*\* Editions du Seuil, Paris, 1968.

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\*\* Heinemann, London 1969 (first published in the United States in 1968).

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# books and publications

## HARD-LINE CRITICS

*Vive le President*, by Daniel Ewande  
(Editions Albin Michel, 10F).

*Lettre à la France Nègre*, by Yambo  
Ouologuem (Edmond Nalis, 15F).

IT may be a bland generalisation, but on the whole it is much harder to find open criticism of the rulers of the former French colonies in Africa than it is in English-speaking Africa. Control of the press is much more the accepted norm, and even in Dakar and Cotonou, where the presence of a vocal intellectual elite makes all suppression of opinion impossible, the publication of tracts is a much more dangerous affair than it ever could be in Bathurst or Freetown, and while at the moment the war situation limits the scope of the Nigerian press, it would be foolish to imagine this as permanent.

These thoughts are occasioned by these two books of political essays, one by a Cameroonian, the other by a Malian, both of which are violently and vituperatively against "the system" as bequeathed to independent Africa by the colonisers, and both of which are published in Paris, although neither specifically criticises his home government. They apply in particular to French-speaking Africa, in so far as this system has been maintained there longer and to greater effect, but there are lessons to be had for all Africa.

The title of Ewande's book is ironic (the slogan "*Vive le President*" is used throughout as a catch-phrase at the end of each essay), and the subject matter carries the irony through. The tone is set from his first chapter on presidents: "from the moment they are in power they are all good and I adore them".

Tyrants are those who like Youlou or Nkrumah are out of power (if a *coup* is successful it is proof of the outgoing president's tyranny). To be a president you have to be a globe-trotter, like François Premier of Chad and other ex-Yamcos on their paid holidays. Always using irony, Ewande progressively demolishes the phoney and pretentious world that surrounds the "courts" of Presidents, the extravagance and the flatterers, the prestige projects and the white elephants that abound in artificial little *soi-disant* ministries, Ministers, deputies, "the parliamentary ballet", intellectuals, all come under withering scrutiny, as does what he calls the Senghor-standard, to which

he devotes a whole chapter (Senghor speaks, everyone runs the dictionary"), dealing essentially with ambiguity of the prophet of négritude who preaches assimilation.

Ouologuem also deals with the Presidents who he calls "*les rois nègres*", but he is writing more specifically their relations with the French. Although like Ewande he uses sarcasm extensively (in truth it is blatant sarcasm), his style is not so explosive, and his invective is not so extravagant, although not necessarily more cutting.

His first letter is addressed, with certain poetic justice, to General de Gaulle, a subject many have satirised before: but Ouologuem's treatment is a certain edge ("I know you are immortal for symbols never die"). The very name is used for the word *patron* which seems to be one of Ouologuem's specialities, as when he refers to "*Jesugaulle* or *gaullibacillose galopante*". Other letters are to "mixed couples" to all those who "do not know what a Black and who have forgotten what a White", to "those who frequent Negroes", to "the pearls of the exposition of French culture among the Negroes" and to "the philistines of negrophilia without obligation or satisfaction".

Although, as in his novel *Le Dieu de Violence*, those in power in Africa are scathingly criticised, the essays are primarily addressed to Europeans, especially bogus liberals and paternalists, and probe in particular the softer side of the noble sentiments sometimes expressed in France about Africa. I am told that even to a French reader he is sometimes obscure and convoluted; but the brilliance of his style, his verbal acrobatics and brazen handling of language illuminate the occasional profundities. And if there is a hypocrite to be unearthed, or a mask to be torn off, Ouologuem is the writer to do it.

K.W.

*Africa in Prose* edited by O. R. Dalton and Wilfried Feuser (Penguin, 85s).

If anyone hopes that this new Penguin collection will complement the excellent Moore-Beier anthology of poetry, I will be disappointed. The criteria used to select the prose are obscure, except for the editors' commitment to include pieces not easily available elsewhere. I

they intend to survey the most influential currents of thought and art which have been expressed with distinction in this century? Some seminal writings are included: Senghor on Négritude, Beti on the Christian impact, Oyono on imperialism, and La Guma on violence. But why for example is Chinua Achebe, some of whose significant shorter writings are not easy to obtain, omitted? The editors do include vernacular authors in their field of choice. Why have they not commissioned some literary translation of the acclaimed authors Shabaan Roberts and Abubakar Imam, who have written in the two most widespread vernacular languages? Authors who are included are sometimes represented by extracts which are not self-contained.

There are some stimulating discoveries to be made in this anthology, two of the most interesting pieces having been written by men who imaginatively identify with their plucky heroines—spirited women who have the audacity to pursue happiness, albeit unsuccessfully, in a world ordered for men. Isaac B. Thomas, a Lagos editor of the nineteen twenties, created his lively Segilola in an epistolary fiction. When her newly married husband complained that she was not the virgin that he had expected, she decided to take an aggressive line. "Do you really want to eat my virginity—to mix it with garri?" Mphahlele in his "Ballad of Oyo" engendered a plausible tragic figure—a young market woman who, unable to free herself from a lazy, besotted husband to marry her lover, died of a miscarriage

during the strain of earning a living.

S. Y. Ntara's naturalistic account, originally written in Nyanja, of a white tax gatherer's visit to a village poses several startling questions by implication: nothing is overt and the effect is subtly telling. Two passages from popular Onitsha writers, Speedy Eric and Miller O. Albert, are not subtle but they are very funny, the former earthy and the latter flamboyantly hyperbolic. Ralph Opara's humorous story of his narrator's problems with a well travelled cousin and a policeman makes one hope that the author will publish more. A wise parable by Bakare Gbadamosi, translated aptly from Yoruba by Ulli Beier, presents a man with the drastic choice between recovering either his lost eyesight or his failed potency. Several other significant pieces are included, but the editors should have defined their criteria more rigorously and applied them with greater sensibility.

### R. W. Noble

*Africa*, by Arnold Curtis (Oxford Children's Reference Library, OUP, 25s.).

In simple language this volume covers some history of Africa plus a little geography and zoology, in 43 chapters. It deals with the Kingdoms of Kush and Axum, the West and East African slave trade, cocoa farming, the Zulus, Zimbabwe, locusts, game parks, birds and much else. Obviously such a work can only be judged for what it is, a brief introduction for younger children

to a gigantic subject, and from this point of view it has much to commend it. There are plenty of coloured illustrations and the language is simple. I do not see any European bias or outlandish theories such as that the Zimbabwe ruins were the work of ancient non-Africans such as Phoenicians. Only the chapters on the Boers and Rhodes have slight resemblance to older-style English school books about Africa; in general the book, without being propagandist, does not gloss over such things as either slavery or apartheid.

One or two inaccuracies are found, such as the statement that people of Senegal "all speak French", and the praise of the Emperor of Ethiopia might be thought a little fulsome. But in general, this book can be recommended for schools. **D.T.**

*West Africa*, by R. J. Harrison Church (Longmans, 60s.).

This is the sixth edition of Professor Church's classic geography textbook, whose basic material well merits this constant updating. Principal changes are the inclusion of the division of Nigeria into 12 states, and all that it involves geographically speaking. There is also a new map of Fuel and Power in Nigeria. Population figures are those of 1966, and the figures of average annual rate of growth of each country from Senegal to Nigeria (also included are Fernando Po, but not Rio Muni and São Tomé and Príncipe). **A.D.**

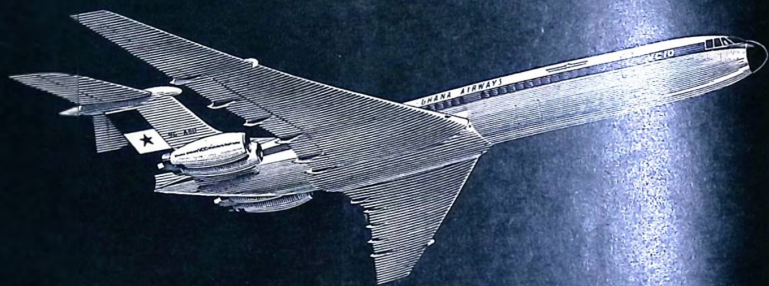
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## OAU Decisions at the Summit

By a correspondent

A PART from the resolution on Nigeria, which was dealt with last week, the OAU summit conference in Addis Ababa also passed a number of other resolutions, including one approving finally a convention on the problems of refugees in Africa which has been on the OAU's books for the last four years. The 15-article convention was approved at the ministerial meeting in February, and was described by the Ethiopian Emperor as "designed to alleviate the economic burden borne by the recipient countries, and at the same time to prevent refugees from carrying out political activities detrimental to their countries of origin." The latter point was first raised at the celebrated Accra summit of 1965 where concern at refugees indulging in "subversive activities" was sufficiently widespread to have threatened the summit itself with the Houphouët-Boigny-led boycott, because of Dr. Nkrumah's support for "subversion".

The formalisation of this in the convention is a classic instance of the concept of Africa as a "Holy Alliance" of states at work, especially as refugees within states such as those in Nigeria do not fall under the convention's umbrella (as indeed they do not come under the UN High Commission for Refugees). The convention concedes, however, that the granting of asylum should be considered humanitarian, and should not be considered an unfriendly act by member states. The convention was formally signed by heads of delegations at a formal public ceremony prior to the closing of the conference. (The OAU already has a bureau for the resettlement of refugees with 21 representatives in different parts of Africa.)

The question of reform of the Liberation Committee was also a major issue of the conference, having been discussed by both ministers and heads of state. The ministers had been unable to arrive at a resolution, and passed the issue on to heads of state. The main critics of the committee have been from French-speaking states, who have complained the inadequate representation of French-speaking on the committee (there are four out of eleven, including Algeria, which might also qualify as Arabophone). Nigeria has also criticised Tanzanian running of the committee, which is based in Dar-es-Salaam, and joined the call for strict inspection of distribution of arms. The existing committee was defended by President Obote of Uganda, and by Guinea and Tanzania. Behind the dispute is the *malaise* over the impotence of the committee either to aid the liberation movements to greater successes, or to reconcile the diverse movements.

Decision was deferred on the subject by passing the question to a commission of seven, which is to probe the Committee's mandate and structure (the seven are Algeria, Central African Republic, Ethiopia, Kenya, Morocco, Senegal and Sierra Leone: two of them, Algeria and Senegal, are already members of the present committee, whose other members are Guinea, UAR, Nigeria, Tanzania, Somalia, Zambia, Uganda, Ethiopia and Congo-K).

The summit also referred for "further study" (to the next Foreign Ministers'

meeting at Addis Ababa on February 27) the question of withdrawal of OAU recognition from Holden Roberto's GRAE (Revolutionary Angolan Government in Exile). This has been another regular chestnut at OAU meetings, on which agreement seems impossible to reach, mainly, it would appear, because of the continuing support given to Roberto by the Congo-Kinshasa government, which can raise a powerful body of support in the conference (also, the rival MPLA is unable to mobilise sufficient support for itself); although there has been a growing feeling that wherever a liberation movement is split, there should be no OAU recognition, simply: OAU assistance to both sides as long as they can show they are active in the field.

On the general question of Southern Africa, the summit sensibly adopted the Lusaka manifesto produced at a meeting of 14 heads of state from Central Africa in May, which combines a resolute restatement of the fundamental position of all independent African heads of state towards the "white south", but at the same time leaving open the possibility of reasoned discussion.

The resolution on the Middle East moved by Niger was similar to last year's at Algiers, based on the mild and almost universally acceptable UN resolution of November 1967, but anti-Israel sentiment, which Arab states hoped might be stronger this year, and which the OAU Secretary-General Diallo Telli was actively encouraging (to the extent that at the summit he was rebuked by several heads of delegations for exceeding his function as "Administrative" Secretary-General), was given a boost on the last day of the conference by the news

of the mammoth Israeli attack on Egypt. The Senegalese moved a resolution condemning "this aggression, like all aggression, against a brother country". (An Israeli special envoy, Mr. Moshe Leshem, was lobbying in Addis; for him at least the raid had been very badly timed, as earlier during the Foreign Ministers' conference there had been complaints from those nations more sympathetic to Israel at attempts to railroad a stronger worded resolution through the conference.)

The conference approved a report by a three-man OAU commission on Equatorial Guinea, saying it was Africa's duty to meet the requests of President Macias to "avert political and economic catastrophe." OAU aid had so far fallen short of the immense needs of the country in the military field as well as in health, agriculture, administration, education and industry. Work on cocoa plantations had stopped, small businesses had closed, unemployment had been widespread and the country "was on the brink of social, economic and political chaos and the most inextricable disorder," when the OAU intervened, said the report, which appealed to members to send officers to advise Guinean troops until their own officers could be trained. The report also mentioned the part played by the OAU mission in persuading the Spanish to grant a sum of £2.4m. to cover the budgetary deficit, and to get talks on a co-operation agreement going.

Other points: agreement was reached on the candidacy of Sierra Leone and Burundi for the UN Security Council, and on the candidacy of Tunisia, Ghana and Kenya for the UN Economic and Social Council, and of M. Louis Ignacio Pinto of Dahomey for the International Court of Justice.

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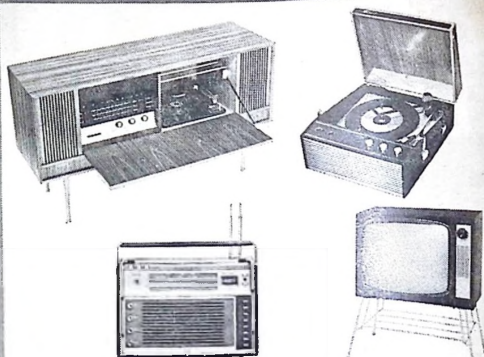
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## Letters to the editor

### STOKELY IN ALGIERS

Sir.—My wife and I have just read an article titled "Stokely in Algiers" in the 16th August issue of your magazine, *West Africa*, and we call your attention to two glaring mistakes made by your reporter that are not only inaccurate but also highly misleading. While we acknowledge the right of a publisher to pursue a pre-determined editorial policy, we do make a clear distinction between editorialising and accurate reportage of facts. It is the second point to which we address ourselves in this letter.

Firstly, your reporter's obvious misquoting of the verse to the song of praise for President Kwame Nkrumah would lead one to believe that Dr. Nkrumah is a historical figure belonging to the past. One would infer this since the verse is quoted in the past tense, when in actuality the intent of the song is to state emphatically that Dr. Nkrumah is alive and well and indeed very much a respected man of ideas and action, whose vision of a unified Africa will be fulfilled. The correct words as sung are as follows:

*There is a man  
Who has a dream  
All Africa should be a team  
And he is not looking  
For world fame  
Kwame Nkrumah is his name.  
He'd like to see  
His brothers join hands  
Come and make  
A strong stand  
So we can free  
The South lands.*

#### Chorus:

*This will be good  
For you and me  
Well, let's make his dream  
A reality.*

Secondly, it was reported that the child who accompanied us is our son. The child is in fact Miss Makeba's grandson. We have no children.

MR. AND MRS. STOKELY CARMICHAEL  
Conakry, Guinea

### OXFAM, NIGERIA AND BIAFRA

Sir.—You refer (August 23, page 1010) to reports that Oxfam has "stopped contributing money and medicine to ICRC" and was sending "all its help for relief in Biafra territory to JCA." We wish to make it very clear that Oxfam's policy of aiding anyone in need, whatever their creed, colour or affiliations, has not changed. When our funds improve—and hopefully, when the lanes for emergency relief are clear once again—our supplies will be channelled to our maximum capacity through all the accepted major agencies operating in Nigeria/Biafra.

As for the inference that we have totally switched our funding from ICRC to JCA, perhaps the misunderstanding arose out of the fact that ICRC supplies for Biafra were stock-piling rapidly because there are few, if any, Red Cross planes going into Biafra,

while JCA on the other hand, manages to keep some regular flights going, so lowering their stock-piles and continuing to need some help for running expenses. But where ICRC can still function, specifically in Federal territory, Oxfam continues to work through the Red Cross in the normal way.

WYNNE GRIFFITHS.

Administrative Officer,  
Overseas Aid Division, Oxfam.

### SIERRA LEONE NOW

Sir.—The General Election which brought the APC to power in Sierra Leone must go down in history as a most important political event. While the outcome of this election was a verdict for change, it also imposed on the succeeding leader a policy of compromise and toleration.

At the outset the prime minister seemed to have recognised this fact and wisely decided on a national government as a compromise solution. When the national government was dissolved it was felt that the right path had been taken towards democracy, with government and opposition in Parliament. It was hoped that the slow but sure processes of democracy might heal the many wounds caused by the election. These hopes have not been realised. The wave of political victimisation in the form of the demotions and dismissals of top civil servants of Southern origin, the savage attacks on certain people by party fanatics, and the destruction of the press of the opposition party has led to a renewed bitterness and a hardening of attitudes towards the government.

The Kailahun and Kenema incidents, in which many innocent people lost their lives, represented the inevitable reaction against organised violence. Few may deny the ability and natural shrewdness of the Prime

Minister, and perhaps, if left alone, he might have succeeded in winning the confidence of the great majority of the people; but it appears that he has been guided for the most part by advisers whose ruling passions are hatred of their political opponents. His reaction to some of the events was neither tactful nor reasonable.

Large-scale detention of political opponents cannot win confidence for any government. History indicates that excessive repression succeeds only in breeding more violent rebellion or in losing the support of those it needs to carry out the repression. Perhaps, if Mr. Stevens learns this simple lesson, he may look forward to a peaceful term of office.

J. B. DAUDA.

### PROVINCIAL LITERATURE

Sir.—I was pleased to see on August 9, on page 939, the paragraphs in which our report for 1967-68 was summarised, and I appreciate very much this wider circulation of what we wrote. It is an excellent summary marred only by one mis-statement in the last sentence of your third paragraph.

At the end of the first paragraph on page 20 of the Report we had written: "It is surprising that in these circumstances we have *not* had to borrow heavily to keep going." We are pleased to say that before the end of the 1968-69 financial year the Ministry of Education were able to pay us the Le 500 (in addition to their promised grant) which had been due in the previous financial year.

R. A. JOHNSON,  
Director.

Provincial Literature Bureau,  
Bo, Sierra Leone

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## Nigerian business toll

Chief S. L. Edo, President of the Nigerian Association of Chambers of Commerce and Industries will lead the delegation of businessmen which is to make a two-week tour of Britain from October 12. The visit is sponsored by the Africa Committee of the British National Exports Council, a spokesman whom described the mission as "one of the most important ever to have been sent to Nigeria". BNEC will meet half the cost of the trip, and the rest will be covered by British companies.

The members, all of whom hold prominent positions in Nigerian commerce and industry are: Mr. Otunba J. Ade Tuyo, president, Lagos Chamber of Commerce, and managing director, De Facto Bakeries and Cakes; Mr. A. S. Guohadia, managing director, Maiden Electronics Nigeria; Mr. Ko Oroniti, managing director, Kolawole Electrical Stores, Ibadan; Mr. G. I. C. president, Mid-West Pharmaceutical Co. and managing director, Karo Stores; N. A. Mene-Afejuku, president, Chamber of Commerce, and managing director, Central Commercial Enterprise Ekpeyong E. Esien, president, Chamber of Commerce, and general merchant; Mr. Alhaji Baba Danbappa, p. Kano Chamber of Commerce; and F. S. Osagie, managing director, Fr. Osagie and Sons.

## EDF helps projects

Finance for 13 operations in 11 African countries has been authorised by the European Development Fund, including: road construction in Niger (\$397,000), works in Togo (\$3,302,000), tea gardens in Congo-Kinshasa (\$11,100,000), a rice project for Central African Republic (\$1,700,000) for rice development in Senegal (\$1,700,000), a study of a Mauritania (\$243,000), educational projects in Cameroon (\$26,000) and Ivory Coast (\$58,000).

● A trade mission from Thailand visited Madagascar, Senegal and Ivory



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# commercial news

## Plans for West Africa's Rice

ALL West African states are eligible for membership of the West African Rice Development Association, established after a conference in Monrovia, but membership is to be opened to other African countries. The objectives of the Association are: to initiate research into the growing, processing, storage and marketing of rice; study patterns of international trade in rice; arrange for an exchange of information among rice-growing countries; give technical assistance and training to farmers.

One of the Association's first tasks will be to plan a rice research centre to be established in West Africa. The siting of the headquarters and the research centre has yet to be decided. The Monrovia conference was organised by the FAO, the UN Development Programme and the Economic Commission for Africa, and was attended by representatives of 13 West African countries, France, the Netherlands, Britain, USA, Taiwan,

the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations, the European Development Fund and the World Bank.

The Conference was held because West Africa at present imports 400,000 tons of rice a year costing more than \$50m. Recent studies have shown that much more land in West Africa could be sown to rice, but that such cultivation would not be profitable without a substantial improvement in techniques aimed at increasing yields. Donor countries and organisations attending the conference all expressed keen interest in contributing to rice development in the region. It was decided at the conference that for an interim period of at least six months FAO will be in charge of organising the new Association's activities through a secretariat located in the FAO regional office in Accra. During this period, Mr. Moise Mensah, FAO Regional Representative for Africa, will be executive secretary of the Association.

## The War, Oil and Nigeria's Economy

Nigerian oil production fell in August, the fifth consecutive month in which a drop has occurred, according to reports in the *Financial Times*. Although detailed figures are no longer published because, according to a Shell spokesman, "they are considered as classified information by the Federal Government," reports put August daily average output at 470,000 barrels, compared with 594,000 barrels a day in April.

Shell-BP's output was 373,083 barrels a day in May, 350,000 in June and 309,398 in July. Last month daily output is believed to have slumped to about 280,000 barrels. Gulf, said to be experiencing shipping difficulties, are believed to have increased output by 46,000 barrels a day since the June average of 144,000 but are still well below their April output of 221,000.

The production decline is attributed both to Biafran activity and technical difficulties such as the leak in the off-shore section of Shell-BP's £15m. Forcados pipeline.

Projects aimed at making the best use of Nigeria's considerable growth potential can be achieved if they are officially co-ordinated at State and Federal Government level, Mr. G. Schneider, general manager of the United Bank for Africa, writes in the annual report for the year ending March 1969. The Bank, he notes, because of its international connections (its shareholders count among the world's largest banks), "is aimed at contributing to the post-war economic development where foreign investments, allied to Nigerian participation, will find excellent opportunities in a liberal economic and financial climate."

Recalling that Bank "introduced a new style and innovation in the existing traditional banking industry" when it was incorporated in Nigeria in October 1961, Mr. Schneider points out that there are now 22 branches in the country, eight of which have been opened since 1966. Its methods have included a mobile bank service, opening a branch at Kainji Dam and instituting a Business Promotion Department. The number of employees has risen from 329 in 1961 to 613.

Net profit was £275,686 and £29,167 was brought forward from the previous year. A note to the accounts says that the ultimate financial position of the branches in the Eastern States remains in doubt and no provision has been made for any losses which may occur.

Officials of the Western State-owned National Motors (Nigeria) company have been sent to Enugu and Port Harcourt to investigate the possibility of re-opening branches there. At the start of the civil war, secessionists looted the company's offices in these towns and in Aba, taking six vehicles and crates of spare parts, creating a loss to the company of about £145,000. The general manager, Chief Adeniyi, has said that the Aba branch would definitely not be re-opened before the end of the war.

The Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Companies is studying ways of increasing the price of crude oil by linking it to the rise in cost of Western industrial goods.

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## Jobless and Fruit

One of the sad features of the present decade was the UN's failure to halt rising unemployment in developing countries. Britain's Overseas Development Minister, Mr. Reg Prentice, said when opening a conference on tropical and sub-tropical fruits in London. Fruit production in developing countries was important, said Mr. Prentice, both for dietary reasons and because of the employment which fruit processing industries might bring.

About 200 delegates from 40 countries attended the conference which was organised by Britain's Tropical Products Institute. They included Mrs. E. Odo, who presented a paper on the establishment of a fruit industry in Ghana. Dr. Godfrey Aggrey of Kumasi University; Dr. Sannuana of the University of Ghana; Dr. Oke of the University of Ife and Mr. Robertson of the Cameroons Development Corporation.

Mr. Donald Ravehill, director of the British company Poupert, noting that the development of the travel industry had boosted the demand for tropical fruits, said that exotic fruits such as pawpaws could become almost as common as bananas in temperate zone countries if air freight costs were cut. Mr. John Candia of the London Fruit and Vegetable Trades Federation, cited the avocado pear as an example of a fruit being popularised. Producers in Africa and Israel had taught English people how to eat them: "Now it is a nationally consumed fruit which not so long ago only the select few knew how to eat and wanted to eat."

## Aid for GIHOC

The Ghana Industrial Holding Corporation is to be reorganised with the help of two United Nations bodies: the UN Development Programme and the UN Industrial Development Organisation. The aim of the exercise, which will last four years, is to increase the Corporation's profitability. The two organisations will train staff and act in an advisory capacity and will also provide equipment, vehicles and a radio-telephone system and nine specialists in investments, marketing, procurement, organisation, company development and information.

To avoid a serious food shortage, production in developing countries must grow 10 per cent faster, the Director-General of the FAO, Mr. Boerma, said when announcing a plan for agricultural development which outlines policies which should be adopted to reach this target. The crux of the plan is to secure sufficient supplies of the basic staple cereals and improving the quality of protein in the diet. The plan forecasts that rural employment will be a tougher problem than increased production.

Mr. Asbjorn Gudbrand Vinjar, an electrical engineer from Norway, has been appointed UN Project Manager of the 780,000-dollar project in which the UNDP will assist the Government to improve the electricity system and generally strengthen the Sierra Leone Electricity Corporation. According to the agreement signed in July the project will involve various studies, including a 15-year power development plan.

## WEST AFRICAN SHIPPING NEWS

### ELDER DEMIPSTER LINES

**SOUTHBOUND**—From Liverpool:—FOURAH BAY slg. Liverpool Sept. 18; DUNKWA slg. Liverpool Sept. 24; BHAMO due Lobito Sept. 24.

**From London**:—FALABA slg. London Sept. 19; EBANI due Lagos Sept. 26. **From Continent**:—FIAN due Tema Sept. 22. **NORTHBOUND**—To Liverpool:—PATANI due Avonmouth Sept. 19; AUREGL slg. Apapa Sept. 19; DELEUA slg. Norfolk Sept. 25; DEIDO due Madeira Sept. 22; DONGA slg. Apapa Oct. 3; KOHIMA due Sherbro Sept. 19; OBUASI due Port Genitil Sept. 21.

**To Glasgow**:—DUMURRA due Takoradi Sept. 21. **To Dublin/Belfast**:—OWERRI due Takoradi Sept. 20. **To Avonmouth**:—PERANG due Abidjan Sept. 23.

**WESTBOUND**:—EGORI due London Sept. 22; ONITSHA due Monrovia Sept. 25. **To Hull/Middlesborough**:—OTT due Hull Sept. 24.

**To Continent**:—KADUNA due Hamburg Oct. 1; FORCADOS due Freetown Sept. 20. **EASTBOUND**—From USA/Canada:—DALLA due Cotacou Sept. 20.

**WESTBOUND**:—To USA/Canada:—DARU due Seaport Sept. 22; FULANI due Philadelphia Sept. 20.

**From India/Pakistan/Burma**:—SHIRABANK slg. Calcutta Sept. 16.

### BARIEE LINES

**OUTWARDS**—CORNEVILLE now due Lagos/Anapa thence Warri, Douala and Takoradi; FERNWOOD due Freetown Sept. 22 thence Monrovia, Abidjan, Tema, Warri, Douala, Lagos/Anapa and Takoradi; TITANIA due sail New York Sept. 26. Halifax NS Sept. 29 for Freetown, Monrovia, Abidjan, Tema, Douala, Lagos/Anapa and Takoradi.

**HOMEWARDS**—TITANIA due Conakry Sept. 23 thence New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore and Norfolk; TEMA now due load Abidjan/Buchanan/Monrovia; CORNEVILLE now due Lagos/Anapa Sept. 25. Abidjan Sept. 25; Lagos/Ghana N bound early Oct.; Abidjan/Buchanan/Monrovia first half Oct.; FERNWOOD due load Douala Oct. 3; Lagos S bound Oct. 5; Ghana N bound second week Oct.; Abidjan/Buchanan/Monrovia mid-third week Oct.

### JAPAN "K" LINE

**WESTBOUND**—From Japan (via Hong Kong) to Matadi, Lagos, Tema, Abidjan, Freetown, etc.:—TEXAS MARU slg. Japan Sept. 6 due Lagos Oct. 11.

**EASTBOUND**—From Matadi, Lagos, Tema, Abidjan, Freetown, etc. to Japan (via Hong Kong):—OLIVIA MARU slg. Japan Sept. 18. Tema Sept. 20, Freetown Sept. 24 due Japan Oct. 30.

### PALM LINE LTD.

**SOUTHBOUND**—From London:—AKASSA PALM due Matadi Sept. 20.

**NORTHBOUND**—To London:—ENUGU PALM due Sapele Sept. 20.

**To Continent**:—RADAGRY PALM slg. Lagos Sept. 24. BAMEYDA PALM slg. Warri Sept. 22.

**To Hamburg and Harburg**:—SAGA STATE due Abidjan Sept. 20.

### FARRILL LINES

**HOMEWARD WEST AFRICAN PLANET** slg. Douala Sept. 26 for Luanda, Abidjan, Monrovia and US ports; AUSTRALIAN GEM slg. Takoradi Oct. 3 for Tema Oct. 5, Apapa, Lagos/Anapa and US ports.

**OUTWARDS**—AUSTRALIAN GEM arrives Monrovia Sept. 26 for Abidjan, Takoradi, Tema Oct. 4 and Apapa; AFRICAN RAINBOW arr. Monrovia Oct. 12 for Abidjan, Tema Oct. 18, Matadi, Luanda, Lobito and Douala.

### HOLLAND WEST-AFRIKA LIJN

**SOUTHBOUND**—From Continent:—KIELDRECHT due Abidjan Sept. 26; KONGKONG due Dakar Sept. 30; GAASTERKERK due Dakar Oct. 3.

**NORTHBOUND**—To Continent:—GAROFF due Antwerp Sept. 23. Rotterdam Sept. 25. Hamburg Sept. 29. OLDEKERK due Rotterdam Sept. 25. Amsterdam Sept. 27. Hamburg Sept. 30. TOGOKUST due Amsterdam Sept. 24. Rotterdam Sept. 30. Bremen Oct. 2. Hamburg Oct. 4.

### NIGERIAN WEST AFRICA LINE

**EASTBOUND**—NOPAL SUNJ slg. New Orleans Sept. 9. Lagos Oct. 2 due Warri Oct. 3, Sapele Oct. 8; NOPAL TELLUS slg. New

Orleans Oct. 2. Takoradi Oct. 24. Lagos Oct. 26 due Warri Oct. 27.

**WESTBOUND**—NOPAL TELLUS slg. Luanda Aug. 19. New Orleans Sept. 23 due Houston Sept. 25; NOPAL LUNA slg. Luanda Sept. 2. Takoradi Sept. 17. New Orleans Oct. 7 due Houston Oct. 9.

### GOLD STAR LINE

**WESTBOUND**—SAHAR Matadi Sept. 20. 21. Douala Sept. 22. Lagos/Anapa Sept. 30. Tema Oct. 12.

**EASTBOUND**—TSEKED Singapore Oct. 10. Japan Oct. 19. 24. Yokohama Oct. 25.

### BLACK STAR LINE/USNIWEST AFRICA

**WESTBOUND**—BIA RIVER Monrovia Sept. 19. Montreal Oct. 3 thence Great Lakes.

### BLACK STAR LINE/UK/CONTINENT

### WEST AFRICA

**SOUTHBOUND**—KORLE LAGOON Hamburg Sept. 29. Bremen Sept. 30. Antwerp Oct. 1. Rotterdam Oct. 3. Dunkirk Oct. 4; KLORTE LAGOON Liverpool Oct. 7.

**NORTHBOUND**—KORLE LAGOON Antwerp Sept. 30. Rotterdam Sept. 22. Amsterdam Sept. 23. Bremen Sept. 25. Hamburg Sept. 28.

### CHARGEURS REUNIS

**KERGUEN** due Lagos Oct. 9. Tema Oct. 14. Freetown Oct. 19; SOURCOUF slg. Kabe Oct. 2.

### MAERSK LINE

**INWARDS**—From Japan via Hong Kong to Matadi, Lagos, Tema, Monrovia, Freetown, Bathurst, Abidjan, Takoradi:—MAREN MITSUBISHI slg. Japan Oct. 1.

**OUTWARDS**—From Matadi, Lagos, Tema, Monrovia, Freetown, Bathurst, Abidjan, Takoradi to Japan via US Pacific ports:—AWAHSJUN slg. Japan Oct. 3. Takoradi Oct. 6.

### MITSU OSSI LINE

**BUENOS AIRES MARU** slg. Kabe Sept. 4 due Lagos Oct. 10; HARUNASAN MARU slg. Kabe Sept. 20 due Lagos Oct. 20; AWAHSJUN MARU slg. Kabe Oct. 4 due Lagos Nov. 9.

### ROYAL INTEROCEAN LINES

**INWARDS**—STRAAT FREMANTLE from Japan (slg. Kabe Aug. 23) due Lagos/Anapa Sept. 25, Tema Sept. 29, Monrovia Oct. 1; Freetown Oct. 3. Abidjan Oct. 14. Takoradi Oct. 13; HOLLANDS DIEP from China and Hong Kong (slg. Hong Kong Aug. 17) due Lagos/Anapa Sept. 21. Cotonou Sept. 26. Lome Sept. 2. Tema Sept. 28. Abidjan Sept. 29. Monrovia Oct. 1. Freetown Oct. 3. Dakar Oct. 5. Conakry Oct. 8. Takoradi Oct. 13.

### OUTWARDS

—STRAAT FRAZER from Nigeria/Ghana to Singapore, Hong Kong and Japan; second half Sept. STRAAT VAN DIEMEN from Nigeria/Ghana to Singapore, Hong Kong and China first half Oct.

### SCANDINAVIAN WEST AFRICA LINE

**SOUTHBOUND**—HOEGH BANNERIE ldg. Scandinavia including Finland/Bordeaux during Aug for WA and Aust. Sept. HILAREN ldg. Scandinavia and Bordeaux during second half Aug. for WA during Sept.

**NORTHBOUND**—VIKAREN ldg. WA first half Aug. for Scandinavia Sept.; MINNESOTA ldg. WA S. route Aug. for Continent and Scandinavia Sept.; TUMLAREN ldg. WA Aug. for Scandinavia Sept.

### EDWARD NASSAR LINES

**TERRA** ldg. Genoa Oct. 5 due Fimastusta Oct. 10. BEIRUT ldg. EMIR BECHR slg. Genoa Sept. 18 due Fimastusta Sept. 25.

### WESTWIND AFRICA LINE LTD.

**SOPHIE C** due Lagos Sept. 16. Luanda Sept. 24. Abidjan Sept. 29; WESTWIND due Lagos Sept. 23. Luanda Oct. 1/3. Freetown Oct. 9.

### WOFFEN LINE

**KARONGA** slg. Rouen Sept. 25 due Dakar Oct. 2. Abidjan Oct. 6; MALOJA slg. Dakar Sept. 24 due Freetown Oct. 7. Takoradi Oct. 11. Tema Oct. 13.

### HUGO STINNES TRANSOCEAN

**SCHEFFER** ldg. Mak lguo Stinnes due Abidjan Sept. 9. Lagos/Anapa Sept. 12. Douala Sept. 14; DIRK VON MINDEN due Dakar Sept. 12. Conakry Sept. 14. Abidjan Sept. 18. Lome Sept. 21.

### HOEGH LINE

**HOEGH MIELING** slg. Bremen Sept. 29. Rotterdam Oct. 3. Rouen Oct. 7 due Dakar Oct. 14; HOEGH AURORE slg. Hamburg Sept. 22. Bremen Oct. 24. Antwerp Oct. 27. Rouen Oct. 30. Dakar Oct. 6.

### NIGERIAN NATIONAL SHIPPING LINE

**SOUTHBOUND**—RIVER NIGER slg. Liverpool Sept. 3; NNAMDI AZIKIWE slg. London Sept. 30.

**NORTHBOUND**—RIVER BENUE slg. Rotterdam Sept. 13. Rotterdam Sept. 16.

## Commercial news

### Dams at Kossou—

MPs and Government officials have been touring areas in the Ivory Coast which will be submerged as a result of the £36m. hydro-electric dam being built at Kossou on the hydro-electric Blanc river. They are explaining the project to 100,000 people in the 180 villages affected and offering the choice of moving to new villages being built above the water level or moving to sparsely-populated areas in the south-west.

### and Cabora-Bassa

Work is expected to begin soon on the £125m. Cabora-Bassa dam and hydro-electric project in Mozambique which the Portuguese hope will attract a million settlers to the area and produce the cheapest electricity in Africa. Scheduled completion date is 1975. The contract has been awarded to a consortium of South African, French, West German and Portuguese companies. Asea, one of Sweden's largest electrical firms announced this month that it had withdrawn from the consortium because it was unsure of the legal repercussions in view of UN sanctions against Rhodesia, which stands to gain considerably from the scheme (Tete, where the dam will be built, is only 200 miles from the Rhodesian border). But it is possible that if the Swedish Government gives an assurance that participation will not infringe its laws on sanctions breaking the company will reconsider its position.

Following the signing of the contract last week, a FRELIMO spokesman, M. Lutaca, said his organisation would oppose construction "by all possible means, including weapons and sabotage". He had previously warned Asea that if it took part in the project its workers would risk their lives.

### ADB and the £

The African Development Bank lost £833,000 when sterling was devalued in 1967, the Bank's President, M. Beheiry said in an interview with the Ivory Coast newspaper, *Fraternité-Martin*. He expressed the hope that less developed countries would be able to participate in World Bank meetings at which decisions were taken affecting the working of the international monetary system, and he regretted that no African had been included on the inquiry into development undertaken by the World Bank.

● Mr. Omaboe, Ghana's Commissioner for Economic Affairs said that the establishment of the Pito Brewery at Tamale would continue. The Commissioner for Agriculture, Prof. Twum-Barima, had earlier described the project as "ill-conceived" and said he would see that it was not established.

● Experts on social planning policy agreed at a conference in Sweden that the UN had failed to reach the economic goals set for the first Development Decade largely because it defined development purely as an increase in gross national product. They recommended that providing employment should be a major aim for the second Decade, with more emphasis on nutrition, health and education.

### Liberia's ships

Liberia has more laid-up ship tonnage than any other country in the world, 138,530 tons, according to the UK Chamber of Shipping (Liberia's flag of convenience shelters the largest merchant fleet in the world, 27m. gross tons). The world tonnage of ships laid up through lack of cargo has dropped below the 400,000 mark for the first time since the Chamber started keeping records.

● Two 12,500-ton cargo-passenger ships, *General Mangin* and *Jean Mermoz*, will be withdrawn from the Marseilles-West Africa run as from next October, the Nouvelle Compagnie des Paquebots announced, citing severe competition from airlines as the reason. The *General Mangin* has been sold to a Greek company. A company spokesman said that a special service to Abidjan might be maintained during the 1970 holiday season.

● A decrease in imports led to a fall in shipping at Abidjan for the first five months of the year. Tonnage using the port totalled 2,041,792 compared with 2,312,268 tons for the same period last year. Although exports of cocoa, bananas and petroleum products in this period fell slightly, this was more than compensated for by a rise in rough timber exports.

### British Exports '69

British exports to tropical Africa in the first six months of 1969 amounted to £161m. compared with £147m. in the same period last year.

● Britain's Board of Trade has estimated that credit extended by British businessmen on their foreign sales increased from £44m. in 1967 to £121m. last year. Taking into account credit represented by bills discounted with banks, total credit given on UK exports probably rose 60 per cent. to £300m.

● Britain imported goods worth £29,030,000 from Sierra Leone during the first six months of the year (£34,882,000 Jan-June, 1968) while the value of her exports was £12,542,000 (£19,122,000).

### New Oil Areas

Wells will be sunk as soon as the extent of the oil field found by Gulf Oil off the coast of Western Cameroon has been determined, according to the Cameroon news agency. Mr. Azefer, head of the Western Cameroon Mines and Geology Service, said the crude oil would be refined at the Gabon refinery, in which both Cameroon and Gulf have an interest.

● According to the daily *Dahlo-Express*, the two oil wells sunk off Porto Novo by an American company can produce oil at the rate of 1,440 barrels a day. It is not yet known, however, whether this is in commercial quantities.

● A relaxation of tin quotas was expected to be approved by the International Tin Council's quarterly meeting in London. The latest Council bulletin showed that output of tin concentrates in May was 14,300 tons (14,900 tons in May 1968) and primary tin production 13,400 tons (14,700 tons in 1968). Consumption was 14,900 tons (14,700 tons in 1968).

### First in Carpets

A £1.5m. carpet factory, the first of its kind in independent black Africa, has opened in Benin by the Federal Commissioner for Trade and Industry, Alhaji Monguno. He said the factory will initially produce 10 feet of nylon pile carpets a minute or 800,000 sq. yd. annually representing "about 50 per cent. of installed capacity."

Noting that the factory filled the created by the ban on imported carpets, he observed that the crisis could, in a way, be regarded as a blessing, since from it emerged the Nigerian entrepreneur prepared to take risks and innovate with available materials.

● Following a trip to Africa by M. Phillips, general sales manager of Gloucester Railway Wagon and Car Co., the Ghana Railway Corporation placed a £400,000 order with the firm for 400 freight bogies. The bogies will be fitted to wagons being built for Ghana by Waggonfabrik of Germany. Braithwaite of India.

● Pfizer International Pharmaceutics company is planning to build a £6 drug plant in the Western State, a company spokesman announced.

● The World Bank has borrowed \$100m. from Central Banks and international organisations repayable with an eight per cent interest rate, the highest rate charged for this type of issue.

● A record recording studio with facilities for stereophonic sound has been established in Kinshasa.

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## 4. Duties:

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## 6. Methods of application:

- For candidates not in the Government Service, applications should be submitted on the official form obtainable from the Secretary, Public Service Commission, Lagos State, 216 Yakubu Gowon Street, Lagos.
- Applications from candidates in the Government Service should be submitted through their Heads of Departments. Applications from candidates who are in a Service other than that of the Lagos State should be routed through the appropriate Public Service Commission and should be accompanied by copies of the applicant's confidential reports for the last three years.

7. Closing date: Applications should reach the Secretary, Public Service Commission, Lagos State, 216, Yakubu Gowon Street, Lagos, not later than Tuesday, 30th September, 1969.

A. A. Amusu,  
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(iii) Institute of Costs and Works Accountants; and

(c) At least three years experience in Accountancy or Auditing work.

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Successful candidates will be required to lead audit teams assigned to specific duties, including the vouching of documents relating to the Payroll, Debtors and Creditors Ledgers and verification of assets. The duties also involve extensive touring of all the State Headquarters and Provincial Broadcasting Houses and the verification of purchase prices before orders are placed.

Application forms are obtainable from: The Secretary & Chief Administrative Officer,

Statutory Corporations Service Commission, Private Mail Bag 12033, 30, Marina, Lagos.

And Overseas at:  
The Nigerian High Commission,  
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(b) Applications from candidates in the Government Service should be submitted through their Heads of Departments. Applications from candidates who are in a Service other than that of the Lagos State should be routed through the appropriate Public Service Commission and should be accompanied by copies of the applicant's confidential reports for the last three years.

7. Closing date: Applications should reach the Secretary, Public Service Commission, Lagos State, 216, Yakubu Gowon Street, Lagos, not later than Tuesday 30th September, 1969.

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## SIERRA LEONE

### Reaction to Foray's Support for Biafra

**G**REAT surprise has been expressed in Lagos at Sierra Leone's stand at the OAU Conference at Addis Ababa this month. In a television interview Dr. Oko Arikpo, the Commissioner for External Affairs, spoke scathingly of the remarks of Mr. Cyril Foray, Sierra Leone's External Affairs Minister, who made the strongest anti-Nigerian speech at the OAU meeting. Dr. Arikpo noted that Mr. Foray's speech was far less friendly towards Nigeria than were the speeches of the four African countries which had recognised Biafra.

Interviewed in London this week by the *Financial Times*, Mr. Siaka Stevens, who was present at the OAU meeting, said that there had been a great deal of sympathy for Biafra there and that in view of strongly pro-Biafran public opinion in Sierra Leone, he might have to consider recognising the secessionist regime "if only for the purpose of stopping the killing." Mr. Stevens said that his future action would depend on whether present peace initiatives bore fruit.

Last month the Sierra Leone House of Representatives passed a resolution unanimously calling on the government to "use its good offices" in the Nigerian conflict. Eight MPs, however, asked for recognition of Biafra. The debate was initiated by Mr. Solomon Pratt, a Minister recently dropped



Siaka Stevens—Recognition of Biafra on the cards?

by Mr. Stevens. It coincided with the visit to Freetown of Mr. Francis Nwokedi, one of Colonel Ojukwu's chief lieutenants who has strong Freetown connections.

● Talks between Britain's Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, Mr. Maurice Foley, and Mr. Siaka Stevens, during the Prime Minister's private visit to Britain after the OAU summit, covered the war in Nigeria as well as a general review of Sierra Leone and West African affairs. Mr. Stevens, who was due to leave London last Friday, met some of the 500 Sierra Leone students in

Britain and had a medical check-up. Mr. Foley gave a dinner in his honour.

● A five-man Committee of economists has been appointed by the Government to examine the effects on the economy of manufacturing and other enterprises for which development certificates have been issued. The Committee, under the Chairmanship of Mr. S. R. Dixon-Fyle, a lecturer at Fourah Bay College, consists of the managing director of the National Development Bank, Mr. A. O. Akinrele; the deputy economist, Ministry of Finance, Mr. E. P. A. Soneye; the deputy comptroller of Customs and Excise, Mr. P. E. Harleston and a Central Statistics Office statistician, Mr. J. A. Slow.

The committee will also examine the effects of the enterprises on government revenues, prices, employment, capital formation and overall economic growth; the appropriateness of the 1960 Development Act as an instrument for promoting industrial development, economic and other related factors which are relevant to the achievement of official objectives of economic and social development policy and the capacity of the enterprises to contribute to the development of a soundly-based industrial and manufacturing sector.

● The importance of an independent news agency and a news department for radio and television were stressed by the new Director General of Radio Sierra Leone and Sierra Leone Television, Mr. James Miller, soon after his arrival from England. He also said that he was planning to introduce more local material on the radio and keep the service on the air from 6 a.m. to midnight, with eight news bulletins, every day. Mr. Miller, a BBC man, was for many years Director of Ghana's radio.

● A threatened nation-wide strike by Electricity Corporation employees was called off after a compromise agreement was reached at a meeting between the Prime Minister, Dr. Stevens, several Cabinet Ministers, Electricity Board directors and workers' representatives. The agreement included a pay rise and a promise that the directors would discuss a list of 14 grievances. Mr. A. Bruno Gaston, chief executive of the Corporation, and Mr. Sorison Kamara, labour relations officer, have been suspended on full pay.

● Finance Minister Dr. M. S. Forna will lead Sierra Leone's six-man delegation to the conference of Commonwealth Finance Ministers to be held in Barbados on September 25 and 26. Other members of the delegation will include the acting Financial Secretary, Mr. E. L. Coker; the Economic Adviser to the Government, Dr. G. Konrad, and the Governor of the Bank of Sierra Leone, Mr. S. B. Nicol-Cole.

● Finance Minister Dr. Mohamed Forna launched a special stamp issue commemorating the fifth anniversary of the African Development Bank. There are three sets of stamps carrying eagles, the Sierra Leone

coat of arms and kola nuts. The stamps are said to be unique as they are only stamps ever to use pure black ink and are the only coloured postage stamps ever produced without ink.

● Representatives from Sierra Leone, Nigeria, Ghana, Cameroon, Gambia and Liberia, are attending a four-week conference on trade union leadership at Fourah Bay College. It is the first West African regional seminar to be organised by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. The seminar was opened by the Minister of Lands, Mines and Labour, Mr. C. Kamara-Taylor.

● A 10 cents a day increase for labour has been approved by the Joint Industrial Council for Artisans and General Workers Union. A number of other benefits were awarded, including a long service gratuity: seven days award for each year of completed service.

● Imported rice is selling at Lel1.40 a bag in Freetown instead of Lc12.40 for Egyptian White 1 and Lc12.10 for Egyptian parboiled. A Ministry of Trade and Industry statement that the drop was "in keeping with Government's policy of bringing down the cost of living" and warned that dealers selling above the prescribed retail price will have their agency withdrawn.

● During a stop-over at Lungu airport, his way to Zambia, the Gambian Prime Minister, Sir Dauda Jawara, confirmed that his country would establish a mission in Senegal and Sierra Leone, and that the deputy head would be based in Freetown.

● Dr. Sanya Onabamiro, former Minister in Nigeria's Western Region, has been appointed head of the department of biological sciences at Njala University College of the University of Sierra Leone.

● Dr. Michael Olorin of Nigeria has been appointed World Health Organisation representative for Liberia and Sierra Leone. He will be based in Monrovia.

● Mrs. Nyandewa Caulker gave birth to quintuplets in South Eastern Province.

## THE GAMBIA

### Referendum in April

Voting for the referendum on the question of whether The Gambia is to be a republic will be held from April 20 to 22, 1970. The result would be announced on April 23, and the republic, if approved, would come into force immediately. Under the constitution the measure needs two-thirds of the votes cast to be accepted. The draft republican constitution is to be published on October 21, and placed before the House of Representatives in December. (The previous republican referendum, in November, 1965, failed to get the required two-thirds majority by just over 700 votes.)

● Mr. H. R. Monday, Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Finance, has been appointed Chairman of the Gambian Currency Board. Dr. J. B. Kelegang, Development Secretary in the same ministry, has been appointed a director of the board whose other members are Alhaji A. Senghore, Director of Posts and Telecommunications, and Mr. Gaspar Mendonça, Comptroller Customs and Excise.

● Sadan Moussa Toure, Guinea Ambassador in Dakar, has presented his credentials to the Governor-General, Sir Fairmaid Singhateh. The German Ambassador, Herr Rudolph Junges (also based in Dakar) has also presented his credentials.

## GHANA

### Actions against Gbedemah

**A** WRIT seeking to unseat Mr. Gbedemah under Article 71 of the Constitution (which disqualifies from public office certain people against whom findings are made by a commission of inquiry) has been filed by his Progress Party opponent in Keta, Mr. E. B. Awoonor-Williams. The case is to be heard in the Appeal Court on September 26.

An allegation that Mr. Gbedemah had committed an offence under Ghanaian electoral laws had been referred to the Attorney General and the police "for appropriate action", the interim electoral commissioner, Mr. Justice Crabbe, told a news conference. Recalling that Mr. Gbedemah had shown journalists a completed ballot paper while making a claim about election irregularities, Mr. Crabbe claimed that there was *prima facie* evidence of an offence under the 1968 Representation of the People Decree which stipulated that anyone who, without proper authority, was found in possession of a ballot paper outside a polling station was liable to up to five years imprisonment.

He also said that he could not accept "vague and groundless allegations" about election irregularities, "particularly as the Constitution and the Electoral Laws provide a procedure by which a person aggrieved by the results of an election in any constituency can have redress in the courts".

● Dr. Busia completed his Cabinet with the appointment of Mr. Kwabena Antai, a former civil servant, as Minister of Local Administration. (The Cabinet remains 17 because Mr. Adama, Minister of State for Parliamentary Affairs, is not a member.)

● Parliamentary Secretaries appointed by Dr. Busia are: K. G. Osei Bonsu (National Security Council), Kwaku Baah (Home Affairs), Mohammed Abdul-Saaka (Defence), J. A. Kuffour (External Affairs), H. W. Kofi Sackey (Works), O. K. Poku (Housing), S. Osei Akoto and J. Y. Mamu (Transport and Communications), Dr. Jones Ofori-Anta and C. O. Nyanoor (Finance and Economic Planning), A. Aboagye Da Costa (Social Development, Rural), Carl Reinhardt (Social Development, Youth), Stephen Krakue and A. Appiah-Menka (Trade, Industries and Tourism), Alex Abedi (Information), Badu-Nkansah (Labour and Social Welfare), S. K. Osei-Baidoo and Shanni Mahama (Agriculture), Antwi Kusi and K. P. Agyekum (Lands, Mineral Resources, National Forestry Trust and National Wildlife Trust), J. G. Amamoo and Adam Amandi (Health), Sebastian K. Opong and Kow Richardson (Education, Culture and Sports), and Mr. J. Akumoa Boateng and Dr. John Kofi Fynn (Local Administration).

### Yendi: after the riots

● Soldiers and police patrolled Yendi for the enskiment of Mahamadu Abdulai as Ya Na and Paramount Chief of the Dagomba, as recommended by a three-man committee which investigated the dispute over the succession. Twenty-three people had previously been killed as a result of fighting over the dispute, and a curfew imposed. The day before the enthronement, the National Liberation Council banned four divisional chiefs of the Dagomba area from the town, but a statement by the Commissioner of the Interior said the ban was a temporary measure, made because "there would be no peace in the area so long as

men are not residents of Yendi continue to remain there," and would be reviewed at short intervals. The Ya Na has been installed without incident.

A National Alliance of Liberals statement called for "an impartial inquiry" into the chieftaincy crisis as well as an early Parliamentary debate. The statement claimed that security force action had been an "abuse of power and premeditated use of unwarranted force out of proportion to the risks involved." There had been no reports of injuries to security forces although a police statement had said that security forces had been attacked by a crowd of 2,000. The statement, issued by Mr. Gbedemah, also suggested that instead of a hurried implementation of the committee's report, Dr. Busia could have "stayed the hand" of the NLC until his own civilian government had had time to study the dispute. The opposition *Evening Standard* claimed that never in Ghana's history had so many people died in a single disturbance and editorialised "Our ship of state has set sail on a sea of blood, and none can predict the fortunes ahead." The country, it said, could not "exchange the ills of the past for a democracy of the gun."

Two men accused of being ringleaders of the riots were bonded in a Yendi court to keep the peace for a year and 64 curfew breakers were fined. Other people have been charged with unlawful assembly.

● Justice Nii Amaa Ollennu, 63, was unanimously elected Speaker of the National Assembly which met for an hour on 5 Sept. at State House because Parliament building was being redecorated. His election was proposed by Mr. Dombó of the Progress Party and seconded by Mr. Gbedemah. Mr. Amissh Aidoo, elected unopposed to be Deputy Speaker, was proposed by the only Independent MP, Mr. Harry Sawyer, and seconded by United Nationalist Party chairman Dr. Bannerman.

The Assembly is expected to meet early in October when the NLC will formally hand over power.

### Kaunda on the polls

● Zambia's President Kaunda said in Lusaka that he would have to satisfy himself that Ghana's elections had been democratic before he could recognise the civilian government. "It is important to study, in accordance with our principle, what the last elections mean. Were these elections truly democratic, or democratic in military and police terms?" he commented. "Some people had not been allowed to stand, but he did not yet know what this meant. And he told a questioner at a news conference: "If we are satisfied with the elections we will say: Yes and good. Nkrumah is out."

● Dr. Busia, speaking at a thanksgiving service at the Methodist Church at Wenchi, said that his party's victory was the result of the people's love of freedom which had long been denied them by the former government of which some of the present opposition leaders were members.

● New civilian regional administrators are to be appointed to take over from the military and police officers of the Regional Committees of Administration on October 1.

● A White Paper on the report of the committee of inquiry into the affairs of the Anlo Traditional Area, which examined allegations against the Awoame Fia, Togbe

Adeladza II, by a section of his people, recommended that the Awoame Fia should arrange a traditional council meeting to discuss tension in the area. It also recommended that he should return his seat of administration from Ho to Anloga, but it dismissed allegations against the Togbe.

● Mr. Nicholas Alando has been appointed Editor of the *Daily Graphic*. Mr. Eddie Agyeman, *Graphic* night editor, has been named acting Editor of the *Sunday Mirror*.

● The report of a seven-man committee headed by Prof. C. O. Eason, Dean of the Medical School of Ghana's health needs has been published, together with a Government White Paper. As a result revised hospital charges for medical and dental services will be introduced on October 1, but some patients and some diseases will be exempt from charges. The recommendation of the committee for local training of dental surgeons and skilled dental nurses has been accepted in principle. A diploma course in pharmacy is to be re-introduced at Kumasi University.

● Government education policy places no ban on opening of new primary and middle schools but aims at controlling new ones. Dr. Modjibben Dowuona, Commissioner for Education, has declared. New schools would be permitted where existing schools were full and the local authority concerned was ready to provide necessary accommodation and equipment. Soon after the 1966 coup, it became necessary to merge unviable primary schools into bigger units, he said; although 600 schools were affected, no pupil was displaced. Two continuation classes had been opened in each region and 10 more to be opened in each region yearly in future, he announced. Dr. Dowuona also said the text-books distribution system had been re-organised.

The Commissioner said there had been a preponderance of female teachers over their male counterparts in boys' schools in the urban areas. The Ministry had ruled that in Accra (where there were twice as many women teachers as men) no new female teachers should be posted to a boys' school except on compassionate grounds.

The Ghana Ministry of Education is to close down all private schools which are not run satisfactorily, Dr. Dowuona said later. It would not prevent the opening of private schools once the necessary minimum conditions are fulfilled.

● 49,000 people are on the waiting list for houses with the Ghana Housing Corporation, the Commissioner for Works and Housing, Lt. Col. Yeboah, has stated. He was inaugurating a new board of the Corporation, with Mr. C. B. K. Zwennes as chairman.

● The commission of inquiry into the riots at the Ashanti Goldfields' mine has ended its public hearings.

### CORRECTION

In *Matchet's Diary* last week the reference to "a woman" seated in Parliament behind Mr. Gbedemah should have read "the woman M.P. from the North, Mrs. Akanbodi-Po Kugblenu". It should also have been explained that Mr. Mahama "has claims" to be Mr. Gbedemah's deputy because he is secretary of the National Alliance of Liberals.

In *Ghana news* last week the Ya-Na was wrongly referred to as Yeath-Na.

## MALI

## Foreign Minister Dismissed

M. Jean Marie Koné has been replaced as Foreign Minister by M. Sory Coulibaly. M. Koné has held the post since the coup of November 19 last year, prior to which he held various ministerial posts in the Modibo Keita government. M. Coulibaly was permanent head of the Mali Mission at the UN from 1962-66, and was ambassador to Moscow from 1966-68. M. Robert Ndaw, a former minister, has been brought into the government as Secretary of State to the Presidency for Industrial Development.

- The new 19-man Supreme Court has been installed under its President M. Assane Seye.
- Malian state enterprises are to be re-organised by the International Labour Organisation.

SENEGAL  
REFERENDUM IN  
FEBRUARY

President Senghor, speaking on his return to Dakar from a holiday in France, has said that the Prime Minister envisaged in the forthcoming constitutional reform would be named (and dismissed) by the head of state, and would only be subject to the control of the National Assembly. A constitutional referendum will be held in February 1970.

Over 4,000 people are homeless in St. Louis following heavy floods.

- President Senghor has sent a message of condolence to North Vietnam on the death of Ho Chi Minh.

## LIBERIA

Over 2000 members (mainly women) of the Liberian Marketing Association demonstrated outside the Executive Mansion in Monrovia to protest against police molestation in public places. They presented a petition to President Tubman seeking protection from "arbitrary arrest" and confiscation of wares as they sell them. The president pledged the government's support and protection to the association, which has 10,000 members.

## CHAD

## French Soldier Killed

A French soldier has been killed and five others wounded in the course of an action last week in Laya-Largeau, in the rebelious Toubou area of northern Chad. Five Chadian soldiers and 42 rebels were said to have been killed. The soldier was from a company of the 6th paratroop inter-service overseas regiment (6th RIAOM). He is the first French soldier to be killed in action in Chad, since the calling in of extra troops a year ago.

A new 140-man company of the 2nd Foreign Paratroop Regiment (the Foreign Legion) has arrived in Fort Lamy from Corsica. They are to be stationed in Mongo with the two companies of the legion who arrived in April, bringing the total of legionnaires to 520. With their arrival conscripts from other regiments are expected to be withdrawn, as announced at the end of last month by the French Defence Minister.

- Dr. Jacques Baroum, Foreign Minister, speaking in Paris denied that the rebellion was spreading. The rebels were now in South-East Chad, previously they had been in the Centre-East. He also claimed that in the rebel organisation *Frolinat*, leader of the rebel organisation had Dr. Abba Siddick was not Chadian but had a Sudanese father and a Centrafrican mother. He was a "militant intellectual, a



Tombalbay "a campaign of denigration orchestrated by the foreign press."

little on the fringe," who was distrusted by the masses. Dr. Baroum said he believed *Frolinat* incapable of taking power. France would not have to send reinforcements. "Bandit action which is endemic to Chad is now called rebellion, and we were very surprised at the publicity given to the intervention of two companies of French paratroops;" he admitted that the decision to call in the French had caused a certain "constraint" in the President's entourage and even among government members.

- President Tombalbaye, speaking to Chadians studying abroad at the *Maison du Parti* of the PPT spoke of a "campaign of denigration, orchestrated by the foreign press" which was being waged against his country. He declined to use the words "subversion" or "anarchy", preferring to describe recent incidents as "organised banditry."

● A report in *Newsweek* from Fort Lamy quotes General Arnaud, French military adviser to President Tombalbaye, as saying recent press accounts of Chad's civil war had been vastly exaggerated. He insisted that unlike the Viet Cong, the rebels had a grand design of overthrowing the government "to establish a communist regime".

A reporter for Radio Luxembourg had said on returning from a visit to Chad: "what we are witnessing in Chad is a real war of subversion like those we experienced in Indo-China and Algeria."

## PORTUGAL

## Africa an Election Issue

Portuguese Premier Caetano, in a broadcast has asked for a vote of confidence in Portugal's colonial policy, when the country votes on October 26 in its first election for 36 years. "It is necessary that it be made clear both here and abroad whether the Portuguese favour the abandonment of the Overseas territories or support the government in its policy of progressive development and increasing autonomy for the overseas provinces." The opposition has already declared itself in favour of self-determination for the "overseas provinces".

## CAMEROON

A high-level goodwill mission equatorial Guinea Vice-President Bosio has been in Cameroon with President Fomcha. After lengthy several agreements were signed, including "friendship and good-neighbourly treaty," an economic and technical co-operation agreement, providing for the training of Guineans in Cameroon, and a commerce agreement covering exchange of goods and free circulation of people and

- Cameroon's Director of Technical Education, M. Diwouta Loth Martin, has been jailed for three years, and fined 200,000 CFA francs for charges of corruption and trading in examination papers. He has also been banned from teaching for three years. His sentence concludes.

## ISLAMIC SUMMIT

King Hassan II has sent an invitation to President Mektar Ould Daddah of Mauritania to attend the Islamic Summit scheduled to be held in Rabat on September 22-24. Sources in Rabat indicate that the invitation does not constitute *de facto* recognition of Mauritania by Morocco, which has pressed a claim to all the territory. Observers have speculated that the summit may well be a prelude to Moroccan recognition, and the dropping of territorial claims in Mauritania, the only Islamic Republic in Africa, has been one of the most fervent advocates of the summit. Senegal, Niger will also attend, but will not be represented by heads of state. There are doubts about the participation of Guinea and Mali, although they were among the original backers of the summit, and have been invited (The Arab League's meeting in Cairo has approved plan counter "Zionist infiltration" in Africa, notably to forestall efforts Israel was to make to establish diplomatic relations with Mali. The paper *Al Ahras* has reported the call).

## MAURITANIA

M. Baham Ould Mohamed Laghdaf has been relieved of the post of Defence Minister. His successor has not yet been named. M. Laghdaf had held office in different ministries since 1963, longer than any other member of the present cabinet.

## IN BRIEF

President Mobutu of Congo-K has ordered the Governor of Kivu to halt an expulsion order on 12 Indian families from Bukavu pending further examination (this was incorrectly reported last week as 500).

● President Lamizana has confirmed that political activity will be allowed again in Upper Volta in the last quarter of this year.

● Taiwan and Ivory Coast have entered into two years their agreement on technical cooperation in agricultural development under which 160 technicians, mainly experts are currently in Ivory Coast.

● President Nguabi of Congo-B has inaugurated a textile complex at Kinsoutou built with aid from Peoples' China. The complex combines spinning, weaving, dyeing operations.

● President Bokassa of CAR, on a visit to Sudan, has been presented with his plot of land in Blue Nile province.

● President Hamani Diori of Niger is on a 12-day official visit to Canada. In October he is to visit Taiwan and South Korea.

## dateline Africa

### NIGERIA

#### Biafra Rejects New Air Relief Plan

THE ICRC and the Federal Government reached agreement on relief flights to Biafran territory on Sept. 13, after the Federal Government had agreed in principle to the ICRC plan for daylight flights from Dahomey. The compromise provided that flights should take off from Cotonou, as before the supervision of ICRC flights in June, and a Nigerian Government inspector should examine cargoes and crews together with inspectors named by the Dahomey Government and the ICRC. The Nigerian inspector should be able, acting alone, to exclude any cargo or passengers not forming part of genuine relief action; the Nigerian Rehabilitation Commission should define what was relief material, and only "agreed relief personnel" should be allowed to board aircraft. The Federal Government should be able to call down any aircraft for inspection in Lagos, whether it had been examined at Cotonou or not. Flights should be between 9 a.m. and 5 p.m. and the arrangements should be "without prejudice" to Federal military operations.

After the agreement, which followed official talks in Lagos with Dr. Enrico Biganini of the ICRC, it was hoped relief flights from Cotonou might re-start in a few days. Chief Enahoro said aircraft called down to Lagos would go on to Uli once inspected. Then, however, the Biafran Government rejected the agreement. On Sept. 14 Dr. S. J. S. Cookey, Biafra's relief co-ordinator, said that it differed vitally from the ICRC's August 1 proposals, accepted by Biafra, and accused the Red Cross of failing "to take a firm stand on any issue adversely affecting the public image of the Lagos regime". Biafra, he said, demanded a guarantee from a third government or a political international organisation, to ensure that Nigeria did not take military advantage of the flights; the new agreement allowed Nigeria to do this, he said, and the ICRC's guarantees were vague and inadequate. Radio Biafra quoted Gen. Ojukwu as saying the guarantees were insufficient.

#### "Callous Indifference"

Dr. Arikpo accused the secessionists of "callous indifference" to their people's plight, and Chief Enahoro, calling on the world to appeal to Gen. Ojukwu to change his mind, said the Biafran leader had never intended to agree to any arrangements that did not provide cover for his army flights. The third-party guarantee proposal was wholly new, he added. An ICRC spokesman said this proposal had been made earlier, then put into the background, and then revived more emphatically than before. In London the agreement was officially welcomed and the Biafran rejection deplored.

Aircraft were waiting to leave Cotonou with food before the Biafran rejection of the agreement; then the ICRC put them back on 24 hours' notice to fly to Uli. It began discussing with donors of the 11,000 tons of relief supplies at Cotonou and Fernando Po on what to do with them,

and said its work on Federal-held areas would go on.

Joint Church Aid has announced its 3,500th flight from Sao Tome to Biafra.

The Nigerian air force has destroyed another aircraft at Uli airfield, says a Federal report, which says the aircraft was flying arms; it was hit by bombs at night, and later finally destroyed in a daylight raid. The same report adds that for a week flights to the airfield decreased greatly as most aircraft were "chased away"; and that the depot at Nnewri had been destroyed and damage caused to a "rebel military headquarters at Orlu." The runway at Uli had been damaged and repair work prevented, it said; and Biafran troops heading for Ebu attacked by jet aircraft.

An American Relief administrator, quoting Biafran relief workers, said last week that federal Migs had attacked a Biafran clinic, killing 16 people. A *New York Times* report, quoting this allegation, said bombing of the airfield had resumed after a lapse of almost two weeks, while Nigerian aircraft had also scattered leaflets showing Gen. Gowon and ex-President Akiwe praying for peace together. In a letter to the *London Times*, Mr. Bruce Kent says the last major daylight Nigerian air-raid was one which killed 100 people at the Atani market, while bombers had been over Uli many times recently, cutting down relief flights.

Two Biafran aircraft have made a rocket attack on Benin, causing some damage near electrical and army installations and killing a road worker, says a report from the Mid-West capital. A new raid is said to have hit power installations and a "canny" at Sapele.

Chief Enahoro said air force reconnaissance flights reported the existence of a new Biafran airstrip immediately south of Orlu. Aircraft had visited the area to make sure the airstrip was not used.

The *Sunday Sketch* reports a new surprise attack by the Biafrans near Onitsha, saying that it was defeated and 40 Biafrans taken prisoner. It quotes prisoners as claiming that plenty of relief food went to officers and none to other ranks, and that they all expected to be killed when captured. The prisoners also said the Biafrans had just completed a trench from Ogidì to Nnewri.

#### A correspondent writes:

In the agreement about daytime Red Cross relief flights, freedom of military action by the Federal Government is retained. In other words, although the Federal Government is ready and anxious that daylight relief flights should begin, its main military objective remains the destruction of Uli, the airfield which receives the flights. This is an inescapable dilemma, since the second airfield said to be operational inside Colonel Ojukwu's territory cannot receive the big relief aircraft. Clearly, in spite of the Federal Government's agreement to the flights in principle, they would have to cease if Federal military action was becoming successful.

Will it be successful? At present Uli appears to be harassed at night by Federal aircraft, although this harassment has little effect on flights. The main Federal military objective, however, remains the capture of the airfield by land, or to advance to a point from where it can be shelled.

At present the Third Division, under Colonel Obasanjo, based at Port Harcourt in the South, appears to be concentrating only on holding and straightening its line,

while pinning down the maximum possible number of Biafrans. The Second Division, under Colonel Jallo, now operates only in the Mid-West where it deals with infiltration across the River Niger of Biafran soldiers. These are said to receive some assistance from civilian Ibos of the Mid-West, and some of the soldiers are themselves Mid-Westerners. Particularly during the rains this Division's task is extremely difficult and delicate. Civilians have been removed from a defined area along the river bank—a justifiable military tactic—but civilian Ibos as a whole have to be treated as fellow citizens of Federal Nigeria by both the civilian authorities of the Mid-West State and the Federal forces. It is the military operations in this area which constitute a threat to oil production, although this cannot at present be regarded as serious.

The First Division, based at Enugu, are still under Colonel Shuha, appears to be the division most likely to take Uli. The division has taken over Onitsha and its sector from the Second Division, but any plans for a "two-prong" advance to Uli from the north-west and from the north-west appear to have been temporarily held up by the need once again to clear the main road from Awka to Onitsha. It is reported that Biafran detachments which had for some time been operating north of this road in the direction of Nsukka have been finally driven back as far as the road, where they made a stand.

There is high ground both to the north-east, in the Orlu area, and north-west, in the Nnewri area, of Uli from which Federal artillery could shell Uli.

Apart from the rains, which keep the Federal forces closely to the main roads which, in any case, they seldom leave, these forces face the problem that they cannot possibly confine within the territory directly controlled by Colonel Ojukwu the millions of soldiers and civilians now there. The Federal forces should not be short of arms or ammunition, or even of combat troops; but the more they "squeeze", the more soldiers and civilians come out of Biafran territory, and not necessarily to give themselves up to the Federal forces. In particular they find their way across the Niger and it may well be that the last phase of the war will take place in that area.

### The War and the World

A series of statements and exchanges on the question of peace talks in the past few days seemed to bring the possibility of such talks no nearer. Following Gen. Gowon's reported remarks at Lagos airport that he was ready for unconditional talks, which was followed by a Biafran statement in Owerri asking Nigeria to name a friendly country and a time and a place for a meeting, Dr. Arikpo, External Affairs Commissioner said that the rebels had "misinterpreted what General Gowon is alleged to have said". General Gowon broadcast a message saying Nigeria was totally committed to the OAU resolution. Chief Enahoro told newsmen the rebels must agree to accept a united Nigeria before there could be meaningful peace talks. They should use "agreed channels" of communication, and talks must be on the basis of the OAU resolution at Addis Ababa. He declined to give details of the "agreed channels". On Sunday Gen. Ojukwu was quoted as saying that for talks to be meaningful they had to be unconditional.

Gen. Gowon at Lagos Airport said of his talks with President Nyerere: "We had a very frank and useful discussion but we

## NIGERIA—continued

do not agree on every point. The dialogue was useful and served as the first bridging of the gap between us." Of President Kenyatta he said: "The old man is fully with us." He also noted that the four countries which had recognised Biafra did not, as in Algiers last year, vote against the resolution, but merely abstained.

● In an interview with the Ivorian daily *Fraternité-Matin*, Ghana's new Premier, Dr. Busia, has said "We think it is imperative to do everything to bring about an effective ceasefire in Biafra. . . . Once the arms are silenced it will be necessary to get the antagonists to sit down round a table so that they can settle their differences by negotiation."

● A report from Dar-es-Salaam says President Nyerere had been impressed with General Gowon's sincerity in desiring a peaceful solution. President Nyerere had had the impression that Gen. Gowon was facing strong pressure from "hawks" in the federal government, but that he was maintaining a conciliatory position. Although the Tanzanian President accepted Gen. Gowon's assurances that Ibo would be safe in a united Nigeria, he emphasised that the way to persuade them of this was by "mediation, not by bullets".

● Gen. Ojukwu has sent a letter to Lord Brockway setting out a three-phase programme for "unconditional negotiations", involving contact between parties friendly to both sides, then Nigerian-Biafran contacts and finally a meeting of principals, for which there would have to be a truce as "I cannot leave Biafra while hostilities are still going on".

● Dr. Okpara, former Eastern Nigerian Premier, has denounced Dr. Azikiwe in Dar es Salaam. Dr. Okpara succeeded Dr. Azikiwe as leader of the NCNC in 1960.

● President Senghor has said he favours a "fairly supple federation" in Nigeria; Senegal's opinion on Nigeria was close to that of Dr. Azikiwe.

● In a news conference in Addis Ababa, M. Diallo Telli drew attention to the final clause of the OAU resolution appealing to "all governments, international organisations, humanitarian institutions as well as to all political, moral and religious bodies in the world to facilitate the implementation of the present resolution and to desist from any action, gesture and attitude likely to jeopardise the efforts of the OAU in finding an African solution to the Nigerian crisis." He said that the OAU peace moves of July and August 1968 had failed because of "a certain declaration made somewhere in Europe" (a clear reference to the French hint of possible recognition at the end of July 1968) "This is systematic sabotage, if the external world left us in peace, the problem would be solved by itself," he said.

● Ex-President Azikiwe, on his tour of all twelve states, has said that federal forces were in a position to end the civil war at any time. If the secessionists failed to negotiate a peaceful solution the federal government would have to "carry the military action to its logical conclusion".

Dr. Azikiwe has also said he would like to visit the four African states which recognised Biafra, on a "mission of re-education".

## Ibadan Jail Battle

Five hundred inmates of Agoda in Ibadan escaped after hundreds of soldiers attacked to free sixty people after recent tax riots. Prison guards the mob forced the wooden gates open all but about 20 of the convicts fled. Soldiers and police regained control. Villagers took over a police station; others were said to have surrounded Military Governor's residence. There been firing during the break-in, as the escaped prisoners scattered and were hunted, more deaths reported; the first official figure given three dead. Some prisoners were tortured. A dusk-to-dawn curfew was imposed and troops and armed police patrolled streets.

Among those not freed were Obi Akran, former Western Nigerian Minister, and Prince Ademiluyi, former of the Western Nigeria Development Corporation.



The new Miss Nigeria (British-born) and the outgoing Miss Nigeria (Ibo) are seen here in a contest at St. Pancras Town Hall. The outgoing Miss Nigeria is seen here (right) with the outgoing Miss Nigeria of the title, Hannah Bola Ige.

● Six men have appeared in court in Ughelli, Mid-West, on a charge of Biafran soldiers at Kwale.

● The Interim Common Services Agency for the northern states, set up in 1968—after the new states had come into being—to coordinate certain services, has held a meeting on the fact that of the Northern States Military Board. The *New Nigerian* reported it had deferred decisions on both until another meeting, due next week in a newspaper, quoting "informed sources" also said the Agency decided to discontinue the ownership of the Government Printing Press in Kaduna, now owned by all six northern governments, to the Government of the Central State.

The Common Services Agency is expected to come to an end next March, unless agreement is reached on extending its life. The *New Nigerian* editorial has said this should be done if there is work left under. On *Nigeria News* last week, the item that those receiving Dr. Azikiwe at Lagos port, should have concluded "and the Fagbola, Deputy Inspector-General of Police".



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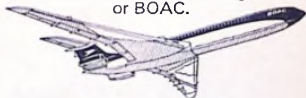
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